UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA

FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY

DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN MODERN LANGUAGES

Departament of Modern Philology
Area of East Asian Studies

DOCTORAL THESIS

The Sacred in Shintō:
A Comparison and Analysis of Rudolf Otto's Concept of the Numinous and Motoori
Norinaga's 'Definition of Kami' in Selected Texts of the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki

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Salamanca
September, 2021

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Introduction

In the present essay we will delve, by using the methodologies left to us by philosophical analysis and hermeneutics, into the concept of the sacred in Shintō through an analysis of German scholar Rudolf Otto's examination of the sacred or numinous as the *a priori* core of religious experience and Nativist scholar Motoori Norinaga's 'Definition of *kami*.' First of all we will, as it is natural, commence from the beginning, explaining the methodology and tools that have been at our disposal. Then we will dedicate Chapter 1 to briefly summarizing the main characteristics of Shintō, including a section for its historical development and another for its schools of thought. Afterwards we will commence our analysis of R. Otto and Motoori Norinaga's selected work in Chapter 2, and then we will proceed to examine the concept of *kami* through its etymology, the interpretations of several Japanese authors and, finally, through the notion of *kami* as mana, that is, as a life-force known as *tama* within the sphere of Japanese religion.

Then, during the second part of this essay, we will conduct a textual analysis of selected texts from the classical mythological narrative of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* which will include passages regarding popular mythological personages such as the *kami* Izanagi and Izanami, their son Susa-no-wo and their daughter Amaterasu; and the adventures of Prince Yamato-takeru, Empress Jin-gū, and Emperor Yū-ryaku. Across this selection of text we will delve even deeper into the notion of *kami*, attempting to clarify, if not the concept of *kami* itself, which may be an impossible task due to its broadness and to the ambiguity of its fundamental characteristics, which may also

appear on other supernatural entities, the differentiation between *kami* and *tama* (the numinous). Finally, in Chapter 6 we will consider the notion of the sacred in Shintō from a more varied perspective, including themes and author that are more contemporary than the classics and Motoori, and that will include the subject of polarities and liminality, the curious role of the sea, and the relationship between women and sacredness. Now, without further delay, let us begin with the Preliminaries.

Preliminaries

Note: the names of Japanese authors will follow the traditional order, with the family name being followed by the personal name

0. Defining the Problem:

This essay, of a philosophical nature, has been written for the completion of the University of Salamanca's Doctoral Program in Modern Languages, specifically within the line of research of the Department of East Asian Languages, Cultural Research in East Asian Languages. The contents that are now advanced consist of an investigation of the nature of sacredness in the Japanese religion commonly referred as Shintō through a comparative, hermeneutical, and philosophical analysis of Rudolf Otto's concept of the numinous and Motoori Norinaga's 'Definition of Kami.' In order to at least partly accomplish such an ambitious enterprise, we have started by defining the problem as follows:

  (a) Otto's concept of the numinous seems to closely resemble Shintō's concept of *kami*.
  (b) Shintō's concept of *kami* seems to have been excellently defined by Motoori Norinaga in his 'Definition of *Kami*.'
  (c) As far as we have been able to determine within the temporal and material possibilities of this doctoral program, there seems to have been not many attempts at a profound comparison of Otto's concept of the numinous and

Motoori's 'Definition of Kami,' the closest being Nakano Yūzō's analysis on the subject [Nakano, Y. (1994) "*Rudorufu Otto no numinoze gainen — Motoori Norinaga no kami no teigi to no hikaku*"].

(d) Thus, there seems to be a potential need to delve into a comparative analysis that we have willingly decided to carry out to the best of our ability.

As it can now be seen, the inquiry we now pretend to unravel before the reader begins to take shape before our eyes. Having found a niche of knowledge which has not yet been scrutinized until exhaustion, we now proceed to ascertain up to what point this examination has been studied in the past. As we have just now mentioned, the closest parallel we have found has been Nakano's comparison. We must, however, also specify that several authors who will appear throughout the following pages have used, in a way or another, explicitly or not, the concept of the numinous and of *kami*. Still, Nakano's writings remain the closest approximation to the present work, and so the reader has to keep in mind. Likewise, exceedingly honorable mentions must go to all who have undertaken to address this subject, from the earlies history, passing through the medieval theologians, and including all those from present times.

And so, we thus frame our research: the objective is to attempt to answer the question 'What is the sacred in Shintō?' by means of comparing Otto's concept of the numinous and Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*', and to complement the results obtained from said comparison with a textual analysis of selected texts from the Japanese classical texts

Kojiki 古事記 and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀—jointly known as *Kiki* 記紀— along with numerous specialized writings from both native Japanese and foreign authors, among them S.D.B. Picken, Mark Teuween, D.C. Holtom, Iwasawa Tomoko, and Fabio Rambelli, to name a few. The result will be a collage of references in relation to the concept of the sacred in Shintō from which a conclusive analysis will be drawn, and it is our hope to contribute, at least to a slight degree, to the clarification of what constitutes sacredness in Shintō.

1. *Status Questionis*:

The problem that concerns this research topic, the analysis of the concept of the sacred in Shintō through Rudolf Otto's concept of the numinous and Motoori Norinaga's 'Definition of Kami', has previously been studied by Nakano Yūzō in his publication "*Rudorufu Otto no numinoze gainen — Motoori Norinaga no kami no teigi to no hikaku*" (1994). As far as the author has gathered, his is the main attempt at an examination of this particular topic. However, it must be said that many authors seem to use Otto's concept of the numinous when talking about the *kami* [Horikoshi, 1986; Picken, 1994; Iwasawa, 2011; etc.]; even if they do not delve into the possible parallelisms between both terms. According to the bibliography the author has had access to, it seems that Otto's concept of the numinous is used by many when discussing the nature of *kami*.

Because the numinous is supposed to comprise the *a priori* core of the religious experience, and *kami* are perceived and felt as an encounter with the wondrous, it seems coherent that both terms tend to come up together. However, because saying 'the divine beings are divine' does not precisely expand the sphere of knowledge about the subject, it is necessary to investigate in more detail how the *kami* and the numinous are connected.

Chronologically, the notion of *kami* has been widely used since ancient times. It is possible that medieval texts have dealt with the intricacies of the concept of *kami* in a scholarly manner similar to Motoori's before his time. Nevertheless, Motoori's 'Definition of Kami' seems to stand as *the* scholarly definition of *kami*, and so it is Motoori's which we will examine in this essay. A similar story seemingly applies to Otto's concept of the numinous. Even if clearly not the first attempt at clarifying the notions of god and sacredness, it still stands the test of time, and the term 'numinous' has paved its way into an array of different academic disciplines. This coincidence makes it the more interesting to compare both notions and see what level of affinity they actually have.

2. Research Proposal:

2.1. Research Framework:

In order to evaluate and interpret such an abstract topic, characterized by a particularly abstract array of information, the strengths of several academic disciplines will be employed. In the first place, the principal tool that we will utilize will be that of the philosophical inquiry. As far as this text is concern, a philosophical methodology is comprised of the broad categories of critical thinking, referential use to philosophers and other people's ways of thinking, and a holistic approach to subjects. Then, considered as independent in this section even if really situated within the realm of philosophy, is the discipline of hermeneutics. We will use hermeneutics insofar as we will be dealing with textual analysis and interpretation. From hermeneutics —and following the thinking of H.G. Gadamer— we will mainly take into considerations that:

(a) A common horizon emerges when the reader seeks to understand a text.

(b) Because of temporal, cultural, political, etc. reasons and prejudices, the connection between reader and text happens through a shared, common language.

(c) The meaning of the text does not exist ontologically—or, if it does, its knowledge is noumenical, that is, unknowable to us because of the impossibility

of knowing all aspects of reality—and thus constitutes an event of creating new horizons for the reader because of the interaction between reader and text.

From philology, we will partially borrow etymological analysis—partially due to that, in some aspects, it also pertains to the realm of philosophy. Lastly, even if we will not exactly adopt their methodologies, we warn the reader that many references used in this essay belong to diverse academic disciplines such as cultural anthropology, history, and even ethnology and folklore. Because of the wide scope of the Humanities in general, many of our disciplines tend to have fluid boundaries, and so we will not try to ascertain to which branch of knowledge every single reference belongs to, unless it is of a certain level of importance for this text.

2.2. Historical Framework:

Regarding the temporal limits to which we must here make reference, it will suffice little more than to say that they will encompass a certainly broad range. The main corpus of work that here concerns us comprises mainly the *Kojiki* (712) and the *Nihon Shoki* (720), both texts from the eight century of our era and, in addition, Rudolf Otto's *Das Heilige* (*The Idea of the Holy*, 1917), and Motoori Norinaga's 'Definition of Kami', a fragment belonging to the third scroll of his *Kojikiden* (*Commentary on the Kojiki*, 1798). The complementary readings, on the other hand, belong mainly to recent times. The reason for this chronological amplitude is that the concepts which are going to be

focus of this research present a peculiar series of qualities, among them the fact that (a) our original idea of comparing Otto's numinous with the sacred in Shintō forces us to take into account and to heavily rely on Otto's principal writings; (b) the closest conception of a similar term is Motoori's 'Definition of Kami'; (c) Motoori's 'Definition of Kami' was developed from an exhaustive analysis of the *Kojiki*; (d) the accounts of the *Kojiki* have been heavily edited for political purposes, and the *Nihon Shoki* offers a variety of versions of some of the accounts, thus allowing for a comparative study; and, lastly, (e) many of the works on the subject which we have been able to access are of a more contemporary nature. It would be extremely beneficial for the purpose of the present inquiry to delve into a broader and older texts, particularly for the medieval Japanese theologians. Unfortunately, personal and temporal concerns have come into play, and the author had to be awfully selective with the amount of bibliographical references.

Nevertheless the text that we do analyze are widely considered and appreciated by a great number of scholars worldwide as Classics in their subjects. While the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* primarily represent the views of the Nara court and nobility, they also stand as a few of the still extant remnants of those times long past. Otto's *Das Heilige* has since its publication stood as a mandatory read for the understanding of the religious experience. Last but not least, Motoori's careful and methodical examination in the *Kojikiden* has long been considered the greatest work ever written on the subject. Naturally, all of these texts, even after standing the test of time and the change of the

ages, are not without fault. We will explore this matter in greater detail during the following sections. In addition, we must also mention that the geographic framework of our essay is set mainly on the realm of Japanese Literature, with a heavy handful of continental philosophy.

2.3. Research Tools:

Due to the broad and varied range of bibliographical resources, the reader must not expect for their reach to be of monumental importance. The findings presented here will be significant, but certainly not historic. Personal access to many works of great relevancy has not been possible, and many difficulties have arisen from the author's very inadequate linguistic mastery of both modern and ancient Japanese. Additional complications have led to the use of several online resources when maybe in other circumstances other works would have been used instead[1]. On the other hand, good use has been made of the bibliographic funds and spaces of the libraries belonging to the University of Salamanca, with special mention to the Library of Philology; and also to the Library of the Center of Hispanic-Japanese Studies in Salamanca, Spain.

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[1] While the author heartily approves of the use of online resources, there have been instances in which these happened to be shorter than expected.

2.4. Methodology:

By courtesy of the preceding institutions, we have been able to successfully accomplish the task at hand with the necessary tools for the employed methodology. We have closely adhered to the approach of a philosophical inquiry, additionally enriched with the procedures of etymological analysis and the considerations of hermeneutics regarding the nature of the dialectics between text and reader.

From philosophy we will apply a continuous stream of questions, always taking into consideration the unrelenting need to pursue an endless interrogation of as many aspects of the text as possible. The reader must also keep in mind how, when discussing in a philosophical manner, the focus is not to be on answers as much as on the questions themselves. This is not to say that answers are not of importance; but, linking this subject with our previous consideration of the noumenical nature of meaning and the unstable foundation of every concept of truth, the author would like to succinctly clarify for non-philosopher readers that in the realm of philosophy truth as adherence to the facts is a very disputed and quite weak as an argument. We can never guarantee answers per se while, on the other hand, we can always guarantee questions.

From etymology we will obtain a certain degree of access to the line of reasoning that may have possibly led to the development of certain concepts from antiquity to modern times. This is of extreme importance, for philosophy primarily deals with concepts, and

concepts are represented by words. One difficulty we have encountered in this area is the lack of a proper etymological dictionary of the Japanese language. For that reason, we have resorted to the use of standard dictionaries, in particular *Jisho* [Jisho.org] and the *Kanji Jiten Online* [https://kanji.jitenon.jp] complemented by generally known etymological information and the analysis carried out by B.H. Chamberlain and D. Philippi in their respective translations of the *Kojiki*.

From other subjects, such as cultural anthropology, we will benefit from the views and studies carried out by the authors we have had the opportunity to come across during our research. This we consider to be of utmost importance in order to maintain a holistic view of the phenomenon of religious experience, without falling into the error of holding into ways of thinking that could remain too abstract to be of value. For to remain close to earth is one of the improvable characteristics of philosophy, and it is precisely in those fields of study that remain next to the actual phenomena of religion, that work both with people's hearts and measurable data, with whom we have deemed necessary for us to work with for this essay.

Part I — Elements

Chapter 1 – On Shintō

The objective of the present chapter is to present a general and introductory account of Shintō and its basic history and notions. For this chapter, the author has focused mainly the writings of S.D.B. Picken [*Essentials of Shintō*, 1994; *Historical Dictionary of Shintō, 2011*], M. Teuween [*Comparative Perspectives on the Emergence of Jindō and Shintō*, 2007] [*The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, 2014], the digital edition of Kokugakuin's Encicopledia of Shintō, and Kokugakuin's Encyclopedia of Shintō's Chronological Supplement.

1.1. What is Shintō?

We must, as it is only natural, commence from the beginning. That is, for the definition of the concept at hand: *What is Shintō?* Usually, Shintō is succinctly defined as an animistic Japanese religion. Shintō, however, was not defined in itself until later in the ancient period, when the arrival to the Japanese archipelago of Buddhism and Confucianism called for the native set of believes to attempt to establish itself separately from the new, foreign creeds. When considering the term Shintō in Japanese, 神道, what we find is a combination of two kanji: 神 *kami* (*shin*) and 道 *michi* (*dō*). Also read as *kannagara no michi*, this word literally signifies 'the way of the kami.'

Etymologically, the kanji 神 is formed by the radical ネ, which according to jisho.org is equivalent to the radical for 'sign' (示). The parts that compose this kanji are listed as: 丨 (vertical stroke), 日 (sun), 礼 (salute, bow, ceremony, thanks, remuneration), and 田 (rice field).

This 丨 could possibly be a reference to the ancient kami, which seemed to be either identified with wooden poles placed on roads and other significant locations, or summoned into these poles (or trees), acting as a 依代 *yorishiro*, the place where a kami resides. The sun 日, generally known as *Ama-terasu-Ō-mi-kami* 天照大御神, is the main deity of the Yamato court pantheon, and seems to have been worshipped by different names by many of the peoples of ancient Japan. 礼 can easily make reference to the ceremonial and ritual component of Shintō, which has been very present since the earliest times, and that may have been strengthened by the influx of Chinese cultural influence and culminated in the complex rituals of the Heian period court and nobility. Lastly, we have the rice field 田, which can be easily accounted for by either taking into account the importance of rice farming for an early agrarian society, or by considering the kanji 田 as a combination of the vertical stroke 丨 and the sun 日, which would go in line with the *yorishiro* line of reasoning.

The second kanji of the term Shintō, 道, is constituted of the radical 'walk' 辵, and the parts 并 (pestle), 込 (crowded), 自 (self), and 首 (neck). The term 首 (*dō*) is used in Japanese to make reference to a 'way' of beliefs, ritual, and behavior in contrast with the character 教 (*kyō*), which ends the nouns of of taught religious doctrines. Thus, in Japanese Buddhism 仏教 (*bukkyō*), Confucianism 儒教 (*jyukyō*) [also 儒学 (*jyugaku*), as a learned, transmitted religion, or 儒道 (*jyudō*), as an inherent learning], and Christianity キリスト教 (*kirisutokyō*) [sometimes in archaic terms the kanji 宗 (*shū*), religion, is used] are generally not written with the kanji for 道, being this reserved for arts such as 剣道 *kendō*, the way of the sword, or 香道 *kōdō*, the way of incense. 道 could easily be grasped as a neck 首 (*kubi*) walking 辵 (辶).

According to S.D.B. Picken, Shintō "*is the natural expression of the feelings of the Japanese people, which grew and evolved with the development of Japanese history and society.*" [Picken, 1994, p. xxiii] He then enunciates that Shintō equates *Kami no michi* 神道 (the way of the *kami*), *Daidō* 大道 (the Great Way), *Teidō* 天道 (the Imperial way), and *Kannagara no michi* 神道 (way of the divine transmitted from time immemorial). These variations in the denomination of Shintō show how it has, historically, been utilized not only as a spiritual practice for the people of Japan since ancient times, but also as a political and ideological tool for the ruling classes. In

addition to this, one of the main difficulties in the study of Shintō is that Shintō itself is a term which does not include the totality of the Japanese religious experience.

Institutionalized Shintō does not include within itself a vast array of animistic and shamanistic practices that arrived to the Japanese archipelago from the continent, including the practices of the Ainu people [Falero, Shimada 2020, p. 37].

Picken also points out several ways in which Japanese religion in general, with an emphasis on Shintō, differs from its counterparts in the West. Before discussing them, we would like to emphasize the necessity of leaving behind, insofar as it enters the realm of possibility, all preconceived notions we may have of the structure of religion. For even if the *a priori* phenomenon (or phenomena) of religious experience turns out to be a universal characteristic of our lives as humans, in order to expand the horizons of both our collective and personal understanding it is required of us to at least temporarily abandon every possible prejudice regarding religion as a whole.

Let us now begin the consideration of what Picken [Picken, 1994] claims are three (which actually happen to be seven, as he adds a couple more points right after enumerating the first five) points of contrast between Japanese religion and the religious tradition of the West:

(a) Religion as community and family (in contrast to the West's focus on individual faith).

(b) Crucial focus on dependence and thanksgiving which are implied in everyday life and ritual, but not distinctly expressed otherwise (in contrast to the West's tendency to articulate thought, a possible inheritance of the classical Greece's emphasis on the concept of *logos*).

(c) Tendency to eclecticism translates into consistency of thought not being a requirement (in contrast to the West's focus on coherence).

(d) Typical differentiation between monotheism and polytheism does not apply to the concept of *kami* (in contrast with the West's more rigid system of clear-cut classifications).

(e) The structure of Japanese society and the Imperial system constitute a sacral society (in contrast with the West at least theoretical emphasis on a secular society[2]).

(f) Eclecticism is translated into tolerance; the possibility of an integration and conglomeration of several faiths by both societal groups and individuals (in contrast to the West's tendency to remain 'faithful' to only one faith).

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[2] Much could be said on the topic, particularly in the construction of the European Union. Since it is not pertinent for this essay to delve into this subject, the author would like to at least suggest Chris Shore's *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (2000) as an eye-opening read.

(g) Strong associations with *Kokka Shintō* (State Shintō) due to Japan's most recent wartime militarism (again, in contrast with the West's modern tendency to emphasize 'secular' values).

Even if these points constitute merely the beginning to highlight the numerous differences in thought and practice that we must take into consideration when approaching the subject of Shintō, they do allow us to commence to comprehend the complexity of the discussion we find ourselves into. Many times we will have to put aside the conscious and unconscious heredity of western philosophy. The golden triad of equals comprised of Truth, Good, and Beaty appears, at least initially, to not hold the same steady, unshakable ground in the Japanese intellectual history. And so the notions of reason and truth that established themselves long ago in the West's schools of thought are here indeed replaced by the value of ambiguity and harmony.

And so, the focus on family and community over the individual, on feelings over the idealized notion of reason, on dependence on nature over the right of dominion of it, along with an ambiguity and ambivalence that diffuse the borders that separate the sacred from the profane and fuse them in a space of liminality, all of these seem to be elements that are an integral and fundamental part of the Japanese ways of thinking and religious belief. This particular consideration of the liquidity, to borrow Zygmunt Bauman's term in *Liquid Modernity* (2000), of both the natural and supernatural realms makes of Shintō what we would call an animistic religion. Nevertheless, taking into

account Picken's opinions as well as the author's, in the present essay we will attempt to take a holistic, eclectic approach. That is to say, we will endeavor to ask, as many times as possible, *what if all of the interpretations were to be correct?* Or, in cases where it seems clear that that would not be feasible, *what if several of these interpretations were to hold a component of truth?* (*Or none of them none at all?*)

Thus, we will, at least for a moment, consider the following: *what if the attempt at categorizing Shintō within the monotheistic-polytheistic discourse is simply futile?* To adhere to this line of reasoning, we first have to consider Shintō's classification as animistic. The basis for declaring Shintō to be animistic seem to be mainly that, on top of having more than one *kami* (god/deity) there is a pervading life essence that inhabits all things, *tama* 魂 (also read *tamashii*, meaning soul). Thus, *tama* is equated to *anima*, and the Shintō worldview is declared as animistic (for *tama* encompasses everything). Another option is to consider Shintō as a polytheistic religion (since it has more than one *kami*/deity).

The main problem the author encounters with attempts to classify Shintō in this way reside first and foremost in the concept of *kami* 神. Equating the notion of *kami* with the Western idea of god or deity is many times not completely accurate. The author considers the main reason for this to be that of the *ambiguity* of the concept of *kami*. As we will see in detail later on, the work *kami* and its meanings have been a matter of

scholarly debate. In addition, our main sources of information on what *kami* are do not follow the Western approach to philosophy and theology, and so must be considered in a manner different to the one we would usually resort to.

Since the word *kami* does not seem to correspond with the word *god*, we have to contemplate the idea that we may not be able to classify Shintō —and, as an extension, many world religions— with the same meter that has been developed from the standpoint of Western thought and ideology. Thus, the solution we currently propose for the issue of the classification of Shintō is that it may be best to investigate and utilize different metrics that take into account what for each perspective constitutes a peculiarity regarding the ways of others. For the time being, we may as well take both perspectives in to consideration at the same time. That is, that Shintō may be considered animistic or polytheistic, while also taking heed of the possibility that none of these categories may not be applicable.

Another element to consider while attempting to define and explain Shintō is its deviation from what in the West is deemed an essential attribute of any '(post)modern' worldview: the irrelevancy of a certain type of logic. Now, for the reader who may not be acquainted with the unfathomable depths of philosophical logic, we would like to briefly mention that, aside from what we would consider day-to-day, or even basic mathematical logic, there are numerous kinds of logics, many of which seem to defy common sense unless a certain level of expertise is achieved in the subject. Fortunately

for the reader the author is not knowledgeable enough in logic to offer and in-depth explanation; nevertheless the point being made is that the existence of numerous types of logics implies that we cannot simply affirm that Shintō is illogical just because it relies on a different line of reasoning.

In his *Historical Dictionary of Shinto* [Picken, 2011] Picken brings forward the idea of Shintō being either *a-rational* (i.e., being situated outside of logic) or 'trans-rational' (i.e., pertaining to several logical frameworks). His input is of great interest since it does not fall on the stereotypical and mutually exclusive duality between rational and irrational. He also considers a philosophical approach to Shintō from Neo-Kantianism, relating R. Otto's approach to the phenomenology of religion with Motoori's sense of awe regarding the wondrous in the *kami*. To this he adds Heidegger's definition of philosophy in his work *Sein und Zeit*, as a "*universal phenomenological ontology proceeding from the hermeneutics of human existence*" [in Picken, 2011, p. 25]. As we can see, there seems to be a direct link between our chosen philosophical approach to the matter at hand and an apparently universal experience of our existence as humans.

Lastly, the author would like to elaborate on why this essay is focused on the concept of the sacred in Shintō when this subject of sacredness is also applicable to the question of sacredness in Japan. As we will clearly be able to perceive throughout the present examination, the concept of *kami* itself, a diaphanous central element of both Shintō and Japanese religion as a whole, is of such broadness that for the purpose of a doctoral

thesis it is an absolute necessity to create a delimitation. Thus, the author has chosen what it seemed to their own perspective was somehow the most 'classic' and 'cannonical' Shintō. Due to these limitations, it is not possible to properly include in the scope of this research broader forms of Shintō, which include more folkloric and day-to-day experiences and entities. Similarly, even if the author will not delve into this subject, they would like to take a moment to highlight the syncretistic nature of both Shintō and Japanese religions as whole. This characteristic in particular also adds difficulty and complexity to the matter at hand, and even if not as present in this research as the author would have liked it to be, it is in close relation to both the concept of sacred in Shintō as a whole and the concept of *kami*.

1.2. How and when did Shintō begin?

According to the recognized scholar Mark Teuween [Teuween, 2007], there seems to be two main approaches regarding the initial emergence and development of Shintō. On the one hand, we encounter a theological view that postulates Shintō as "*the inherent core of a supra-historical tradition*" [Teuween, 2007, p. 376]. On the other hand, he argues there is an iconoclastic view which formulates Shintō as a product of late fifteenth century developments and that is defended mainly by Kuroda Toshio (1926 – 1903) in "*Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion*"(1981). According to this last viewpoint, Shintō would be "*a theoretical concept by priests of the Yoshida lineage, but no implemented "in practice" before the Meiji period.*" [Teuween, 2007, p. 376].

An intermediate approach taken by many is to postulate the origins of Shintō during the Nara period, as the faith of the court was then structured and ordained through the *ritsuryō* code. Teuween then raises the issue regarding the continuity of Shintō, for the set of beliefs held by the court and the one of those at some distance from the nucleous of their sphere of influence most likely differed in several points. However, *kami* worship by itself, without it being formulated into the category known as Shintō, can be traced to at least the Yayoi period [Teuween 2007, p. 377]. Thus, we find that, as in many cases, the actual corpus of institutionally standardized belief differs from the ample variety of ritual practice throughout its range of activity.

Teuween then takes into consideration the theories of Takatori Masao (1926 – 1981) in *Shintō no seiritsu* (1979), an ethnologist who held the view that the origin of Shintō is to be found after the monk Dōkyō (700 – 772) attempted to access the throne of the Yamato court [Teuween, 2007, pp. 378-9]. He also considers whether Shintō can really be thought of as a purely native development, since the influence of both India's Buddhism and China's Taoist and Confucian doctrines seems to have been enmeshed with original *kami* beliefs and ritual worship. It is of great interest that he affirms one Kuroda's central tenets to be that of the word *shintō* (*jindō* at the time of the Nara court's language), "*was never used to refer to the classical body of court ceremonial*" [Teuween, 2007, p. 382] and that "*the term was used to denote the realm of* kami *as a part of a Buddhist world view, and that it did not, at this stage, carry the meaning of a separate "Way*" [Teuween, 2007, p. 382]. Since the term *shintō/jindō* seems to have

originated as a part of the Japanese Buddhist vocabulary, the origins of Shintō as an ancient set of native beliefs seem to on the line. In addition, we must keep in mind that:

"*The term* jindō *referred to* kami *not in a neutral sense, but as deities in need of Buddhist domestication […] After the* Nihon shoki *(where the word is also used in a Buddhist context), the term* jindō *was systematically avoided in the setting of the court cult. The standard term for the gods in this cult was not* jindō *but* jingi 神祇, *"gods of heaven and earth", a hierarchical relationship between the heavenly deities of the court and the earthly deities of conquered lands—a distinction that was central to the court cult. The words* jingi *and* jindō *were both used to refer to deities and spirits, but each of these terms belonged to a different discourse. By designating* kami *as* jingi, *they were places in an imperial hierarchical system.*" [Teuween, 2007, p. 382]

Thus, we find ourselves with three distinct denominatiosn: *jingi*, *jindō*, and *shintō*. Recapitulating, the term *jingi* refers to the *kami* worship of the Yamato court during the Nara period; the term *jindō* was used to refer to the *kami* as manifestations of the Buddha, and so reinforced the idea that the *kami* were inferior and subservient to the imported Buddhist formulations; and the term *shintō* came to be developed after this *jindō* term. The change from *jindō* to *shintō* happened after Ise head priest, Watarai Ieyuki (1256 – 1351) [Nakanishi, n.d.a], commenced the introduction of the term *jindō* on writings of his own production starting 1317. Eventually he took this word to his own advantage, using it to designate his family's houseʃ tradition (*jindō monpū* 神道

門風), an event that led to the change from the reading *jindō* to the one of *shintō* [Teuween, 2007, p.387]. After Ieyuki, the term *jindō* applied to what we call *shintō* was continued by a monk of the Tendai sect called Jihen (n.d.) [Satō, n.d.a], who also believed in Sannō Shintō [see pg. 51]ʃ.

Later on, this type of works regarding the nature of *jindō/shintō* became their own literary genre, effectively completing the separation of the term *jindō* from its Buddhist nuances. The apex of this schism would materialize in written materials on the *Nihon shoki* by a Tendai monk known as Ryōhen (n.d.), who also recorded for the first time the term "Shintō lineages" (*shintō-ryū* 神道流). This way, the term *shintō* was set to be superior to the *jindō* of Buddhist formulations, for it came to denote the essential principle of existence through innate enlightenment, in comparison with Buddhism's way of acquired enlightenment, which was then considered to be inferior because of derivative of this original, essential first notion [Teuween, 2007, p. 388]. The conclusion to be taken from this succession of historical events in the religious sphere seems to be the need to highlight the role of ideological and political forces within the framework and formulations of religious belief. To understand if, indeed, it may or may not be possible to set apart an *a priori* nuclear foundation of spirituality that could be uprooted from these power dynamics, we must go on and continue the analysis of textual materials, for even the oldest mytho-historical narratives are ripe with the influence of hierarchical power structures.

1.3. History of Shintō from the Ancient to Times to the End of Shōwa

Beginnings of Shintō in Ancient Japan (700 B.C.E. – 552 C.E.)

The history of the Japanese people as a civilization starts around the 8th century B.C.E., and is usually classified, for its earliest stages, into Jōmon (Neolithic Age), Yayoi (Bronze and Iron Ages), and Kofun (Proto-Historic Age). The Jōmon period consisted of a hunter-gathering society whose members had already started, according to archaeological evidence, to observe communal religious rites. Cultural and technical advances continued during the Yayoi period, for which there is material evidence of a sedentary culture based on rice cultivation and metalwork. The transition from a nomad to a sedentary lifestyle was probably the main factor to emphasize the development of a more complex communal life. It is in this stage where we seem to find the earliest beginnings of *kami* worship, for archaeologists have found *dōtaku*, a kind of metal artifact resembling a bell), bones of deer probably used for fortune telling—let us remember that the use of tortoiseshell was most likely a later influence of Chinese civilization—, and other daily used objects such as a number of pots. Picken [Picken, 1994, p.8] claims that it is here where a number of religious concepts such as *tama* (spirit) and *mono* (sacred object) were born. Naturally, such a claim is hard to prove, but it will suffice to keep in mind that, as the period that began to show a tendency towards a higher complexity of religious belief, it is possible that that may have been the case. From an archaeological perspective, however, evidence strongly suggests that

the Yayoi period was the first stage of what we now call Japanese culture in which artifacts may actually lead us to believe to a proto-development of Shintō [Hardacre, 2017a, p. 18].

The last section of the Ancient Age, the Kofun period, is typified by a very large and characteristic style of burial. Known as *kofun*, these age-old tombs still today stand the test of time and can be seen in great numbers around Sakai City, in the urban prefecture of Osaka. The most notable among them is that of (supposedly) Emperor Nintoku (r. 313 – 399 C.E.) In any case, these extensive burial mounds probably represent a growing gap among the social classes of the time, as the already notable eminence of a certain number of families belonging to the incipient Yamato court, which was then still a congregation of local chieftains. The existence of this pre-court and of a certain level of segregation among the diverse social strata may also point to an increase in the level of complexity within the religious field. As we will see later on, the influx of Chinese knowledge and etiquette would also be a fundamental factor in the ritualization of society, at least at the court level.

The Asuka Period (552 – 710)

The Asuka period (552-710), portrays the onset of classical Japanese culture. It is during this period that the Imperial Family begins the uphill battle to establish itself as the sole depositary of the sacred and political power. The Yamato state cements itself in this dual role of governing both religious *kami* worship and secular affairs, synthesized in the term *matsuri-goto* 祭事. The term *matsuri* 祭, used for traditional Japanese festivals, is connected to the verb *matsuru* 祭る (to deify; to enshrine; to pray; to worship). This seems to point out that the Yamato court had, or was working toward, the creation of an ideological *Weltanschauung* pertaining to a sacral society. Precisely this integration of the realm of the sacred and the profane then went on to became one of the main attributes of Japanese religiosity, and it seems to be still present in contemporary Japanese society and religious attitudes.

In addition, it was during this stage when Buddhism was officially introduced in the Japanese archipelago from China via the kingdoms that would end up conforming the modern Koreas. This led to a necessity of distinguishing those newly imported foreign beliefs from the traditional religious ways of the Japanese, and thus the term *Shintō* may have been born. In contrast with the previously mentioned viewpoint of Mark Teuween and Kuroda Toshio, this last approach is more generally agreed upon by a vast number of Shintō scholars such as Inoue Nobutaka, Mitsuhashi Tadashi, Itō

Satoshi, Endō Jun, and Mori Mizue, many of them from the *Kokugakuin* academic environment. Against Kuroda-Teuween's view, this latter argument defended succinctly by Helen Hardacre (1949-) in *Shinto: A New History* (2016) is based on the discourse affirming that:

"[…] *the Ritsuryō system represents the institutional origin of Shinto, based on the concept of* jingi*, the installation through Kami Law (*Jingiryō*) of an annual calendar of state ritual, and the establishment of the Council of Divinities (*Jingikan*) to administer the rites* […] *There are strong counterarguments to be considered, however, based on the almost complete absence of the term* Shinto *from the vernacular language and from documents of the ancient period. For Teuween and Rambelli, the absence of the term is decisive, whereas for me, structured institutions aiming to coordinate Kami affairs from the center weigh more heavily."* [Hardacre, 2017a, p. 18]

From this confrontation between the theological view (Hardacre) and the iconoclastic view (Teuween), the author would like to highlight the possibility of these two views being complementary of each other. It is perfectly possible for what we today understand as Shintō to be both the combination of a supra-historical set of beliefs while, at the same time, having a considerable amount of elements manufactured by fifteenth century developments. It is important, the author thinks, to remember that it is inherent to human nature to follow a contradictory logic, and that many of our ideological constructions thrive off this characteristic condition of humanity. Thus,

rather than claiming that either A or B is so, or that A is truer than B, the author would like to consider the possibility of both positions being of equal standing. For related information, see **Chapter 6: The Sacred in Shintō**.

One of the complications present at this time to the advocates of *kami* worship was the lack of formalization of Shintō. The Shintō rituals of the Yamato court and those of the common populace did have the same basis, as the focus was put into the attributes of 'animism', nature worship, ancestral reverence, shamanism, agricultural rites, and purification (*oharae* お祓え). Their execution, however, seemed to have differed in several degrees depending on a given region's proximity to the court and the influx of Chinese influences.

The political instability of the era is primarily exemplified by the Taika Reform 大化の改新 (645), which constituted one of the earliest attempts by the Yamato court to set up a hierarchical restructuration of society within their territories. This consisted, among other policies, in allocating land and revenue to the shrines of Ise, Izumo, and Kashima, some of the oldest and most important shrines since ancient times; and a system comprised of provincial districts was installed in order to pacify the lands surrounding the Imperial court. This period also overlaps with the Hakuho period (645 – 710) and the reign of Emperor Tenmu (r. 672-686). This is significant in terms of what happened during these years to Shintō. First of all, the position of *saiō* 斎王 or

itsuki no hime miko 斎皇女, an imperial princess sent to worship the *kami* at the Great

Shrines of Ise, was filled again after a lapse. Likewise the post of *saiguryō* 斎宮寮, a

government official in charge of the *saiō*, was created. The *shikinen sengū* 式年遷宮,

the practice of rebuilding the Ise shrines on alternate locations every 20 years was

started by imperial decree, and an annual cycle of festival and other events was

designed and implemented nationwide. In addition, ancient clan histories began to be

'corrected' in order to make them conform with the new official history of the Yamato

lineage, a tradition clearly marked in the texts we will deal with later, the *Kojiki* (712)

and the *Nihon shoki* (720).

The Asuka period was also marked by the compilation of the Taihō Codes (*Taihō*

Ritsuryō 大宝律令). Promulgated in 701, it took one step further the systematic

reorganization of the government, making extensive arrangements for both Buddhism

and Shintō, now official religions of the Yamato court. On the one hand, it introduced

a Council of State known as the *Daijōkan* 太政官, together with an Office of Shintō

Affairs, the *Jingikan* 神祇官. It also continued the process of ritualization, organizing

festivals into three ranks:

(a) Major festivals: *Ōname Matsuri* or *Daijōsai* 大嘗祭, the emperors' first tasting of the new rice after their enthronement (in any other occasion this festival is referred to as *Niinamesai* 新嘗祭.

(b) Middle-ranked festivals: this category comprises the following:

    a. *Toshigoi Matsuri* 祈年祭, the Spring Festival.

    b. *Tsukinami* 月並, thanksgiving rituals performed on appointed days.

    c. *Kanname* 神嘗 *or Niiname* 新嘗, the Autumn Festival.

(c) Minor festivals: all the remaining festivals throughout the country.

The Nara Period (710-794)

The Nara period involves several changes regarding the ownership of the throne, since it comprises the reigns of Empress Genmei (r. 707 – 715), Empress Genshō (r. 715 – 724), Emperor Shōmu (r. 724 – 749), Empress Kōken/Shōtoku (r. 749 – 758/765 – 770), Emperor Junnin (r. 758 – 764), Emperor Kōnin (r. 770 – 781), and Emperor Kanmu (r. 781 – 806). At this point, the integration of Buddhism in the Japanese court is highlighted by Emperor Shōmu's disposition, becoming the first emperor to be ordained a Buddhist priest, and also by the attempt of the priest Dōkyō's close relationship with Empress Shōtoku and his bold attempt to obtain the title of Emperor

for himself. By this time Buddhism had also rose to a position where it was expected to provide and ensure the protection and prosperity of the Yamato state, together with the native Japanese *kami*. Some started depicting the Buddhas as a *marebito*, a *kami* who comes from the other side of the side to visit the community and at certain times of the year and bestows divine blessings upon the land and the people.

Heian Period (794 – 1185)

The Heian period is mainly characterized as an era of relative stability which enabled the flourishment of the arts. It is during this time of vigorous cultural activity where we can find world's first written novel, *The Tale of Genji* (1021). Notoriously written by a woman, Murasaki Shikibu (978 – 1014), it soon becomes a classic of Japanese literature with its vivid descriptions of Hikaru Genji's, 'The Shining Prince' love affairs. Within the religious sphere the highlights consist of the introduction of Esoteric Buddhism (*Shingon* 真言) from China by way of the priest Kūkai (774 – 835), known posthumously as Kōbō Daishi. Semi-esoteric Buddhism (*Tendai* 天台) was introduced by Saichō (767 – 822), also known by the title of Dengyō Daishi. In addition,The Pure Land sects of *Jōdo* 浄土 and *Shin* 真 emerged under the leadership of a priest named Hōnen (1133 – 1212), which reduced Mahayana Buddhism to very simple forms of ritual and belief.

The political stability of the Kyoto court led to a governmental systematization of Shintō, which consisted of the following:

(a) Suppression of Taoism due to a general anti-Chinese sentiment.

(b) Expansion of the practice of *chinkon* 鎮魂, a pacification rite to placate vengeful spirits by means of reverencing them. This would eventually lead to a form of worship known as *goryō shinkō* 御霊信仰.

(c) Collection of the Records of Ise, which began in 804 when some Ise important documents from the Ise Shrines were acquired by the Jingikan.

(d) Shrine endowment, approved in 806, which allocated lands to the most important shrines, and assigned an Imperial Princess (*saiō*) to the Ise Shrines, and another (*saiin* 斎院) to the Kamo Shrines in 810.

(e) Identification of the Twenty-Two Shrines principal to the nation:
    a. Upper Seven Shrines:
        i. Ise Shrines (伊勢神宮)
        ii. Iwashimizu Hachimangū-ji (石清水八幡宮寺)
        iii. Upper and Lower Kamo (賀茂別雷神社 and 賀茂御祖神社) (Currently Kamigamo Shrine 上賀茂神社 and Shimogamo Shrine 下鴨神社)

iv. Matsunoo (松尾神社)

v. Hirano (平野神社)

vi. Inari (稲荷神社) (Currently Fushimi Inari Taisha 伏見稲荷大社)

vii. Kasuga (春日神社) (Currently Kasuga Taisha 春日大社)

b. Middle Seven Shrines

i. Ōharano (大原野神社)

ii. Ōmiwa (大神神社)

iii. Isonokami (石上神社) (Currently Isonokami Jingū 石上神宮)

iv. Ōyamato (大和神社)

v. Hirose (廣瀬神社) (Currently Hirose Taisha 廣瀬大社)

vi. Tatsuta (龍田神社) (Currently Tatsuta Taisha 龍田大社)

vii. Sumiyoshi （住吉神社) (Currently Sumiyoshi Taisha 住吉大社)

c. Lower Eight Shrines

i. Hie (日吉神社) (Currently Hiyoshi Taisha 日吉大社)

ii. Umenomiya (梅宮神社) (Currently Umenomiya Taisha 梅宮大社)

      iii. Yoshida (吉田神社)

      iv. Hirota (廣田神社)

      v. Gion (祇園社) (Currently Yasaka Shrine 八坂神社)

      vi. Kitano (北野神社) (Currently Kitano Tenman-gū 北野天満宮)

      vii. Niukawakami (丹生川上神社)

      viii. Kifune (貴船神社)

(f) Establishment of the First Shrines (Ichi no Miya), system of classification of the most important shrine of a province.

(g) Creation of joint shrines, where the *kami* of a province would be invited to a single provincial shrine to be worshipped together.

With the religious development of both Shintō and Buddhism during the Heian period, the chosen policy in order to preserve both systems of belief turn out to be one of cooperation and amalgamation. Even with the inevitable quarrels and curtness natural of such circumstances of competition, the combination of both faiths took place both at an administrative and theological level. The relation between Shintō and Buddhism in Heian Japan thus crystallized in the following:

(a) Creation of Shrine-Temple Multiplexes (*jingū-ji* 神宮寺), unifying the places of worship of *kami* and Buddhist deities[3].

(b) Amalgamation of *kami* and buddha (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合) in a syncretistic system of faith that attempted to reconcile Shintō and Buddhist beliefs that led to (c) *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹.

(c) *Honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, a theory that complemented the unification of Shintō and Buddhism through the identification of some *kami* as avatars of Buddhist deities.

(d) Creation of the Dual Shintō School, Ryōbu Shintō 両部神道. Here the Inner Shrine (*naikū* 内宮) of the Grand Shrines of Ise was associated with the Buddhist Womb Realm's (*taizō* 胎蔵) Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 (sk. Mahavairocana), whereas the Outer Shrine (*gekū* 外宮) was correlated with the Dainichi Nyorai of the Diamond Realm (*kongō* 金剛). It also integrated practices such as mudras (secret hand signs), yoga, concentration, and mandalas into what originally were Shintō rituals.

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[3] Regarding this subject see Grappard, A. (1988) "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology: The Twenty-Two Shrine-Temple Multiplexes of Heian Japan." In *History of Religions,* 27. Pp. 246-269

(e) Creation of the Tendai Shintō 天台神道 school. It originated by means of the influence of Saichō and the worship of the *kami* of Hie Shrine on Mt. Hiei, Ōyamakuni 大山国. This deity was then revered as Sannō Gongen 山王権現.

(f) Creation of the Kumano Shintō 熊野神道, which led to the development of three religious centers in the area with the shrines of Hongū, Shingū, and Nachi.

Despise a refusal of Taoism due a certain anti-Chinese sentiment, by the end of the Heian period in 1184 the court had already adopted to a notorious degree the customs of Chinese culture and civilization, which translated not only into practical administrative matters but also in their aesthetic sense. While remaining very much of a Japanese style, the nobles of the Heian era did adopt some attributes of the Chinese court's lifestyle, such as clothing items and a preference for more colorful shrines.

Kamakura Period (1185-1333)

The Kamakura period quickly distinguishes itself through a certain political turmoil around the clash of the Minamoto and Taira clans, which led to an era of civil war known as the Genpei War. The apex of their confrontation came to a close after the Battle of Dannoura, in the Straits of Shimonoseki, with the defeat of the Taira and the death of Emperor Antoku (r. 1180 – 1185). The Minamoto then rise and a military government (*bakufu* 幕府) is established by Minamoto no Yoritomo after the dead

Emperor Go-Shirakawa at Kamakura. This meant the beginning of the feudal age in Japan.

In regard to the religious sphere, in 1232 the Joei law was passed, guaranteeing shrines to be properly maintained and to be dedicated to worship. The Grand Shrines of Ise started a major expansion of their cult, culminating in what would be denominated Ise Shintō 伊勢神道. The Nichiren school of Buddhism was created by Nichiren 日蓮 (1222 – 1282), a radical figure who emphasized the importance of the Lotus Sutra (*Hokkekyō* 法華経). This lead to the establishment of Lotus Shintō (*Hokke Shintō* 法華神道). In addition, it was during this era that the practice of Zen came to the Japanese archipelago from continental China, and that the Mongols twice attempted a invasion of Japan.

The Kamakura period also sees the rise of Shugendō 修験道 and the *Yamabushi* 山伏 ascetic monks, known too as *shugenja* 修験者. The integration of both Shugendō and Shintō practices produced yet another level of amalgamation within Japanese religion as a whole, producing many of the features that are now considered to be characteristic of it. With a focus on acquiring supernatural powers through rigorous training of many times extreme spiritual practices, Shugendō ended up parting ways, at least partially from Esoteric Buddhism (密教). Such was its popularity that in the 13th century a

Yamabushi Register was created for the yamabushi of the Kumano region, and the *Kumano junrei* 巡礼 pilgrimage routes were established, and later revived in the 20th century. One of the reasons of their decline seems to be that many of these mountain ascetics happened to double as spies and soldiers, and this engagement with political affairs, combined with a change in religious perceptions during the Edo and Meiji eras.

Muromachi (1333 – 1568) and Azuchi-Momoyama (1568 – 1615)

With the advent of the Muromachi period in 1333, it did not take long for the capital to be reestablished in Kyoto (previously Heian-kyō during the Heian period). Even though still governing militarily as a *bakufu*, the political sphere of influence of the Ashikaga shogunate was more restricted than in the previous era, and so its policies could only have effect in certain areas. At this time previously religious dances started to branch out into individual arts, such as Nō theater. Under the influence of Zen, monochromatic painting and tea ceremony rituals began to flourish. The investments in the capital led to the construction of several temples famous to this day, such as Nanzenji and Daikakuji.

Political strife was commonplace, and in 1467 a long warring states era known as the Sengoku period (*Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代) started by the Ōnin War, which ensured the fall of the shogunate. The power vacuum led to even more instability, with many groups

fighting for control over the country. Eventually unification over the Japanese islands was achieved though the military efforts of Oda Nobunaga (1534 – 1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536 – 1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542 – 1616).

In the religious sphere, the Muromachi *bakufu* tried to continue the policies of the Kamakura period in regard to Shintō. A commissioner of shrines and temples (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行) was appointed, but the continuous state of civil war impeded the government to send an Imperial Princess to the Ise Shrines, and also the practice of periodic reconstruction of these. In addition, in 1549 a Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, introduced Christianity in Japan. New schools of Shintō were created, the most notorious one being Urabe Shintō 卜部神道, characterized by the emergence of new syncretistic types of belief and by the scholarship of Urabe Kanetomo (1435 – 1511). Other developments of Shintō during this period include the rise of the Hirano cult, which dedicated the Sengoku era to the maintenance of its own traditions; and of the Sannō cult located in Mt. Hiei and related to Hokke (Lotus) Shintō.

Ideologically, the Shintō community changed from considering humans as *uji-bito* (people of the *uji*, or clan) to *uji-ko* (children of the *kami*) [Picken, 1994, p. 30], meaning that the idea of *kami* as ancestors was losing favor while there was a new appreciation for *kami* as protectors of a region, thus transitioning into a new structural ground for the people's worldview. The societal model based on the clan switched to

one emphasizing the household (*ie* 家), and trade guilds (*za* 座) came into being, including a systematization of Shintō with the creation of the *miya-za* 宮座.

Edo Period (1615 – 1868)

The Edo Period (1615 – 1868) is characterized by the governmental policies of Tokugawa Ieyasu, who moved the capital to Edo (present-day Tokyo). Under his rule the country stayed for more than two centuries in isolation (*sakoku* 鎖国), even though, in reality, trade with China and other nations remained, even if in a considerably lesser scale. In order to strengthen the government's control over both country and populace, a variety of Confucian thought, Neo-Confucianism, was promoted from the top of society. The economy continued to be of a feudal nature, with an economy based on the production of rice. It was during this period that many of these critical societal characteristics would crystalize into events that would eventually lead to the revolutionary changes brought over during the Meiji Period (1868 – 1912).

In the religious sphere, under the regime of Ieyasu an effort was made to strengthen control over the various religions pullulating the land. Aside from his personal interests in being deified posthumously, these series of events led to an exponential growth of Shintō Studies. Naturally, initially the academic pursuit of Shintō was reserved to those who had enough wealth and resources to devote themselves to the pursuit of higher

learning. This led to the academic development of the rituals and philosophy of some Shintō schools, which were usually characterized by their affiliation to a particular shrine. Thus, during the Edo period we encounter a wide array of doctrines, among which we can find Yoshikawa Confucian Shintō, led by Yoshikawa Koretari (1616 – 1695); Seikyō Shintō, founded by Yamaga Sokō (1622 – 1685); a new revival of Ise Shintō by the hand of Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615 – 1690); Suiga Shintō, developed by Yamazaki Anzai (1618 – 1682); Kokugaku Shintō, born from a collective of scholars whose main figure is Motoori Norinaga (1730 – 1801); and, finally, Fukko Shintō — also called Restoration Shintō— created by Kokugaku scholar Hirata Atsutane 平田篤 胤 (1776 – 1843).

Nevertheless, popular folk religion continued to thrive. As Shintō does not have a unified, canonical doctrine, there is quite a high degree of freedom regarding religious matters. Its animistic features also foster this flexibility, for anything anywhere can end up being possessed by a spirit or *kami*, and the term itself is so abstract and ambiguous that few rules seem to be applicable when attempting a definition. After the end of the violent and convulse era of Sengoku, the shrines began to be restored to its former glory, many times with the help of regular people and communities. This led to a stronger connection between these shrines and the inhabitants of where they were located, which is visible to us still through, for example, the many *torii* 鳥居 gates dedicated to the *kami* Inari.This flourishment of popular religion led to the creation of

new cults which during the subsequent period of Meiji would be known as Kyōha Shintō —or Sect Shintō— several of which remain active during our times.

Meiji (1868 – 1912), Taishō (1912 – 1926) and Shōwa (1926 – 1989) Periods

The Meiji period (1868 – 1912) is characterized by the events of the Meiji Restoration (明治維新 *Meiji ishin*), an era that brought to reality the advent of industrialization and openness to the cultural influence of the West. This process of modernization led to the regular developments in technological skill. Political leadership came to be passed once again to the Imperial House, since in 1867 governmental affairs were passed onto a samurai faction loyal to the then Emperor Mutsuhito (posthumously, Emperor Meiji (1852 – 1912). This ended the reign of the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837 – 1913) symbolizing the final turn from the late Medieval to the Modern period. This new historical stage was greatly influenced by the teachings of Restoration (*Fukko*) Shintō [Picken, 1994, p.36] and in the religious sphere this chain of political, cultural, social, and economic events led to the construction of State Shintō (*Kokka Shintō* 国家神道) or, in more contemporary terms, under state management (*kokka kanri* 国家官僚) [Hardacre, 2017b, p. 357].

State Shintō consisted of a reconstruction of Shintō as an ideological aid to the modernization process of the Japanese state. Not only did it constitute a more structured

set of beliefs, thus more able to face comparison with the Wests' seemingly universal faith in Christianity, but it also served as a potent method for the expansion of nationalist propaganda. The manufacture of State Shintō commenced once the souls of the soldiers perished in Japan's military efforts in the first China and Russia campaigns were enshrined, leading to a new perspective of cultic symbolism for the protection and success of the state in foreign soil. The focus was put on a return to a "pure" form of Shintō, and so what were then considere Buddhist elements were stripped out of the new national faith.

In this restorative attempt[4] the *Jingikan*—an institution initially developed during the Nara period—was established once again in 1869, and its director appointed a part of the Council of State. Soon afterwards this Department of *Kami* Affairs would be transformed into a Ministry of Shintō Affairs (*Jingishō* 神器所), and placed in hierarchical rank below the Council of State. In 1871 shrines became national institutions, and thus the appointed priesthood was to no longer be of a hereditary character. At the same time, the government commenced to spread the idea that Shintō was not to be a religion, an action that, in conjunction with the governmental apparatus State Shintō was becoming, drew a significant amount of criticism from both shrines and regular people.

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[4] Regarding this matter, it is also of importance to consider the 'Great Proclamation' of 1868, together with the acceptance of the country's foundation by Emperor Jinmu (*Jinmu Tennō no sōgyō* 神武天皇の創業).

As soon as 1872 the *Jingishō* was substituted by the *Kyōbushō* 教部省, or Ministry of Religious Instruction, after considerable pressure exerted on the government by the Jōdō-Shinshū 浄土真宗 sect of Buddhism. Then in 1877 the *Kyōbushō* was abolished and shrine administration was passed to the Ministry of the Interior. After 1882 the separation of religion from politics began to become a serious issue for those at the apex of the *status quo*, since the spread of new forms of religious beliefs differed from the government's propaganda. This contributed to a weakened ideological foundation of the state, and an attempt to control both Buddhist and Shintō priests was made through the creation of a system to educate new religious instructors (*kyōdōshoku* 教導職). Even though it happened to be quite a successful effort, it was abolished in 1884. It was not until 1889 that the Constitution would recognize Shintō, Buddhism, and Christianity as official religions.

A key event of this period was the Joint Enshrinement (*Jinja gōshi* 神社合祀), a policy that reduced the number of Shintō shrines from 170,000 to less than 700. With the declaration of Shintō as a national institution instead of a religion in 1900, the government considered that, as symbols of the state, all shrines were to be worthy constructions. This led to the merge of smaller, local shrines into bigger and more aesthetically pleasing ones, effectively eliminating many places of cult that belonged to the smaller communities. Subsequently new shrines were created in order to support

the proclamation of the Empire of Great Japan (*Dai Nippon Teitoku* 大日本帝国).

Shrines for those who perished during the war were created, and nationalism continued to be sponsored during the early Shōwa period via Shintō rituals.

In 1940, the administration of shrines remains within the scope of the Ministry of the Interior, but this time under the College of *Kami* (*Jingiin* 神祇院). It would be in 1945, with the Allied Occupation after Japan's defeat in World War II, when Shintō would manage to escape the influence of State Shintō through the Shintō Directive of 1945, making its way back to being a natural, folkloristic religion. Once the *Jingiin* was abolished, the heads of several organized a meeting and, in 1946, formed the Association of Shintō Shrines (*Jinja Honchō* 神社本庁), which constitutes a pillar in inter-shrine communication, as it comprises most of the nation's shrines.

With the aforementioned Shintō Directive of 1945, the separation between shrines and the state was clear and final. This brought a newfound religious freedom when compared to previous times, but also uncertainty as shrines were no longer to be maintained by the government. This led to a modernization process starting in 1946, with encompassed the enlargement of worship halls, the creation of facilities for meetings and teaching, and the rise of educational activities. Shrine weddings also became one of the main sources of founding. With the 1947 Constitution shrines

became incorporated legal persons (*shūkyō hōjin* 宗教法人, which in simple terms means they are akin to businesses.

One of the principal problems that arose from this clear-cut separation of religion and state is related to the original homogenous nature of religious cult and state back in Ancient Japan. Because *kami* and human affairs were closely interconnected in the ancient court as *matsuri-goto* 祭事, and many of the ritualistic aspects are still today part of modern Japanese culture and politics, there have been and are tensions among those who consider that local authorities maybe should not call upon Buddhist or Shintō priests to perform rituals, such as *jichinsai* 地鎮祭, a Shintō ceremony to pacify the grounds on a building site to avoid calamities, as it may be considered unconstitutional. Here we find a curious issue, for in this case, since Japanese society is deeply permeated by both its native religions and a tendency to ritualize everyday events, the separation between secular and religious does not seem to be so clear as we could have originally expected.

Another matter that is revisited every year is related to Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社. Yasukuni Shrine was founded by Emperor Meiji in 1869 to enshrine the souls of ths Japanese who perished in wars from Meiji to the early Shōwa periods. Because among those spirits many considered as Class A war criminals are also included, many are of the opinion that this is an unapologetic action done by Japan. Visits to the shrine my

members of the Japanese Diet are particularly seen as controversial, as World War II sentiment and political complexities remain strong even today. In addition, the issue of if the government should incur financial responsibility for Yasukuni Shrine is also quite charged with strife.

Similarly, the rituals and ceremonies concerning the Imperial House present a parallel debate. While some of those are funded through the Imperial Court Public Affairs Budget, some of the rituals are still considered state matter, highlighting once more that a definite separation of both the religious and the political spheres has not —and may not possibly be— as definite as we may expect from other sociocultural contexts.[5]

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[5] Again, this matter of separation between religion and state is also quite questionable in both the European and the North American frameworks, which are here used as examples due to the fact that the author is most acquainted with them. To pinpoint this issue in the Japanese context as some kind of 'failure' of modernization would be to side with chauvinism. See Chris Shore's *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (2000).

1.4. Schools of Shintō

We have succinctly gone through a brief view of the history of Shintō. In this section we will summarize the main schools of Shintō so the reader can have a birds-eye overview of the historical development of Shintō thought. An important element to take into account is the existence of *Jingishizoku* 神祇氏族, clans connected to the *Jingikan* in ancient Japan. The most widely known are the Nakatomi 中臣, Inbe 忌部, Urabe 卜部, and Sarume 猿女 clans, among which the most powerful was the Nakatomi [Fujimori, n.d.b]. There were, however, many sects and Schools of Shintō, through which we will go through here in alphabetical order.

(a) Bukka/Bukke Shintō (仏家神道): an umbrella term that contains the various forms of Shintō created by Buddhist scholars. These tend to blend Shintō and Buddhist traditions in the line of the Shintō-Buddhism syncretism trend (*shibutsu shūgō* 神仏習合) popular during the medieval period. Bukka Shintō can be categorized in two principal systems depending on whether based on either Tendai or Shingon Buddhism.

   a. Shingon Shintō: defined by the writings of Kūkai's *Reikiki* 麗気記, Gyōki's *Yamato Kasuragi hōzanki* 大和葛城宝山記, and Tsūkai's

Sankeiki 参詣記. It correlates the attributes of Shingon Buddhim's two fundamental mandalas, the Diamond and the Womb, to the Inner and Outer shrines of the Ise Grand Shrines. This correlation was explained mainly through the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, a theory that linked the essences of the Buddha with the *kami* manifestations. Within the sphere of Shingon Shintō one ought to highlight Ryōbu Shintō and its two main derivations, Goryū Shintō, from Kyoto's Ninnaji Temple, and Miwa Shintō, from Ōmiwadera temple.

b. Tendai Shintō: also called Sannō Shintō. The core elements of Sannō Shintō are based around the principles of *santai* 三諦, the unity of the three fundamental modalities of being, and *isshin sangan* 一心三観, the principle of the single mind and three visualizations. The characters of *Sannō* 山王 are both related to this principles due to them being written through a combination of three brush strokes crossed perpendicularly. Its canonical texts include Saichō's *Yōtenki* 耀天記, and the *kami* enshrined at the three main shrines of Mt. Hiei's Sannō Temple are to be considered manifestations (*suijaku*) of the original essence of the buddhas Shakyamuni, Yakushi, and Amida. An opposite theoretical framework was proposed by the monk Tenkai during the Edo period,

with the *kami* being the original essences and the buddha their manifestations. Tenkai's teachings formed Sannō Ichijutsu Shintō. Hokke Shintō, based on the teachings of Nichiren, is also derived from the Tendai school. It consists of a conglomerate of thirty deities considered to be tutelary of the Lotus Sutra [Ogasawara, n.d.a].

(b) Fukko Shintō (復古神道): also called Restoration Shintō, Pure Shintō (*Jun Shintō* 純神道), Ancient Way Shintō (*Kodō Shintō* 古道神道), Nativist Shintō (*Kokugaku Shintō* 國學神道), and the Shintō Restoration Faction (*Shintō Fukkoha* 神道復古派). It relates to the belief system held by the Nativist scholars of the Edo period. Nevertheless, in some instances the term Fukko Shintō is used to refer to specifically the thought of Hirata Atsutane, comprising its system of ideas on the soul (reikonkan 霊魂観) and the other world [Mori, n.d.a]. This restorative effort of national purity led to an analogous political movement and eventually, to the restoration of the *Jingikan* in the early Meiji period, together with an attempt to restore traditional *kami* cults (*jingidō* 神祇道). A clash then originated with the Shirakawa and Yoshido lineages, for they had extended and affirmed their own versions of *kami* cults throughout the medieval period.

(c) Goryū Shintō (御流神道): a school of Shintō located within the broader tradition of Ryōbū Shintō. Its origins seems to reach well into the 13ᵗʰ century of our era, for it is mentioned in 1419's *Nihon Shoki Daiichi Monsho* 日本書紀第一問書. Nevertheless it seems to be a term that became established late into the medieval period when it was already considered part of the twelve lineages of Shintō, and would eventually make its way to Mt. Kōya and end up being combined with Yoshida Shintō [Itō, n.d.a].

(d) Shirakawa Shintō (白川神道): the Shintō thought of the Shirakawa house, which distinguished itself by its position of superintendent of the *Jingikan*. Even thought the post was traditionally held by the Nakatomi clan, over time other houses came to be appointed, such as the Ishikawa, Fujiwara, or Minamoto, among others. The position became hereditary after the appointment of Akihirō Ō, a relative of Emperor Kazan in 1165 [Fujimori, n.d.a]. His descendants would be the ones to become the Shirakawa Hakuō house. However, even with an iron hold in this preeminent position, they did not come to create their own theological system utill the Edo period, whereas the Yoshida house, also members of the *Jingikan*, had already established their own system of doctrine under the guidance of Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶

(1435-1511) in the Muromachi period. It would not be until 1169 when Masataka Ō accomplished the composition of their first formulation, followed by a text clarifying the virtue of the sacred mirror *Yata no Kagami* 八咫鏡.

Masataka's theoretical basis would eventually be compiled into Hakke or Shirakawa Shintō. Hirata Atsutane contrituted to their scholarly works during their time, contributing in great manner to the diffusion of Shirakawa Shintō, which as a result of his involvement happened to exert its influence upon the Nativist School [Fujimori, n.d.a]

(e) Hokke Shintō (法華神道): the Shintō thought of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism. In their attempts to integrate *kami* worship in its cultic framework they set up a faith around a collection of thirty deities, the sanjūbanshin 三十番神. Nichiren's doctrine of *kami* and heavenly beings (*shintenjō hōmon* 日蓮 神天上法門) became systematized and incorporated to its doctrinal core the Tendai cult of the *sanjūbanshin*. This incorporation may have done by Nichiren himself or, most likely, by Nichizō 日像 (1269 – 1342) during the end of the Kamakura period [Itō, n.d.b]. The Yoshida house gained influence on Hokke Shintō's formulations on *kami* due a —most likely—forgery of a written document by Yoshida Kanetomo [Itō, n.d.b], effectively becoming a proper, systematized school of Shintō known as Lotus (Hokke) Shintō.

(f) Inbe Shintō (忌部神道): a lineage of Shintō belonging to the Inbe clan. They consider the deity Futodama no Mikoto to be their divine ancestor and participated in court rituals on par with the Nakatomi until their duties were slowly but unmistakably passed onto the Nakatomi. Their teachings consisted on the formulations of Inbe Masamichi 忌部正通 (n.d.) , who systematized their belief system in *Jindai no maki kuketsu* 神代巻口訣 (1367). Alternatively, Inbe Shintō can also make reference to the docrine of Inbe Tansai 忌部坦斎 (n.d.), and could potentially be one the authors of the *Sendai kuji hongi taisei kyō* 先代旧事本紀大成経 [Yazaki, n.d.a], a text supposedly written by Prince Shōtoku and considered by many an Edo period forgery. Inbe Shintō went on to influence Yamazaki Ansai, the founder of Sujika Shintō, who favored Inbe Shintō over the teachings of the Ise and Yoshida schools, being particularly fond of the Inbe's views on the Divine Regalia [Yazaki, n.d.].

(g) Ise Shintō (伊勢神道): also known as Gekū (Outer Shrine) Shintō, it was created by the Watarai clan, hereditary priests of the Gekū at the Ise Grand Shrines. It presents two different branches, one belonging to the medieval period of Kamakura and Muromachi, and a later one formulated during the Edo period. The medieval school focused on the clan's *Shintō gobusho* 神道五部

書, a collection of texts that may or may not be by the hand of Watarai Yukitada

度会行忠 (1236 – 1305) and collaborators [Ban, n.d.]. This Shintō Pentateuch

is composed of the following works:

a. *Amaterashimasu Ise nisho Kōtai Jingū gochinza shidaiki* (天照坐伊勢

二所皇太神宮御鎮座次第記).

b. *Ise nisho Kōtaijin gochinza denki* (伊勢二所皇太神御鎮座伝記).

c. *Toyuke Kōtaijin gochinza hongi* (豊受皇太神御鎮座本記).

d. *Zō Ise nisho Daijingū hōki hongi* (造伊勢二所太神宮宝基本記).

e. *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki* (倭姫命世記).

The first three of these books were thought to be particularly sacred, and their

secrets were protected by a series of taboos among which was the prohibition

for those under 60 years of age to read them. To this collection another seven

volumes came to be added over time.

After the Ritsuryō system was abandoned, the Great Shrines of Ise started

losing rights and support from the court and used the fear of foreign invasion

after the Mongol's attempt to invade Japan as grounds to develop a system of

faith around the Shrine of the Wind (*Kaze no Miya* 風宮) and to claim Japan's superior position as land of the *kami* [Nakanishi, n.d.b]. Led by the clan's prominent scholars, Watarai Yukitada and Watarai Ieyuki 度会家行 (1256 – 1351), Ise Shintō began to recover part of its former glory.

(h) Juka Shintō (儒家神道): the Shintō thought of Japanese Confucianists. It consists of a combinatory system of both Shintō and Confucianist doctrines, and it was fostered by its mayor exponents after the *shinbutsu shūgō* paradigm's importance and popularity started to decay [Ogasawara, n.d.b]. Its leading figures find among them the likes of Yamaga Sokō (1622 – 1685), Nakae Tōju (1608 – 1648), Kumazawa Banzan (16199 – 1691), and Kaibara Ekiken (1630 – 1714). A more purist faction, focused on maintaining the fundamental values of Confucianism as the pillar of this Shintō-Confucianist amalgamation, included those such as Hayashi Razan (1283 – 1657), who would go on to found his own Shintō school, Ritō Shinchi Shintō (理当心地神道), Yamazaki Ansai (1619 – 1682) with his Suika Shintō (垂加神道), Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615 – 1690) with his Watarai Shintō (度会神道), Yoshikawa Koretari (1695 – 1616) with his Yoshikawa Shintō (吉川神道).

(i) Jūhachi Shintō (十八神道): the Shintō thought developed by Yoshida Kanemoto (1435 – 1511). His principal writings, the Essentials of Primeval Shintō (*Yuiitsu Shintō myōbō yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集)comprise the nucleus of Jūhachi Shintō teachings, dividing its theoretical framework into three different sections: (a) categories of substance, function, and aspect; and categorizing each of these into three smaller elements with five attributes each: the five activities of Heaven, the five activies of Earth, and the five activities of Mankind [Itō, n.d.c], which seem to be heavily influenced by Chinese thought and its notions of the concept of *qi*.

(j) Kaden Shintō (家伝神道): a category that comprises Shintō thought passed down through a house or lineage. It is also called Shake Shintō (社家神道) due to the fact that many of these houses held hereditary positions as Shintō priests. However, the term *kaden* seems to have a broader meaning than that of *shake* [Ogasawara, n.d.c]. It can refer to both the more ancient lineages such as Watarai and Yoshida, but it also includes many other schools, such as Yamazaki Anzai's Suika Shintō or the Onmyōdō-influenced Abe Shintō.

(k) Kikke Shintō (橘家神道): the Shintō thought of the Tachibana clan. It is usually said to have been developed by Tachibana Moroe (684 – 787), but it

seems to actually be a creation of the Edo period [Yazaki, n.d.b]. Its apex of popularity came to be between 1704 – 1710, due to its expansion by the hand of Tamaki Masahide (1670 – 1736), an adherent to the Shintō school of Suika Shintō. Due to the combination of both systems of faith, Tamaki wrote several volumes dedicated to Kikke Shintō, even if always loyal to his roots in Suika Shintō. This led to an expansion of Kikke Shintō, for it went from a secret teaching to be publicly available knowledge. With focus on rituals and ceremonies, and also on a military-like influence on their choice of words, it attracted the adherence to its teachings of many members of the warrior class.

(l) Miwa-ryū Shintō (三輪神道): a framework of Shintō thought of the Ryōbu Shintō school. It's creator it's considered to be Kyōen (1140 – 1223), but it does not seem to be clear that he established a definite formulation for Miwa-ryū Shintō [Itō, n.d.d], and it may be of a later date. However, it does seem to have been developed round Ōmiwadera by Eison (1203 – 1290), and it would eventually influence Ryōbu Shintō, even if the majority of its written works were produced during the Edo period.

(m) Mononobe Shintō (物部神道): the Shintō thought based on the Sendai kuji hongi taiseikyō (先代旧事本紀大成経), sometimes attributed to Prince Shōtoku, but probably actually written during the Edo period. Its connection to

the Mononobe clan, seen in the name Mononbe Shintō, it's probably due to a passage within the *Sendai kuji hongi taiseikyō* in which the Mononobe clan is mentioned in relation to Prince Shōtoku. [Ogasawara, n.d.d]. Also known as Taishi-ryū Shintō (太子流神道), its doctrine is formulating around the combination and amalgamation of Shintō, Buddhist, and Confucianist thought in relation with the ten sacred regalia. Mononobe Shintō had considerable influence over many scholars of the Tokugawa period, but its influence declined rapidly over time.

(n) Reisō Shintō (霊宗神道): Shintō thought belonging to Bukka Shintō. Its founder is Chōon Dōkai (1628 – 1695). The term *Reisō* seem to be traceable to the *Sendai kuji hongi taiseikyō*, from which Chōon took the groundwork for his own formulations and was eventually accused of plagiarism [Yazaki, n.d.c]. He was followed by Jōin (1683 – 1739) and, afterwards, Yoda Sadashizu (1681 – 1764). Because Reisō Shintō is based on the *Sendai kuji hongi taiseikyō*, it also focuses of the amalgamation of Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism. With Jōin's contributions to its theoretical framework, Reisō Shintō came to be influenced by Ichijitsu Shintō and Shugendō.

(o) Ritō Shinchi Shintō (理当心地神道): the Shintō thought developed by Hayashi Razan (1583 – 1657), a prominent Confucian scholar of the Tokugawa period.

Even if he never completely formalized his thought, he did write several texts on the subject. In his principal written works, he considers the object of Shintō to be the Way of the sovereign, relegating other affairs he considers as lower in rank, such as divination, to government officials. He never claimed this doctrine as his personal creation, attributing it to the traditions of the Ōe House, and never put emphasis on widening its expansion [Yazaki, n.d.d]. However, due to his inclination toward Confucianism, it can be inferred that Ritō Shinchi Shintō may have been formulated on the basis on Confucian doctrine.

(p) Ryōbu Shintō (両部神道): the Shintō thought associated with the school of Shingon Buddhism. Shingon Buddhism emphasized a parallel connection between the Great Shrines of Ise and the Womb and Diamond Realm, and also the *honji* doctrines. Even it if its most strongly associated with Shingon, it may have been ever more influenced by Tendai Buddhism [Itō, n.d.e]. Product of this development is the *Nakatomi no harae kunge* 中臣祓訓解 (n.d.) and, later on, the *Yamato Katsuragi Hōzan ki* 大和葛城宝山記 (1300). Eventually, Ryōbu Shintō would influence the formation of Ise Shintō, and in turn Ise Shintō would also influence texts on Ryōbu Shintō attributed to Kūkai.

(q) Sannō Shintō (山王神道)a formulation of Shintō thought associated with the Tendai school of Buddhism. Whereas its early modern doctrines around

Tōshōgū shrine are categorized as Ichijitsu Shintō [Satō, n.d.b], Sannō Shintō cult is centered around the mountain deity of Mt. Hiei. The first written form of its doctrinal framework is the *Yōtenki* 耀天記, possibly written in 1223.

Nevertheless, the *Yōtenki's* section on the *Sannō* seem to be a later addition [Satō, n.d.b]. During the medieval period there was an increase on textual production around the temple complexes of Mt. Hiei, and a number of apocryphal texts are partially extant. However, except the works of Jihen (n.d), most of those written works have a considerable lack of consistency.

(r) Shugendō (修験道): a set of doctrines be considered to be an individual religion, but that are here classified within Shintō due to the considerable degree of amalgamation between Buddhist and Shintō beliefs. Its adherents, the *shugenja* 修験者, undergo strict and arduous ascetic training in order to acquire spiritual powers. It was banned in 1872 following its decline due to previous governmental regulations to completely separate the worship of *kami* from that of buddhas; and revived in 1945 after new religious freedom was established [Miyamoto, n.d.]. Some of the most known places for the practice of Shugendō comprise the routes that connect Yoshino, Ōmine, and Kumano. There ritual practice sites were installed and that included natural pathways containing caves and waterfalls. Among these, sacred locations to venerate both *kami* and buddhas were established.

(s) Suika Shintō (垂加神道): the Shintō thought of Confucianist Yamazaki Ansai.

The formulations of Suika Shintō included the compilation of the highest possible number of Shintō doctrines, starting from the medieval period and up until the Nativist school. He took the Confucian notion of Principle (*ri*) and came to identify it with the concept of *shinshin* (心神) belonging to the *kami* Ame no minaka nushi 天之御中主神 [Nishioka, n.d.a], thus successfully combining his Neo-Confucianist thought with the traditional Shintō doctrine of the Japanese court shown in the *Nihon shoki*. The main goal of this school consists of becoming one with the *kami* in Amaterasu's virtue through a tranquil and pure state of both mind and body. Because of Amaterasu's position as the ancestor of the Imperial House, Shintō becomes the Way of the Emperor and the relation between subject and sovereign corresponds to that of Confucian values.

(t) Taishi-ryū Shintō (太子流神道) [See also: (m) Monobe Shintō]: a Shintō doctrine whose founder is supposedly Prince Shōtoku (574 – 622). It is also known as Mononobe Shintō. Since it revolves around the Prince's figure, Taishi-ryū Shintō highlights a holistic approach where Shintō, Buddhism and Confucianism are combined in order to maintain a balance among them able to guarantee the prosperity of the nation. Other attributions to Prince Shōtoku

include, as we have seen earlier, the *Sendai kuji hongi*. Eventually the Yoshida house situated the Prince as the writer of their famous *ōharae* purification ritual [Mori, n.d.b].

(u) Tsuchimikado Shintō (土御門神道): a Shintō doctrine developed by Tsuchimikado Yasutomi (1655 – 1717), head of the court's *onmyō* scholars and supposedly a twenty-first generation descendant of the renown diviner Abe no Seimei (921 – 1005) [Inoue, n.d.b.], who was the founder of the Tsuchimikado clan, was reported to be skilled in divination (*uranai* 占) as told by the tales present in the *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (1221) or in the *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集 (n.d.) [Inoue, n.d.a]. Tsuchimidado Shintō contains attributions from both Suika and Ise Shintō; nevertheless it is mainly based on the framework of *Onmyōdō* 陰陽道. Together with the Shirakawa, Yoshida, and Fujinami houses, the Tsuchimikado belonged to the *shinke* 神家 [Nishioka, n.d.b] and partook in important ritual ceremonies related to the emperors themselves. It was abolished during the Meiji period, and later revived after the newfound religious freedom born once World War II had ended.

(v) Tsushima Shintō (対馬神道): the Shintō doctrine of the island of Tsushima. Since the island was the place of origin and base of the Urabe clan, the term

'Tsushima Shintō' can sometimes be used to refer to Shintō based on tortoiseshell divination practices [Mori, n.d.c]. Due to its isolated location, it is possible to trace more ancient forms of *kami* worship than in the main islands of Japan. Tsushima style Shintō has also been influenced by Korean religion as well as by Ryōbu Shintō. It also is a doctrine that highlights the importance of sacred space.

(w) Uden Shintō (烏伝神道): a Shintō doctrine formulated by Kamo no Norikiyo (1798 – 1861), a formerly Shintō priest who became a wandering traveller [Ogiwara, n.d.]. Uden Shintō is characterized by the belief that all natural events occur die to the union of the function of Heaven and Earth [Ogihara, n.d.]. The development of his theoretical framework also included solutions to numerous practical issues of the day-to-day life, all based on the Shintō historically transmitted through the Kamo house from the old days of the gods. Due to the social dimension of his teachings, Kamo no Norikiyo was eventually sent into exile to the island of Hachiōjima.

(x) Unden Shintō (雲伝神道): a Shintō doctrine developed by Jiun Onkō (1718 – 1804), a Buddhist monk who belonged to the Shingon school. It may also be called Katsuragi Shintō 葛城神道. He proposed a holistic approach that included the amalgamation of Shintō, Buddhist, Confucian, and Zen ways of

thinking, complemented with the study of Sanskrit philology (*siddham*) [Itō, n.d.f]. However, he did discard some Confucian ideals, preferring to focus on the relationship between subject and retainer. His ideas seem to have been closer to a nationalist approach of Japan as the land of the *kami*.

(y) Yoshida Shintō (吉田神道): a Shintō doctrine developed by Yoshida Kanetomo (1435 – 1511). Also known as Urabe Shintō, it originates from the belief system of the Urabe clan, from which the Yoshida house is a family branch, next to the Hirano house. Under Kanetomo's leadership, Yoshida Shintō would claim direct transmission of its beliefs from the time of Amaterasu and Ame no koyane no mikoto, and an attempt would be made to subdue even Ise Shintō under its pantheon [Itō, n.d.g]. Its canonical text is Kanetomo's *Yuiitsu shintō myōbō yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集, and so Yoshida Shintō is also referred to as Yuiitsu Shintō. In opposition with the *honji suijaku* paradigm, Yoshida Shintō argued its tenets to be those of the original form of Shintō thought and belief, and established Kunitokotachi no mikoto 国常立命 as the primordial *kami* [Itō, n.d.h]. It also integrated numerous notions and rituals from both Onmyōdō and Buddhism.

(z) Yoshikawa Shintō (吉川神道): a Shintō doctrine developed by Yoshikawa Koretari (1616 – 1694). He came to learn the Shintō thought of the Yoshida

house, and then went on to become their successor in detriment of the rightful heir [Yazaki, n.d.e]. Yoshikawa Shintō's height of theoretical development would be achieved through Koretari's son, Tsugunaga, but Koretari would be the one to influence the framework of Suika Shintō due to his connection with Yamazaki Anzai. Because of the chain of events that led to its birth, Yoshikawa Shintō heavily borrows from Yoshida Shintō's formulation, including its emphasis on the importance of Kunitokotachi no mikoto.

(aa) Ōgimachi Shintō (正親町神道): a Shintō doctrine developed by Ōgimachi Kinmichi (1653 – 1733). Ōgimachi was the main disciple of Yamazaki Anzai and was deeply devoted to the study of the teachings of Suika Shintō. Such was his zeal that he was appointed Yamazaki's successor, approved by Yamazaki himself. Ōgimachi Shintō came to be known as such after Yamazaki's writings, specifically the Book of Feng Shui, was presented to Emperor Gosai, who by that time was already retired [Nishioka, n.d.c]. These series of events led to Suika Shintō's expansion into the context of the Yamato court, which seems to have been Anzai's will.

Chapter 2 – Rudolf Otto and Motoori Norinaga

In this chapter we will elaborate both on the figure of the famous scholar Rudolf Otto and his concept of the numinous, and that of Motoori Norinaga and his 'Definition of *Kami'*.

2.1. Rudolf Otto (1869 – 1937) and *Das Heilige*

Rudolf Otto (1869 – 1937), was an eminent German scholar of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His main works include *Naturalische und religiose Weltansicht (1904), Die Kant-Friesische Religions-Philosophie* (1909), *Das Heilige – Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* (1917), *West-östliche Mystik* (1926), *Die Gnadenreligion Indiens und das Christentum* (1939), and *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn* (1934). Among them, we will be focusing on *Das Heilige*, a work known in English as *The Idea of the Holy* (1923).

Born in Peine, now Hannover, in 1869, Rudolf Otto was very influenced since childhood by his family's strict evangelical Lutheran religious beliefs. He began his academic studies in 1888, after being admitted to the University of Erlangen. He would not remain there for long, as he decided to transfer to Göttingen during the summer of 1889, where his theological beliefs and systems of reference were modernized, in

contrast with his up until then heavily pietist education. Then he once again returned to Erlangen for the winter semester of 1889, where he met and became acquainted with the work of another theologian, Franz Reinhold von Frank (1827 – 1894). This new framework learnt from von Frank would be the catalyst of his later works, for it led to his focus on the objective and subjective dimensions of both religion and the religious experience.

Before moving on to continue his studies in Bavaria, Otto reminisced about the results of his experiences at Erlangen, writing:

> *"The Earth had disappeared from under my feet. That was the result of my studies at Erlangen. I went there not so much to quest for truth, but more to vindicate belief. I left with the resolve to seek nothing but the truth, even at the risk of not finding it in Christ."*
> [Otto in Almond, 1984, p. 12]

This precise words will come into play later on, when we discuss the position Otto takes in *Das Heilige* regarding the superiority of Christianity. For now, let us continue with formative studies.

Otto studied in Bavaria from the end of the year 1889 up until the first months of 1891, before once again returning to Göttingen in the summer of 1891. His stay in Göttingen —as a student— lasted until 1889, when became a *Privatdozent*. This was a key period

in his academic development, for during this time he leaned onto other areas of learning which included architecture, history, art, and music. In Göttingen he also received the influence of theologian Theodor Häring (1848 – 1928), from whom he gained wise skills such as to judge carefully and with respect for other's standpoints. In 1895 Otto starts travelling internationally, beginning by Egypt, Palestine, and Greece. It is during this journey that he will for the first time experience the numinous, first at the Sphinx of Giza, then when approaching the holy grounds of Jerusalem.

After his return to Göttingen and his admission as *Privatdozent*, Otto climbs the ranks, becoming Associate Professor in Göttingen until 1914, for then he would go to Breslau as Full Professor during the following year. During these times Otto kept travelling throughout the globe. From 1911 to 1912 he visited Tenerife and North Africa where, again, he experienced the feeling of the numinous while in a synagogue in Morocco. Afterwards he departed for India, where we met a variety of people from several faiths, including Burmese and Zen Buddhism, of which he seemed to think of highly, [Almond, 1984, p.18]. He then visited Japan and China, returning to Germany by crossing Russia in the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

These journeys helped Otto develop his theory on the *a priori* object of religious experience, and enriched his knowledge of several and very different religious traditions. In 1917 he published his main work, *Das Heilige*, where he elaborated on these experiences by analyzing what he considered to be the different attributes of the

core of religious feeling —the numinous, and also took up a chair in Systematic Theology, this time at the University of Marburg. He would take up travelling once again in 1927, when he headed for Ceylon, India, Palestine, Asia Minor, and the Balkans region, up until May 1928. Once again he experienced the numinous in Elephanta island, India. These would be his last long-term travels before his death in 1937.

In order to understand Otto's theoretical development of the concept of the numinous in *Das Heilige*, it is important to first take into consideration the history of the development of the study of religion in Continental Philosophy. In order to do so, we will follow the guidelines of W.H. Capps [Capps, 1995] and start with the thought of Rene Descartes (1569 – 1650). As many may or may not know, the genius of Descartes was mainly his idea of starting to philosophize from the notion of doubt. This led to the creation of certain rules that philosophy was to consider from that moment onwards. We also have to consider the thought of Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1771), whose philosophy held characteristic attributes of the Enlightenment period, which strived to separate and categorize natural and revealed religion.

The Enlightenment's reaction to Descartes' reductive process—through doubt, he reduced everything to the *cogito* and the *res extensa*—was, as it usually happens, to go kind of in the opposite direction. Many thinkers started to broaden this process of *reduction* with an emphasis on the analysis and enumeration of attributes. Their goal, as usual, was to claim the superiority of Christianity over other religions. In addition,

Kant highlighted the emphasis of morality within the notion of religion. Then Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768 – 1834) writings began to focus on the 'feeling' aspect of religious experience, thus developing his notion of 'feeling of absolute dependence'. This implied that the self and its identity is at the core of religion. After Schleiermacher Capps believes noteworthy to mention the thought of Albert Ritschl (1822 – 1889). Ritschl was against Schleiermacher's considerations of religion, for he favored a return to the Kantian approach and its focus on morality, which he thought to be embodied in Christ.

This is the philosophical background that leads us to Rudolf Otto's considerations in *Das Heilige*, a work that, even today, remains a classic of the field of Religious Studies. The responses to Otto's analysis of the sacred have been varied, with both supporters and detractors writing extensively on the subject. Many of those critics focus on Otto's apparently fervent support of Christian Theology, an issue that the author also finds problematic. Among his most vocal opponents we can find Walter Baekte (1888 – 1978) and his pupil, Kurt Rudolph (19129 – 2020), who considered Otto's thought to be of great detriment to the field due to his focus on the irrational over the more scientific history of religion. Nevertheless, *Das Heilige* has had considerable influence upon several recognized scholars the likes of Friedrich Heiler (1892 – 1967), Gustav Mensching (1901 – 1978), Kurt Goldammer (1916 – 1996), and Joachim Wacht (1898 – 1955).

According to Gooch [Gooch, 2000], Otto has been criticized in more recent times due to having introduced theological presuppositions into *Religionwissenchaft*, which many consider to be incompatible with the scientific study of the history of religions. As it often happens:

"*Unfortunately, references to Otto are frequently limited to the citation of the same two or three controversial passages from Das Heilige, taken out of context and used to illustrate the absurdity of Otto's position and its allegedly pernicious influence. Certainly, Otto's ambitious claim to have discovered (or rediscovered) the historical origin on religion in the experience of the numinous seems highly untenable in light of the cumulative evidence of a large body of careful research conducted by historians of religions since Otto's time [...] Nevertheless, as Gregory Alles has observed, "criticism of Otto is cogent only if it addresses Otto, not some caricature, and only if it does not ignore the specific project in which Otto was engaged" [...] Many readers of Das Heilige have been unaware of the extent to which Otto's argument in that book draws upon, and is really only intelligible in light of, ideas developed in his earlier writings.*" [Gooch, 200, pp. 4-5]

As we can clearly see, criticism of Otto on the grounds of his biased position toward Christianity is ripe even in more recent times. For many, this may be enough to dismiss the totality of his analysis of the sacred as the feeling of the numinous. The author, however, beliefs that, on the contrary, there is much value on *Das Heilige* for it to be abandoned solely on those grounds. Thus, this essay proposes to take the examination

of the numinous carried out by Otto in *Das Heilige*, and to extract from it an outline of the experience of sacredness. Said outline can be viewed by the reader at the end of the present document, in the section named **Annex I**. We will now proceed to explain and analyze said outline in order to obtain a blueprint of Otto's concept of the numinous depurated from the biases of his Christian Theological standpoint. Doing so is completely unproblematic, for in the first place the author believes there is value to be obtain from such a process and, in the second place, as we have seen earlier, Otto himself had the objective to strive for truth, even at the expense of having to renounce to Christ himself. Whether he managed to do so or not does not completely erase the value of his work for he was, as we all are, human.

2.2. Elements of the Numinous

We will now proceed with the exploration of the contents of *Das Heilige* regarding the elements of the numinous. In the first place, let us clarify the following. In *Das Heilige*, Otto attempts to clarify the notion of 'Holy'. He considers 'Holy' to be the notion of 'sacred' to which perfect moral goodness has been added. He then terms the sacred as the numinous, what he considers to be *a priori* core of religious experience. Thus, the sacred is the same as the numinous, and the holy consists of the sacred in so far as perfectly good. Now, in addition to *Das Heilige*, where Otto discusses the rational and irrational elements of religion, we have also taken into account his *Aufsätze das Numinose Bettreffend* (Essays Concerning the Numinous) (1923), a text that further elaborates his thought on the expression of sacredness. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for the author to access the complete text in its original German nor in an English translation, so only the Spanish translation has been used.

A) Rational and Irrational:

Otto's main differentiation between the sacred and the profane consists in their division in rational and irrational. He considers rationality to be useful for a general understanding of the idea of divinity, they cannot ever reach more than a superficial layer. Rationality provides us with essential synthetic predicates, that is to say, predicates attributed to an object. This object receives these attributes, but it cannot be comprehended through them. He then establishes a contrast between rationalism and deep religion [Otto, 1917c, p. 45] and finds in the latter the *numinous* as the core of religious experience. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the holy (*Heilige*) this nucleus is not conceived as an ethical category. The two are innefable *ἄρρητον*, which encompasses both the meanings of *indescribable* and *unspeakable*, thus reminding us of how also *mysterium* encompasses μύστης (*initiated*) and *μῦώ* (*to shut*). But Otto reserves every ethical touch for what deems the highest form of an evolved concept.

Still, he continues the study of the *numinous* and, by means of a comparative etymological examination, equates it with *qadôš*, ἅγιος, *sanctus*, and *sacer*. Both an evaluative category and a disposition of the individual spirit, it cannot ever be taught nor displayed. It must be awaken in the soul, usually through particular exercises that provoke it or by means of its spontaneous manifestation in the heart. As religion itself, also the *numinous* does not subject itself to purpose τέλος nor morality ἦθος; and it is precisely in it that the we find the irrational [Otto, 1917c, p. 251]. It is once that the

moral sphere intervenes that the irrationality of the *numen* elevates itself to the grounds of the holy as *Heilige*. With this ascension Otto encounters God's wrath in the irrationality of the numinous and Grace in its rational dimension, leading to his claim of a harmony of contrasts (*Kontrast Harmonie*) [Otto, 1917c, p. 258]. Given this argument, we cannot but be led to investigate an essential concept: that of the liminality between rational an irrational, and also between sacred and profane. These pairs stand before us, on the one hand, as clearly opposite realms and, in the other, as a hazy, indistinct frontier between the supernatural and the natural worlds. This ambiguity cannot but make us wonder whether or not what we consider categorically distinct and separate is not, at last, one single organic unity with semipermeable membranes that happen to give the appearance of duality.

Surely, the mere existence of a conscience of the supernatural can be considered as evidence of the otherworldly. Whether this claim supports itself or not in the empirical or epistemological domains matters not in the present essay, for we find ourselves immerse in a realm that presupposes what lies beyond the veil of Maya. Devil itself has granted upon us a convenient and useful *probatio*, and so we stand free to continue in our endeavors. The concept of liminality now leads us to the notion of connectivity that immediately ties back to religion. For in the word religion, as it is commonly known, next to other possible roots such as *relegare* (to read again), and *religiens* (careful), which could easily be tied back to our argument, we are also reminded of its sense as

religare (to bind) a concept that will appear later in the seemingly parallel concept of *musubi* 結 び, and again in *enmusubi no kami* 縁結びの神.

The reader must by now find him or herself pondering how is the phenomenon of the *numinous* manifests itself. Surely, if the idea of connectivity were to be so, there should be numerous examples of the experience of sacredness for those with the right inclination to be experienced in everyday life. According to Otto, in order to know and recognize the holy a divinatory faculty is required. A mixture of inner divine revelation and external signs provided by the sacred itself. We can find a large array of divinatory methodologies in Shintō, which will be discussed later on. For now, in order to clarify how sacredness appears in the day to day life of the people, let us first analyze the features that characterize these events.

B) Aspects of the Numinous

b.1) Creature-feeling: the first aspect we must take into account when considering *numinous* phenomena relate to the individual sense of *creature-feeling* (*Kreaturgefühl*). Otto's concept is defined by its subjective effect as he considers it to be a shadow of the feeling of the numinous, which stands outside of an individual existence and creates in it this sensation of shrinking. Whereas Schleiermacher's feeling of absolute dependency relies on the premise of the absolute innaccesibility of the numen, for Otto the numinous is incomprehensible but knowable, it must remain accessible to human experience, even if there are similarities like the shrinkage of the self.

b.2) *Mysterium Tremendum*: given that the numinous stands as irrational and thus cannot be explained through the mind's concepts or the empirical method, Otto bases his examination on the emotional response of the individual. He considers *mysterium tremendum* to be the closest terminology applicable to the situation, as *mysterium* relates to what remains occult and secret, and the aspect of *tremendum* heightens its categorical value. It is mainly through analogies that we can express the impression of sacredness to others, since words cannot achieve the desired effect of transmitting the profound depth of the final mystery.

It is in his abyss of endless enigmas where all supernatural entities lay in concealment. From demons to deities and accounting for everything in between, the unfathomable

binding threads that constitute religion as a personal phenomenon emanate from the terror of the unsurmountable otherness. Otto considers this horror to differ from natural fear, for it comes from the distress caused by mysteriousness, and reveals a new emotional and valorative function of the soul [Otto, 1917c, p. 63].

b.2.1) Tremendum: the aspect of *tremendum* is characterized by Otto as divine wrath, and he considers it to be the natural expression of divinity. He determines that its character is antinatural, that is, *numinous*, and grows to become rational once the ethical component is establish. This divine retribution (*ὀργή θεοῦ*) presents itself as terror implying that, even though it must be rational as it is the highest asseveration of sanctity – thus being of a rational nature – it ends up closing the circle and, at last, merging with the irrational sphere of the numinous. This particular fact, which Otto happens to neglect, will come up again for us when we delve in the relational disposition of the *holy-profane* dynamic. We must also highlight that, if the numinous were to be antinatural, up until which point could it be found in the day to day life of humanity? Even with its absolute inaccessibility, the *tremendum* aspect of the numen manages to permeate the layers of the super/antinatural division and make its presence clear in a world of apparent profanity.

b.2.2) *Majestas*: the numen exhibits tremendous majesty, an aspect that is clearly displayed in its relationship with human power (majesty, royalty, and so on), the

previously shown possible etymology of *sei* 聖 and, lastly, with the consideration of *kami* as *upper* 上. In any case, the quality of *majestas* connects the notion of sacredness with both the supernatural world and the pyramidal social structure present in many cultures.

b.2.3) *Energicum***:** Otto considers this energy must be understood as an active force, continuously exerting itself via relentless pursue, domination, and live [Otto, 1917c, p. 76]. The energetic nature of the numen presents itself through divine wrath, but also in the emotions other than horror caused by the exposure to sacredness, such as religious ecstasy and similar mystical experiences.

b.2.4) *Das ganz Andere***:** what is absolutely heterogeneous produces a sense of mystery, which, in a general sense, leads the individual to the strange and incomprehensible. *Das ganz Andere* can be felt when one comes into contact with enigmatic phenomena within the sphere of the natural world. In relation to this, whereas Otto considers that Animism and analogous concepts related to spirits, souls, etc. Are just later rationalizations which attempt to explain the concept of *mirum*, we will not put these beliefs to the side. On the contrary, the author intends to focus on these apparent materializations of the *numen* in order to properly analyze it primeval essence. The reason for this is that Otto often ignores glaring contradictions and patterns in order for him to be able to defend the ultimate superiority of Christianity. Thus, it is by extracting

a depurated outline from his theoretical framework that we will be proceeding along the following chapters.

Because for Otto there is no gradual transit from natural stupor to daemonic fear, it is in the latter that the concept of mystery fully parades itself [Otto, 1917c, pp. 80-1]. As we can see, in the scope of only a few pages, Otto progresses from *heilig* to *numinous* to *antinatural* and, lastly, to *daemonic*. This cannot but make us realize how much of his ideological structure came into play when constructing his *opus magnum*. In any case, given the current line of research we have chosen, this is of no use for us. Standing in the shore across his, we will proceed along the same river by means of the alternate pathway, along the hordes of the entities and phenomena contained in a reality different from our own.

b.2.4.1) ***Mirum***: *mirum* or *mirabile* (admirable) is according to Otto the core of the experience of *mysterium*. This may spring from his considerations of the dual relation between self and numen, that is, the repelling and attracting aspect of religious experience. While on the one side we find abhorrence to its indescribable horror, its otherness produces an alluring appeal in the profundity of the soul. Precisely, this commendable excellence is what evolves from the initial (anti)natural fright to *alienum*. [Otto, 1917c, p. 78].

b.3) *Fascinans***:** the fascination originated from the contact with what is mysterious in absolute terms tends to derive in a bewitching enchantment analogous with a dionysiac ecstasy. Insomuch as we would expect that, as the opposite duality of terror, numinous fascination would stand in its opposite, rational-apollineal sphere, once again Otto surprises us with yet another apparent inconsistency. The author would like to highlight the fact that, later on, this could become a strong argument against a clear division between the realms of the holy and the profane.

Regarding this issue, Otto does however consider the utilization of magical or cultural rites, including shamanist practices, as ways of attempting to identify the self with the numen. Once again, it is his quest to prove some kind of superiority for Christianity that clouds his judgement, disabling him to properly delve in the actual intensity of the numen.

b.4) Enormous: given the previous paragraphs, enormous can be easily discerned as an essential quality of the numinous. Its intensity and extent are unmeasurable, and the effects it produces in the spirit, whether it be unfathomable horrors or magnificent ecstasies, cannot be described by ordinary means.

b.5) Sublime: this leads us to consider the sacred as sublime. Even if Otto points out that the sublime constitutes an analogous, parallel method of expression of a certain

quality of the numinous, we cannot just completely abandon the ability of artistic depictions to induce in the self a sentiment of sacredness.

b.6) *Augustus***:** *augustum* depicts the numen insofar as it is in itself, an objective value that must be respected. This relates back to its quality of *majestas*, and makes us ponder once again about the connection between societal power structures and general notions of sacredness. It could prove interesting to examine the *tennōsei* 天皇制 (Emperor System), and the overall ramifications of intertwining the numen with morality. It is interesting to note that Otto considers that immorality and, ultimately, illegality or criminality, spring from a transfer of the numen's negative character values to the domain of the ethical, resulting in natural and moral men to not be able to sin, for only the knowledge of the holy as the highest, most excellent and valuable thing can bring into effect the concept of sin [Otto, 1917c, pp. 128-9].

C) Expressions of the numinous:

According to Otto, the numinous unveils itself through primarily through the following events (1) horror in the natural sense, (2) the sublime and magnificent, (3) miracles, (4) through incomprehensible things, including latin prayers during mass, or the Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit. All of these events can be included in the category of the magical, which Otto considers a veiled, hidden facet of the numen [Otto, 1917c, p. 150]. He then classifies these exhibits of sacredness in the following groups.

c.1) Direct expressions: Otto speaks only of *viva vox*, which includes the expression of the numinous through fellowship and contact with inspirers. The author would like to include in this section the occurrences of prophetic discourses like those spoken by Empress Jin-gū, and also direct communication by the divinities themselves like in the case of the *kami* of Mt. Katsuragi.

c.2) Indirect expressions: this group consists of the subsequent elements: (c.2.1) the terrible, (c.2.2) the sublime, (c.2.3) the mysterious and, (c.2.4) other related aspects.

c.3) Artistic expressions: in here we find the successive features: (c.3.1) the sublime, (c.3.2) symbols and emblems, (c.3.3) dilated horizontality, (c.3.4) the Gothic architectural style, (c.3.5) darkness and silence, (c.3.6) Emptiness, and (c.3.7) music.

D) Historical Development of the Numinous

Now that we have managed to clarify a rough outline of the most idiosyncratic components of the numen, it would be of great interest to adhere to the structure followed by Otto in *Das Heilige*, which goes as follows:

d.1) Spells: a technical ability characterized by its mysterious strength and the strength of mystery itself.

d.2) Ancestor worship: it particularly relates to the numinous when it becomes ghostlike and awful. We can delve into how ancestor worship dynamics play out in Japanese tradition in a posterior section.

d.3) Representation of spirits: spirit representation is, according to Otto, mainly rooted in its spectrality —since it produces horror— and not so much in their conceptual or fantastical aspects. He also highlights the dual characterization of specters, for they can be both feared and venerated. This is also visible in the case of *yōkai* 妖怪. A popular example would be the *kappa* 河童, which is sometimes revered as *mizuchi* 蛟.

d.4) Power: the notion of power and religion are intrinsically connected. As Otto enunciates, the inclusion of power in the religious sphere translates into communion rites (sacraments) once the notions of *spell*/*magic* have been imbedded into it [Otto, 1917c, p. 230]. In the same line, he also affirms that objects become gods precisely when the category of the numinous is applied to them, and that this is the result of using magic upon them in order to influence their behavior, or when their actions are thought to have a magical quality [Otto, 1917c, pp. 230-1].

As we shall see, this connection between the numinous and magic will bear its fruits in latter sections. For now, let us just indulge ourselves in the fact that, even though Otto rejects animism as being "simplistic," we may freely use his deliberations for our own sake in our analysis of Shintō. For if the *a priori* core of religious experience is so closely related to magic, then there is no objection to regard the shamanistic and magical experiences found in the *Kiki* 記紀 as numinous and, thus, as sacred or holy.

And thus the *kami* 神,上(superiors) use of power through supernatural agencies could be a linkage that will potentially clarify subsequent issues regarding both the nature of *kami* 神 and the divination of humans.

d.5) Primitivism: the primitive character of religious experience that Otto refers to could also be indicated by the word primeval. It relates to the initial phenomenon of the numinous, the original feeling of fear/awe that agitated the hearts of humanity's

oldest ancestors. For religion begins there, at the dawn of the realization of something greater than ourselves. It is related to nature insofar as its character is eruptive and, oftentimes, choleric; and it also belongs to culture inasmuch as it receives nourishment from symbolic creations. Overall, it manifests as mania μᾰνία and seeks the possesion of the sacred.

E) Addendum to the Numinous

e.1) Human Nature vs Divine Nature: the – at least apparently – great divine between holy and profane also brings to consideration the question about the difference between human and divine nature. It will be interesting to approach this issue from the standpoint of Shintō due to the following points: (1) existence of both celestial *amatsukami* 天津神

and earthly *kunitsukami* 国津神 *kami*; (2) divine nature of the Emperor and Emperor Worship *tennōsuhai* 天皇崇拝; and (3) ability of humans to become *kami* under certain conditions, as in the case of *Tenjin* 天神 *Sugawara no Michizane* 菅原道真.

e.2) Primeval sounds of the numinous: the connection between sounds or words and numinous/magical processes is acutely essential when dealing with an analysis of Shintō. The main proponent of this matter is the belief (?) in *kotodama* 言霊. We will

see several events in the selected texts from the *Kiki* 記紀 where the use of words results in powerful magical results. Regarding this incidents, Otto claims that sounds act as a conductor of feelings, since they contain emotional tension [Otto, 1923, p. 27]. In the case of pure sounds, these seem to be able to this tension as raw energy. He considers it would be of great interest to examine the names of supernatural entities, including deities and demons, to see if any primeval numinous sounds can be related to them [*Idem*, p. 30].

e.3) Mysticism and Faith: mysticism is characterized by the experience of *mysterium* at is apex. It embraces what goes beyond secular occurrences and delves into the dionysiac irrationality of complete otherness. The importance of names, such as the name of Jesus for Christians, or of chants similar to mantras, seems to stand as a focal point of both faith and mystic affairs. Even if the words are repeated again and again until they become empty of meaning, their summoning capabilities remain. In relation to this, Otto brings attention to the *namu Amida butsu* 南無阿弥陀仏 that is often heard in Japan.

e.4) Emptiness: Otto relates to this category the use of calligraphy for ornamental purposes in mosques. Naturally, this also applies to Chinese and Japanese calligraphy as an art. More importantly, he considers this artistic expression to be more fit for the expression of sacredness that music itself , for it has achieved a higher degree of

irrationality [Otto, 1923, pg. 125]. Indeed, when contemplating a great work of *shodō* 書道 one cannot help but wonder up until what point the unreadability of the script contributes to its sublimity, allowing for a return to the original mystery.

In addition to this, the emptiness presented by open spaces dedicated to religious worship also seems to have a relevant connection with earlier experiences of the numinous [Otto, 1923, p. 126]. Here, we should recall the earliest Shintō shrines and their ties, not only with natural spaces, but also with the lack of solid material boundaries between sacred and profane. It is true that devices such as the *torii* 鳥居 and *shimenawa* 注連縄・七五三縄・標縄 do have a frontier-like function, but their physical structure still emphasizes the notions of emptiness and open spaces. In constrast with a catedral's "vertical sublimity", here we find a preeminence for horizontality also stressed in art.

In the same way, in a Shintō shrine the *honden* 本殿 where the *go-shintai* 御神体 is held, may at times be empty. As Otto announces, precisely because of the emptyness of the *sancta sanctorum* can a deity reside there. He specifically focuses on the minimalism displayed in the Grand Shrines of Ise, stressing that it is as a *protest* against the objectification of the numen in Buddhism that Shintō turns back to its primitive simplicity [Otto, 1923, p. 126], and this is particularly relevant because this opposition of extremes is what accentuates the holiness of this apparent desolation.

e.5) Prophetic Experience of God: following a recurrent biblical theme, Otto claims the contraposition between spirit *ruah* and flesh *bâsâr* to be the most fundamental intuition of mankind. The *ruah* is characterized by consisting of "real" lifeforce, while the world of the flesh is deemed as an inferior realm of existence. It is from this *ruah* that both magic and the divine originate from, and their portentous aura permeates to the lowly realm of mortal flesh; something otherworldly, completely immersed in the numinous mystery [Otto, 1923, p. 157].

As experienced in Shintō and reflected in the *Kiki* 記紀, divine wrath or retribution is a common occurence and, as the choleric character of Yahve, this vitality has an awful animic power represented as intense *pathos* πάθος [Otto, 1923, pg. 159]. Parting from this, it would be of great interest to analyze divinities as raw, pure emotion. From there we could also explore the benefic–destructive dual dynamic of *kami* and various entities from the netherworld, and maybe even of instinct as a fundamental passion. Additionally, the author would also like to ponder up until what point does any attempt to rationalize or anthropomorphize that incontrollable energy is related (or not) to the deity itself? For if a deity consists only of choleric *pathos* its benefic side could be a mere human invention.

Furthermore, if life is equated to purity, then impurity would exclusively originate from either death or the death drive. We must, however, take into account that death is an intrinsic element of life's energetic exchange (enthropy), which would then be considered as an impure process. Is it simply human perception of the matter, since the human mind tends to categorize elements in polarities? Here it may be of use to highlight the Shintoist idea of death/ageing as impurity.

e.6) Silent Worship: silent worship is considered by Otto to be the most spiritual way of worshipping god. Within this category he identifies three different kinds of silent worship [Otto, 1923], which are: (1) the numinous-sacramental silence, or *numens praesens*, an event in which god's presence materializes in the emptiness created through silence; (2) an expectant silence, which constitutes the preparation for god to become present among the worshippers, even though this is not necessary for the success of the ritual since silence is in itself numinous and sacramental; and, lastly (3) the unifying silence, which marks the internal process of communion with the deity and the community, leading at times to mystical union.

In relation to this silent worship, it would be interesting to consider the role of silence in *matsuri*, and its relationship with *numens praesens* and mystical union since the *matsuri* is the time when the community achieves, for a certain period of time, union with the *kami* that has been called down to descend in a *yorishiro*. Otto also states that one of the main attributes of silent worship if its clear and precise preparation and

execution. It requires a particular time and hour, and also a limited amount of people in order to work. Interestingly, Otto also claims thatYahve's worship does not require magical-ritual systems, and these specifications are within the aforementioned category. Here we can appreciate the futility of "pure/radical" viewpoints, and also the need for blending and holism. At the end of the day, Otto could very well be a pagan.

Also, in *Aufsätze das Numinose Bettreffend* he states that "*God only comes when he wants to. But he wants to come when he is genuinely summoned and after an adequate preparation*" [Otto, 1923, p. 183]. This is a point of interest because of the relationship between folk Japanese rituals regarding the summoning of *kami* into a *yorishiro*, which may have initially been a shamanistic practice of control over supernatural entities and thus stands in opposition to a deity choosing to descend because of their own volition. It would be of interest to study this nuance from the standpoint of folklore or ethnology.

e.7) Sin, guilt and morality: Otto establishes the concept of sin as the opposite of the holy. He first states that:

> "*sin is [...] the reversal and the opposite of something that ought to be, the violation of a value that is objectively and unconditionally valid, the absolutely reprehensible contravention of a rule.*" [Otto, 1923, p. 187]

And then:

> *"This contravention of a rule is not, by itself and in a primary sense, the contravention of moral rules, and that which is violated also is not, by itself, a moral value but an 'absolutely heterogeneous' value and, at the same time superior to everything that is moral." [Otto, 1023, p.187]*

Thus: "*What is sinful comes to be known more and more as evil and, eventually, everything evil as sinful.*" [Otto, 1923, p. 187]. From this we learn that, according to Otto, the notion of sin has the following attributes: (1) it is the antithesis of the holy; (2) the violation of a value that is unconditionally valid, i.e. the breaking of a rule understood as axiomatic; (3) the rule broken has no necessary relation with moral; (4) sin is a value of a "wholly other" category"; (5) sin is situated in a sphere above morality. This characteristics will be of interest when examining the selected texts regarding Susanowo 佐之男 and his numerous violations of traditional rules.

To continue the argument at hand, according to Otto there is no identification of sin and evil, just an overlap at times. He also states that "*altogether evil is nothing but a portion of sin, though a very big portion and, at the same time, its principal area of external manifestation* […] *only redemption, understood in a religious sense, confers both moral liberation and settling in the moral ideal.*" [Otto, 1923, p. 188]. Thus we

can see how sin is more related to a violation of religious taboos and ritual guidelines than to evil itself. However, since evil is a notion contained within the broader category of sin, even if not everything sinful is evil, everything evil is sinful. This way morality ends up being subordinated to a chaotic overplus of otherness. We must remember, however, that Otto describes the holy as the sacred plus moral perfection, and that is the attribute he utilizes to justify the superiority of Christianity over other religions.

In order to justify his position, he has to delve into the nature of the moral ideal, which he considers to spring up from two different sources. On the one hand, what is morally good is just, and what is unjust is evil. On the other hand, he considers good to be an ideal that refers to mankind, insofar humans are to evolve their own spiritual capabilities and distinguish themselves from the instincts associated with primitivism and nature. It seems that, as in Stoicism, for Otto the pursue of good, of some kind of inherent ability of virtue, is the highest of goals for humans. The main difference would be that Stoicism equates evil with ignorance, whereas Otto considers that sin provokes a similar—or even heavier— stress on the animic state of an individual. While this sinful action may have come from ignorance at times, like in times when mistakes are made during ritual procedures, there is no evil necessarily being carried out, and so a perfectly good person may bring misfortune over themselves even when the necessary knowledge is present.

Now that we have reviewed in as much depth as possible the subject of Rudolf Otto and his characterization of the concept of the numinous or sacred in his main work, *Das Heilige,* and also his complementary writings *Aufsätze das Numinose Bettreffend*, we will continue with a section dedicated to Motoori Norinaga an his 'Definition of *Kami.*'

2.2. Motoori Norinaga (1730 – 1801) and the 'Definition of *Kami'*

Motoori Norinaga (1730 – 1801), was a Japanese scholar of the Edo period. Born in current Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture, he was the second son of a merchant but was not suited for business endeavors. His academic studies take flight in 1752, when he goes to Kyoto in order to enroll in the school of Hori Keizan (1689 – 1757), a Neo-Confucian scholar with interests both in Japanese classical literature and the philological writings of Keichū (1640 – 1701). It was through him that Motoori would be greatly influenced by Ogyū Sorai (1666 – 1728), who considered the notion of the meaning of words changing over time, and thus focused on unraveling the ancient language. From him he also learned about how facts may possibly surface through language.

Initially, Motoori showed great interest in *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji Monogatari* 源氏 物語) and the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集). Impressed by Keichū's philological examinations, he decided to concentrate his efforts on the study of the works by recognized masters of waka poetry. This way his first main work would be conceived, *Ashiwake-obune* 排蘆小船, relating the nature of waka. His formal training was, however, in medicine, field where he received the guidance of Hori Genkō (1686 – 1754) and Takewaka Kōjun (1725 – 1780). In 1757 he starts reading the works of Kamo no Mabuchi (1697 – 1769), who advocated the need of considering the *Kojiki* over the *Nihon shoki*'s for academic

purposes, since it had been overlook in favor of the later even though, together with the *Shoki* and the *Kujiki*, is was part of the trilogy known was *Shintō sanbunsho* 神道三文書.

These written works all told about the happenings of the Age of the *Kami*, and thus constituted part of the ancient teachings of Shintō tradition. The *Kojiki*, however, had not enjoyed the same level of circulation as the other two works, and so the *Nihon shoki* enjoyed the spotlight until a manuscript from the Urabe line was published in 1644 [Wehmeyer in Motoori, 1790]. It was then that nativist Kada no Azumamaro (1669 – 1736) gave a series of lectures on the text. However, he still considered the *Nihon shoki* to be superior. Then came Kamo no Mabuchi who, as we have pointed out, did not share Kada's opinion of the *Kojiki* and wrote several works on it in addition to his treatises on the *Nihon shoki*.

Motoori had the opportunity to communicate by letter with Kamo until 1769, the year Kamo passed away. After the intellectual stimulation received from his predecessor, Motoori went on to write several works on the pronunciation of Chinese characters before the completion of the text that occupies our interest, the *Kokiji-den* 古事記伝 or *Commentary on the Kojiki*. Before starting our discussion of this text let us consider the context in which Motoori wrote his formulations on the Age of the Kami.

The context of Motoori is the context of the Edo Period (1615 – 1868), which was defined by the considerable social and political change that took place after the end of the Sengoku Period (1467 – 1568). Regarding, as always, the religious sphere, the principal social phenomena we would like to highlight is the transition to the *ie* 家 system as the basic unit of social organization of the Japanese society of the time. The *ie* was not necessarily a group form on a mere consanguineal basis, for employees and adopted heirs were also included in it as members. This change in the societal paradigm was the result of the disintegration of the previous social structure [Bitō, 1991, p. 374], and included an important change in economic relations, for cultural activities had now the possibility of being transformed into business ventures.

As a result of this changes, the religious viewpoint also shifted. The people of this time period had a characteristically 'this-world' outlook, which also brought about an emphasis on individual ethics. According to Bitō [Bitō, 1991, p. 375], it was during this time period that Buddhism and Shintō reached the majority of the population—for they had previously been mainly part of the life of the Yamato court only—and this amalgamation is what today constitutes traditional Japanese religion up to postmodernity. Up until then Shintō had lacked an standard framework formulated through intellectual pursuit, but in Edo period the religious mixture of Shintō and Buddhism had already crystallized into a proper, organized system of belief in a national level.

Within the realm of individual belief, *kami* worship focused mainly into bringing benefits to this world, either to the community or the individual, with individual worship holding a marked magical component [Bitō, 1991, pp. 379-380]. In addition, it seems that the local tutelary deity (*ujigami* 氏神) became the nucleus of religious belief in small communities, when the term refers to the *kami* in charge of protecting a particular lineage. During the 15th and 16th century, however, the *ujigami* had already become a *kami* that protected people on a geographical basis, maybe because of the possibly common ancestry of communities situated in close locations [Bitō, 1991, p.387-388]. This transformation of the role of the *ujigami* is quite significant insofar as it expands the radius of influence of in-group mentality, and thus makes inter-group acceptance and empathy more likely.

We must highlight, however, that the ancient notion of *ujigami* was that of a tutelary *kami*, which did not necessarily correspond with the ancestral deity of the family line. However, since an *uji* also had an *oyagami* 親神, or parent-*kami*, the *ujigami* seems to have been eventually identified with an ancestral *kami* [Bitō, 1991, p. 388]. Together with the blend of Buddhism and Shintō beliefs, the identification of the dead with *hotoke* that would eventually become *kami* after a certain period led to great part of the populace into believing that, ultimately, people, buddhas, and *kami* were one and the same. Over time the *ujigami* began to be identified with major *kami* at the time, such

as Inari or Hachiman. Also, the expansion of Ise Shintō impacted individual faith, fostering the use of *kamidana* and of talismans.

Yet another new form of *kami* worship developed from the enshrinement of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536 – 1598) shortly after his death. Even if deification was not uncommon in Japanese religious thought since at least the Heian period with the identification of Emperor Ōjin with the *kami* Hachiman, if not earlier and going back all the way to the Jōmon period [Satō, 2012a, p. 9], meritorious, strange, or heroic deeds were usually needed in order for a human to become a *hitogami* 人神. A similar scenario happened again in 1616 with the enshriment of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1534 – 1616), the same year of his passing. Soon after regular people were also able to become *kami* upon death, which may have signified a remarkable change in religious consciousness, specially taking into consideration other events related to the religious sphere that started to expand at this time, such as *junshi* 殉死, ritual suicide to follow one's master to the Netherworld, and the increase in *shinju* 心中, or doble suicides.

Bitō states that:

> "*Both phenomena rested on the assumption that one could achieve after death what was unattainable in this world and hence may have been nourished by the same religious consciousness that sustained the practice of enshrining humans as* kami." [Bitō, 1991, p.395]

This implies that a new transformation was already in the horizon, for a society that had just changed its worldview from 'that-world' in which the people could focus during the arduous times of warfare to an 'this-world' outlook that promised earthly blessings and benefits, was to consider once again what is to be after this world has been departed. Nevertheless the ethical dimension not only regarding religion, but also society, kept developing. The preoccupation over one's class or status came to be a preoccupation over society as a whole [Bitō, 1991, p. 397], and was fostered by the academic formulations of several scholars. Many of these scholars, even if formerly Shintō scholars such as Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615 – 1690), borrowed heavily from Confucian ethics. The reason for this is that Shintō thought tends to focus on ritual purity and taboos, rather than into the creation of a moral system for society both at large and at an individual level.

It is within this context that the movement of Nativism (*Kokugaku*) was born. In the words of Harootunian:

> "*Nativism originated at an earlier time in the seventeenth century and initially concentrated on resuscitating the landmarks of the Japanese literary and aesthetic tradition. National studies represented an effort to structure what we might call native knowledge and matured under the guidance of scholars like Kamo Mabuchi (1697 – 1769) and Motoori Norinaga (1730 – 1801) in the eighteenth century.*" [Harootunian, 1989, p. 198]

After Motoori, it would be Hirata Atsutane (1776 – 1843) who would carry on the nativist tradition during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Both Hirata's and Motoori's thought would be marked by a strong tendency towards nationalism. The social stability granted by the establishment of the *bakufu* and the economic growth of the Edo period had led to an increase in intellectual pursuits. The systematic philosophy that came via the cultural imports of Chinese thought were rejected by many, as several scholars felt that there was a need for a form of purely Japanese formulations to arise. Along these lines this approach was fostered by Kada no Azumamaro and Kamo no Mabuchi, whose philological approach Motoori would inherit together with the one from Ogyū Sorai.

Motoori's political philosophy and thus his stance on nationalism was to be heavily influenced by his reading on the *Kojiki*'s section of the Age of the *Kami*. While he established two different realms, sacred and profane, with grounds on an agreement made by Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi in relation to the range of action of each, he ultimately refused this stance on the basis that an agreement between *kami* meant that ultimately both spheres were to be sacred, thus eliminating the realm of the profane [Brownlee, 1988, p. 42]. It its of interest for this essay to consider the possibility of the non-existence of profanity in Shintō thought, for this may end up diluting the frontier between animism and pantheism. Since if everything has an anima, and everything with an anima may be a *kami*, the question would be that of whether or not is there anything that does not possess an anima, and if the relation of anima and *kami* is one of

potentiality, that is, if it is possible for every anima to become *kami* while not necessarily becoming one. For if everything with anima were to be a *kami*, then everything in this world and the other world would be *kami*, and there we may have grounds to consider Shintō as pantheism.

In any case, regarding Motoori's nationalism we may here take the same approach that has been proposed for dealing with Otto's bias towards Christianity. That is, we may freely rid his formulation on the nature of *kami* of his political ideology, insofar as our current task is to inquire on the concept of *kami* and sacredness and not on the ramifications of his ideological framework. Nevertheless, we will also emphasize the importance of the historical and societal context in order to make sense of what we will see of Motoori's thought. And so the author would like to take into consideration Katō's argument that:

> "*This second son of an ex-samurai family, neither samurai nor* chōnin*, had no other choice but to define himself as Japanese* […] *This extreme nationalism and the nonsense that he wrote with unwavering persistence from this standpoint were not the result of his scholarly studies but derived from a psychological need.*" [Katō, 1983, p. 184]

As in the case of Otto, we also find in Motoori this reminder of humanity that we sometimes forget when learning and discussing classical authors. One tends to imagine them all as a machine-like entities that run like clockwork when, with maybe the exception of Kant, all of them were prisoners of their humanity. But it was precisely

this decisive incline towards their human side that allowed them to formulate theoretical frameworks on religion, for it is a phenomenon to which logic does not strictly apply. As Katō states, on top a positivistic approach Motoori also employed imagination and intuition in order to reconstruct not only what he believed to be the language of the ancient Japanese people, but also their emotional inner worlds [Katō, 1983, p. 188]. For this he extensively studied the classical waka poetry, analyzing its philological roots until they became, at least apparently, clear to him.

The same is true of the analysis he conducted in the *Kojiki-den*, which shows '*an on-going epistemic change in the ways in which people apprehended what were meant by speaking, hearing, writing, and reading*" [Sakai in Motoori, 1790, p. viii]. With this a new ideological framework began to take shape, one in which the uniqueness of everything Japanese was highlighted and that would eventually be reborn in modern times as a renovated nationalistic discourse.

The *Kojiki-den* consists of 44 books, but for this inquiry we will focus on the 'Definition of *Kami*', a small section of the third book. The preceding volumes, Books I and II, deal respectively with the importance of the *Kojiki* as a historical and linguistic text, and with the *kun* reading of the characters contained therein, while Book 3 is the beginning of the analysis of the text as a whole. We will now analyze the 'Definition of *Kami*' as translated by Bentley [Bentley, 2017]. The original text will be provided at the end of this essay in the section **Annex II**.

"*I have as yet to tease out the meaning of* kami. *[All the old theories attempting an etymology are incorrect.] Everything denoted as* kami *include first off the various* kami *we see in ancient records, and the spirits residing in the various shrines. And of course, we can call people* kami. *Objects like birds, beasts, trees, plants, the sea, mountains, and almost anything else, anything uncommon in this world, having superior qualities and inspiring reverence can be denoted as* kami. *[The word "superior" does not simply imply noble, good, or meritorious. If attributes such as evil and mysterious are terrifyingly superior, then we can also denote these attributes as related to* kami. *It goes without saying that the unspeakably noble successive emperors are the first* kami *among men. The reason the ancients called the emperor "a distant* kami*" is because he is far-removed from the commoner, requiring our honor and reverence. And thus we see in ancient times as well as in the present there were other people denoted as* kami. *There are minor* kami *in each province, each village, each household, be they discreet and unknown on a national level. Also, most of the* kami *of the divine age were men connected to that era, and because they were other people denoted as kami, the ancients referred to this as* kami *no yo "the divine age." Also, needless to say that thunder (*kaminari*)—which is not human—is a wonderfully mysterious existence, and a terrible* kami*, that is why it is referred to as* narukami *or* kaminari. *…]*

And so there are many types of kami*, some noble and some base, some strong others weak, some good and some evil. Their minds and deeds are as varied as they are, and because of this it is difficult to argue that a* kami *is mainly this or that. [However, it is a grave mistake for people in society to assume that foreign* kami*, such as Boddhisattva of Buddhism and safes, are in the same category as our* kami*, and that they are ranked above our* kami*, based on "the principle of the way things should be." Evil, wicked* kami *engage*

only in things that go against reason, and if these wicked kami *try to be good they cannot do things that are reasonable. If they are caused to become angry they become violent. And even though they are wicked* kami*, they are pacified when pleased. ...] Furthermore, whether they be good or evil* kami *the greater place of reverence and superiority the greater their mysterious, mystical, and wondrous nature; their existence is beyond the comprehension of man with his limited insight, and we cannot understand one layer of the thousand layers of their reasoning. We can only pay deference to their dignity and stand in awe and trembling before them ... (MNZ 1976, 9:125-16).*" [Motoori in Bentley, 2017, pp. 423-4]

As we can see in the aforementioned text, from the 'Definition of *Kami*' we learn that Motoori assigns the term *kami* 迦(カ)微(ミ) includes the following:

(1) The ancient *kami* of old.

(2) The spirits 坐御(スミ)靈(タマ) present in shrines.

(3) Humans.

(4) Living creatures and natural objects.

(5) Almost anything else.

(6) Anything uncommon [可畏(カシコ)き物].

(7) Anything with superior qualities that inspires reverence [すぐれたる徳(コト)].

This last term of *suguretaru* (superior) is clarified by Motoori himself. He states that it does not imply just noble, good, or meritorious attributes, but also includes what is noble 尊(タフト)きこと, good 善(ヨ)きこと, meritorious 功(イサオ)しきこと, and excellent 優(スグ)れたる. Here we can see how Motoori differentiates the word *suguretaru* as excellence (優れたる) from *suguretaru* as a category of superiority which encompasses a broader sense of excellence proper. As with Otto's differentiation between sacred and Holy, we can here perceive that Motoori adds to a regular term an overplus of meaning, adding additional attributes in order to create a concept with different nuances. Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*' also includes what is evil 悪(アシ)きもの, strange 奇(アヤ)しきもの insofar terrifyingly superior すぐれて可畏(カシコ)きをば. As in Otto's formulation, we can perceive how Motoori seems to encompass the notion of evil in a broader category that, as we will see later on when analyzing the case of Susanowo, stands independent of the notions of sin and ritual violation.

The 'Definition of *kami*' also attemps to include a typology of these divinities. Motoori explains that *kami* may belong to almost any category the human mind may be able to conceive. There are strong *kami* and weak *kami*, good *kami*, evil *kami*, and everything in between. Thus, he states, it is very difficult to determine what is *kami*. In effect, we can quickly realize how *kami* may in many cases be undifferentiated from other beings

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of Japanese mythology and folklorist tradition. Since *kami* can be almost of every kind, what differentiates a *yōkai* 妖怪 of a deity? As is the case with *kami*, *yōkai* can also be weak or strong, good or evil; and moreover the also happen to hold key *kami* attributes like being terrifying, uncommon, and inspiring fear and reverence. There is possibility that this question may be solved through a thorough comparative analysis of numerous entities and 'official' *kami* but, until then, the mystery is likely to continue unraveled.

The author would like to highlight Motoori's explanations regarding evil *kami*. In the first place, he states that evil *kami* engage in behaviors that go against reason 理(リ), that even when trying to do good they cannot do anything within measure, and that, when angry they become violent and when pleased, they are pacified. The fact that evil *kami* are evil because they go against reason seems to be similar to the Stoic notion that evil comes from ignorance and good from following reason (the *logos*), a noteworthy parallelism. Evil *kami* are also unable to do things within reason, which means they go against Aristotelian notions of virtue. Since these *kami* become violent when angry— and, if we take into consideration Susanowo's reaction to proving his innocence to his sister—also when they experience strong emotions, then we could draw yet another parallel with Stoicism's focus on control over the movements of the soul. These similarities may be explained by the fact that the tenets of Stoicism are based on Heraclitus's doctrine of impermanence and the *logos*. Heraclitus's thought may be the

only remnant of classical western philosophy that contains a strong Asiatic influence, for there was trade from India and beyond in the Greek city-states.

Motoori's conclusion at the end of his 'Definition of *kami*' is that it is not possible for us to known what a *kami* is. The reason for this is that human intellect 智 (サトリ) is not enough for us to comprehend the nature of *kami*. In addition, the reasoning 理 (リ) of the *kami* is inscrutable, since they belong to the realm of the wholly other. We will, however, not desist in this endeavor. In the following chapter we will analyze a selection of texts in hopes of being able to clarify the concept of *kami* and whether or not Otto's concept of the numinous can be applied to Shintō.

Chapter 3 – On the Concept of *Kami*

In this chapter we will explore the concept of *kami* through the work of selected authors, focusing mainly on the works of D.C. Holtom (1884 – 1962) and Iwasawa Tomoko (n.d.). First and foremost, however, the author would like to highlight the words of Holtom in his book *The National Faith of Japan. A Study in Modern Shintō* (1965) regarding the difficulties of the clarification of the term *kami*: "*No other word in the entire range of Japanese vocabulary has a richer or more varied content and no other has presented greater difficulties to the philologist.*" [Holtom, 1965, p. 22] Thus, the quest we now face is of not only of great difficulty, but also a very complex matter. Not only does the term *kami* include what in the West we would 'deity,' but in its broadness it includes entities which will anytime exclude our categories. This the author thinks is perfectly exemplified by the episode of the *kami* Izanagi running away from his deceased sister-wife in the mythological narrative.

At some point during the chase, Izanagi finds some peaches that he throws to his pursuers in order to deter them from their purpose. The hags of *Yomi* stop to eat these peaches and, since they were successful in fulfilling their tasks, these peaches now become *kami*. This is barely an example among many which clearly show how the term *kami* does not completely overlap and equate the western notion of deity. This

broadness of the term *kami* becomes even more complex when we take into consideration the fact that:

"*Although some spirits were honored and feared by the ancient Japanese and called kami, many were given other names with subtle differences in meaning. There were* tama *(souls),* mono *(demons),* tsuchi *and* mi *(animistic spirits), and* chi *and* itsu *(spirits that possessed magical powers). Kami were chosen from that crowd of spirits, elevated in rank, further sanctified, and later anthropomorphized.*" [Matsumae, 1993, pp. 318-9]

This element of Shintō is of enormous importance due to the fact that, in order to be able to completely comprehend the notion of sacredness in Shintō and, more broadly, in Japanese culture, we ought to take into account how the term *kami* many times overlaps with creatures and concepts which are not *kami* in and out of themselves. We thus find that, at times, entities which seem to behave like *kami* are not considered *kami* and, at other times, *kami* behave like entities which are not *kami*. This difficulty of pinpointing exactly what is and what is not *kami* increases when examining Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*.' Since *kami* can be noble or base, weak or strong, good or evil, and anything and everything in between, it is usually quite challenging to understand how and why one entity is *kami* when another is not.

Since the problem of the meaning of *kami* is so great, in the present essay we have restricted the analysis to mainly two principal works: the analysis of *kami* carried out by D.C. Holtom, since it serves us a classical, concise and well thought of summary of Japanese sources that the author could not have accessed otherwise, and Iwasawa's analysis of *tama*, since it provides us with a more contemporary and fresher analysis, including even the hermeneutical perspectives of contemporary Western philosophy. The reason why it is important to complement Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*' with the work of other authors is because Motoori's examination on the meaning of *kami* remains faithful to the 'hidden' or 'mysterious' nature of *kami* themselves. Thus, Motoori's definition remains too broad and diffused for us to utilize in the present essay by itself. By analyzing other author's opinions and theories on the meaning and definition of *kami* we will be able to better approach the textual analysis of chapters 4 and 5, and will also enrich our consideration on the concept of the sacred in Shintō present in chapter 6.

3.1 – The Concept of *Kami*

We will commence our inquiry into the concept of ther term *kami* by considering, following Holtom, three different perspectives: (a) the etymology of the term *kami*; (b) the main interpretations on it by Japanese scholars; and (c) the notion of *kami* understood as mana. In the first place, we ought to once again highlight the difficulty of carrying out a philological inquiry on the origins of '*kami*', since '*it carries meanings and associations that are fundamental to the understanding of Japanese psychology*" [Holtom, 1940a, pp. 3-4]. Indeed, insofar psychology is concerned, particularly the psychology of the peoples of old, we cannot but head into a complex problematic relating the distance of the horizon of understanding. If we oftentimes manage to misunderstand our contemporaries, even when they belong to the same cultural time and sphere, up to what degree can we consider ourselves able to delve deep into the psyche of those who came before us? A possible solution resides on the common points of our shared humanity. And this is another reason why the author has taken Otto's analysis of the sacred as a valid outline, for it attempts to locate the innermost primordial feelings of the original religious experience. Nevertheless, we should always take into account the limitations of our capabilities of understanding.

In the case of the notion of *kami*, Holtom refers us to the analysis of Japanese scholar Yamamoto Nobuki, who deepened Motoori's study on the difference between *kami* as 'deity' and *kami* as 'superior' in pre-Heian Japanese, thus obliterating one of the most

popular etymologies at the time regarding the meaning of '*kami*.' In order to understand part of the incredible complexity of the word '*kami*,' we will take into consideration the most common etymological explanation regarding this term, which can be found in D.C. Holtom's, "The Meaning of *Kami*. Chapter I. Japanese Derivations" (1940a):

(a) *Kami* as *kamu-gami* or *kan-gami*. In the first place, one of the most commong theories regarding the etymology of *kami* connects it with both the mirror as a conceptual metaphor and as a magico-religious object. Formulated by medieval scholar Imbe no Masamichi (n.d.) in his work *Shindaikan Kuketsu* 神代間口訣 (1367), Imbe takes the term *kami* to have a meaning in the sense of 'seeing clearly' (*shōran* 照覧), or 'to see (or witness) in brilliant light' (*kagayaki miru* 輝き見る). This way *kami* relates to *kaga-yaki-mi* which then supposedly contracts to *kangami* / *kagami* and then *kamagi* (mirror). The opinion of the author regarding this theory is that it seems more likely for this connection between *kami* and mirror to be a later development since the abstract thought process that it requires seems to be more into accord with the efforts of the Japanese medieval theologians.

(b) *Kami* as *kashikomi* (畏), from the verb *kashikomu*, 'to feel awe' or 'to fear.' There are also grounds for considering that the word *kami* may have come from the term *kashiko*. Formulated by Arakida Hisaoyu (1746 – 1804) in his

Man'yōkō Tsuki no Ochiba 万葉考槻の落葉, where he affirms that '*kami* has the meaning of awe-inspiring and dreadful (*kashikomi-osoruru*). Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto [the storm god] said to the great serpent, 'You are a fearful *kami* (*Nanji osoreru beki kami nari*)." [Arakida in Holtom, 1940a, pp. 6-7]. The opinion of the author regarding this theory is that it seems plausible insofar Otto's considerations on the analysis of the numinous link the experience of the numinous with the experience of a *mysterium tremendum* in which both an attractive fascination and a repelling horror coexist. In addition, Motoori's own approach to a definition of the term *kami* also presents *kashiko* as one of the fundamental elements of a *kami*'s essence. Thus, even if the term *kami* did not exactly merely originated from *kashikomu*, the author thinks there is a noteworthy possibility of *kashiko* being one among many facets represented by the term *kami*, which we may ought to think of as a polysemic word.

(c) *Kami* as *ka-bi* (彼靈), from the demonstrative pronoun *ka* 彼 and *bi* 靈 as mystery. This approach was formulated by Nativist scholar Hirata Atsutane (1776 – 1843) in his *Koshiden* 古史伝 (1811). His approach to the sacred is thus similar to Otto's, as Holtom also notes. The later also notes that, in the *Nihongi*, *kabi* is written as 牙, fang, which may be a corruption of *kizashi* 芽, sprout. This annotation could lead us through both a philological and philosophical rabbit-hole, so let us just think through the first item here

presented. The opinion of the author regarding this theory is that it seems to hold its ground as a possible of many origins of the term *kami*. This explanation given by Hirata not only relates to Otto's *mysterium tremendum*, but also to Motoori's conceptualization of *kami* as vastly broadly defined entities. By considering *kami* as *that* mystery, the door remains open to a great array of hermeneutical possibilities and, at the same time, it closes on a supernatural, sacred reality that be, if not understood, perceived by human senses.

(d) *Kami* as *kakuri-mi*, or hidden body / person, from the verb *kakureru,* 'to be hidden.' Formulated by Saitō Hikomaru (1768 – 1854) in his *Katabisashi* 傍廂.

In this case, the syllable *ka* would hold a meaning of intangibility and vagueness, whereas *mi* has been subjected to several interpretations. Regarding this association of meaning to *ka*, Holtom summarizes a list of related words compiled by Miura Sempō that the author reproduces as follows: Holtom, 1940a, p. 89]:

> "*Ka*, an exclamation of surprise.
>
> *Ka,* the sign of interrogation or indefiniteness in Japanese syntax.
>
> *Ka*, *ka-ori*, odor, smell.
>
> *Ka-gu*, to smell.
>
> *Ka-kureru*, to be hidden, to disappear, to die, to perish.

Ka-kusu, to hide, to conceal.

Ka-ze, the wind

Ka-suka, dim, indistinct, indefinite.

Ka-sumi, mist, haze.

Ka-ge, reflection, shadow, divine influence, power, or help.

Ka-nashi, sad, melancholy.

Ka-shikoshi, waful, dreadful, venerable (derived meaning).

Ka-gami, mirror.

Ki, spirit, mind soul.

Ki, tree.

Ki, strange, odd.

Ku-shiki, strange, queer, mysterious.

Ke-muri, smoke."

We thus find that the use of *ka* and variations does seem to relate to experiences of more abstract or intangible phenomena, such as in the case of *kage*, *kagami*, and *kashikoshi*. Applying this same logic to the term *kami* seems to the author quite a feasible and plausible possibility of its etymology. *Mi* can then be taken as meaning body, person, substance, matter, or fruit. We then find both the possibilities of the etymological meaning of the word *kami* to be either *kakuri-mi* as 'hidden person' or 'mysterious substance'. Either way, the previously seen concept of *mysterium* and intangibility parallel Otto's consideration of the

numinous as the wholly other, in addition to tying up nicely with Motoori's use of *suguretaru* with a surplus of meaning in order to have it encompass what is terrifyingly superior (*sugurete kashikoki*).

(e) *Kami* as *kakuri* 隠, 'hidden' and *kushibi* 靈 'mystery.' This theory was formulated by Hatta Tomonori (1799 – 1873). In this case, the nature of the *mysterium* is highlighted not by its abstract elements, as we have seen previously with Hirata's interpretation of *ka*, but with the notion of the hidden. The author thinks that this approach cannot but remind us of Heraclitus' words, affirming what it is the natural behavior of nature itself to remain hidden. Expressing the concept of *kami* as 'hidden mystery' not only allows for the birth of a fertile ground for religious imagination, but also highlights and focuses on the unseen and unknowable elements of the divine and natural mysteries.

(f) *Kami* as *kakure* 隠, *kakureru* 'hidden' and *mitsuru* 満 'to be full of'. This theory was formulated by Hori Hidenori (d. 1887) in his *Kami Nionkō* (迦微二言考) (n.d.) and, in addition, Takaya Chikabumi's understanding that "*the underlying idea of* kami *then is that of a divine existence that cannot be laid hold of with the senses directly, but which nevertheless has deep reality*." [in Holtom, 1940a, pp. 11-2]. The author thinks that this condition of the indeterminability of *kami* as sacredness due to its wholly otherness can easily be connected with Otto's

outline of the numinous and with Motoori's *kashiko*. In addition, it closely relates to Hatta's 'hidden mystery.' Comparing Hatta's *hidden mystery* with Hori's *full of mystery*(hiding) we encounter two similar approaches to the origin of the term *kami* that, however, differ in a fundamental point: that of fullness. The importance of this differentiation is that Hori's terminology highlights the overwhelming existence of the numinous as something that is able to fill even hidden places, and that opens the door for a surplus and overabundance of its essence in the profane, daily reality humans live in. That is, not only is the nature of *kami* to be *mysterium*, but also to offer that 'super' in 'supernatural' that causes the elements of the numinous experience to surface in the first place.

(g) *Kami* as *kage-mi* 影身, or 'shadow body/person.' This theory was formulated by Maruyama Masahiko (1859－1914), who advanced that *kage-mi* may be a previous form of the word for mirror, *kagami*, which may also have referenced the term 'spirit.' The author thinks that Maruyama's approach may hold a certain degree of accuracy since the notion of shadow not only ties with the etymology of *kagami*, but also with that of *kakuri* due to the 'hidden' nature of shadows, which are only visible at certain times and under certain circumstances. In addition, the notion of shadow evokes that of a different, separated world away from our own reality. In this way, the concept of *kami* as

shadow body or person seems to be closely related with the previous attempts at establishing a proper etymological root for the word.

(h) *Kami* as *kushi-bi* 奇靈, 'mysterious spirit.' This approach was formulated by Kurokawa Mayori (1829 – 1906), who substitutes the previous etymologies' *ka* 彼 for *kushi*. The author's opinion of Kurokawa's theory is that is closely resembles Hirata's hypothesis of the etymology of *kami* as *that-mystery*. By utilizing *kushi*, mysterious instead, the *mysterium* qualities of *kami* are brought forward. This, however, seems like a redundancy given that it is unlikely that there are spirits which are not mysterious.

(i) *Kami* as *kamu* 醸, ' to brew' or 噛, 'to chew.' This approach was formulated by Ōkuni Takamasa (1793 – 1871) in his *Koten Tsūkai* 古伝通解 (n.d.). It relates to a method of brewing alcohol through chewing which may have been used by the ancient peoples of Japan. The author's opinion on Ōkuni's take on the matter is that it is a plausible possibility to one of the several meanings contained within the term *kami*. An interesting episode regarding this connection between *kami* and chewing/brewing is present in the narratives of Empress Jin-gū, for on the occasion of welcoming back her son she orders the making of *sake*, a process which seemed to be accompanied by ritual dancing and the use of magic. Of course, it is also possible that this association between

kami and *kamu* is merely a phonetic one, and that the mental parallels between one term and the other came later down the line.

(j) *Kami* as *ka*, a prefix of intensification which has not survived in modern Japanese, and *mi* as a variant of *hi/bi* as 'sun' of 'fire.' This approach was formulated by Yamamoto Nobuki in his *Kannagara no Shitten to Sono Shin Kaishaku* 惟神の出典とその新解釈 (1933). In Yamamoto's opinion, the term *kami* may have originated from *yaku*, 'to burn', in addition to two intensifying *ka*'s that led to the form *ka-ka-yaku*, modern *kagayaku* 輝, ' to shine.' The term *hi* would have also been modified to *bi* or *mi*. The author would like to note that the same principle seems to apply to the term *kashiko* used by Motoori, who writes and reads *kashiko* 可畏 where it could be *ka-kashiko* (可 *ka* 畏 *kashiko*).

In the author's opinion, Yamamoto's approach to an etymology of *kami ka-ka-yaku* may be plausible insofar both fire and the sun were perceived as powerful entities since the oldest time. The author, however, would consider the etymological connection of *kami* with *kagayaku* to be a part of a wider sphere of meaning of the term *kami* as it does not seem to hold in and of itself as the main etymological root. There is, however, an important point to consider before completely dismissing this option for Yamamoto argues that:

"*there are many cases in the classical literature in which the name of the deities incorporate the sound* hi*, written with the ideogram for sun（日）[...]* Taka-Mi-Musu-Hi *and* Kami-Musu-Hi [...] *is written* hi *in the original with the ideogram for "sun," in other connections is written* bi *with the ideogram for "spirit." [...] The conclusion is that the word for sun was used interchangeable with that for spirit or deity, that is to say, they were one and the same word.*" [Holtom, 1940a, p.14]

Yamamoto's argument seems to hold a strong position on its own. There are, however, experts like Holtom who raise certain complains against this theory. Among them, that in the first place it is very likely that the ideograms for *hi*, *bi*, and *mi* were used mainly because of their phonetic value and not in relation with their individual meanings. There is also the fact that Yamamoto's solution to the redundancy found in the composition of several of the deitie's names requires modifications of the original written sources with no further proof of it being necessary. In addition to this Yamamoto's explanation of the origin of the idea of *kami* as sun does not manage to exclude other theories, and thus is as likely as any other proposition on the subject. Hence, we can now clearly see that Yamamoto's theory has as many flaws as any other of the etymologies we have previously considered, and is thus not superior in any way.

Moreover, even if Yamamoto focuses on the inadequacy of earlier considerations of *kami* as 'above/superior,' a previously very accepted view of the term *kami*, due to it's impossibility on the etymological level due to the pre-Heian phonological distinction between *kami* as deity and *kami* as superior discovered by Motoori's disciple, Ishizuka Tatsumaro (1764 – 1823) in his *Kanazukai Okuyamaji* 仮名遣奥山路, the author considers it may be important to also take into account that a phonetic similarity may also have caused the mind to connect both terms.

These are the main possible etymologies of the term *kami.* After having briefly analyzed them the author would like to consider the following points:

a) That is seems likely that, instead of the term *kami* having originated from only one of these etymologies, it is an inherently broad notion that over time has come to encompass in itself all of, if not even more, of these meanings attributed to it by scholars.

b) That regarding the approach of *kami* as *kagami* (mirror) and variations may very well be a later consideration, as it would be complicated for the vocalization of the notion of divinity to not have developed until the

discovering and development of the mirror. Nevertheless, the author considers that it may prove useful to consider this notion that connects *kami* with mirror when analyzing the relationship between the magical uses of mirrors and their role in ritual expressions of *kami* belief.

c) That regarding the approach of *kami* as *kashikomi* and variations could be held in relation to what Otto considers 'numinous sounds,' that is, primeval sounds enunciated in the dawn of religion. The author considers that there is a possibility that *kami* and *kashikomi* may be connected both by a phonetic and a conceptual similarity, in addition to being closely related with Otto's *mysterium tremendum* and Motoori's use of *kashiko* and *suguretaru*.

d) That regarding the approach of *kami* as *ka-bi*, and variations. While the author considers this to be a possibility, the use of a demonstrative pronoun followed by the very abstract concept of mystery somehow seems to point to it being the product of a more reflective age.

e) That *kami* as *kakuri-mi*, and variations. The author is of the opinion that considering *ka* as a syllable that initially reflected a sense of surprise and indefiniteness also may hold more closely to the origins of the notion of *kami*. Additionally, connecting *kami* with *kakuri* does bring forward a notion similar to Heraclitus' claims that *nature loves to conceal itself* (Φύσις κρύπτεσθαι

φιλεῖ). Now, the verb used by Heraclitus implies that it is in Nature's nature to conceal itself, and so we may here link it to *kami*'s nature to hide, or at least to hide their bodies, since their actions tend to be shown to humanity through a series of indirect expressions. Thus, the author thinks this etymology has the possibility of being close to the original meaning of *kami*.

f) That the approach of *kami* as *kakuri* and *kushibi*, and variations are very similar to (d) and, nevertheless, help us understand the notion of *kami* in a deeper way by highlighting the *mysterius* element of *kami*, even if at times redundant.

g) That the approach of *kami* as *kakure* and *mitsuru*, and variations is also very similar to (d), but the author would like to highlight the use of *mitsuru* which as in the case of the numinous, seems to hold an overplus of meanings through a fullness that exceeds itself and that also seems to be contained within Motoori's notions of *suguretaru* and *kashiko*.

h) That the approach of *kami* as *kage-mi*, and variations is also very similar to (d) and (a).

i) That the approach of *kami* as *kushi-bi*, and variations is very similar to (c) and (e).

j) That the approach of *kami* as *kamu*, and variations is likely, insofar we have literary proof of brewing being associated with magical procedures, as seen in the *Kojiki*'s section on Empress Jin-gū.

k) That the approach of *kami* as *ka* (intensifier) and *hi/bi* is a strong plausible possibility. The author agrees on the likelihood of the syllable *ka* as an intensifier, in this case, of the feeling of the numinous. The *mi* as proceeding from *hi* or *bi* seems to the author to be less accurate, for the experience of the numinous is not originated merely by the sun, which is a common daily occurrence, nor from fire, which quickly became something produced and used by humans.

l) That the approach of *kami* as above or superior, even if mentally possible due to the similarities between *kami* and *kami*[6] and the fact that a court rank was actually named *kamï*, seems to have been completely nullified as an etymological origin of the word *kami* as deity by the already mentioned scholars.

In this regard, this connection between the concept of *kami* as, on the one hand, a religious term and, on the other hand, as a secular term has been considered by Katō Genchi (1863 – 1965):

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[6] The author is using the 'ï' value as a simple means of differentiating both words, with no regard to the actual phonetic value of 'ï.'

"*In the long course of Shintō history, the two conceptions of* Kami*, religious and secular, are mixed up or blended, so puzzlingly that it happens very often that no one can tell which is which. This is one of the very causes which have given rise to the view that Shintō is not a religion at all, because its* Kami *are nothing but human personalities higher in rank than their fellow men. Thus we have a view that Shintō expresses a relation not between God and man, which is truly a religion, but rather a relation between man and man, from which morality indeed may spring, but never religion. There is, in my opinion, no view more erroneous than this. In Shintō a man of an ethically noble character was worshipped, not because of his human nature, but because of superior divine nature which in reality is above and transcends that of humanity.*" [in Holtom, 1940a, pp. 18-9]

Here Katō highlights a point of extreme importance for the clarification of the concept of *kami*: the differentiation and limitation between *kami* and human. Even if at first glance it may seem to us that there is either an obvious distinction between *kami* and humans or none at all, that is, that either *kami* comprise the 'wholly other' and are thus not similar to humans at all, or that *kami* and humans are one and the same, it seems to the author that it is necessary to take into consideration the notion of *hitogami* 人神. *Hitogami* is a term that basically describes a human who has become *kami*. The mere fact that this notion exists implies an inherent separation of human and *kami*, and so it also

serves us to favor the argument that human and *kami* are not the same. During the following chapters we will be able to observe this gap between divine beings and humans more in detail, as the texts of both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* will provide great examples for us to delve into this matter.

As we just have seen, the possible etymologies for the word *kami* are varied and, at times, at least seemingly unconnected. As the author has mentioned in previous chapter, in this essay we will endeavor to, rather than strive to eliminate the less likely options in favor a a more probable truth, consider as many of these interpretations as containing of a partial fragment of accuracy. Thus, we may be able to relate *kami* to *kami*, *kage*, and *kagayaku* as the *kami'*s aspect of wonder towards natural, then unexplained phenomena; *kami* as *ka*-sun or *ka*-fire as the awe and reverence towards the shining sphere of Heaven and fire's both destructive and nurturing capacities; and also *ka-bi* as an exaltation of the greatest of mysteries, that of the cycle of life and death that permeates the natural world. Even if the primeval origin of *kami* is not to be found among them, the author considers that we can at least be sure that traces of its earliest meaning can be found in the elements contained therein.

We will now further delve into the analysis of the meaning of *kami* according mainly to Holtom's second article on the subject: "The Meaning of *Kami*. Chapter II. Interpretations by Japanese Writers," where we can find the notions regarding this matter set forth by Saeki Ariyoshi (1867 – 1945), a historian of the Meiji and Showa

periods who, in addition to this academic work on Shintō and Japanese Classics, served at the Imperial Household Ministry as Senior Ritualist [Mori, M. n.d.d.]. In his *Shintō Encyclopedia* 神道大辞典 (1937-1939), Saeki affirms Motoori's definition of *kami* as the best of all; however he does add that "*it is believed that spirit exists in all things and this is revered as kami*" [Holtom, 1940b, pp. 393-5], which leans towards pantheism and strays from Motoori's view, for whom not every single thing may be called *kami* —at least as he believed at the time of writing the 'Definition of *kami*.' In a note to Saeki's arguments, Holtom announces that he is unable to tell whether in the original Japanese Saeki speaks in a pantheistic or a polytheistic sense [Holtom, 1949b, p.393], which also reinforces the author's argument that the mono-poly-pan system of categorization may not serve well for classifying Shintō.

In addition, in Note 11 Holtom confirms that there is a recognition of pantheism in Saeki's writings, and recommends seeking the source of this influence in Buddhism [Holtom, 1940b, p. 394]. Unfortunately, due to the circumscriptions necessary to the development of a doctoral thesis the author does not have the opportunity to explore this avenue in the present text, but we must keep in mind all this data nonetheless.

In what seems an unexpected turn of events, Saeki does disagree with certain parts of Motoori's argument, mainly that, in the first place, the claims that a differentiation between *kami* and humans is necessary even in the Age of the *Kami*; in the second place, that dragons, *tengu*, and foxes are not to be regarded as *kami* since they are the

result of Chinese influence, appoint whichwhich is quite unusual for someone who was completely against anything Chinese, so the author's opinion is that these entities may have already been so naturally enmeshed in Japanese belief that separating them would not even be considered by Motoori. An alternative would be that continental influence were even more ancient that Saeki thought, and that a new wave of cultural imports was to be not more than a reminder of their existence. Thirdly, that the poems of the *Manyōshū* which praise natural elements such as the sea or the mountains do not constitute proof that these were revered as *kami*. The author, however, considers this claim to be unsustainable as the opposite could be as well the truth. We can see how, even if understandable, many of the points raised by Saeki against Motoori are not particularly strong arguments.

D.C. Holtom agrees with critizicing several of these claims of Saeki, even if he supports him partially by recognizing his appraisal of the definite stages of evolution in the notion of *kami*, recognizing that the needs of the early Japanese were a key element in the construction of native Shintō belief and the eventual changes of belief according to universal human trends through the influence of social patterns. In addition, that Saeki correctly identifies two trends in the development of *kami*, namely those related to ancestor worship, and those connected to nature worship; and that his study shows influences of pantheism through Buddhism. However, Holtom claims that original Shintō was animistic. In summary, it seems that, according to Holtom, Saeki's

objections to Motoori arise from the need to adjust a theoretical gap between ancestor and nature worship.

Then, regarding Saeki's first criticism, Holtom claims that Motoori's view that all humans in the Age of the *Kami* were *kami* is not to be taken seriously, and so we may need to take Saeki's criticism as one regarding that gap between ancestor and nature worship. The author's opinion regarding this point is that, even if we do not need to take it too seriously, we should attempt an effort at understanding Motoori's psychology when examining his writinfs.

Regarding Saeki's second criticism, Holtom claims that even if dragons and *tengu* do have continental influence, this is not the case of the fox, which is the divine messenger of the *kami* Inari, and also does not necessarily apply to the cases of the wolf and the tiger which are also mentioned by Motoori. Once again, the author would like to highlight the importance of understanding Motoori's psychology when attempting to clarify the many times diaphanous contradictions and absurdities of his writings. In his case there seems to be simply no other way to clarify the unclarifiable.

Regarding Saeki's third criticism, Holtom claims that, again, this is an issue of the relationship between ancestor and nature worship. He adds, however, that we should not take as final Saeki's argument, shared also by many other Shintō scholars, that in the Old Age ancestral deities were more numerous than natural deities. Since the

distinction between *kami* and human is nowhere near clear, it is simply not possible to clarify this point.

In conclusion, Saeki's interpretation on the meaning of *kami* does not vary too much from Motoori's. In addition, we have seen how his criticism of Motoori is based on an axiological issue, that is, that ancestor worship was the pillar of the *kami* belief of the ancient Japanese, whereas Motoori focuses more on nature and the sense of awe and wholly otherness produced by things or people. Holtom's additions seem to balance both approaches, and the author's opinion is that for now we ought to take every option into consideration, even if we still are able to follow the line of research of Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*' after seeing how the arguments criticizing Motoori that have been shown until now may at times rise valid points, but do not manage to destroy his argument.

Next, we will take a look at Katō Genchi's definition of *kami*. In the first place, Katō explains what he considers to be "the Divine", that is, the sacred or numinous:

> *"By "the Divine" I mean any religious object or objects, be they Christian or be they Buddhist or be they of any other religious creed, whether in a lower order of religion or in a higher order or religion in the course of development—the Almighty God of the Christians or the Omniscient Buddha as the God of gods, an ancestral deity or a fetish-god, disembodied spirits or divine totemic animals, a*

god in theocratic religion or a god in theanthropic religion. If a man comes into

relation with such an object of religion, which is greater and stronger than himself,

and so far mysterious, unfathomable, incomprehensible, transcending the limit of

human knowledge, at least at some moment of time, therefore superior to man in

some sense or other, if a religious object so understood is put into relation with a

man, just as son is related with his father, and a friend with a friend, or if a man

has faith in such a kind of religious object and he believes that, for instance, his

prayers are granted, then we meet a fact of phenomenon, which can be

characteristically termed "religious." [Katō in Holtom, 1940b, p. 401]

As we can clearly see, Katō's definition of divinity or sacredness shares several common points with Otto's: (1) the universality of religious experience; (2) recognition of several stages and types of religious worship; (3) superiority of the divine over humanity; (4) *mysterium*; (5) wholly otherness; and (6) creature-feeling insofar as it has a relationship with man in which the divinity is evidently superior. But what is a *kami* then? Holtom helps us in this regard by defining what a *kami* is according to Katō's writings:

"Kami*, then, in its proper Japanese associations means the divine element of a Shintō-inspired culture, with divine understood in the sense just outlined. While the general significance is as just stated, the specific concepts which it infolds* [sic] *will vary from cultural stage to cultural stage and from age to age. To be*

understood it must be studied against the background of its historical evolution."

[Holtom, 1940b, pp. 401-2]

The point the author would like to highlight from this last section is that the concept of *kami* seems to hold a nucleus which consists of the numinous, the object of religion constitutes the core and reason of religious experience. In addition to this, the notion of *kami* does vary throughout the ages as the culture and the people change over time. Nonetheless, this nucleus remains stable, and when analyzing the concept of *kami* we must thus take into consideration that while the essence of the numinous remains, the different expressions of the divine do give us important and necessary clues regarding human's relationship with the *kami*. The nuances and transformation of religious speech accompany the cultural, political, and economic developments of every time period, and in order to analyze the meaning of *kami* we need to be able to separate this duality that permanently appears with the term. We will delve deeper into these matters once we arrive to the chapter dedicated to textual analysis.

As Otto, Holtom also provides us with what he considers are the three—actually four—main cultural stages of the development of Shintō, which the author lists as follows:

(a) Pre-animistic. Natural phenomena are identified, but not separated, from deities.

(b) Primitive nature worship or polydemonism. Beginning of the personification of natural and supernatural forcers.

(c) Higher nature worship or sheer polytheism. Completion of the personificacion and anthropomorphism of deities.

(d) Intellectualization and ethicalization of religious belief. Beginning of universalist philosophies and ethics; tendency towards pantheism.

This last developmental stage seems to have been the one to have given rise to the events of the Meiji period's religious sphere, as Katō claims:

"*Shintō [...] has culminated in Mikadoism or the worship of the Mikado or Japanese Emperor as a divinity, during his lifetime as well as after his death [...] Herein lies even at the even present day, in my opinion, the essence or life of Shintō, inseparably connected with the national ideas of the Japanese people. Japanese patriotism or loyalty, as you may call it, really is not the simple patriotism or mere loyalty as understood in the ordinary sense of the word, that is, in the mere ethical sense of the term. It is more—it is the lofty self-denying enthusiastic sentiment of the Japanese people towards their august Ruler, believed to be something divine, rendering capable of offering up anything and everything, all dearest to them, willingly, that is, of their own free will; of*

sacrificing not only their wealth or property, but their own life, for the sake of their divinely gracious Sovereign, as the example of the late revered general and countess Nogi well illustrated. All this is nothing but the actual manifestation of the religious consciousness of the Japanese people." [Katō in Holtom, 1940b, p. 404]

This statement makes clear something that the author would like to also highlight, and that is the necessity to take into consideration the daily practice of the Japanese people, from ancient to modern times, in order to be able to fully grasp their cultural notions of sacredness. Due to the limitations of the author's experience and the physical limits of the present essay, this will not be possible. Nevertheless, the horizon stays open for further research into this topic. We will, however, consider the figure of the Emperor in the selected texts of the following chapters, and see how the imperial figures are connected with the *kami* and other demonstrations of the experience of the numinous.

Next Holtom deals with the views of Harada Toshiaki (1893 – 1983) who, as he states "*deals entirely with the preanimistic or "animatistic" cultural level—with what Dr. Rudolf Otto calls the* numen *o the pre-rational sense of "the holy"—and it is here that he finds the most important data for the reconstruction of the original meaning of* kami" [Holtom, 1940b, p. 401]. Yet again we find a reference to Otto's concept of the numinous, which highlights its importance even in modern times. As we have seen earlier, other authors seem to agree on the existence of this core of *kami*-essence (the

numinous) and many of its characteristics as stated by Otto. Harada too defines *kami* in a similar way:

"*The original meaning of the Japanese term,* kami*, does not at all carry, in its earliest usage, the significance that it now has of animistic or personal existence. The sea, regarded as an object of awe, was* Okitsu Kami *("Kami of the of the* [sic] *offing") or* Watatsu no Kami *("Ocean-body* Kami*"). What was called* Kami no Misaka *("Kami* Hill*") did not indict a surmise of the existence of some divinity that possessed the hill. Also, when the tiger, the wolf and the serpent are regarded as objects of awe, they are immediately and in and of themselves* kami*. No matter what may be the truth about the etymological origin of the word* kami*, it is not a mistake to say that objects that were awesome (*osoru beki mono*) were called* kami *or were lauded as* kami*.*" [Holtom, 1940b, pp. 404 – 405]

Here we see how Harada comes extremely close to Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*.' The only possible difference would reside in whether or not Motoori did consider that divinity did effectively possessed everything referred to as *kami*. This last point would be likely since, in contrast to Harada, Motoori does not reduce the definition of *kami* to the element of awesomeness. It is in this element of awe and fear (*osoru*) that Holtom also highlights where Harada meets Otto's numinous. This feeling of awe and fear is

in Japanese referred to as *kashiko*, a term we have come across while analyzing Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*.' According to Holtom:

> "*Examples of the usage may be found in the term,* Kashiko-Dokoro, *"The Place of Awe" or "The Holy Place," the name given to the shrine of the sacred mirror of the Imperial Regalia that are handed on from sovereign to sovereign in the Enthronement Ceremonies of the Japanese state. It appears at the close of many* norito *or ritualistic prayers read before the altars of the Shintō deities [...] Here the form is* kashikomi no mōsu, *[恐美恐母須] and expression that may be variously translated, but which means: "With awe, with awe it is spoken."*" [Holtom, 1940b, p. 406]

The term *kashikomi* can be written in the following forms, according to Harada's studies and Holtom's use of the main meanings of each kanji according to dictionaries:

(a) 威: I. *Ikioi* (power), *takeshi* (valiant), *ogosoka* (impressive, majestic), *osore* (fear, awe). The equivalent of *majestas* and *energicum* in Otto, and of *suguretaru*, *tafutoki*, and *isaoshiki* in Motoori.

(b) 慄: RITSU. *Wakanaku* (to tremble), *ononoku* (to tremble), *osore* (fear, awe). In Otto it parallels the horror contained in the *mirum* and in the experience of the

creature-feeling whereas, in Motoori, it appears as terrifyingly superior (*suguretekashikoki*).

(c) 賢**:** KEN. *Suguru* (to Excel), *masaru* (to excel), *kashikoki* (majestic, awesome), *osore* (fear, awe). Again, here it parallels Otto's *majestas* and Motoori's *suguretaru*.

(d) 懼**:** KU. *Ononoku* (to tremble), *osore* (fear, awe). Once again, the trembling fear when confronting the numen in Otto, and when confronting the *kami* in Motoori.

(e) 貴**:** KI. *Tōtoshi* (precious, exalted), *uyamau* (to revere, to worship), *osore* (fear, awe). Ídem.

(f) 惶**:** KŌ. *Osoru* (to fear), *osore* (fear, awe). Ídem.

(g) 畏**:** I. *Kashikoshi* (majestic, solemn), *kashikomu* (to feel as holy, or majestic), *osore* (fear, awe). This is the character employed by Motoori to write *kashiko*, together with the emphatic *ka* that is no longer in use (可畏).

(h) 恐: KYŌ. *Osoroshii* (terrible, fearful), *kashikoshi* (majestic, solemn), *osoru*

(to fear), *osore* (fear, awe). Ídem.

According to this list, both the *kashiko* used by the *norito* (恐) and the *kashiko* used by

Motoori (畏) seem to have in common the nuance of the holiness and *majestas*.

Nevertheless, most of these characters used to express fear hold a similar element and

may be used in similar situations. Both Holtom and Harada relate this feeling of

osore/*kashiko* to the emotional side of the religious experience, linking it with Otto's

mysterium and *dämonische Scheu* [Holtom, 1940b, p. 407]. Harada adds, following the

influence of Höffding, that:

"*The reason why special classes of objects and events were regarded with*

religious awe by ancient man, that is, felt to be kashikoki*, was because, in*

connection with his feelings of awe towards these objects and events and his belief

that in the, resided either personal spirits or kami*, or impersonal essence or*

power, he discovered, in his relation to the qualities manifested in these objects

or events or human beings, a special meaning, that is, a value. These things were

*to him awesome (*kashikoki*) and fearsome (*osoru beki*). This is what Höffding*

*calls the sanctification of value (*kachi no seika*). This sense of value is, however,*

not ordinary valuation. If we borrow the words of Otto, it is a numen-value, that

*is, a religious value. Apart from this the idea of a god (*kami*) does not exist. A*

kami *is nothing other than the concrete expression of this sense of religious value,*

that is, of something that is kashikoki *or awesome. The ancient meaning of the Japanese conception of* kami *was nothing other than this*." [Holtom, 1940b, p. 409]

Once again Harada goes back to Otto's concept of the numinous. It is precisely in this overplus of meaning and value that constitutes the numinous and the *kami* that we may find an argument for the universality of religious experience. In addition, we here find more academics who support the author's previous comparative analysis between Otto's concept of the numinous and Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*' on top of Nakano's. Following Harada's examination of the numinous in classical literature, Holtom summarizes his finds as follows [Holtom, 1940b, p. 411]:

a) *Itsu*. [嚴,稜威,斎]. This term is found widely in the names applied to the deities, sacred personages, and sacred objects of Old Shintō. Examples of the usage of this term are: *Itsuki-me* [斎女]("Sacred Female"), *Itsu-nusa* [伊都幣]("Sacred Offerings"), *Itsu-no-wo-habari* [伊都之尾羽張] ("Majestic Point Blade Extended"), *Itsuki-no-Miya* [斎宮]("The Majestic Shrine"), *Mi-idzu* (*Mi-itsu*) [御稜威] ("the sacred virtue of the Emperor"), *Itsu-kushi* ("majestic"), and *Itsu-kushimu* ("to love").

b) *Ikashi* [嚴,重,茂]. At times written with the same character as *itsu*, but used to express several meanings such as "solem," "majestic," "luxuriant," or "full of life."

c) *Iku* [生,活]. A term that carries the idea of life and vital power. Holtom highlights that it is many times used in ancient classics as a prefix added to proper nouns in order to express emotions caused by the experience of numinous-like elements [Holtom, 1940b, p. 411].

As we can observe from this array of selected terminology, the Japanese language does contain quite a bit of words related to the experience of the different qualities of what Otto calls the numinous. Yet again we here find another indication of, on the one hand, the universality of the numinous as the *a priori* core of religious experience and, on the other hand, the existence of a concept similar —if not equal—to that of Otto's numinous in Shintō thought and belief. In addition, the extensive Japanese vocabulary that we have encountered up until now, even if it contains different nuances depending on the kanji used for each word, can be condensed both in the terms used by Otto when defining the numinous and by Motoori's terms found in his 'Definition of *kami*.'

3.2 – *Kami* Considered as Mana

We will now focus on examining the concept of *kami* in relation to what anthropology has deemed mana, a notion denoting the sacred life force around us. The notion of mana is not of particular relevance for us insofar as it stands in very close relation to the numinous, which is our preferred term of analysis in this essay. What is relevant here is the analysis carried out by Holtom for he refers to a wide array of native Japanese sources that we would otherwise not have been able to have access to, so we will be focusing on this term for now. Almost immediately we once again find a reference to Otto's concept of the numinous, but not before Holtom decides to reiterate the difficulties that lie ahead of the present inquiry:

> "*It is futile to approach the study from the point of view of the contemporary occidental idea of god. The fact that the objects and events which must be classified outside of the proper modern definition of deity are numerous among the* kami *makes it necessary to look for an original complex of experience beneath the* kami-*idea, or the* kami-*emotion, that it's broader and more fundamental than the idea of god*." [Holton, 1941, p. 352]

In relation to the point just raised, that the contemporary western idea of god does not suffice in order to understand the broad complexities of the *kami* category, the author would like to indicate a certain degree of parallelism to the subject of classifying Shintō in terms of animism or poly/pantheism. As the analysis of the current essay develops,

we seem to be finding more and more indications that a different framework of though may be necessary for a proper inquiry of Shintō. The author has mentioned earlier on the possibility of maintaining the argumentative position of a general, universal structure of religious experience complemented and differentiated among cultures through their own developmental variations and the distinctive worldviews which follow. Insofar as we have seen, Holtom's examination of the *kami*-concept seems to be falling in line with the author's hypothesis. In the same line:

> "*the representations of spirits, souls, gods and goddesses in the Japanese overworld are simply modes of interpreting a precedent experience or emotion to which they are subsidiary, that conceptions of personalized spirits and gods are forms that indicate a rationalization or religion, not the original springs of religion itself.*" [Holtom, 1941, p.352]

Thus, the *kami*-emotion and the *kami*-concept are two different things. The *kami*-emotion is to be identified with the feeling of the numinous, and the *kami*-concept with a more elaborated —even if not necessarily rational— construction, the construction of a framework to further delve into and develop the experience of that sacred *kami* thing. Now, in order to elaborate into *kami* as mana one ought to go back to the basics, as far as it is historically feasible and, like Holtom, elaborate on the use and characteristics of early Japanese magical implements. The author considers this to be of extreme importance for the present research, for many of these elements will appear later on during the analysis of selected texts from the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. Thus,

we will now observe and, where appropriate, comment on Holtom's analysis of this magical items and practices:

(a) Road *kami*: based on the role of Izanagi's staff, and known either as *Funado no Kami* 船戸ノ神 (Boat-Door-*Kami*), alternatively written as 岐ノ神 with the meaning of Crossroads-*Kami* or Branch-*Kami*; or *Kunado no Ōji* (Come-not-Place-Great Ancestor). They are most likely related to phallic objects and rituals. Yakamawa Uichi classifies this deity as Barrier-*kami* (*Sae no kami*) [Holtom, 1941, p. 358], for it seems they were situated as phallic images at roads and crossroads in order to avoid both the presence of evil spirits and sickness. Evidence of this is found in *norito*, which references the *Michiae no matsuri*, a festival for the Road-*Kami*. The rock that Izanagi employs to seal the entrance to *Yomi no Kuni* is considered a *kami* belonging to this category. Regarding the evidence for these *kami* as phallic symbols, this view is defended by both Katō [Holtom, 1941, p. 362] and Holtom [Holtom, 1941, p. 363] among others.

(b) Peaches. The peaches Izanagi employed to successfully scape from *Yomi no Kuni* became *kami*. Holtom argues that they were used in the classical texts as so due to their connection with female sex magic and their powers as magical implements of protection [Holtom, 1941, p. 363]. It would be of great interest

to analyze the magical power and potential of other foodstuffs and their relationship with the mythological narratives. In any case, there are Chinese stories regarding the power of peaches that seem to hold them in the same high degree of esteem as protective items.

(c) The Eight Great *Kami* of Idzushi. A collection of powerful magical objects introduced in Japan by Ama-no-Hiboko, a prince from Silla, in 27 BCE. Within this *kami*-objects we find several categories, since they comprise four scarfs, two mirrors, and two strings of beads according to the *Kojiki*, or, in as narrated in the *Nihon shoki*, three jewels, one to two swords, one spear, one (sun-)mirror, and one *himorogi*, or, as narrated in the *Kujiki*, which ups the count to ten items, two mirrors, one sword, four jewels, and three scarfs.

    a. Scarfs. Pieces of cloth worn by women on the head, hanging down over the shoulders to the breasts, their magical power possibly originating from their association with female hair [Holtom, 1941, p. 366]. Among their uses, the classics include the following: a scarf to raise the wind, a scarf to still the wind, a snake-scarf, a bee-scarf, and a multiuse scarf.

b. Mirrors: in addition to the very well-known passages of the *kami* Amaterasu returning light to the world partially through the use of a *kami*-mirror and the existence of the sun-mirror as one of the three Imperial Regalia, mirrors as magical implements were of particular importance since ancient Japan. This was very likely due to their association with light and reflection, which are able to eliminate darkness and reflect back any possible evil influence. Also, Holtom highlights the mirror's seeing abilities, which surpassed demon's skills for disguise and concealment [Holtom, 1941, p. 368].

c. Jewels and strings of beads: the prime mythological example from the classics is Izanagi's transfer or power and right to rule to Amaterasu through a string of *magatama* jewels. According to Holtom, the magical power of these items came from their resemblance to animal claws and the phases of the moon [Holtom, 1941, p. 371], both things that represented the mysterious powers of nature.

d. Swords and spears: these were both weapons that were part of daily and ritual life, and their protective abilities are quite straight-forward. Their magical prowess seems to be connected to thunder as a terrible, frightening *kami*.

e. Animals: there are several animals which tend to be perceived as *kami*, and also some which are considered to the messengers of the *kami*, even

if at times both may overlap as we can observe in the episode relating the downfall of Yamato Takeru in Mount Ibuki.

    i. The Wolf: it its known as *Ōkami* (Great *Kami*), and also as *Ōguchi no kami* (Great-Mouthed-*Kami*), and also said to be the messenger of the deity of Mimine. It seems to be a guarding or protective type of *kami*.

    ii. The Tiger: the tiger came to be known in Japan through Korea, where it seems to also have been revered as a deity.

    iii. The Serpent: snakes are a recurring theme regarding *kami* transformations and appearances. As we will see during the sections related to textual analysis, there are several instances in which the *kami* either are snakes, are disguised as snakes, or are snakes in disguise. Maybe because of their shaped and quickness of attack, they are also related to thunder, as seen in the case of *Ikadzuchi no kami*.

    iv. White animals: white animals were considered messages from the *kami* or good omens in general. However, there are instances where they may be either the messengers of a particular *kami* or the *kami* itself, as in the case of the white boar of Mount Ibuki.

f. Additional categories :

    i. Thunder: the word itself, *kaminari*, can be divided into *kami-sound*. As we have just seen, the thunder *kami* could also present

itself as a serpent and reside in a certain place, such as a mountain.

ii. Mountains: it seems to be quite common for mountains to be *kami*. The most common example is that of Mount Fuji.

iii. The Wind: the wind that blows from the Great Shrines of Ise is known as *Kamu-kaze* (*Kami*-Wind), and favorable winds for sailing are also considered *kami*.

From this recollection of magical implements that came to be considered as *kami* we can observe how they fit quite well on both the categories established by Otto in his study of the numinous and Motoori in his 'Definition of *kami*.' The several magical implements are considered *kami* in base of their miraculous, supernatural powers. The same applies to the incredible life-force of nature, be it presented by animals or blowing winds. Natural anomalies such as a white deer or anything unusual are recipients of this tremendous mystery in particular fashion, and so are deemed to be of a special quality. Weapons such as swords and spears have both quotidian and ritual functions, and thus are able to close the gap between sacred and profanity with their ability to take life, be it for survival or for honoring the enigmatic forces of nature.

In order for us to unearth the meaning the ancient Japanese gave to these various supernatural entities filled with life-force (mana) and referred to as *kami*, the study of

the names of the *kami* present in the classics are kay. We find ourselves, however, in an unsolvable conundrum for:

> "*The study of the meaning of* kami *finds its most extensive and at the same time most difficult field of research in the vast array of legitimate deities which Old Shintō presents in overwhelmingly complicated proportions* […] *The original and correct meanings of the names of many of the gods and goddesses listed in the* Kojiki*,* Nihongi*,* Kujiki*,* Kogoshūi*, and* Engishiki *are lost beyond recovery; their functions are often unstated and obscure; the documents names are frequently irreconcilable with each other and sometimes internal confusion exists in one and the same writing.*" [Holtom, 1941, p. 379]

This means that any possible analysis is likely to at best be incomplete and, at worst, erroneous beyond measure. Nevertheless, since these classical texts are the only source that exists for us to go on with the examination of *kami* in the ancient and classical age, there is simply no other option than to continue with the attempts at an etymology and a conceptualization. We have previously reflected on how truth either does not exist or is unknowable to us, so the obscurity of the terms does not really matter in the end. Now, how does this primeval idea of *kami* has developed into an individual, identifiable *kami*. While the question is intriguing, Holtom's attempt at a response is quite lacking, for he states that:

"*The early Japanese appeased various fear-inspiring* Kami *that were believed to have power to inflict curses and evil, but these are not true gods. It is only when the man-*kami *relationship has in it the possibility of dependency for goodness that the true god emerges.*" [Holtom, 1941, p. 381]

The first part of the previous quote indicates how fear-inspiring *kami* are personalized: a snake bites and may be venomous, etc. And that is all quite good and feasible. The claim, however, that only *kami* that dispense goodness upon humans are true deities—is in this context *kami* equated to deity? It does not seem too clear—negates the existence of a majority of the *kami*, and also establishes a clear-cut distinction between *kami* and other supernatural deities, such as *yōkai*. Not only does this go against Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*,' but it also introduces the indeterminacy of the problem of evil. In addition to this, what about *kami* who do nor good nor evil? Without the relation of dependency for goodness, they would also not be considered *kami*. In other words, Holtom's claim in this regard takes the extremely broad category of what *kami* are and reduces it considerably for no reason at all.

In addition to this previous point, Holtom continues by pointing out that:

"*The word* Kami *as the title of a deity cannot properly stand alone in the common usage of Old Shintō. It must be accompanied by an attributive modifier that indicates function. The god is always a particular kind of* kami *that is, a*

specialized manifestation of occult power […] *To be worshipped as a god, the* kami-*power must be construed as in some way an aid to man in meeting the* *problems of the struggle for existence.*" [Holtom, 1941, p. 386]

If we consider the points raised by Holtom in the previous citation, we find ourselves even more conflicted for we now also need to determine which kind of aid each *kami* provides in order to be considered *kami*. Let's ponder, for example, the case of Magatsubi, the evil *kami par excellence*. Even if evil, he seems to still be considered *kami*. Even if Magatsubi were to try to help humans, according to Motoori's examination, it would backfire, as oftentimes happens to Susa-no-wo, and thus no aid would be successfully provided. Holtom proposes a relationship of dependency, and since the aid would not work, this does not exist. If it were to work, it would have to be aid on an evil deed, which could not possibly be categorized as goodness unless only an individual's perspective were to be the determining aspect of *kami*-ness. There are just too many problems associated with this argument even if Motoori's definition were to be altered.

What the author would like to highlight in this regard, however, is the possibility that the power or bonds between humans are *kami* may be a deciding factor in the nature and effectiveness of worship. This would be in line with one of the meanings of *religio* as *re-ligare*, and maybe even with the concept of *musubi*. The Stoics also held the belief that all things are woven together, and their bond is sacred. Even if this naturally falls

in line with their pantheistic views, it could also apply to an importance of the role of bonds in Shintō without having to adhere to pantheism. Since the term *kami* ought to always be followed by a description of the *kami* in questions, this would show a clear tendency towards animism or polytheism rather than towards pantheism:

> "*If we are to seek an adequate translation of* kami *in the generic sense of mysterious power, or of* Kami *as a deification, we must make use of a descriptive phrase. A* kami-*object is a holy or sacred object; a* kami-*person is a holy or sacred person. A deity is not properly designated when merely called* Kami. *Correct regard for the historical Japanese usage requires the attachment of a descriptive element indicating some primary function or characteristic*." [Holtom, 1941, p. 392].

Once again we may here find a problem of liminality within the notion of *kami*. Reducing the word *kami* to holy or sacred, that is, to the numinous, takes away a very important element of *kami*-ness: volition. The author would like to propose volition as a necessary characteristic of *kami*, since it would allow to distinguish purely magical implements of actual *kami*. As an *omamori* is an item with magical potency but is not a *kami*, the peaches Izanagi threw are to be differentiated from regular magical peaches, for not all peaches are magical nor are all magical peaches to be *kami*. In this scenario we may imagine Izanagi's peaches to be magical peaches, since otherwise he would not have used them to defend himself (debatable). Anyhow, these peaches, supposed

to have magical properties, became *kami* after being successfully employed as magical items. This means that *kami*-ness is to imply something other than its being magical. Since *kami*-objects can be revered and that means being asked things, it is natural to assume that everything with *kami*-ness should have some kind of will according to which they may determine whether or not to carry out an action. Possible proof of this is Motoori's statement that evil *kami* may try to do good even if it goes against their nature. A result of this is that *kami* are numinous but not everything numinous can be *kami*.

Since *kami* are numinous but the numinous is not necessarily *kami*, we now have to consider not the concept of *kami* as the foundation of the Shintō religious experience, since it does not equal the numinous. The term *kashiko* also does not seen to equate it in an exact manner, so we will now introduce Iwasawa Tomoko's analysis of *tama* as a possible *a priori* of the numinous phenomenon. This approach is based on an examination of the *Kojiki* in a remythologizing manner in order to advocate for the view that *tama*, and not *kami*, is what in reality lies at the core of the Japanese religious experience [Iwasawa, 2011, p. ix]. In order to achieve this goal the methodology of H.G. Gadamer and P. Ricoeur's hermeneutical theory are employed. Beginning, as it is natural, from the beginning with an analysis of the word *tama*, which can be written with the following ideographs:

a. 靈 (spirit)

b. 魂 (soul)

c. 珠 (jewel/bead)

d. 玉 (spherical shape)

Motoori argues that 靈 (spirit) is the character which best represents the essence of the concept of *tama* [Iwasawa, 2011, pp. 13-4]. Breaking this ideograph into its radical components, we find that is is composed of 雨 (rain), 品 (bowls), and 巫 (female medium), thus providing us with a narrative about a female medium offering bowls to a deity in exchange for rain. Because the character for 靈 can also be read as *hi* as in sun and fire, Iwasawa is another scholar who considers this to be sufficient reason to connect the concept of fire with that of spirit. This notion of 'spirit' and 'fire' is reminiscent of Heraclitus' considerations of fire as the source of life and movement of the cosmos. This way the all-encompassing flame of life burns due to the reunion of the elements in itself suggests an image of the universe as an existence of both creative and destructive processes. If we here refer to the mythology we find that not only is Izanami, the mother, the *kami* of life, brought to her chthonic nature due to being killed by fire, but also that this fire was produced from her birthing new life. Thus, we find that in similar way the 'fire' element of *hi* is present in the word *musubi*, which may mean either to come into being; to be born 産す/生す or to steam 蒸す—an action also

related to fire and the concatenation of the rest of the elements within it. This understanding of fire/spirit as a life-generating force also relates it to the concept of breathing (*iki* 息) [Iwasawa, 2011, p.15], and from this Iwasawa concludes that:

"*So the word* musu-hi *can be ultimately interpreted as 'the mysterious, awe-inspiring quality that brings about whatever comes into being' or, steamy (ghostly) light/fire. What Motoori discovered in the* Kojiki *is this mysterious quality of* tama*, the vital force that motivates whatever comes into being* […] *It is from this force of* tama *that even the experience of* kami *is originated;* kami *is no more than a concrete manifestation of the* tama *of* musu-hi *in this world. More primal than the experience of* kami*, the* tama *of* musu-hi *constituted what Motoori views underlay the core of the ancient Japanese religious experience*." [Iwasawa, 2011, p. 15]

As we mentioned in an earlier paragraph, the concept of *kami* does not equate the concept of the numinous but contains it within itself. As Iwasawa proposes, the concept of *tama* seems to be on a more equal footing to that of Otto's numen, and so it is necessary for us to delve into a deeper analysis of Iwasawa's argument sustaining her claims, which the author will now proceed to outline:

First, Iwasawa's analysis of the concept of *tama* in Motoori Norinaga includes the following points:

a. *Tama* rejects any kind of abstraction and idealization, manifesting itself in concrete forms.

b. Since *tama* rejects all abstraction and reasoning, the only way to understand it is through feeling and emotion.

c. *Tama* precedes any rationalization and moralization.

As far as the notion of *tama* in Motoori is found, we can observe a clean-cut difference to the principal lines of Western-style analysis of god, which tends to focus solely on establishing a 'solid' foundation of god-ness based on merely logical principles. As we have seen in the initial remarks of this essay, these logical principles have the possibility of standing quite far away from anything resembling any probable truth. This is particularly accurate when dealing with abstract notions, such as the concept of god or the numinous, for neither reason nor the senses can bring forth any form of scientific statements. Because of this, in order to understand Motoori's argument we have no other choice but to abandon the idea of reason that the Enlightenment so kindly gave us, and go back to Heraclitus' version of the Greek *logos*. In addition, we cannot but highlight how Otto's examination of the *a priori* of religious experience also took him to a numen that has no pretensions of neither reason nor morals, a claim that also aligns with Iwasawa's writings.

In the case of an analysis of the concept of *tama* in Hirata Atsutane, one ought to include that Orikuchi relates the notion of *tama* to that of egg (*tama-go*, or child of *tama*). In turn, this relates to Heraclitus's concept of *physis*, which is characterized both by rising up and concealment and encompasses both the light and dark aspects of existence. While Hirata explores *tama* in a material dimension, relating it to the body and tying it to the word *musubu* as 結ぶ, to knot together or to have sexual intercourse, which makes him focus his analysis in gender dichotomy, he also goes against Motoori's interpretation, of fire, blood, and death as defilement, maintaining that there is a doble meaning in these representations as they are essential elements of the world. Thus, against Motoori's *tama* as the vital force of *nature*, Hirata maintains that *tama* is embodied and destined to go through the highs and lows of life. [Iwaswa, 2011, pp. 31-41]. In other words, we find that Motoori considers *tama* as 靈 whereas Hirata conceives *tama* as 魂 which is composed of the radicals for 'cloud, ephemeral' (云) and 'ghost, deceased spirit' (鬼), and ties right in with the influence of Christianity in Hirata's thought. Hence, "*Motoori's* tama *is inseparably connected with the notion of* life*, whereas Hirata's* tama *is defined by* death." [Iwasawa, 2011, p.45].

Orikuchi's *tama-go* does seem to encompass a notion that can be related to the *physis* of classical Greece. The reason for this is that this *physis* included not only nature in its meaning, but also the nuance of growth. This concept of *physis* goes hand in hand with Heraclitus' thought, which was of a pantheistic nature and focused of the perpetual

change of the state of things. He saw fire as the unifying element of the universe, as its perennial movement transforms all other elements and, far from connecting it with notions of defilement, considered it the essence of life force. In a similar line, Hirata turns away from Motoori's claims of fire as a defiling concept and situates it in the sphere of life. It would also be of interest to consider both Motoori and Hirata's views on *tama* with regards to their own personal biographies, as that may help clarify their very different views and opposing views on the subject. Even if this is a subject out of the scope of this research, it may be an interesting proposal for future studies.

Lastly, regarding Hirata's focus on gender dichotomy, the author considers it to be an interesting approach. Nevertheless, the author would also like to take into consideration the ideological framework of the classical texts when taking gender into account, for this could potentially lead to results of great value for a deeper understanding of the religious sphere at the time. We will attempt this later on in the section of textual analysis, for it seems to the author that there are several cases in which either this dichotomy or the assignation of gender is rather curious.

The author would also like to reflect upon Iwasawa's attempts at defining the concept of *tama*, which consist of three definitions the first of which consists of *tama* as a mediator between two realms, the natural and the supernatural. This first possible definition falls in line with Otto's concept of the numinous, which seems to be more visible in certain objects or locations where something able to establish a bridge

between this world and the other world, and that, in addition, separates the realms of the sacred and the profane through its presence, which is the wholly other and thus, unworldly, out-of-this-world, supernatural.

A second definition of *tama* is brought forth by Iwasawa by considering *tama* as life force and/or *Tama* as dead spirits. In addition to the Motoori-Hirata debate, Iwasawa also delves into the arguments brought forth by scholars Orikuchi Shinobu and Yanagita Kunio [Iwasawa, 2011, p. 74]. While Orikuchi sided with Motoori's argumentation and defended the role of *tama* as life force with his theories on the *daijōsai* or *mitama-no-fuyu*, where he claimed *tama* is infused in the Emperor's body in order to restore either his health or that of the country. Yanagita sided with Hirata's views, as he considered the rituals and beliefs of the Imperial House to not be the same as those of the common people. Thus, he focused on the *tama* of the deceased and defended his position through four examples related to folk religion:

1. That *tama* stays in this world even after death.
2. That communication with the dead is commonplace.
3. That one's last wish is to be realized after passing.
4. That this realization occurs when one's *tama* transmigrates to another person's body.

Regarding this second definition, the author initially considers that the notion of *tama* as life force and *tama* as the spirits of the deceased are not mutually exclusive since the ghosts are most likely 'fueled' by a person's remaining life force coalescing into this world after death due to some kind of regret. Orikuchi's focus on the *mitama-fuyu* brings forth an interesting possibility: that of acquiring a portion of *tama* that is not our own. In other words, one's life force and, thus, both physical and spiritual strength, can be improved with no regard to own's acquired lot at birth. It is easy to observe how this could lead to several rituals in order to attempt immortality could have arisen, and this would also open a new research line for the future. A parallel argumentation runs along Yanagita's claims, since he presents us the folk belief that one's last wish is to be realized *if* one's *tama* transmigrates into another persons' body. This is an extremely interesting point, for not only does it seems to be a little bit strange considering that one can communicate with the *tama* of the deceased in order to ask for their last will if it were necessary, but it seems to be a concept quite close to that of possession.

Regarding this understanding of *tama* in relation with the Emperor's body, the author would like to highlight how the Yamato court's ritual system was conceived around a series of circular areas of purity and danger with the figure of the Emperor at its center [Alaszewska, 2018, p. 23]—both abstract and physical; a point which also connects us with the importance assigned to the body 身 *mi* in the mythological narrative of the

Kojiki. In this regard, see Wittkampt, R.F. "The Body as a Mode of Conceptualization in the *Kojiki* Cosmogony" (2018).

Finally, we also find a definition of *tama* as a dialectical unifying force. Iwasawa argues that "*the concept of* tama *fundamentally encompasses both contradictory aspects. This is suggested by the fact that* tama *traditionally consisted of two different aspects:* nigi-mitama *(*和魂*: literally meaning 'peaceful* tama*') and* ara-mitama *(*荒魂*: literally meaning 'wild* tama*').*" [Iwasawa, 2011, p. 75] This argument for *tama* as a dialectical force encompassing both the peaceful and wild aspects of the cosmos, this peaceful-wild dialectic, is also expressed by the good-evil dichotomy. Regarding this moral aspect of *tama*, Iwasawa points to the argument of Matsumae Takeshi in his *Nihon Shinwa no Kenkyū* 日本神話の研究 (1954-1959), and expresses it as follows:

> "*The word 'ara' in* ara-mitama *originally means 'to appear,' so* ara-mitama *simply denoted the '*tama *that appears (*顕現御魂*: are-mitama).' The word* mi-tama *(honorific prefix 'mi' + 'tama') usually indicates 'the* tama *of divinity,' not an ordinary person's* tama*. So* ara-mitama *means 'the appearance of the divine* tama*,' or more elaboratively, 'the phenomenon in which the god's* tama *reveals itself through a vision/dream, or a medium.' Then why did this concept acquire evil connotations at later ages? Matsumae maintains that the divine* tama*, when peaceful, was supposed to stay in one sacred place; this condition was called* nigi-

mitama. *It was only in a emergency that the* tama *needed to depart this sacred place to send a divine message. This extraordinary and awful emergency situation riled the departing* tama *into a wild condition. The ancient Japanese further believed that if one did not follow this divine message, one would be accursed by the wrath of the wild* tama. *Thus the* ara-mitama, *originally meaning 'the appereence of the divine* tama,' *gradually began to connotate 'the wrath of the divine,' and even 'the evil spirit that brings a curse.' Matsumae's analysis suggests that the concepts of* nigi-mitama *and ara-mitama did not originally imply any dualism of good and evil.*" [Iwasawa, 2011, p. 75]

According to this, Matsumae seems to propose an evolution from *are*(顕現)-*mi-tama* to *ara*(荒)-*mi-tama*. Phonetically, it seems feasible for this change to have happened.

The question the author would like to rise is that of the relationship between the following concepts. In the first place, the dichotomy *nigi-ara* is quite easily comprehensible, as peace-violence is a common dialectic. If we, however, change the *ara* for *are*, the dichotomy disappears as this dialectical relationship becomes *nigi-are*, peaceful-present. Thus, it seems that in order for *are* to have become *ara*, the term *nigi* should have also been preceded by another. Taking into account that the opposite of *are* ought to be 'hidden' in some sense or another, it would be interesting to connect *nigi* with the *kami* in its facet of *kakuri*. We may be able to ascribe this to earlier developments of the numinous, as it is possible for an *a priori* experience of *mi-tama* to have been further elaborated upon by the mind into the terrible and violent wrath or

retribution, the Greek's ὀργή θεοῦ that Otto draws upon for his inquiry, and the contrast with its fascinating character.

Another point of interest would be that of the reasons and nature of the 'wildering' of the *tama*. In the case of *are-mi-tama*, if the *mi-tama* is only present during emergencies, then many of the *kami* that appear in the classics should have no reason for appearing in the stories at all, especially in their visible human forms. In addition to this, the *are-mi-tama* that manifests itself when being summoned upon a *yorishiro* during *matsuri* also ought to not have appeared. This manifestations of *mi-tama* do not seem to follow that logic. Also, there are many cases in which the *mi-tama* has taken its sweet time to appear when needed. Interestingly, when considering this *are-nigi* conceptions of *tama*, these are always *mi-tama*, that is, the *tama* pertaining to a deity and not a person, at least according to Matsumae. This once again raises the question of the difference between *tama* and *kami*. As we have previously seen, it does not seem possible for the *tama* as numinous to be the same thing as *kami*. Nevertheless, an honored (*mi*) form of *tama* is used for *kami*. This can be appreciated several times throughout the classics, and in particular during the sections related to Empress Jingū. Even though Empress Jin-gū is, according to the *Kiki*, possessed by *kami*, these forms of *mi-tama* do identify themselves as *kami*. In addition to this, the *ara-mitama* that accompany her during her military campaigns are also identified as *kami*.

It could be that *kami* (*kakuri*) were a general term to describe the appearance of *tama* (the numinous), and that over time this concept came to be a more elaborated mythological worldview. However, the problem of this assumption resides in why would a perfectly good word for the numinous (*tama*) with already several differentiated variations (present-*tama*, peaceful-*tama,* violent *tama*, divine-*tama*), would require the word *kami*? A possible solution may possibly be found in what we have seen about Holtom's analysis on the meaning of *kami*: that the word *kami* is not to be used in general terms but is always accompanied by prefixes and adjectives which denote the function(s) of whichever *kami* is being talked about. If this were to be correct, then we would end up with the following:

(a) The concept of *tama* may stand as a synonym of the concept of the numinous.

(b) The concept of *tama* is not the same as the concept of *kami*.

    a. All *kami* are *tama*, but not all *tama* is *kami*.

    b. The main difference between the concepts of *tama* and *kami* is the specificity of the concept of *kami*.

(c) The concept of *tama* may potentially be classified into the following categories:

    a. *Mi-tama* (divine *tama*)

    b. *Are(a)-mi-tama* (Present (violent) divine *tama*)

    c. *Nigi-mi-tama* (Peaceful divine *tama*)

    d. *Kushi-mi-tama* (Wondrous divine *tama*)

    e. *Saki-mi-tama* (Lucky divine *tama*)

(d) *Tama* may their own volition and can identify themselves.

Thus, in this chapter we have seen several considerations on the term *kami*. Beginning with an etymological analysis of the term, in which the notions of *kagami*, *kakuri*, and the syllable *mi* where meanings similar to Otto's *mysterium* and Motoori's *kashiko* can be found. We then approach the subject from the perspective of native Japanese authors such as Saeki Ariyoshi and Katō Genchi. Taking Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*,' as an starting point, we have analyzed the greatest problematic to an understanding of the notion of *kami*: its broadness. Even with Motoori's examinations on the term as a guide, the differentiation between *kami* and other supernatural entities remains nebulous, and it is likely that it will remain so in the foreseeable future. Lastly, we have taken into consideration the concept of *kami* as mana or *tama*. With both terms referencing the life-force present all around us, we have concluded that *tama* (mana) are the same as the numinous. The term *kami,* however, includes the numinous in itself, but it is not reduced to it. Thus, we have concluded that all *kami* are numinous entities, but not everything that is numinous is *kami*. In the same way, all *kami* are *tama*, but all *tama* is *kami*. This numen/*tama* can be classified into several categories, which include the *mi-tama* (divine *tama*), divided in four different elements according to the *ichirei seikon* theory: *ara* (violent), *nigi* (peaceful), *kushi* (wondrous), and *saki* (lucky) *mi-tama*. Lastly, we have proposed that a possible differentiating element from *tama* and *kami* is the presence of volition. It is unclear whether or not at what point Otto's numinous is assigned this element. He does, however, consider in profundity the notion

of divine wrath, a characteristic which does require the existence of a divine will so we can, at least, guarantee that even if not directly expressed, it is a notion that appears in his analysis.

Now that we have started to scratch the surface of what the meaning of the concept of *kami* may be, we will now proceed to the following section, where we will commence with the analysis of selected texts of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* by the author, observing whether or not Otto's and Motoori's elements regarding the numinous/*kami* appear, and whether or not the notion of *tama* is presented differently from that of *kami*.

Part II — Textual Analysis

Chapter 4 — Textual Analysis Part I: Izanagi and Izanami, Susa-no-wo and Amaterasu

In the present chapter we will analyze a compilation of texts selected by the author in relation to the presence in them of the concept of the numinous. These fragmentary sections of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* have been chosen merely in basis of their content which, within the realms of possibility, the author has considered show more clearly and plainly the presence of the numinous through the mythological narrative. Before beginning the analysis of the texts of the Age of the *Kami*, we will first introduce the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* and attempt to explain their content and context within the wider realm of Japanese literature.

4.1 – Japanese Literature: The *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*

We will now continue with a brief introduction to the context of Japanese Literature insofar the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* are concerned. In order to do so the author has consider that Katō's *History of Japanese Literature: The First Thousand Years* would be an appropriate first contact with the subject. The reason for this is that Katō's work begins with several considerations on the main elements that distinguish and differentiate Japanese Literature from other Literatures while also taking into account the social and historical background that accompanied the changes and transformations

of the written world. First of all, Katō claims that the principal distinctive features of Japanese Literature are to be found and accounted for due to their relationship with five main factors: (a) the role of literature in Japanese culture as a whole; (b) the patterns of Japanese culture's historical development; (c) the nature of the Japanese language and of its writing systems; (d) the nature of Japan's social background and literature itself; and (5) the all-encompassing *Weltanschauung* regarding the processes of life and death, religion, and philosophy [Katō, 1979, p.1].

In contrast with the West's tendency to create abstract systems of thought and to philosophize either from or to the world of the ideas, Japanese thought seems to have a preferred means of expression through concrete literary works and the visual arts [Katō, 1979, p.1]. This focus on the now and the practicalities of the material work permeate most of the Japanese approaches to philosophy and are of particular importance when considering the classical texts. While there are two exceptions to this rule, both in the Kamakura period's Buddhism and in the Confucianism of the Tokugawa regime during Edo, in general terms "*the undeniable tendency of Japanese culture is to avoid logic, the abstract and systematization, in favour of emotion, the concrete and the unsystematic*" [Katō, 1979, p.2]. An attentive reader will soon realize that this begs the questions of whether or not can we be aware of this fact and yet still attempt to analyze Japanese thought from the Western cultural cannon. In response to this, the author considers that, on the one hand applying Western philosophical methodologies would in this case lead to a series of interesting questions, which are

always a worthwhile academic endeavor. On the other hand, these methodologies seem likely to fail help us understand the emotional and *a priori* religious feelings in the classical texts. Nevertheless, approaching this text in a purely Japanese manner would be close to impossible for us, so for now we cannot but proceed in such a manner.

According to Katō:

 "in Japan, literature, at least to a certain degree, fulfilled the role of philosophy in Europe and at the same time influenced art to a level unparalleled in Europe […] *in Japan the history of literature is to a large extent the history of thought and sensitivity."* [Katō, 1979, p.3]

It is precisely due to this reason that the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* will provide us with what the author considers to be one of the principal sources for the understanding of the numinous as the core of the religious experience in Shintō. Even if these texts were created by and for the Yamato court nobility with a deeper and complex ideological purpose in mind, the myths and mental frameworks they heavily borrow from come from popular Shintō beliefs. Thus, these texts do allow us to peek into early expressions of the *a priori* of the objects of faith, for they both include previous mythologies and tales from all over the land and the heavily ritualistic influence of the Imperial court of the period. Nevertheless, it is necessary to keep in mind that the language of these written works was of oral nature, as expressed by the need of Ō no Yasumaru to write

down—and "correct"—the accounts memorized by Hiyeda no Are. In order to achieve this, the Chinese writing system that had been previously borrowed from the continental mainland had to be adapted, and because of this there are parts of the written text of the *Kojiki* that remain obscure, particularly the songs.

A similar albeit different problem occurs with the *Nihon shoki*. Written in Classical Chinese, the language and the Japanese-style pronunciations of the ideograms seem to have been of quite a particular nature, and so we find that:

> "*as a famous anecdote from the eleventh century illustrates, knowledge about the* Nihongi *was by then considered to be extraordinary: Lady Murasaki, the author of the* Genji Monogatari*, was praised by Emperor Ichijō for her command of the ancient chronicle and became therefore known as the "court lady of the* Nihongi*"* (Nihongi no o-tsubone*). Another hundred years later, the eminent court scholar Oe Masafusa 大江正房 (1041-111) revealed in his diary that he had read the* Nihongi *only in part and that it was "hard to understand."* [Scheid, 2014, p. 287].

This anecdote provided by Scheid clearly illustrates that early on in the history of Japanese Literature these classical texts, and in particular the *Nihon shoki*, had already become obscure written works which required of highly specialized scholarship in order to be not only understood, but simply read. In addition to this, it is necessary to also take into consideration the aspect of secrecy, as it directly impacted the

transmission of these texts. According to Teuween, in the case of pre-modern Japan the dynamics and ideological framework may even be considered as a "culture of secrecy" [Teuween, 2014, p. 2]. The attempts at limiting the transmission of the *Nihon shoki* to a particular lineage, first that of the Fujiwara and, later on, the Urabe, fed from this emphasis on secrecy and contributed to the eventual obscurity of the language and written form of the tales narrated in the *Nihongi*. However, the points raised by Katō regarding the nature and structure of Japanese Literature seem to still stand. The reason for this is that, as Katō himself claims:

"*In Japanese literary history it has never been simply the case of one particular*

form and style being influential in one period only to be succeeded by a new form

in the next. In Japan, the new did not replace the old, but was added to it. For

example, the principal form of Japanese lyrical poetry has always been the waka."

[Katō, 1979, p.4]

Because of this cumulative tendency in Japanese Literature, themes can be traced from antiquity to modernity, but this process can also happen in reverse. Incidentally, this also greatly influences the considerations of time:

"*In Japanese mythology time is conceived as something without beginning or end.*

This is a reflection of the general Japanese attitude towards history in which the

whole continuous thread of history is not broken down into parts and periods, but

is made up of those parts and periods." [Katō, 1979, p.9]

Again, we find evidence of this cumulative process in other layers, an event which may speak of the permeability between literature and worldview. Styles advance in a layering manner, the Age of the *Kami* is not different from the Age of Humans, and the world inhabited by *kami* and/or the spirits of the deceased, monsters, and ghosts, presents a fluid liminality. In contrast with the West's emphasis on modern progress, which was inherently tied with the destruction of the old in order to make space for the new, this tendency of amalgamation seems to be an all-encompassing aspect found both in Japanese culture and literature. Now, let us proceed to the section of textual analysis of selected texts from the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*.

4.2. Textual Analysis Part I:

We will now proceed with the textual analysis of selected texts from the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. These texts have been selected by the author following a subjective criteria: that of which of these fragments seem to more clearly express the feeling of the numinous. We will proceed, as it is natural, from the beginning of the *Kojiki*. Additionally, sections of the *Nihon shoki* have also been added when possible in order to complement the narrative of the *Kojiki*. A total of three English translations of each section of the *Kojiki* will also be compared so as to help clarify the meaning of the

original text as much as possible—those of B.H. Chamberlain, D. Philippi, and G. Heldt. Regarding the translation of the *Nihon shoki*, the author has had access to only one, so only one has been used—that of W.G. Aston. For the selected texts in their original and translated versions, please see **Annex II: Original Textual Citations – Chapter 4**. The author has chosen to present in the immediate text the translation of the *Kojiki* of B.H. Chamberlain. This decision has been made due to it having a closer feeling to the original language of the text. Philippi's translation is also regarded in extreme measure by many and could have been used in the immediate text instead. Heldt's translation, on the other hand, would not have proven useful for the intended purpose of analyzing the text due to his approach: Heldt's translation attempts to represent the original feeling caused on those who would have read the text at the time of its writing, and so is of little use for a reader who is not already knowledgeable of the text.

We will now commence by analyzing in this chapter a couple of selected fragments regarding the Izanagi and Izanami narrative, in particular that of the erection of a Heavenly Pillar, due to the religio-symbolic importance of this item, and then will proceed to analyze Izanagi's *kashiko* towards Izanami after her passing. We will then proceed to analyzing selected fragments on Susa-no-wo's affairs, taking him as a well-known example of—or a kind of— *kami*ness through his interactions with Amaterasu in the Plain of High Heaven and his banishment due to his inappropriate behavior, and will also consider some details of his birth as narrated in the *Nihon shoki*. Then we will

finalize this chapter by examining Amaterasu's sacred weaving hall, since this episode

may reveal important clues to considerations of sacredness in Shintō.

A) Izanagi, Izanami, and the Heavenly Pillar:

In this section, the mythological narrative follows the *kami* couple Izanagi (the Sky Father) and Izanami (the Earth Mother) who, having descended the Plain of High Heaven, *Takama-ga-hara*, in order to give birth to the majority of the Japanese islands, erect a Heavenly Pillar (*Ame no Mi-hashira* 天之御柱), a key item in the successful conception of their offspring and in—possibly—their marriage rites:

> "*Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection of an [sic] heavenly august pillar* [天之御柱]*, they saw to the erection of a hall of eight fathoms*." [Chamberlain 1932 p.22]

In this section the author would like to highlight the following points: in the first place, the ideograms 「御」 and 「柱」 in Ame no Mihashira 「天之御柱」 and, secondly, the ideogram 「命」 in Izanagi no Mikoto「伊邪那岐命」 and Izanagi no Mikoto「伊邪那美命」, a common appellative for *kami*. Regarding this section of the narrative, Chamberlain translates 天之御柱 as '*an [sic] heavenly august pillar*" [Chamberlain 1932 p.22], whereas Philippi writes '*a heavenly pillar*' [Philippi 1968, p.50] and Heldt opts for '*a mighty pillar of heaven*' [Heldt, 2014, p.8]. What we can see in the translations of Chamberlain and Philippi is that an additional element of numinosity

has been added by the introduction of the words 'august' and 'mighty.' This may be due to the influence of the possible ritualistic nature of the pillar in the tale of Izanagi and Izanami which, according to Philippi's analysis [Philippi (1985), pp. 398-9] could have the following meanings depending on which sources one chooses to adhere to. According to the interpretations of Motoori, the ritual surrounding the heavenly pillar could be a prelude to conjugal intercourse whereas, following Hirata's analsysis, the pillar could be a ritual substitute for a phallus and thus related to fertility magic or wedding ceremonies; or that since the *kami* resided above mountains or in the Plain of High Heaven, this could be a part of a summoning ceremony. Matsumura, on the other hand, chooses to focus would be not on the phallic-fertility side, but on the pillar as a *yorishiro* while for Nishida this scene could be an equivalent to the biblical original sin as the mistakes carried out during the ceremony had quite visible negative consequences.

With regard to these ritual elements of pillars, we ought to point out the previous evidence given in earlier chapters regarding chapters on the link between these wooden posts or pillars as both barrier-*kami*, phallic symbols, and their ritual function as *yorishiro*. Due to these arguments, the author is led to believe that all of these interpretations hold true at the same time, for it is perfectly possible and consistent with what we have learned in earlier chapters that both posts and/or pillars were used for all these magical-religious purposes. The language of the *Kojiki* writes in this particular case *mi-hashira*, that is, a divine-like honorific *hashira*. This could very well be an

expression used due to its relation to Izanagi and Izanami, and also to the context of this scene. However, since there seems to be plenty of evidence pointing towards all of the options listed above the author considers them to be a more accurate approach.

Now, the author would like to take a moment to consider the use of the character 命 as *mikoto*. Since its main meaning is that of 'life,' it seems to connect appropriately Izanagi and Izanami's nature as generators of life and this-worldly things, it reminds us of the functions of *tama* or the numinous as life-force and, as we have seen previously, is also present in the *phúsis* of classical Greece as well portrayed by Heraclitus. This use of 命 as *mikoto* could also tie right in with the life-generating aspect of *musubi* in its meaning of 'tying,' and so with *religio* as *re-ligare*. Phonetically, the term *mi-koto* connects with divine person/body or affairs, offering us a more direct link with the supernatural aspect of universal life force.

Our conclusion after the analysis of this section of the Izanagi-Izanami narrative is that we can find clear traces of Otto's numinous in the mythological conceptualization of both the Heavenly Pillar and the use of *mikoto* as a term used to characterize *kami* as such throughout the whole text. The numinous presents itself here in its facet of *augustus* through the use of the ideogram 御 *mi*. In a similar fashion, this element of *augustus* appears within the notion of *suguretaru*, which is contained within anything *kami*-like. The same applies to *mikoto* in both its meaning of life and of *kami*ness,

which exemplifies the element of *augustus* and adds to it the numinous/*kashikoki* facet

of *tama* in the individualized and volitional form of *kami*.

B) Izanagi runs away from Izanami after seeing her decomposed body (*Kojiki*):

In this passage of the Izanagi-Izanami narrative, after the passing of Izanami during the birth of one of the fire *kami* Izanagi goes to the land of Yomi in order to find Izanami and take her back to the world of the living. When, after disregarding Izanami's desires, Izanagi lights his hair comb to be able to see her and witnesses her body in a decomposed state, and then:

> "*Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight* [見畏み
>
> 而]*, fled back* […]" [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 42-3]

In this section we will analyze the use of the notion of 畏み. Chamberlain translates it as 見畏み而 as 'overawed at the sight' [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 42-3]; while Philippi writes 'was afraid' [Philippi 1968 p. 64]; and Heldt uses 'grew frightened.' [Heldt 2014 p.15]. In this first option we may find in over-awed a sense of the surplus of value that the fright associated with a numinous experience included. Then, whereas Philippi uses a simple 'afraid' to define Izanagi's state upon discovering the decomposing body of Izanami, Heldt uses 'grew frightened,' which implies a slower process going from slightly frightened to higher states of horror. In any case, due to the nature of the story it seems clear that in this case the frightening appearance of Izanami as a numinous entity (a) overcomes the *kashiko* of Izanagi and (b) situates her raw *kashiko* power in

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the opposite side of the *fascinating* aspect of the numinous, as proven by the fact that Izanagi runs away from her. It is very curious, however, that according to the narration Izanagi shows absolutely no remorse for his actions. Let us remember that, in the first place, he is the one to violate Izanami's petition of not looking at her and that, secondly, he does not apologize for it even though it is clearly shown that they later on have a conversation. Anyhow, the point being made is that Izanagi, who is himself an awful *kami*, does experience enough terrifying *kashiko* power from Izanami to run away from her. This is also curious insofar as they, being a pair, would initially be thought of as of equals in power, and more so when considering that Izanagi is supposed to represent the victory of life over Izanami's promise of death. A reason for this could be the overwhelming nature of Izanami's chthonic power that Iwasawa points out [Iwasawa, 2011, pp. 100-1].

Thus, our conclusion after the analysis of this section of the Izanagi-Izanami narrative is that it is a clear example of the numinous in its facet of wholly otherness and horrific repulsion, parallel with Motoori's use of *kashiko* insofar as it terrifying, superior (*suguretaru*), and strange (*ayashiki*). In addition, from this passage we can also perceive how the degree of a *kami*'s *kashiko* seems to be able to vary, as while alive Izanami had not yet had an increased in her chthonic power. It only after her death that she seems to gain this surplus of *kashiko*, probably due to her association with death and her (partial?) survival after. It would seem, then, that the *kashiko* pertaining the realm of death and the underworld is superior to that of the living, mainly because of

the horror that inevitably accompanies the mere idea of one's passing. In the mythological narrative, however, Izanagi is the one who holds the last word, for he promises to grant 1,500 births for every 1,000 deaths caused by Izanami, hence affirming the superiority of life-force over the chthonic power of Yomi.

C) Susa-no-wo-no-mi-koto: Birth and (Divine) Expulsion

In this section we will analysze several aspects regarding the nature of *kami* through selected texts regarding Susa-no-wo, beginning with the account of his crying and refusal to commit to his appointed duties shortly after being born from Izanagi's purification ritual and considering whether the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*'s depictions of Susa-no-wo fall in line with Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*.' Susa-no-wo has been considered by the author a prime example for the purpose of this essay. There are several reasons for this, which now follow: in the first place, Susa-no-wo's polarizing nature as a presumably evil *kami* who brings about destruction and his possibly mischievous—that is, not completely good—*kami* can help us delve into the multivalence of the term *kami*; in the second place, the vast amount of narrations he appears in in comparison to other, more obscure *kami*, make his personality well-known and his acts quite elaborated, two elements which will provide us with both source material to analyze and a more clear image of his *kami* nature; thirdly, Susa-no-wo's (mis)adventures allow us to peek into the hidden and obscure world of *kami* relationships, since due to his numerous encounters with other *kami* vital information about them can be learned. Now, without more delay, let us begin our analysis:

> "*His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp*

beard reached the pit of his stomach [八拳須 心 前に至るまで、啼き伊佐

知伎]. *The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green*

mountains into withered mountains and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers

and seas. For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the

fifth moon as they all swarmed, and in all things every portent of woe arose [是

を似ちて、悪しき神之音なひは狭蠅如す皆満ち、萬ノ物之 妖

 悉 発りき]." [Chamberlain 1932 p. 52]

Here we can observe how Susa-no-wo's woes are enough to wither mountains and dry

rivers and seas. In this scenario, his power seems to come from his emotional state,

which unleashes changes in nature both near and far away from him. Not only that, but

the author would like to highlight how the imbalance brough about by his refusal to

carry out his *kami* duties as commanded by Izanagi lead to a swarm of bad deities (悪

しき神) to flourish. In addition, a series of unfortunate events start happening because

of it. Philippi and Heldt's translations give us no interesting nuances to analyze in this

respect. Nevertheless, the strangeness of Susa-no-wo's behavior persists, especially

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due to his reckless and violent nature. What we can infer from this text is that, were he to carry out his duties, these evil *kami* and horrendous calamities would not have arisen.

Let us, however, remember Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*.' In it Motoori theorizes, after a meticulous analysis of the *Kojiki*, that if an evil *kami* were to be appeased, bad things would not happen. Should we correlate this appeasement with Susa-no-wo's fulfillment of his duties during the Age of *Kami*? We could argue that, since there were no humans to ritually appease him, this was a later development. However, this does not seem to be possible when we consider how Yamata-no-Orochi could be appeased by other *kami* through offering it young women. Moreover, going back to Motoori, he claims that if an evil *kami* attempts to do good, their actions are bound to do no good anyway. Thus, if Susa-no-wo were to be an evil *kami*, his attempts at his own duties would lead to evil and neglecting them would also lead to evil. Therefore, it seems that Susa-no-wo would be bound to be evil no matter what situation he would find himself at. Can we then sentence Susa-no-wo to be an evil *kami* according to Motoori's definition? It cannot be so, for when he does slay Yamata-no-Orochi, an act that the author thinks can be thought of as anti-evil and, thus, good, Susa-no-wo seems to achieve his goal with no backlash from whatever forces of destiny would otherwise condemn him to perpetual evil and mischief. Naturally, we also ought to take into consideration that since according to Motoori there are *kami* of any kind, there is a possibility for a varying sale of grayness regarding the good and evil polarity. This

could very well account for the issue of Susa-no-wo's scape of retribution from doing good.

In a similar fashion, the author would like to argue the following. Susa-no-wo's name, according to Chamberlain's translation, means 'His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness'; and according to Heldt 'Reckless Rushing Raging Man.' There is a clear difference in nuance from 'Impetuous' to 'Raging.' Nevertheless, we do know that *kami* have to be defined through their names, and this would lead us to believe that Susa-no-wo is not really evil, but simply impetuous. The author has chosen 'impetuous' over raging mainly due to the fact that most of the acts committed by Susa-no-wo that tend to qualify as barbaric/impure do not seem to be motivated by rage. Rage is violent, and so can be more easily conceived of as of 'evil' that mere impetus. In this case, his crying and reluctance to do Izanagi's binding seem to be rooted in missing his mother, no rage involved. In this regard Philippi quotes Matsumura's reasoning, citing that crying and howling may have been a religious rite to summon deities [Philippi, 1968, p. 72]. This may or may not have been so, but the fact remains that Susa-no-wo does not seem to have any intentions of making anything happen, as his motives are related as follows:

> ""*He replied, saying: "I wail because I wish to depart to my deceased mother's land, to the Nether Distant Land* [僕者妣ノ国根之堅洲国に罷らむト欲ふが

故に、哭く]." *Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very*

angry and said: "If that be so, thou shalt not dwell in this land," and forthwith

expelled him with a divine expulsion [神夜良比尒夜良比賜ひき]."

[Chamberlain 1932 p. 53]

As we can observe, Susa-no-wo clearly states that the motive of his crying and wailing is his wish to go to his mother's land. Interestingly, Izanagi's reaction to this petition is neither understanding for his son's desire to meet his deceased mother, nor concern for his wellbeing were he to visit the Underworld. Instead, he becomes irate and expels him from his dominions with a divine expulsion. To a modern reader, this scene could easily correlate with that of a dysfunctional family unit: (a) the mother symbolically dies or goes away or (a') the parents get divorced or separated after a series of uncomfortable or violent events; (b) one child becomes indifferent and disappears (Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto); (c) another child becomes the model child and follows their parents' wishes (Amaterasu-Ō-Mi-kami); (d) and lastly there is a rebel child (Susa-no-wo). Enraged at the other parent, Izanagi gets angry at Susa-no-wo because of his desire to go live with the other party and kicks them out for good. It could be a TV family drama. Philippi also considers this point, and mulls over the possibility:

> "*What is the real reason for Susa-nö-wo's cosmic discontent, for his poor relation*
>
> *with his father, and his yearning for his "mother"? Is he an inherently evil deity,*

preferring the pollutions of Yömï to the ruling of his allotted ocean territory? Is he a mythical trickster, ever playing pranks and delighting in stirring up ill feelings and discord? Or is he a child deprived of motherly affection, venting his frustration upon his father with a reply which stirs up old rancor and causes the father to disown and cast out the son?" [Philippi 1968 pp. 402-3]

Since, as we have previously seen, there seems to be ample ground to doubt Susa-no-wo's inherent tendency towards evil, Philippi's first theory seems to not hold ground. A trickster figure would also not apply to this case, since in no moment is Susa-no-wo's tricking anybody—at least until his encounter with Yamata-no-Orochi, whom he tricks into drinking sake—and he also does not seem to at any moment drop a façade to reveal his actual tricking intentions. The only option left is then that of broken relationships within the family unit, possibly started due to the 'divorce' between the parents. It would be of interest to investigate this possibility from the viewpoint of several psychological schools.

Another mystery regarding this story is why Susa-no-wo considers Izanami to be his mother even though he was born after her (physic-symbolical) death and her separation from Izanagi. According to Philippi, who cites Matsumura, there are accounts in which Izanami does give birth to Susa-no-wo [Philippi 1968 pp. 402-3]. Regarding this issue, some options the author would like to put forward are the following: in the first place, it could be that Izanagi and Izanami's separation at Yomotsu Hirasaka does not

effectively eliminate their marriage bonds, and so any child conceived by Izanagi on his own is to also be considered a child of Izanami. In second place, it could be that, even if their marriage was actually dissolved, the impurities of the Underworld that gave birth to Tsukiyomi, Amaterasu, and Susa-no-wo may have been produced by Izanami, and so she could also be considered their mother through her role as the main chthonic power. Thirdly, since Izanagi and Izanagi were brother and sister, and Izanagi did not marry again, it is not too far of a reach for his children to consider his deceased partner as their mother, who would always remain a family member by blood. An analysis of textual sources regarding the family structure of ancient Japan up to the Heian period may be of interest in order to explore this last point further.

This way the tale of the expulsion of Susa-no-wo presents several points of interest regarding the nature of familiar bonds in early Japanese culture. In addition, we can easily infer that the Age of the *Kami* was structured in pretty much the same way the ages to come were to be. The *kami* nature of these *kami* was, then, set apart not from their actions or ways of living, but from their numinous, *kashikoki* nature. In other words, these *kami* are *kami* insofar they hold supernatural powers and abilities, but in many other aspects they are quite similar to the beings of this world. It could be argued that maybe their emotional lives are more intense that those of humans and regular animals, and so their power comes from their life-force as pure, raw emotion. This is exemplified by Susa-no-wo's sadness taking over the nature of the land. Taking into consideration Iwasawa's argumentations on *tama*, it would be feasible for this

numinous essence to express itself primevally in terms of emotion. Otto's analysis of the historic development of religions also points out to this prevalent role of emotion in the experience of the numinous, particularly in the earliest stages of religious experience.

More clues regarding the *kami*-ness and *kami* relationships can be found in the accounts of the *Nihon shoki* which relate the circumstances of Susa-no-wo's birth as follows:

> "*Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto* [素戔嗚尊]. *Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto* [神素戔嗚尊] *or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto* [速素戔嗚尊]. *This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:* — "*thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether Land." So they at length expelled him.* [Aston, 1896a, pp.19-20]

The first points that strikes us from this narration is the characterization of Susa-no-wo as an evil *kami*. This could be accounted for by the Chinese imprint in the *Nihon shoki*, which brought with it the ethical values of continental China to Japan. Whereas in

Shintō no clear ethical system is presented, Confucianist, Buddhist, and Taoist values were imported alongside the writing system. In addition, we are also told that it has been decided that Susa-no-wo ought not to rule over the land, not because of him not wanting to, but because of him being wicked. This text presents a clear contrast with that of the *Kojiki*, and it is possible that on top of the influence of continental ethics, a combination of several native narrations by different groups may have ended up coalescing into later narratives, thus creating a confusing mesh of tales from all over the archipelago or even the continent.

Susa-no-wo's expulsion is also of great interest, for it is specified in the *Kojiki* version that it is not a regular expulsion, but a divine expulsion. This is very curious because it seems that in the Age of the *Kami* the only beings in existence were *kami*, so it is very likely that this particular term, 'divine expulsion,' has some kind of nuance that escapes us. The author has tried to investigate the etymology of the term. Unfortunately, the search has yielded no results, and this expressions remains obscure to the author.

Returning to the origins of this *kami*, Aston's translations points out, regarding the couple of deviations from the name of Susa-no-wo, that *Susa* may come from the verb *susamu*, 'to be impetuous,' but also from the village of Susa in Izumo, a possibility which ties right in with the very popular theories of Susa-no-wo being the main deity of the land of Izumo, in contrast with Amaterasu's role as the principal *kami* of the land of Yamato. A confrontation between both lands may have resulted in the demonization

of Susa-no-wo in the resulting Yamato narrative. The following version of the *Nihon shoki* narrates:

> "*In another writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.' He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror, upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land.*" [Aston, 1896a, p.20]

As we can clearly observe from this section, there is another tradition in which Izanagi purposefully creates the Amaterasu—Tsukiyomi—Susa-no-wo triad. In order to create the first two, he utilizes magico-religious implements: white-copper mirrors. Susa-no-wo, on the other hand, seems to be the product of chance. An askance look is enough to produce a *kami* to complement the Sun-Moon pair, and his character in this version is inherently disruptive. It is very curious that, precisely because of his destructive nature, it is decided that he is to be sent to rule the underworld; mainly because this could imply a vision of death far removed from a peaceful existence. Even in the

darkness of Yomi there may be no rest, even in the furnace of polluted fire aggression and violence continue. It would be of great interest to delve deeper into this matter during future research.

Something the author would like to point out regarding the comparison of these first two accounts of the birth of Susa-no-wo, first of Izanagi's purification in the river Tachibana, then of Izanagi's askance look while performing the creation of Amaterasu and Tsukiyomi, is how Susa-no-wo was born from the purification of Izanagi's nose[7]. This is something the author has merely heard, but that may be of interest in case it were accurate: that it is customary in Japan to point out to one's nose, and not to one's torso or face, like in the West, when pointing to oneself. Could it be that Susa-no-wo were to be a symbolic representation of the self/ego? If it were so, if would make sense insofar his polarizing and contradictory behavior could be interpreted as a reflection of human's own self. Nor angels nor demons, the inner psyche of a human being many times moves in contradictory, polarizing ways. The times Susa-no-wo deviates from what would be his expected behavior show his closeness to humanity itself. He exhibits both Apollonian and Dionysian personalities depending on the situation he finds himself in, and in doing so closely resembles a tragic character. The next version presented in the *Nihon shoki* gives us even more interpretative clues towards an understanding of his *kami*-ness and overall nature:

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[7] It would be interesting to look into whether Susa-no-wo was born from the act of purification, from the purifying water, or from the pollution from Izanagi's nose.

"*In one writing it is said:—"After the sun and the moon, the next child which was born was the leech-child. When this child had completed his third year, he was nevertheless still unable to stand upright. The reason why* […] *They next procreated Sosa no wo no Mikoto. This God was of a wicked nature, and was always fond of wailing and wrath. Many of the people of the land died, and the green mountains withered. Therefore his parents addressed him, saying: 'Supposing that thou wert to rule this country, much destruction of life would surely ensue. Thou must govern the far-distant Nether Land.'"* [Aston, 1896a, p.20]

This section shows how the last *kami* of the Sun-Moon triad was originally the leech-child, which was eventually discarded by the parents. The next attempt—this time purposeful—at conceiving the third *kami* of this triad resulted in the birth of Susa-no-wo. Again an agent of destruction, he is sent to govern the realm of the dead. The text may, however, give us a more clear reason in this instance: Susa-no-wo is assigned to rule over Yomi due to him causing too many deaths in the world of the living. It is still quite interesting that, after being preceded by the leech child, Izanagi and Izanami's second attempt still created a not-so-good progeny. The next—and last—*Nihon shoki* account of Susa-no-wo's birth seems to backtrack and take us once again to the narrative of the *Kojiki*:

"*Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a God who was called Sosa no wo no Mikoto [...] do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, rule the world. At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was already full of age. He had, moreover, grown a beard eight spans long. Nevertheless, he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Therefore Izanagi no Mikoto inquired of him, saying, "Why dost thou continually weep in this way?" He answered and said, "I wish to follow my mother to the Nether Land, and it is simply for this reason that I weep." Then Izanagi no Mikoto was filled with detestation of him* [伊奘諾尊

悪
にく
みて 日
のたま
はく]*, and said, "Go, even as thy heart bids thee." So he forthwith

drove him away*." [Aston, 1896a, p.28]

Once again, Susa-no-wo is born from Izanagi's nose/self, and entrusted with ruling this world. Again, he wails and weeps but, in addition, in this account he also *fumes with rage*. That is, the wrath/violent element many times associated with his nature is added. Even though this more negative connotation is added, in this case Izanagi does not perform a divine expulsion, but merely drives Susa-no-wo away. There is, however, a detail that appears to be of importance: even if a divine expulsion has not been issued, what Aston translates as '*filled with detestation*' is written with the kanji for bad/evil 悪. Could the negative feelings of Izanagi act in the same way as a divine expulsion?

It is hard to respond to this question since both the nature and implications of a divine expulsion are obscure themselves, but the author would like to highlight this possibility

as it would connect with the notion of *tama*/the numinous and its correlation with emotion. If it were that the source of a *kami*'s power (*tama*) were its emotions, this would explain the resolute and 'divine' nature of a divine expulsion, as well as its finality. In any case, after this ordeal Susa-no-wo decides to honorably accept his fate and depart for the land of Yomi, but asks to be first allowed to meet his sister Amaterasu in the Plain of High Heaven:

"*I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever.*" *Permission was granted him, [sic] and he therefore ascended to Heaven*." [Aston, 1896a, p.33]

In a surprising turn of events, Izanagi seems to not have been as upset as he initially seemed to be, since he allows Susa-no-wo to temporarily visit Amaterasu. Could this be guilt for reacting in such a way to his son's longing for his deceased mother? Whatever the case, Susa-no-wo reaches the Plain of High Heaven and trouble ensues.

Our conclusions regarding the analysis of this section on Susa-no-wo's birth and divine expulsion are thus the following. In the first place, that the circumstances of Susa-no-wo's birth seem to show a pattern of strangeness, for he is either born from Izanagi's nose (a source of ego and, perhaps, even of pollution) and in addition, immediately after his birth his emotional state seems to be in shambles. Together with Izanagi's

wrathful reaction to his son's distress, the author has proposed that the strength and power of a *kami*'s *tama* may be originate from their emotional state. Thus, it is Susa-no-wo's sadness that powers the withering of the mountains rather that the unfulfillment of his *kami* duties; it is Izanagi's wrath that powers the finality of a divine expulsion; and, in retrospective, it is Izanami's anger that suddenly increases her powers over Izanagi's. With regards to Otto's considerations of the numinous, we once again ought to point out his focus on divine wrath as a strong parallelism with our theory. In the case of Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*,' we can there find precisely that the *feelings* of *kashiko* are what seemingly trigger our considerations of an entity's *kami*-ness. We will continue examining the relationship between the *numinous*/*tama* and emotion in the following section, where we will encounter the passages relating the encounter between Susa-no-wo and his elder sister Amaterasu the Plain of High Heaven.

D) Susa-no-wo: *Ukepi* with Amaterasu and Trashing the Land

As soon as Amaterasu senses the coming of her brother to the Plain of High Heaven, she dons herself in a warrior's attire and prepares to battle Susa-no-wo. The latter, however, insists his intentions are far from belligerent, and in order to prove the purity of his heart swears with her sister a special swearing called *ukepi* (宇気比), a method of fortune-telling in which the affirmative sign of the result is decided beforehand, and the consecution of it by *kami* forces determines the end result. In this case, Amaterasu and Susa-no-wo decide their *ukepi* will be determined by the gender of the progeny they produce:

> "*Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?" Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let us each of us swear, and produce children.*"" [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 55-6]

In the *Kojiki* account, female progeny was to be the result that guaranteed the purity of Susa-no-wo's intention, whereas in the *Nihon shoki* the requirement was the production of male offspring. In a regular ukepi, the deciding factor is to be decided and proclaimed before the actual end result happens, so its omission in the text is quite

appalling. The narratives of the *Nihon shoki* are quite similar except in regards to the male offspring requirement:

> "*Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?" He answered and said:—Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure.*" [Aston, 1896a, p.35]

And again:

> "*Thereupon the Sun-Goddess, standing opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, swore an oath, saying:—'If thy heart is pure, and thou hast no purpose of relentless robbery, the children born to thee will surely be males.*'" [Aston, 1896a, p.37]

Here, however, we can see a difference: it is Amaterasu, and not Susa-no-wo, who decides and declares the conditions of the *ukepi*. This is a point of special interest due to the fact that, at the beginning of the narrative of the *Kojiki*, the reason given for the birth of the failed leech-child is that Izanami, the female *kami*, spoke before the male. In this scenario we seem to find no mention of this gendered rule. It is possible that the male before female taboo applied only to the marriage ceremony, but it could also be a possibility that, at some point, Amaterasu may not have been identified as a female.

There is, indeed, no regard to the gender neither of Amaterasu nor Tsukiyomi in their names, in contrast with Susa-no-wo's which clearly identifies him as a male. The only reference we have in the text is the *kami* themselves referring to each other in familiar terms, in this case using 'sister' to refer to Amaterasu, but this could be a later development. Next, the following version of the *Nihon shoki* gives us further details of this encounter:

"*At this time Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, suspecting that the intentions of her younger brother were evil, prepared war and questioned him. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—'Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gem. I dare not have any other purpose.' Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked him again, saying:—'Wherewithal wilt thou prove to me whether thy words are true or false?' He answered and said:—'Let thee and me bind ourselves by an oath. If while we are bound by this oath, the children produced are females, my heart is to be accounted black, but if they are males, it is to be thought red*." [Aston, 1896a, p.38]

In this account we are told not only that Amaterasu is suspicious of Susa-no-wo's intentions, but that she even goes to the lengths of preparing for *war*. This is quite surprising insofar as not only are they brother and sister, but also when taking into account that there is no tale regarding a previous negative experience between them

which may have helped explaining this profound mistrust. Even with the generous offer of Yasaka jewels on Susa-no-wo's part, Amaterasu is still suspicious. Could this even mean that her *tama* is not as strong or just in equal measure as Susa-no-wo's? Having to prepare for his arrival in such a manner may hint at the possibility that *kami* in the same level of familial or social hierarchies not having the same amount of power, or else being tied up in such a way as to require a great effort to overcome each other. A similar situation occurs when Susa-no-wo battles the great serpent, affirming that his opponent is a fearful *kami*. It would seem to be that either Susa-no-wo nor Amaterasu are particularly strong *kami*, their right to rule coming merely by order and descent of the creative *kami*, or that they happen to encounter opponents of incredible *kashiko* power.

Again, the *Nihon shoki* compiles yet another alternative tale in which Amaterasu once more sets the terms and conditions of the *ukepi*, and even goes on to say that, where Susa-no-wo's intentions pure, she will consider the children produced by him through this oath to be her own children, and that they will go on to rule the Plain of High Heaven:

> "*In one writing, it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess stood opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, separated from him by the Tranquil River of Heaven, and established a covenant with him, saying, 'If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I will consider them*

my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven.'" [Aston, 1896a, p.39]

This is certainly a generous offer, especially when considering Amaterasu was preparing to go to war against Susa-no-wo a few moments ago. This section may tell of the affection between brother and sister, which causes both Susa-no-wo's intentions to be pure and Amaterasu's heart to hope for the best in her brother. Not only that, but it also tells us an important detail about *ukepi* as an oath: that it certainty is so powerful of a bond so as to be able to trust one's life and land to its outcome. It would be of interest to analyze *ukepi* in relation to *kotoage*, to speak up, a term that will appear in the next chapter during the analysis of Yamato-Takeru's encounter with the *kami* of Mount Ibuki, and also with the notion of *kotodama*, the soul or spirit of words residing in the language of Yamato. It would also be interesting to delve into the reason for either male or female offspring to be the choosing determining factor of the purity of Susa-no-wo's intentions. Could there be a gendered reason so as to why one or the other was chosen? There are accounts of both genders being the desirable end result, so examining a possible mixture of two different cultural traditions with different viewpoints if this issue would also seem to be a fruitful approach to future research.

Surprisingly, the last account of this event puts the conditions of the *ukepi* in mouth of Susa-no-wo, who in this case even details how the *ukepi* is to be done. The generosity previously attributed to a ready-for-battle Amaterasu is here transferred to his brother:

"*Thereupon Sosa no wo no Mikoto swore to her, and said:—'If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must be sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in that case they must be made to rule the Heavens. The same oath will also hold good as to the children produced by my elder sister'.*" [Aston, 1896a, p.51]

The result of this *ukepi* bow is the victory of Susa-no-wo. Much to our surprise, however, right after Susa-no-wo manages to prove the redness of his heart and the purity of his intentions by producing the right kind of offspring, he starts committing a series of atrocious behaviors which end up with Amaterasu hiding in a cave in either fear or retaliation, and that went on to constitute the eight heavenly sins (*amatsutsumi* 天つ罪): (a) destroying the ridged between rice paddies, (b) covering up the ditches, (c) manipulating the irrigation system, (d) planting twice, (e) setting up stakes, (f) skinning animals alive, (g) skinning animals backwards, and (h) defecating in unseeingly places.

Regarding this strange behavior on Susa-no-wo's part, Philippi theorizes several possibilities [Philippi, 1968, p. 403-4] which include that the order of the accounts given in the narration may have ended up being disarranged over time, thus creating

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the textual inconsistencies we see today as proposed by Edo period scholars including Motoori Norinaga. Nevertheless, Philippi considers this possibility to be untenable from the standpoint of the original text. According to Matsumura [Philippi, 1968, p. 403-4], it is also possible that the Izumo version of Susa-no-wo were a *kami* protective of agriculture who was to suffer a thorough defamation campaign by the Yamato court. Anyhow, the end result of this series of chaotic, Dionysian behaviors is the punishment of Susa-no-wo by the Heavenly *kami*:

"*After this all the Gods put the blame on Sosa no wo no Mikoto, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables, and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair plucked out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt.*" [Aston, 1896a, p.46]

This punishment, however, seems to have been not the direct result of Susa-no-wo's inappropriate actions, but more a side-effect since the may trouble for the Heavenly *kami* was not the realization of these sins, but the hiding in the cave of the sun *kami*, Amaterasu. In addition, here we can see how the Heavenly *kami* decide that an appropriate punishment consists of a fine and an expulsion accompanied by torture of the offender. More details are given in the following account:

"*After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto was convicted, and fined in the articles required for the ceremony of purification. Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck of the tips of his fingers, and thigs abhorrent of calamity of the tips of his toes. Again, of his spittle he made white soft offerings, with which the purification service was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine banishment.*" [Aston, 1896a, p.48]

Susa-no-wo is then fined, seemingly made to offer his nails—this passage seems to remain obscure according to Aston—, undergoes purification and is then expelled with a divine expulsion, which again is not explained and thus remains an incognita to us modern readers. Again, more details are given in the following account, which specifies that:

"*Therefore all the Gods rejoiced greatly, and imposed in Sosa no wo no Mikoto a fine of a thousand tables of (articles of) purification. Of the nails of his hands they made things abhorrent of luck, and of the nails of his feet they made things abhorrent of calamity. Then they caused Ama no Koyane no Mikoto to take charge of his Great Purification Liturgy, and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the world are careful in the disposal of their own nails. After this, all the Gods upbraided Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Thy conduct has been in the highest degree improper. Thou must, therefore, not dwell in heaven. Nor must thou dwell in the Central Reed-Plain Land. Thou must go speedily to the Bottom*

Nether Land.' So together they drove him away downwards." [Aston, 1896a, pp.49-50]

In this version, not only did the Heavenly *kami* rejoice when punishing Susa-no-wo—perhaps a symbolic representation of Yamato's victory over Izumo—but they still took his nails—torture—, purified him and expelled him. In this scenario, however, Susa-no-wo was not free to leave on his own, but was taken downwards straight to the Underworld. How did the *tama* dynamics work in this case? Susa-no-wo seems to have not resisted his punishment, but could a certain number of *kami* add up their own individual *tama* in order to overpower a stronger enemy? The expressions of the numinous that appear in Susa-no-wo's tales here described seem to ascribe many human-like elements to both the characters of this mythological narrative and the societal relations they find themselves in. Nevertheless, there seems to a magico-religious dependence not only in rituals and items, but also in the raw emotional power of *tama* as an all-encompassing life force. Thus, according to the Susa-no-wo story this expression of the *a priori* core of religious experience seems to at times coalesce in these entities known as *kami*, who bridge the gap between the (super)natural and the human spheres and help us delve into the irrational essence of sacredness.

Our conclusions regarding this passage on Susa-no-wo's *ukepi* with his sister Amaterasu, his inappropriate actions towards the land, and his second divine expulsion after his sins had the by-product of Amaterasu hiding herself in a cave are the following.

In the first place, that their *ukepi* is a strange one, for the result that was to be agreed upon beforehand is at times not so and, in addition to this, the roles of who sets the conditions of proof of Susa-no-wo's purity of intentions changes depending on which account one focuses on. In the second place, the role of gender in their interactions seems to be quite fluid, something that may be accounted for either by the coalescing of several narrative traditions or by quite a flexible regard towards gender and its assigned roles.

Then, in regards to Otto's outline of the numinous, we ought to take into consideration the role of words in the *ukepi* as carriers of a *kami*'s emotion in a similar way as both the *kotodama* tradition and Otto's discussion on the primeval sounds of the numinous. The importance of words is also highlighted by Motoori, who focused heavily on the revival of what the thought was a reconstruction of the original language of the Yamato people, *Yamato kotoba*. We ought to consider, however, that this emphasis on words is to be delved upon, for these sounds mainly constitute a means of expression of something more, something profound and hidden in the innermost part of the soul. Since this is, in particular, a narrative of the stories of the *kami* themselves, what we here encounter is of a particular numinous character. The raw emotional *tama* of Susa-no-wo and Amaterasu may indeed show itself more clearly through their supernatural actions, but it is also present, in a foundational manner, in their speech.

This way the power of the *ukepi* not only as a vow, but also as a fortune telling method, is preserved. The numinous implication on it of the *kami* is what guarantees its success and effectivity. The all-impressive *kashiko* of these *kami*-related events is what condones them as numinous. In contrast with the mere presence of *tama*, which ought to be present in every living being and things, the presence of a *kami*, a wilful and volitional entity is required. Precisely because of their volitional nature, *kami* experience feelings and emotions which, in turn, are able to increase their *kashiko*. We will now continue to examine these issues regarding the nature of the numinous and *kami*-ness in the next section, which is on the topic of Amaterasu's weaving hall and then her going into hiding due to the horrors caused by Susa-no-wo.

E) Amaterasu in the sacred weaving hall and in hiding:

Right before the apex of Susa-no-wo's catastrophic mischiefs, his sister Amaterasu is by many accounts fulfilling her duties in the Sacred Weaving Hall (忌服屋). Regarding this use of the term 'sacred,' we ought to point out that, according to Philippi's analysis [Philippi, 1968] the 「忌」 in 「忌服屋」 is a character that tends to be used as 'sacred.'

As we have previously seen, this 忌 character is the same one in the name of the *Imi-be* or *In-be* family, who were in charge of the Yamato Court's ritual policies of purification and abstinence. The fact that this conception of sacredness is closely related to the nuances of avoidance and taboo, and that the radicals of this kanji are composed of both 'bow' and 'heart/mind/spirit,' may be due to a possible connection with ancient shamanistic practices relaying of the use of a bow. In addition, this small reference from the tale of Amaterasu and Susa-no-wo points us to a spiritual regard towards the art of weaving. This view is supported by both textual and archaeological finds, among them the tale of the Weaver Maiden and the Cowherd. Most commonly known to us as the celestial reunion of the heavenly bodies Vega and Altair, the significance in the Japanese religious sphere during this night of Tanabata, on the seventh day of the seventh month, connects in a direct matter with Amaterasu's weaving duties and the Japanese notion of sacredness. For example, in the *Engishiki*: "*four of the twenty-one sacred regalia of the Ise shrine are weaving elements and that*

a weaving implement was also one of the regalia of the Upper Kamo Shrine" [Como, 2009, p.39]. The art of weaving, a technological development that came from the continent, permeated both the cultural and religious foundations of the Yamato court, along with other imports of significant value for the conceptualization and understanding of sacredness. Among these, the author would like to point of the example of sericulture, for it is closely related to that of weaving. It is necessary to take into consideration that:

"*Because sericulture constituted something both miraculous and essential. Cults and legends of weavers represent an important intersection of economic, political, and cultic concerns in premodern China, Korea, and Japan. In ancient China the cultivation of silkworms and the production of silk involved not only economic considerations related to the use of land and labor, but also the development and diffusion of ritual systems based upon early conceptions of* yin *and yang,* astronomy, popular myths, and cultic practices." [Como, 2009, p.109]

We can easily perceive how the transformation of the silk worm into a cocoon and, later on, into a full-fledged butterfly can easily be associated with magic and rituals of generation and rebirth. A similar logic can be applied to the fermentation process of *sake*, as it is stipulated in a fragment in the *Kojiki* records of Empress Jin-gū, who celebrates the comeback of her son with the ritual works of the transformation of rice into the alcoholic beverage. The author considers the gender-specific nature of these

works to be of interest, for it seems to reinforce a certain link between femineity and the practice of magic which may be related to the birth-related functions of the female body. Regarding the practice of weaving, the author finds a curious occurrence in the fact that, even though Amaterasu's name does not specify the gender of said *kami*, it is at times considered to be a female with female related functions such as weaving, while at times her role seems to be more of a masculine nature, such as when she dons herself in a male-type hairdo and clothes in order to prepare against a possible confrontation with her brother Susa-no-wo. In contrast with both Amaterasu and Tsukiyomi, Susa-no-wo's name clearly states his gender. It could be that the reason for this is Susa-no-wo's origin is another culture's pantheon, that of Izumo, and that in the Izumo pantheon there may have been more strict rules towards gender categorization.

In the Yamato pantheon, however, we do find many deities whose gender is clearly stated in their names, such as the Izanagi and Izanami couple and many other deities such as Saruta-hiko, head of the earthly *kami*, and his heavenly *kami* wife Ame-no-Uzume no Mi-koto. An interesting addition to these gendered *kami* roles we ought to mention that Ame-no-Uzume no Mi-koto is the one who carried out a dance to lure Amaterasu out of the Heavenly Rock Cave. This dance, that led to the establishment in the Yamato court of the Sarume-no-kimi family line, focused on the production of female dancers for both the court and religious purposes. In relation to this we find that:

"*Just as the wrath (*tatari*) of female deities could be dissipated with offerings of weaving implements, the wrath of male deities was frequently dissipated with offerings of* miko *(female shamans) as brides. All of this suggests that well before the completion of the first court chronicle, weaving rites played and important role in mediating interactions between* kami *and humans, informing not only the means of propitiation, but also the construction of the identities of both the objects and subjects of ritual performance.*" [Como, 2009, p. 111]

This offers us yet another example of the role of women in Japanese religious practices from the earliest times up to maybe the Edo period. While in current Shintō practices the role of *miko* seems to have been reduced in many —not all—instances to a side-gig for young women, newer religious movements seem to incorporate in a greater extent the traditional role of female shamans and religious leaders. The fact that in ancient Japan women were both in charge of serious religious duties such as weaving and that they also were the preferred offering to many *kami* speaks of their important role in the religious sphere of ancient, classical, and modern Japan, even if the forms of their worship and allowance into some religious areas has always been restricted in one way or another.

The power of female *kami* is, nonetheless, on par with their male counterparts. Just as we have seen previously, the effect of Susa-no-wo lack of fulfilment of his *kami* duties was the rise of a myriad evil *kami*, the withering of previously green mountains,

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Amaterasu's temporary absence due to being in the Heavenly Rock Cave caused the following issues:

"*Hereupon the voices of the myriad [4]*[8] *Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarm and a myriad portents of woe arose*." [Chamberlain 1932 p.64]

Not only did the Sun hide during Amaterasu's absence but, as in the case of her brother, the unfulfillment of her *kami* duties brought about not only darkness over the land, but also the apparition of a swarm of evil deities. Since their negative effects of not fulfilling their heavenly assigned roles are similar, it would not be farfetched to consider their power to be equal. Further and more convincing evidence is Amaterasu's evident preoccupation over Susa-no-wo's presence in her domains, going so far as to prepare to fight him seriously.

Lastly for this chapter, the *Nihon shoki*'s rendition of the mention of Amaterasu's sacred Weaving Hall is the following:

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[8] Annotation by Chamberlain on this point: *Note [4]: "Motowori supposes "myriad" to be a copyist's error for "evil.""* [Chamberlain 1932 p.64]

"*Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred [2]*

weaving hall [齋服殿<ruby>いみはたどの</ruby>], *engaged in weaving the garments of the Gods* […]"

[Aston, 1896a, p.41]

As we can observe from this rendition, the *Nihon shoki* renders sacred weaving hall for

齋服殿 instead of 忌服屋. Aston writes an interesting clarification of this 齋 character

for sacredness/abstinence [Aston, 1896a, p.41], explaining that even though the kanji

齋 does represent a meaning of abstinence and taboo in Chinese, the writers of the

Nihongi use this character for the Japanese term *iwai* which, according to scholars such

as Hirata Atsutane, originates from the same root as *imi*, avoidance [of impurity],

represented by the ideogram 忌. According to Hirata, these two terms used to have the

same meaning. Aston points out the modern meaning for *iwai* is that of 'blessing' in a

congratulatory sense. Nevertheless, in the context of these classics of the *Kojiki* and the

Nihon shoki we once again find a mental-symbolic correlation between the notion of

sacredness and the avoidance of ritual impurity.

In relation to our thesis regarding a great deal of similarity between Rudolf Otto's

conceptualization of the numinous and Shintō's notion of sacredness we cannot but

point out that this focus of the classical texts in *kashiko* and *imi* as what seems to be

the most highlighted terms across these narratives in relation to the Japanese notion of

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sacredness in Shintō does seem to differ from Otto's. Whereas it seems that the numinous does correspond with many elements of *kashiko* as an *a priori* or religious experience, both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* do express a more communal expression of this phenomena through the use of ritualistic practices that require a group in order to function. For now, let us just say that our previous comparative analysis of Otto's concept of the numinous and Motoori's 'Definition of *Kami*' where, let us be reminded, seemed to conclude that the main difference between both frameworks was this emphasis on, on the one hand, individual experience of the numinous and, on the other, the communal aspects of the relationship with the *kami*. It is then possible that Otto's *Kreatur-Gefühl* does not present itself in Shintō's religious experience, as this element of Otto's theory on the experience of sacredness is of a particularly marked individual character. While Otto does make reference to the importance of the mass and of communal celebratory religious events in order to make space for the silence necessary for the numinous to appear, he himself has experienced the numinous in quite different circumstances. In addition to this, Shintō's focus on ritual purity and avoidance are far from being central elements with regard to Otto's analysis of the numinous, and thus this too is a point which stands between a possible correspondence between Otto's and Shintō's approach to the sacred. During the next chapter we will continue to search for clues towards a more comprehensive comparative analysis of both approaches through an examination of selected texts from the tales of Yamato-Takeru, Empress Jin-gū, and Emperor Yū-ryaku.

Chapter 5 – Textual Analysis II: Yamato-takeru, Empress Jin-gū, and Emperor Yū-ryaku

In the present chapter we will proceed with the labor of textual analysis that began in the previous chapter. On this occasion we will examine a selection of texts chosen by the author, once again, on subjective grounds. The author has considered that the following fragments of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives showed in a somehow clear way part of the early Japanese feelings and notions towards sacredness. We will now begin the inquiry on these tales on Prince Yamato-takeru, Empress Jin-gū, and Emperor Yū-ryaku.

A) Prince Yamato-takeru:

The tale of Prince Yamato-takeru begins to unfold with the horrendous episode of the murder of his brother who failed to show up on time to the calls of the Heavenly Sovereign and father, Emperor Keikō. This horrifying fratricide will be the starting point of Yamato-takeru's adventures and military conquests, many of them bestowed upon him by his father, possibly in an attempt to have him killed as a result. Thus the in the first passage we find that the Emperor's disposition towards Yamato-takeru is one of fear (*osore* 惶):

"*Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity* [荒き

清 に 惶 り 而] *of his august child's disposition, commanded him*

[…]"[Chamberlain 1932 p.249]

Whereas Heldt's translation goes as:

"*Now heaven's sovereign, growing greatly fearful of his wild and reckless royal son, commanded him* […]"[Heldt 2014 p.99]

As we can observe due to the appearance of the kanji for fear 惶 (*osoreru*), which for

Chamberlain results in 'alarmed' and, for Heldt, in 'growing fearful.' The right half of

this character is the same one as in Heavenly Ruler (Emperor) 天皇, whereas the left

radical is the one for 忙, busy or restless. This may come to signify that the fear

Emperor Keikō feels towards his son and now sole heir Yamato-takeru is no common

fear, but an emotion closer to *kashiko* and the full-of-fear and august nature of the

numinous. While this *osore* originates from Yamato-takeru's violence, the supernatural

equivalent in divine wrath can also be considered to be present due to nature of the

Kojiki's narrative. Even though he still dares to command him it is clear from the

following events of the tale of Yamato-takeru that it is him, and not his father, who

technically is incarnated *kami* (*akitsu kami* 現神) the one to carry out heroic and *kami-*

like feats. Hence, his lover later addresses him with a song as follows:

"*Altè resplendentis solis auguste puer!*
[高光る 日ノ御子]

Placidè administrationem faciens mî magne domine!
[八隅知し　我が大君]

[…] [Chamberlain 1932 p.261]

Pillow-words are here used to refer to the ruler of Yamato though Yamato-takeru has not yet become Emperor. His deeds, however, do speak of a *kami*-like nature for he bravely annihilates any enemy he happens to face, always coming out of battle victorious and unharmed no matter the situation. His luck does run out, however, when encountering the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki even though Yamato-takeru has in his possession the sword Kusanagi which he received from his aunt in the Great Shrines of Ise. This was due to him raising his words (*kotoageru*) to the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki, threatening to slay it:

"Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, I will simply take him empty-handed,"—and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull. Then he lifted up words [言拳ゲ為而詔らさく], *and said: "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity. Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"—and [so saying,] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take* [倭 建 命]. *(This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity, but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting of the words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take.[6]]) So when, on descending back,*

he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kura-be and rested there, his august heart

[御心] *awoke somewhat*." [Chamberlain 1932 pp.262-3]

Thus Yamato-takeru, who is not only considered from early on to be both fear-inspiring (*osorubeki*) and ruler of the land (*yasumishishi wa ga ōkimi*), is also referred to as *mikoto*—which is also used to refer to the Emperor—and seems to be considered not only to be *kami*-like, but maybe even a *kami* himself. His lack of power at times may be due, however, to his possibly mainly human origins[9], not on par with that of the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki. The *kotoageshite* of Yamato-takeru causes the deity to decide to kill him, and Yamato-takeru does not seem to be able to do anything to avoid it. Nevertheless, the way of killing him is quite indirect and mysterious. It is unclear whether or not all *kami* can use their power as they please or if they have limits and restrictions in its use. In this case, after a seemingly rain of ice, Yamato-takeru is still able to make it further down the mountain to a freshwater spring but passes away shortly after and becomes a bird.

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[9] It is difficult to understand when exactly in the mythological narration humans appear. Since the beginning of creation, both Heaven and Earth seem to be populated only by *kami*. Motoori himself states that during the Divine Age, everyone alive was *kami*. The branching between *kami* and humans is not explained nor referred to, and so it is complicated to consider whether or not the Emperors who appear in the *Kojiki* are fully *kami* before the enthronement ceremony and their communion with Amaterasu. In this case, however, Yamato-takeru seems to be on par with a *kami* himself even though he is still an Imperial Prince.

Regarding the reason for Yamato-takeru's death, Chamberlain points out that be also used to mean the lifting up of a prayer towards some supernatural being, but that in this passage it means nothing more that its actual etymological meaning [Chamberlain 1932 p.262]. Philippi, on the other hand, considers *kotoage shite* as speaking up boldly and considers Tsugita's view of this expression as "to proclaim one's own will in opposition to a god's will" [Tsugita in Philippi, 1968, p. 246]. In any case, it seems that Yamato-takeru's careless consideration of the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki and his underlings was enough for said *kami* to opt for Yamato-takeru's demise. On the other hand, it is unclear why would the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki choose to show itself to Yamato-takeru, even if his nature and lineage were of *kami* or, at least, *kami*-like nature. Let us remember that both etymologically and practically the nature of *kami* seems to be in close connection with the notion and action of hiding (*kakusu*). *Kami* do not simply show themselves, whether on animal or human form, so since Yamato-takeru came into contact with this *kami*, it is expected that this encounter was intentional. Nonetheless, it is also possible for Yamato-takeru, who is quite *kami*-like, to be able to perceive *kami* who would otherwise remain hidden to regular human eyes.

In another narrative from the *Nihon shoki*, the following happens:

> "*Yamato-dake no Mikoto reported to the Emperor how he had subdued the Kumaso, saying:—"Thy servant, trusting in the Emperor's Divine Spirit,*

[神靈 (みたまのふゆ)] *by force of arms at one blow, suddenly slew the Kumaso chieftain and*

reduced that whole country to peace. In this way the Western Land is now quiet,

and the people are undisturbed. Only the God of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi and the

God of the Ferry of Kashiha at Naniha, both, with mischievous intent, sent forth

a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued. Both of them formed

centres of calamity [並 に禍害の藪と爲れり]. *Therefore I killed all those evil*

Deities, and have thrown open the roads by land and water alike." [Aston, 1896a, p.201]

In this passage, Aston makes sure to note that '*the Emperor's divine spirit*' or 神靈 (みたまのふゆ)

is a term closely related to the Latin *numen* [Aston, 1896a, p.201]. This more primeval

experience of sacredness inferred by the term *numen* does seem to account for the

trembling terror and reverence towards the Emperor, and so presents itself as a similar

attitude as the one contained in Otto's *mysterium tremendun et fascinans*. In addition,

Yamato-takeru once again shows his *kami*-like nature by single-handedly dealing not

only with the people of Kumaso, but also with the evil *kami* of Kashiwa and Naniwa.

Even though these *kami* employed their supernatural powers to send a plague to

travelers via a poisonous vapor, Yamato-takeru seems to have had no trouble at all

eliminating them. One might argue that these *kami* slayed by Yamato-takeru may not

have been particularly strong but, taking into consideration that they had managed to

form what Yamato-takeru himself describes as '*centers of calamity,*' it would not be too far of a reach to consider the *kami* of Kashiwa and Naniwa to be holders of quite a bit of supernatural power. Nevertheless, Yamato-takeru manages to easily defeat them and open both sea and terrestrial roads. There seems to be at this point in the mythological narrative no clear distinction between *kami* and human.

Even though possibly of profound Chinese influence, the following passage may be of interest, for it states that:

> "*Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto received the battle-axe [...] Now again, trusting*
>
> *in the spirits of the Gods of Heaven and Earth* [今亦 神 祇 の 靈 に 賴り]
>
> [...]"
> [Aston, 1896a, p.204]

Here, Yamato-takeru once again trusts in '*the spirits of Heaven and Earth*." At this point Aston makes a note to clarify this word, '*spirits,*' as numina [Aston, 1896a, p.204]. The theory of *kami* as *numen* and *tama* persist, even if the distinction between all of these categories seems to still elude us. In the next version of part of Yamato-takeru's adventures in the *Nihon shoki* we are given some more clues, as Yamato-takeru once again affronts a *kami*:

"*Yet Yamato-dake no Mikoto, bursting through the smoke, and braving the mists, distantly crossed Mount Oho-yama. He had already reached the summit when he became hungry and had food on the mountain. The God of the mountain plagued the Prince. He assumed the form of a white deer and stood before him. The Prince, wondering at this, took a stick of garlic, and jerked it at the white deer, striking it in the eye and killing it. Here the Prince suddenly lost his way and could find no issue. Then a white dog came of its own accord, and made a show of guiding the Prince. Following the dog, he proceeded on his way, and succeeded in coming out into Mino. Kibo no Take-hiko, coming out from Koshi, met him. Before this when any one crossed the Shinano pass, he inhaled so much of the breath of the Deity that he became ill and lay down. But after the white deer was killed, the travelers who crossed that mountain chewed garlic, and smearing with it men, kine, and horses, preserved them from being affected by the Deity's breath.*"
[Aston, 1896a, p.208]

In this version, it is not Yamato-takeru who starts a conflict with the *kami*, but the opposite—unless having food on the mountain happened to somehow have offended the deity. This time showing itself as a white deer, it plagues Yamato-takeru, who defends himself by throwing garlic at the *kami*. Once the deer's eye is hit by the garlic, it dies. This event shows a curious situation in which a commonly evil-warding item (garlic) is used against a *kami* and the mere contact manages to kill the *kami*. Either this deer-shaped *kami* happened to be weak against garlic in particular, or their supernatural strength may not have been too great. Nevertheless, the *kami*'s pestilence

was enough for it to persist throughout the mountain so as to make travelers have to employ garlic themselves even after its passing. A white dog then appears in order to guide Yamato-takeru down the mountain. Was this dog another *kami* of more benevolent intent? It could had been so. Whatever the case, once again Yamato-takeru conquers the situation even if this time his tactics do not show any kind of particular trait or supernatural, *kami*-like strength, and the white dog's appearance does not influence the fight against the white deer *kami*, but merely assists Yamato-takeru on finding his way out of the mountain.

In another rendition of Yamato-takeru's affairs with the deity of Mt. Ibuki, the *Nihon shoki* narrates:

> "*Here he heard that on Mount Ibuki in Afumi there was a savage Deity. So he took off his sword, and leaving it in the house of Miyazu-hime, went on afoot. When he arrived at Mount Ibuki, the God of the mountain took the shape of a great serpent, and posted himself on the road. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto, not knowing that it was the master God who had become a serpent, said to himself: –"This serpent must be the savage Deity's messenger. Having already slain a master God, is a messenger worth hunting after?" Accordingly he strode over the serpent and passes on. Then the God of the mountain raised up the clouds, and made an icy rain to fall. The tops of the hills became covered with mist, and the valleys involved in gloom. There was no path which he could follow. He was checked and*

knew not whither to turn his steps. However, braving the mist, he forced his way onwards, and barely succeeded in finding an issue. He was still beside himself like a drunken man. He therefore sat down beside a spring at the foot of the mountain, and, having drunk of the water, recovered his senses. [...] *When he came to the moor of Nobo, his sufferings became very severe. So he made an offering of the Yemishi whom he had captured to the Shrine of the God.*" [Aston, 1896a, pp. 208-9]

From this passage one cannot but be surprised about Yamato-takeru's carefree perspective on encountering an antagonistic supernatural entity. Again, this may be due to his own powerful *kami*-like nature. Unknowingly passing over the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki—who on this occasion presents itself as a serpent and is described as a violent— Yamato-takeru's demise is sure once the *kami* summons an icy rain followed by a confusing mist all over the mountain. Its effects so strong so as for Yamato-takeru to offer Ainu attendants to the shrine of the deity, it cannot but make us wonder about the complexity of *kami* power dynamics. Can a curse such as the one casted by the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki ever be reversed through any means? It seems unlikely that such a strong supernatural force could easily be diverged nor defeated. Even if, as seen in the case of Susa-no-wo against the Orochi serpent, brains can at times surpass the raw otherworldly energy of some entities, once the effects take place the situation seems to worsen rapidly, making it difficult to solve even through magical rites and implements. In this scenario we can once again seen how even the purifying water of a fresh spring,

a source of purify that was more than adequate to clean the deity Izanagi from the horrifying pollution of the Netherworld is not enough to cure the Prince.

Having finished the analysis of the selected texts on Yamato-takeru, our conclusions regarding this section are the following. In the first place, that it does not seem possible to establish a definite distinction between humans and *kami* within the discourse of the mythological narrative. While the Age of *Kami* does come to an end, the origin of humanity is not addressed, and we merely learn that *kami* happen to be the ancestors of certain family lines. While initially this would lead us to think that there may be a un-*kami*-fication of *kami* throughout their lineage that ends up with the entities of what we now consider to be this-world, there are far too many gaps in this reasoning for it to be conceivable even from a mythological standpoint. Thus, the mystery continues.

In the second place, the *kami*-like characteristics that we have been able to attribute to Yamato-takeru show facets of Otto's numinous through his almost supernatural achievements. Yamato-takeru seems, at some point, to be a *kami* among men, born to them but clearly differentiated from even his father, who is considered to be incarnated *kami*. There seems to be no plausible reason for Yamato-takeru's *tama* to be so much stronger than everyone else's, and this makes any attempt at differentiating *kami* from not *kami* even more complex and difficult. In addition, Yamato-takeru clearly represents the core of Motoori's *kashiko*, for he instills a reverential fear both in his father and, most likely, in his enemies. Only the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki seems to have been

able to oppose him, and this is too a great mystery. As we have pondered in the case of Izanagi, Izanami, and Susa-no-wo, it is possible that the anger felt by the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki towards Yamato-takeru were to have been enough to augment his *kashiko* over Yamato-takeru's, so it seems that, according to the textual evidence, our theory seems to still stand for the time being. In any case, we will now continue with the next selection of passages, in this case regarding the happening of Empress Jin-gū and their relation with *kami*-ness and her supernatural prowess.

B) Empress Jin-gū Prophesizes the Conquest of Korea:

Empress Jin-gū—also known as Okinaga-tarashi Hime—wife of Emperor Chūai, seems to have been routinely possessed by various *kami*. Due to her supernatural abilities and contact with *kami*, it is only natural for passages of the mythological narrative in which she appears to be of interest for our research. In this instance narrated in the *Kojiki* we can appreciate not only the ritual circumstances accompanying such an occasion, but also another example of the results of raising up one's words (*kotoageshite*) against a *kami*, as in the case of Yamato-takeru which we have just seen :

"*This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time divinely possessed* [神帰りたまひき]. *So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling*

at the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso, the

Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute, and the Prime Minister the Noble

Take-uchi, being in the pure court, requested the divine orders [神之 命 を請ひ

き]. *Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed* [於是、大 后 神帰りたまひて],

charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward,

and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold

and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly

Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no

country is to be seen. There is only the great sea;" and saying "they are lying

Deities," he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then

the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a

land over which though oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road! [汝 者一

道に向ひたまへ]*." Hereupon the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi said: "[I*

am filled with] awe [恐 し]*, my Heavenly Sovereign, continue playing thy great*

august lute [大御琴]*." Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly*

played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible.

On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead."
[Chamberlain 1932 pp. 277-8]

As it was common during the ancient age, consulting the will of the deities before

definitely deciding on a course of action to take was commonplace. Thus, the Emperor

plays the lute in order to summon *kami* to descend into the Empress, who acts as a

yorishiro. On this occasion, the Emperor commits an impiety by considering the words

of the oracle as falsehoods, committing *kotoage* and, thus, receiving the appropriate

punishment—which once again consists of death penalty. The wording of the

Netherworld is quite curious in this passage, for it is referred to as '*the one road,*'

possibly in the sense that is a road in which turning back is not feasible. Afterwards, we ought to highlight the Prime Minister's use of the term *kashiko*, which in this situation makes reference to the feeling experience when encountering the wrath of the deities as is written as 恐. He then asks the Emperor to continue playing the lute, which

he does languidly. It could have been that, even if unlikely, had the Emperor played with remorse and passion, the *kami* may have reversed their curse. Whatever the case may have been, however, the lack of a heartfelt apology did certainly not play in the Emperor's favor. In the darkness of the ritual chamber the sound of his lute slowly fades away, and he is found dead once the fire is light once again. We thus learn that the will of *kami* is not only immovable, but also immediate insofar in the examples we have seen so far the effects of a *kami*'s curse are seen shortly after it being cast.

In the *Nihon shoki* narrative, the story proceeds in a similar fashion:

> "*The Emperor addressed his Ministers, and consulted with them as to attacking the Kumaso. At this time a certain God inspired the Empress and instructed her, saying:—"Why should the Emperor be troubled because the Kumano do not yield submission? It is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worth while raising an army to attack it? There is a better land that this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman—the land of Mukatsu, dazzling to the eyes. In that land there are*

gold and silver and bright colours in plenty. It is called the Land of Silla of the coverlets of paper-mulberry. If thou worshippest me aright, that Land will assuredly yield submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood. Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as offerings, namely the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields called Ohota, presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato." When the Emperor heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no lang. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said:— "We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void? Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperor Our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted." Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying:—"I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shall not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it." The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated

without having gained a victory. […] The Emperor took suddenly ill, and

died on the following day, at the age of 52.

   One version says:—"The Emperor having gone in person to smite the

Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain.'" [Aston, 1896a, pp.

221-2]

In this first *Nihon shoki* narration of clearly heavy Chinese influence, the Emperor once

again commits *kotoage* by questioning the oracle of the *kami* and, even if his demise is

postponed to a more suited occasion for divine retribution, his premature death is

guaranteed due to his impious behaviour. The numinous, *kashiko* power of these *kami*

that possess the Empress is clear by their prophetic words. Once again, a *kami*'s

heightened emotional state—in this case, once again, wrath—leads to its emotional

power coming out in the form of a curse, which quickly afflicts the Emperor. In the

Nihon shoki, on the other hand, the curse laid out by the *kami* is more indirect, stating

only that it will be his child to inherit the land of dazzling treasures and, in accordance,

his passing is not immediate. Both in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives this passage

is followed by an attempt to ascertain the nature of the *kami* in question, either by the

Empress herself or by the Prime Minister, and they identify themselves as various *kami*,

first as Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami and then as the three deities of Sumiyoshi:

"Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing [心] of the

Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities Bottom-

Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing-Male and Surface-Possessing-Male."
[Chamberlain 1932 p. 280]

In this case, the '*august doing*' of Amaterasu is represented by the character and the

reading *kokoro* 心. This is a point of interest for the present essay due to the fact that

Otto's *augustus* can be connected to this point. On this occasion, we find this notion of

augustus, a word related to royal-like attributes, correlated with the Japanese term

kokoro, which is closer to the meanings of '*mind*', '*idea*', or *'soul/spirit.'* In this case,

this difference could be attributed to the interpretation of *kokoro* as Amaterasu's

volition by Chamberlain, which inherently holds into itself the element of *augustus* due

to her exalted *kami* nature. Then, in addition to the presence of Amaterasu, we also find

that the three other *kami* of Sumiyoshi have entered the body of the Empress,

possessing her at the same time as the astral deity. These last group of *kami* are Soko-

dzu-tsu-no-wo no mi-koto 底筒男命, Naka-dzu-tsu-no-wo no mi-koto 中筒男命, and

Uha-dzu-tsu-no-wo no mi-koto 上筒男命, deities born from Izanagi's process of

purification in the river Tachibana after escaping from the Netherworld. Regarding this

passage, Chamberlain points out how Motoori discusses the issue of the grammatical

structure of these sentences, for it would have been more natural to say that the will of

these four *kami* was so, and not to separate them in this manner [Chamberlain 1932 p. 280]. The author thinks that this may be either due to one of these sentences to be an addition to the original story, or it could also be that two different storylines were not very skillfully merged into the final narrative presented in the *Kojiki*. Whatever the case, the *kami* that cursed the Emperor are shown to be part of the main branch of the Shintō pantheon, for they include not only Amaterasu, daughter or Izanagi, but also secondary deities born form the same *harae* ritual as the Amaterasu-Tsukiyomi-Susa-no-wo triad. The *Nihon shoki* follows quite a similar storyline, but includes two additional *kami*, among them the ruling deity Koto-shiro-nushi, who will appear later on with a more principal role during the section on Emperor Yū-ryaku:

"*In his 9th year, Spring, the 2th month, the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko died in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi. At this time the Empress was grieved that the Emperor would not follow the Divine instructions, and had consequently died a premature death. She thought she would find out what God had sent the curse, so that she might possess herself of the land of treasures. She therefore commanded her Ministers and functionaries to purge offences and to rectify transgressions, also to construct a Palace of worship in the village of Wayamada.*

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress, having selected a lucky day, entered the Palace of worship, and discharger in person the office of priest. She commanded Takeuchi no Sukune to play on the lute, and the Nakatomi, Agatsu no Omi, was

designated as Saniha. Then placing one thousand pieces of cloth, high pieces of cloth, on the top and bottom of the lute, she prayed saying:—"Who is the God who on a former day instructed the Emperor? I pray that I may know his name." After seven days and seven nights there came an answer, saying:—"I am the Deity who dwells in the Shrine of split-bell Isuzu in the district of hundred-transmit Watarahi in the province of divine-wind Ise, and my name is Tsuki-sakaki idzu no mi-tama ama-zakaru Muka-tsu hime no Mikoto.

Again, she inquired:—"Other than this Deity, are there any Deities present?" The answer was:–"I am the Deity who comes forth on the ears of the flag-like Eulalia, and my dwelling is in the district of Aha in Ada-fushi in Oda." She inquired:— "Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"There is the Deity who rules in Heaven, who rules in the Void, the gem-casket-entering-prince, the awful Koto-shiro-nushi."[9]

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"It is not known whether there are others or not." Hereupon the Saniha said:–"There is no answer now, but they will speak again afterwards." So there was an answer, saying:—"There are the Gods who have settles to the bottom of the water of the Little Strait of Tachibana[2] in the Land of Hiuga, and who are produced and dwell there like fresh water plants. Their names are Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo."

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"Whether there are or not is unknown." And nothing more was ever said as to the existence of other Gods.

Now that the Divine words had been obtained, the Gods were worshipped in accordance with their instructions." [Aston, 1896a, pp.224-6]

As we can observe, whereas the details regarding the ritual process of the oracle that ultimately caused the Emperor's passing are not present in the *Nihon shoki*, this text provides us with more information on the second ritual, that to ascertain the identity of the *kami* itself. In the first place, the Empress orders the ministers the following tasks: (a) to purge offerings, (b) to rectify transgressions, and (c) to construct a palace of worship for the *kami* responsible of the curse, which are may and quite varied in their roles. Nevertheless, in the ritual logic of the Yamato court there was no more important tool for the erasure of sin (*tsumi*) than the ceremony of purification (*harai*). This correction of wrongly done deeds did not necessarily hold ethical components as it included a wide variety of offences which included spiritual pollution (*kegare*), calamities (*wazawahi*), and ill-deeds (*ashiki waza*), three categories among which *kotoage* is certain to be included.

Next, in an interesting turn of events when, after the death of the Emperor Empress Jin-gū begins her expedition for the conquest of the Korean peninsula, it is not the *tama* of

Amaterasu she takes with her, even though Amaterasu is the divine ancestor of the Imperial line of Yamato and possibly the greatest *kami* of their entire pantheon. It is the deities of Suminoe who accompany her in her quest:

"[…] *and having made the Rough August Spirits of the Great Detities of the Inlet of Sumi* [墨江大神之荒御魂を似ちて] *the guardian deities of the land, she laid them to rest* [国守ノ神ト為而祭り鎮メて], *and crossed back.*" [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 282-3]

The Empress takes with her the *aramitama*, or violent *tama*, of these deities in order for her army to defeat the enemy, while the *nigimitama* of the *kami* of Sumiyoshi protects the imperial vessel. This duality of *tama* is not to be understood as the existence of two separate *kami*, but as individual synchronous manifestations of the same entity [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 282-3]. There are, in total, four different of these manifestations of a *kami*'s *tama*: the *ara* (荒) or violent/active *tama*, the *nigi* (和) or benevolent/passive *tama*, the *saki* (幸) or lucky *tama* and, lastly, the *kushi* (奇) or wondrous *tama*. These different divisions of an individual *tama* are part of the *ichirei shikon* 一霊四魂 theory (one spirit, four souls). There seems to be, however, a tendency in the classical mythological narratives to present more extensively both the

ara and *nigi* aspects of *tama*. Nevertheless, this multiplicity of a single *kami* opens the door to an even more complex philosophical and theological realm. With this increase in the already great difficulty of ascertain what *kami* is, the mythological narrative once again provides us with more questions than answers.

The author would like, nonetheless, to highlight how the *ara*, *nigi*, *kushi*, and *saki* aspects of *tama* seem to make reference to an emotional state: state of violence, state of peace, state of wonder, and state of happiness or luck, respectively. This consideration seem to fortify our argument of the role of emotion in both the intrinsic nature of *kami* and its effects on the strength of their *kashiko* or numinous power. In addition to this upgraded difficulty, yet another surprising element appears in the next passages:

> "*After this a God gave instructions, saying: —"A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life: a rough spirit will form the vanguard, and be a guide to the squadron."*" [Aston, 1896a, p.229]

And:

"*After this the rough spirit was told to act as vanguard of the forces, and the gentle spirit requested to act as guardian of the Royal vessel* [王船 <ruby>み ふね</ruby>] ." [Aston, 1896a, p.229]

The surprising elements here presented are the following. In the first place, that a *kami* instructs a *nigitama* and an *aratama* what to do, which is surprising enough. In addition to this, the peaceful *tama* is to guard the Empress by attaching itself to her, while the violent *tama* is to guide the army forward. We are not told whose *kami* is speaking but, from the context, we known that it is not the Empress' spirit to be at the front of the battle. This sudden anthropomorphizing of these *tama/kami*, which on previous occasions did not nothing more than to speak an oracle and communicate their names upon further offerings now battle, almost physically, next to the Empress. Then, in the second version present the *Nihon shoki* we find that the *nigitama requests* to protect the royal vessel, styled as *mifune* 王船. Not only does this peaceful *tama* is able to choose what to do, probably due to being one fourth of a *kami* and not regular life-force *tama*, but it needs to request permission to do so, again, maybe because it is not whole *kami* and thus needs to consult the other three parts. We may never know the complexities of this *ichirei seikon* theory. We do know, however, that it is very likely that the *mi* of *mifune*, styled as 王 instead of 御, denotes a nuance between divine and royal, further separating the Empress as a Royal human against the divine *tama* that

have come to her support. Nevertheless, it is very possible that this *mi* of 'royal' translates to the *mi* of 'divine' insofar their attributed meaning may be in the sense of *augustus* which, following Otto's outline, points to the numinous quality of everything related to the sacred, which in this case includes the royal line of Yamato.

Another version narrated in the *Nihon shoki* offers a different perspective on the Jin-gū tale, with the initial oracle being bestowed not by mouth of the Empress:

"*One version says:—"When the Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko dwelt in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, there were Deities who spake by the mouth of Uchi-saru-taka, Kuni-saru-taka, and Matsu-ya-tane, ancestors of the Agata-nushi of Saha, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'If the august descendant wishes to gain the Land of Treasure, we will presently bestow it on him.' So on a later day, a lute was brought and given to the Empress. And the Empress played upon the lute in accordance with the word of the Gods. Hereupon the Gods spake by the mouth of the Empress, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'The land which the august descendant wishes for is, as it were, a stag's horn, and not a real country. But if the august descendant now makes due offering to us of the ship in which he sails and of the water-field called Ohota given him as tribute by Homutate, the Atahe of Anato, we will bestow on the august descendant a dazzling land, a land of plenteous treasure, fair to look upon as a beautiful woman.' Then the Emperor answered the Gods, saying:—'Gods though ye may be, why these deceiving words? Where is there any country? Moreover, when the ship in which*

We sail has been offered to you Deities, in what ship shall We sail? Nor do I know what Gods ye are. I pray you, let me know your names.' Then the Gods gave their names, saying:—'Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, Soko-tsutsu no wo.' Such were the names of the three Gods given by them. And again one said:—'I am Mukahitsu no wo, Kiki-so-ofu-itsuno mitama, Hayasa-nobori no Mikoto.' Then the Emperor spake to the Empress and said:—'What ill-sounding things they say! Is it a woman? What is meant by Hayasa-nobori?'[2] Then the Gods addressed the Emperor, saying:—'O King, since thou art thus unbelieving, thou shalt not possess that country. But the child which is now in the Empress's womb, he will doubtless take possession of it.' On that night the Emperor took suddenly ill, and died. Afterwards the Empress performed worship in accordance with the directions of the Gods. Then the Empress, clad in male attire, went on the expedition against Silla, and the Gods guided her." [Aston, 1896a, pp.233-4]

Thus we are presented with a more detailed version of the Emperor's conversation with these *kami*, with in this case seem to include a Korean deity, the one named Mukatsu. Whatever the differences in that regard, the nucleus of the narration persists. After the oracle is explained by the *kami* by mouth of the Empress, the Emperor commits *kotoage* and is punished by the *kami*. Once again, the sentence for this impiety is death, and it is then the Empress who is in charge of taking the lanf of dazzling treasures for the unborn Prince. As in one of Amaterasu's version against Susa-no-wo, the woman is to wear male attire—presumably a warrior's—before going into battle. The *kami* of the

prophecy guide Empress Jin-gū and her royal vessel. On this occasion, however, ask

for their *aratama* in particular to be worshipped in gratitude for the services provided:

> "*Hereupon the three Gods who accompanied the expedition, viz. Uha-tsutsu no*
> *wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo, admonished the Empress,*
> *saying:—'Let our rough spirits be worshipped at the village of Yamada in Anato.*'""
> [Aston, 1896a, p.235]

It is unclear why only the *aratama* were to be worshipped. Maybe, as Motoori proposed

in his 'Definition of *kami*,' since evil—in this case, violent perharps—*kami* are to be

appeased in order for them not to unleash their supernatural powers, it is only this rough

side of their *tama* that is to be thanked for their support. The *nigitama*, on the other

hand, since it is in their nature to be peaceful, may not need such an offering provided

to them in return. It would be of great interest to delve into this subject further during

future research.

Once finished with the analysis of this section on the prophecy and posterior invasion

of part of the Korean peninsula by Empress Jin-gū, our conclusions are the following.

In the first place, that the numinous appears, once again, mainly in its facets of *augustus*

and of *kashiko*. The nature of the texts we are using as sorces, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon*

shoki, may account for the predominance of a royal-like nuance to the apparitions of

the *kami* in these accounts of the mythological narrative. We continue to observe how

Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*' seems to be a more accurate representation of the numinous phenomena known as *kami*. This is, the author thinks, due to the fact that many of the elements identified by Otto as being part of the religious experience are either equal or closely related to the feeling of *kashiko*, a term which seems to include many of the characteristics seen in **Chapter 2** such as *mysterium*, *fascinans,* and *augustus*.

In addition, we ought to remember that one of the main problems of the 'Definition of *kami*' was its broadness and lack of clear-cut delimiting elements which were in turn present in Otto's analysis of the numinous. Our attempt to further clarify the notion of sacredness in Shintō through the concepts of *kami* and *mana* seems to be, for now, still far from our reach. Nevertheless, we will continue to pursue the present examination and will find more clues in the analysis of the narrations of Emperor Yū-ryaku.

C) Emperor Yū-riyaku meets the Great Deity of Katsuragi and the Deity of Mimuro Hill:

In this passage of the mythological narrative, Emperor Yū-ryaku is crossing a mountain in Katsuragi with his entourage when, suddenly, they come across a similar view to their own: an equally dressed man with an entourage as great as the Emperor's. After rising their bows to prepare for a possible confrontation with the other group, the leader of the other group identifies himself as the *kami* of Katsuragi:

"*As I was the first to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good, — the Great Deity of Kadzuragi, Lord of One Word* [吾者悪事なれ雖一言、善事なれ雖一言、言ひ離つ神。葛城之一言主之大神者也]. *The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understand not that thy great person would be revealed* [恐し。我が大神、宇都志意美に有らむト者。[中略]不覚にあり];"*— and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise his bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity].*

Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands, accepted the offering." [Chamberlain (1932) pp. 386-387]

While it is possible that, from a historical perspective, this tale narrates an encounter between the Yamato chieftain and the Katsuragi chieftain, for the establishment of the Yamato court's sphere of influence was to be a slow development that was at that point clearly not yet accomplished, the author thinks that this story does offer some interesting points on the nature of *kami* and sacredness when read from a religious-mythological viewpoint. In the first place, we find that the *kami* of Katsuragi seems to be, insofar as his clothes and entourage goes, in the same level of Emperor Yū-ryaku. While the Emperor was willing to attack the other party until the revelation of its leader's identity, upon learning of his *kami* nature his reaction it one of fear and reverence (*kashikoshi*). The text actually writes *kami* as 神, so there is no mistake into considering this *kami* to be the *kami* applied to deities and not the one applied to *people* of higher rank.

This leads us to several questions of importance, beginning with the nature of Emperor Yū-ryaku as *akitsu kami*. As in the case we have previously seen in this regard, that of Emperor Keikō and his reaction to the actions and the violent nature of this son, Prince Yamato-takeru, when in the presence of a *kami* Emperor Yū-ryaku seems to not consider himself a *kami* in any way, and his mere action is that of fear and reverence.

Were Yamato-takeru to have been the one to encounter the *kami* of Katsuragi, the story would probably have proceeded in a completely different way. Emperor Yū-ryaku, on the other hand, reverences this great *kami*, the Lord of One Word, and relinquishes all of his and his entourages' possessions to him. Then, this great *kami*, the Lord of One Word, accepts the offerings and leads them down the mountain.

This strange deity, who styles himself as 'the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good' [吾者悪事なれ雖一言 、善事なれ雖一言 、言ひ離つ神],

an obscure phrase no matter how one looks at it, seems completely unfaced by meeting the Yamato emperor in his territory, and gladly accepts a ridiculous present, making his 'guests' leave the mountain with no garments nor weapons. We ought to highlight, however, the role attributed to this *kami* by his powers on words, probably through *kotodama*. It could be that, as in the case of the *yōkai* Nurarihyon, this entity's power is one of making others accept his superiority in rank, thus forcing others to serve them rather willingly. This strange expression of 'dispelling with a word the evil' and 'dispelling with a word the good,' seem to put this *kami* into a grey category, for he seems able to do either evil and benevolent actions. Whatever the case, it is clear that his supernatural abilities seem to be related to the use of words which, as we have pointed out previously, are carriers of emotion. According to Philippi, this *kami* may be one of oracles or of divination, deciding the fortunes of people with the mere use of one word [Philippi 1968 p. 361]. No doubt the pleasure of the *kami* upon hearing the

Emperor's pious words and actions made the *kami* to be agreeable and, in this rare instance of somebody acting towards a *kami* with common sense instead of with *kotoage* we can see that the reward is simply to keep one's life and, according to Phillipi, on this occasion the *kami*'s clapping was also to impart a blessing [Philippi 1968 p. 361].

In the case of this passage, the narrative provided by the *Nihon shoki* differs in various aspects, and on the whole has a completely different tone from what we find in the *Kojiki*:

> "*The Emperor went a-hunting with bow and arrows on Mount Katsuraki. Of a sudden a tall man appeared, who came and stood over the vermilion valley. In dace and demeanor he resembled the Emperor. The Emperor knew that he was a God, and therefore proceeded to inquire of him, saying:—'Of what place art thou Lord?" The tall man answered and said:—"I am a God of visible men [現人之神 <ruby>現<rt>あ</rt>人<rt>ら</rt><rt>ひ</rt><rt>と</rt><rt>が</rt>神<rt>み</rt></ruby> ぞ]. Do thou first tell thy princely name, and then in turn I will inform thee of mine." The Emperor answered and said:—"We are Wake-take no Mikoto." The tall man next gave his name, saying:—"Thy servant is the God Hito-koto-nushi." He finally joined him in the diversion of the chase. They pursued a deer, and each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to but, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company*

of genii [⟨仙⟩]. Herewith the sun went down, and the hunt came to an end. The

ひじり

God attended on the Emperor and escorted him as far as the Water of Kume. At this time the people all said:—"An Emperor of great virtue!" [Aston, 1896a, pp.341-2]

Here we can clearly observe an incredible turn in the narrative. Not only is the Emperor regarded on the same level as the *kami*, but the *kami* even styles himself as the Emperor's servant. Right after meeting each other, they merrily enjoy a hunting chase together before departing as likely friends. Both the Emperor and the *kami*'s speech is highlighted as extremely proper for the occasion, and no allusion to an expiatory offering nor any kind of subservience towards the *kami* is made. It could be that the reason for this suprising and sudden change were the mere effect of the continental Chinese influence in the mythological narrative present in the *Nihon shoki*. Whatever the case, here the Emperor is for once presented as an equal to a rather powerful *kami*, equaling his facets of *augustus* and *kashiko* with those of an actual *kami*.

Next, we will analyze a passage that does not appear in the *Kojiki*, so only the *Nihon shoki* text will be provided. In this section of the narrative, Emperor Yū-ryaku sends one of his underlings to capture and present to him the *kami* of the hill of Mimuro:

"The Emperor commanded Sukaru Chihisako Be no Muraji, saying:—"It is our desire to see the form of the Deity of Mimuro Hill. [Some say that the Deity of this

mountain is Oho-Mono-shiro-nushi no Kami. Others say Uda no Sumi-zaka no

Kami.] Thou dost excel in strength of body. Go thyself, seize him, and bring him

here." Sukaru answered and said:—"I will make the attempt, and go to seize him."

So he ascended the Hill of Mimuro and caught a great serpent, which he showed

the Emperor, who had not practiced (religious) abstinence [齋戒したまはず].

Its thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The Emperor was afraid [畏みたまひ

て]*, and, covering his eyes, would not look upon it, but fled into the interior of the*

Palace. Then he caused it to be let loose on the Hill, and giving it a new name,

called it Ikadzuchi." [Aston, 1896a, p.347]

Once again, the Emperor cowers before the presence of a *kami*, and does not express

his own *kami*-ness. But let us commence from the beginning. The fact is that Sukaru

Chihisako Be no Muraji managed to find and capture the *kami* of Mimuro Hill. Whether

this was pure lack of a result of his physical strength, it is hard to discern. The Emperor,

however, is said to have enraged the *kami* due to having appeared in its presence

without purifying himself first. This impiety seems to have been considered not as

grave as that of *kotoage*, for the Emperor manages to survive this episode with nothing

more than a scare. Interestingly, the fear the Emperor experiences on this occasion is

not *osore* 恐, but *kashiko* 畏. Should we understand this distinction as one of trembling

fear and reverence (towards the *augustus*) against one of numinous fear against what

is wholly other from oneself? It seems that, in this case, the presence of the *kami* is so

overwhelming that the Emperor covers his eyes and fleeds the scene. The muraji that caught the *kami*, however, seems to have no problem at all being in its presence nor holding it.

Thus, our conclusion regarding these episodes on the experience of Emperor Yū-ryaku encountering *kami* are the following. In the first place that, once again, an Emperor who technically is incarnated *kami* fails to express his *kami*-ness during the narrative, and is thus presented as being considerably inferior to *kami*, be it the cause of his profane human nature or of his lack of ritual purity. Only in some instances, such as the even more highly edited narrative of the *Nihon shoki*, do we see both the Emperor and a *kami* standing in equal rank and footing.

In the second place, it seems that the *osore* 恐 and *kashiko* 畏 feelings produced by an encounter with a numinous entity express two different facets of an encounter with the *a priori* object of religious experience. In this case, instead of the feeling of *augustus* so commonly found in these passages, the meeting between Emperor Yū-ryaku and the *kami* of Mimuro Hill displays for us a more clear element of pure *kashiko* by showing the strange (*ayashiki*) of this *kami*'s abilities. In addition, we can observe once again the power of words within this mythological structure: by not committing *kotoage*, that is, by abstaining from proffering impieties, the Emperor avoids a certain death through *tatari*.

With regards to this subject of the power of words, we also ought to highlight how this time the *kami* does not say anything. Instead, its supernatural prowess is shown visually through its actions. Had the *kami* chosen to utter a curse to the Emperor, it is very likely that his death would have been certain. On this point, we also ought to recall the episode between Prince Yamato-takeru and the *kami* of Mt. Ibuki. In that case also the *kami* chose to not say, and instead had a heavy rain of ice fall from the sky. Even without uttering a word, these two *kami* were able to exert their powers. Thus, it would seem that the supernatural power of *kami* is not only expressed outwardly through their words, but also through their will and emotional state. That is, it is not necessary for them to speak, but just willing or feeling is enough for action to be exerted into the world.

With this, we at last are able to draw to a close the part of textual analysis. We will now proceed to **Chapter 6 – The Sacred in Shintō**, where we will take into consideration all of the elements examined as of now and, in addition, we will include several notions and arguments provided by contemporary authors, among them those of Massimo Raveri in his work *Itinerary Nel Sacro. L'esperienza religiosa giapponese* (1984), sections of the volume edited by Fabio Rambelli *The Sea and the Sacred in Japan. Aspects of Maritime Religion* (2018) and, lastly, Bernard Faure's considerations of "The Power of Women", the ninth chapter of his work *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (2003).

Chapter 6 – The Sacred in Shintō

In this chapter we will finalize our analysis of the concept of the sacred in Shintō by combining the elements studied up until now in the previous chapter and complementing them with the work of several modern authors, among whom we highlight Massimo Raveri's *Itinerary Nel Sacro. L'esperienza religiosa giapponese* (1984), sections of the volume edited by Fabio Rambelli *The Sea and the Sacred in Japan. Aspects of Maritime Religion* (2018) and, lastly, Bernard Faure's considerations of "The Power of Women", the ninth chapter of his work *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (2003). The reason we will utilize these works of more recent authors in order to complement Motoori's analysis in his 'Definition of *kami*' is precisely found in Motoori's work: in order to understand the meaning of *kami* and, hence, that of the sacred as a numinous experience in Japanese religion, it is necessary for us to delve into the hearts of those who believe in them. Since the meaning of the ancient texts is separated from us by an insurmountable abyss, we cannot but access them from a common hermeneutical horizon. Thus, we have no other choice than to complement our studies on the ancient people of Japan with studies on the contemporary people of Japan. Postmodern studies on the subject are then a requirement for us to comprehend the nature of the sacred, first in Shintō, and then in Japanese religion as a whole.

6.1. Polarities and Liminality:

Let us, then, begin with a general approximation to sacredness in Japanese religious experience. One of the first things that comes to mind when considering an analysis of sacredness within a particular is, after pondering about individual religious experiences of the numinous *a priori* core of religion, is the places where this very particular phenomenon plays out. Thus, we ought to commence by taking into account the notion of sacred spaces. Closely tied to this concept of sacred space (*seichi* 聖地 / *seinaru basho* 聖なる場所) is that of liminality. Because we tend, even if at times mistakenly, examine the religious sphere in a constant duality comprised of the domain of the sacred and the domain of the profane, the issue of liminality is crucial for our understanding of sacredness itself.

Within the realm of Japanese religion as a whole and of Shintō, both as a medieval construction and as what may call early Shintō, the liminality of sacred spaces is based on dual polarities which comprise the following categories: mountain and village (*yama-sato* 山,里), with the mountain category sometimes including the notion of forest (*mori* 森) and that correspond with the *ara* and *nigi* duality that we have seen in previous chapters. This polarizing duality, which the author thinks holds a clear parallel with Nietzsche's conceptualizations of the Apollo-Dionysus binomial, can be interpreted as becoming its opposite in the right circumstances from a religious

perspective. The mountains, which at times symbolize the realm of nature and, thus, of the non-human, can become positive forces through the experience of the divine, for example through the life-giving water that flows from its innermost depths [Raveri, 1984, p. 22].

This religious imagery of the mountain, originated from a shamanistic logic and viewpoint, opposes its dyonisian energy with the shrine (*jinja* 神社), a building constructed with the objective of summoning and containing the power of the divine forces known as *kami*. Delimiting the space where the sacred may make its presencefail, a shrine's enclosure utilizes magico-ritual elements such as torri gates and *shimewana* cords in order to avoid the supernatural power of the *kami* to exceed its usual territory. It is in this context that concept of *oku* 奥 as necessary element of this control over the *kami* forces appears. The item that holds the *kami*, the *shintai* 神体, is to be kept in the innermost part of the ordained sacred space, hidden from plain sight and with only some being able to handle it. We ought to highlight, however, the fact that the object in itself is not important, but what delimitates it to give it a secret, sacred value [Raveri, 1984, p. 30].

In order for a sacred space and object to contain a *kami*, it is necessary for an empty space to exist. As we have seen earlier during our analysis of Otto's examination of the sacred, the notion of emptiness is of utmost importance, for it is within this nothingness

permeating the *sancta sanctorum* that a deity can come down and fill this space with its presence. In the shrine, many times located at the bottom of the mountain or another sacred space where a *kami* dwells, in that liminal space between the world of humans and that of the (super)natural, in a created and composed, ordered space, it is there where people can go to experience the numinous power of *kami*. This liminal space is comparable to that of the high sea, where a wondrous land called Tokoyo seems to be located in the Japanese imaginary [Raveri, 1984, p. 46]. In this regard, there is an important point to take into consideration when inquiring over the relationship between the concept of the sacred and its relationship with the sea in Japanese culture which we will attend to in the next section of this chapter. Before that, however, we ought to continue with the polarities and liminalities of the sacred in this very particular sphere of Shintō.

After pondering over where do these numinous entities make themselves present, the next question to ask would naturally be when do these *kami* appear? The answer to that is after sundown, once the clearly defined outline of the world becomes diffuse and ambiguous under the cover of darkness. Not only is silence—which is also more easily attainable during nighttime—necessary but, as Otto himself pointed out, it is better accompanied by darkness in order to facilitate the expression of the numinous. The night is also the time of the *kashiko*, of the strange, and mysterious, and Other. Hence, rituals like the *kagura* and the *matsuri* are held at or after sunset, when the more defined liminality between this world and the other other world starts to dwindle.

Still, we cannot forget the apollonian elements of the chronological order, of trying to establish other to a reality that, ultimately, is always permeable. This non-existence or, rather, cancellation of time, is well understood in the sphere of divination *uranai* [Raveri, 1984, p. 121]. We have previously seen, in the case of the *ukepi* between Susa-no-wo and Amaterasu, how this style of divination focused not on predicting the future, but on establishing *kami* as guarantors of an outcome. This matters not, for the divinatory arts do not occupy themselves nor care about neither truth nor the future. They are located both outside of time and outside of truth, for their value is only sacred and symbolical. The oracles relate only the will of the *kami*, and the results are relegated to punishment or blessing of the inquirer depending on their behavior towards them. In addition to the arts of divination, time seems to also be cancelled in domains out of this-world. It is the case of the marvelous *marebito* inhabitants of Tokoyo and of those who inhabit the darkness of the Netherworld.

Regarding this term of the so-called *marebito* (賓 or 稀人), it was assigned by recognized and multifaceted scholar Orikuchi Shinobu (1887 – 1953) in his *Kodai Kenkyū* 古代研究 (1929) to define the figures that come to the Japanese islands from beyond the sea as spirits, bringing with them good fortune before going back to their own land across the sea. Orikuchi's emphasis on the importance of these *marebito* would eventually become one of the principal contention points with his mentor, Yanagita Kunio (1875 – 1962), who held that the main form of Japanese belief was

ancestor worship [Hideki, 2018, p. 168]. Interestingly, the motherland of these *marebito kami*, the mysterious Tokoyo, seems to be linked with what Susa-no-wo calls his mother's land, the place he yearns to inhabit and towards Izanagi seems to harbor some kind of resentment. Thus, it seems that, from Orikuchi's perspective, Tokoyo was the Netherworld, the dark realm of Izanami, even if Tokoyo itself does not appear in the mythological narrative as a scenario for the tales of the *kami* [Hideki, 2018, p. 170]. From the perspective that holds the sea as the great absorbent of pollution, it does make sense for the land of spirits and the deceased to be located within it, far away from the shores that contain the realm of the living. In the same line as Orikuchi, Motoori also considers Tokoyo to be the land of Yomi, a place where one cannot return from [Hideki, 2018, pp. 170-1]. It is interesting to find this duality of thought in Motoori, who also analyzed the etymology of Yomi as *Ne no kuni* 根國, a world within the depths of the earth. We ought to take into account, however, that there are several accepted theories so as to the location of this land of the dead. In addition to the arguments that consider the Netherworld to be either below the earth or far across the sea, there is also the perspective that it may be found somewhere on the land of Japan. For when Izanagi escapes from this place of darkness, the road he seals away with rocks, the *Yomotsu hirasaka* 黄泉比良坂, may also be located in the land of Izumo. Whatever the case, we cannot but affirm that, even if sometimes marginally, the sea as a religious topos is present within the framework of the mythological narrative found in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*.

6.2. The Sacred and the Sea:

Regarding this issue of the Japanese and the sea, first and foremost we cannot but point out how:

> "*the study of Japanese religions has chosen to turn its attention away from the sea and has created a cultural environment that is largely continental and landlocked* […] *We do hear something from time to time about sea dragons, about an elusive paradisiacal land situated beyond the sea known as Tokoyo, and about divine figures (gods or human emissaries?) visiting Japan from there called marebito; we also know that fish, in addition to rice, is a central food offering to the gods. Still, most of our received understanding of Japanese religion is essentially continental and landlocked: Shinto and agriculture, Buddhism and its mountain temples, mountains as abodes of the gods and portals to the other world—all presided over by an emperor envisioned as an agricultural ruler descended from a mountain-like heavenly realm.*" [Rambelli, 2018a, p. xii]

It is indeed very curious that a country formed by an archipelago does not have in its religious nor mythological narrative a wider array of references to the sea. Many times during the reading of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, the *kami* that make an appearance among their pages are at times related to items relates to maritime themes, but not so much to the sea itself. We have, for example, previously seen a selected passage from

the tales narrating the stories of Empress Jin-gū where we find that the *kami* of the ferry do not allow the Empress to go forward in her Royal Vessel. These are not *kami* of the sea, nor *kami* of the coast, and it is at times even strange how many of the *kami* related to the *sea* are not *kami* of the sea. In addition, when considering magical elements of the sea, like the tide-receding jewel, we come across magical items that, even after being used by classical personages and heroes, are not considered *kami* nor do they become *kami*.

A possible reason for this absence of maritime themes within the mythico-religious narrative could be related to the sea's role in absorbing pollution:

> "*The outside is not only the place where pollution originates, and where it has to be returned to. Riches (wealth, prosperity, fertility) also come from the outside, carried sometimes by figures called marebito, other times by deities, the most representative of which is Ebisu (also included, beginning from around the fifteenth century, in the set of the seven gods of fortune or shichifukujin). Thus, the outside (in particular, the sea) is not only the place where impurity and pollution are thrown away, but also the place where wealth is produced. In this system, the sea seems to play the role of a huge semiotic shifter converting negativity (pollution) into positivity (riches)—and, perhaps, vice versa.*" [Rambelli, 2018a, pp. xvi-xvii]"

Thus, the sea, which acts as a gigantic absorbent of pollution and that, in addition, has the capacity of transmutating this unavoidable pollution into a positive force. Also in the passages concerning Empress Jing-gū, we have references to the Korean peninsula as a country of dazzling riches. It is possible that, in the symbolic imaginary, there was at some point an association between the import of goods and new manufacturing techniques with riches and, in addition, with the mythical land of Tokoyo across the sea. With the implementation of the sea in the narrative of the cosmological structure we come across the possibility of the existence of two distinct cosmological models: a vertical one which goes from the heights of the High Heaven, passes by this world, and then goes downwards to the Netherworld of Izanami; and a horizontal one which features this world as its center, with the Emperor at its center creating a centrifugal axis of—increasing—pollution towards the sea, up until the paradisiac and mysterious land of Tokoyo and the Asian continent [Rambelli, 2018a, pp. xvi-xvii].

In line with the existence of these marvelous lands across the sea, there are *engi* (origin) narratives of many shrines whose *kami* was a drifted object found ashore [Sekimori, 2018, p. 113]. In this regard, the Great Purification of the Nakatomi includes a section which somewhat explains the role of the sea in the purification process through *kami* by utilizing the image of large ships going into the high sea, symbolically removing pollution from the islands [Rambelli, 2018b, p. 182]. This reference to the sea in the texts of the Nakatomi may show an 'evolution' towards a more prominent role of the sea advancing form the ancient to the classical and to the medieval ages, with new

versions of these myths being created by the discourses of both Ise Shintō and Ryōbu Shinto, which claimed that the whole universe had originated from the sea [Kanazawa, 2018, p. 157]. This evolution continued well up to the Edo period, when a particular type of votive tables called *ema* 絵馬, the *funa ema* 船絵馬, which originated from the tradition of people in maritime-related occupations leaving behind them religious objects and documents in order to create a web of knowledge on the happenings in the sea [Bulian, 2017, pp. 122-3].

Nevertheless, this surprising lack of maritime references—what is more, even the narrative of Susa-no-wo, *kami* of the *sea* and of storms, has barely any correlation with maritime elements—one of the passages we have chosen for the previous chapter on textual analysis, that of Empress Jin-gū, is one of the few accounts of the *Kojiki* that so closely relates to the sea. Furthermore, there are other versions of the tale of Empress Jin-gū which have even a more prominent maritime theme. These are featured in *engi* narratives belonging to the Sumiyoshi, Hachiman, and Awashima cults [Simpsion, 2018, pp. 65-6]. Naturally, the highlighted importance of the main deities of these cultic centers is paramount in these tales, which go so far as to sexually unite these *kami* with the Empress, in one occasion with the *kami* Sumiyoshi to later on becoming a *kami* herself and choosing her own place of enshrinement; and in another occasion through exchanging sex for the naval expertise of the *kami* Azumi no Isora, divine ancestor of

the Azumi clan, one—if not the—oldest people to navigate the waters west of Japan [Grapard, 2018, p. xxvi].

Lastly, through this union of the Empress and the *kami*, both as its oracular vessel and in the role of its wife/lover, these questions on the relationship between the notion of sacredness and the role of liminality take us to a realm of utmost importance within the Japanese religious sphere: that of the spiritual power of women, which culminates in the figure of the *itako* イタコ or *kuchiyosemiko* 口寄せ巫女.

6.3. Women and Sacredness

The role of women within the sphere of Japanese religion is of utmost importance for a deep comprehension of the phenomenon of the sacred within all spheres of religiosity in the Japanese archipelago. The role of *miko*, in particular, seems to be the fundamental pillar of women's relationship with the realm of the sacred, and even if many times their fundamental role has not been considered in Western scholarship, these women have had a lasting and continuous presence in the religious life of the Japanese people [Meeks, 2011, p. 209]. Appraising the role of *miko* from the perspective of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* is more of a futile attempt, for these two works represent mainly the ideological and religious vision of the Yamato court, that is, of a very small and closed community with their own set of ritual etiquette and theological considerations. It is, however, necessary for an understanding of the numinous core of their religiosity, for us to understand its more popular and shamanistic origins. Hence, there is no other option but to delve, even if superficially, in the role and history of these sacred women.

One of the best starting points for this section of the analysis would be, the author thinks, the connection of women with sacredness through the lense of their impurity. Even though it is well known that in ancient Japan women held a prominent role in the religious, political, and social spheres up to the point of descendance being based upon matrilineal lineages [Raveri, 1984, p. 306], they seemed to have lost their power and

social authority not long after. One of the main arguments towards this seemingly 'impure' position of women seems to be that, according to the text present in the Procedures of the Engi Era, or *Engishiki* 延喜式 (927) of the impurity of blood in general, but more specifically the blood of the hymen, childbirth, and menstruation [Raveri, 1984, p. 307]. This emphasis on the impurity of blood related to women's reproductive abilities led to the establishment and propagation of *betsuya* 別屋, separated huts for women at their most impure times, as well as that of the *ubuya* 産屋 which, as their name implies, were mainly parturition huts set aside from the houses of the village.

This separation and isolation of women during their menses and childbirth has been historically seen in different lights and perspectives. One of the most recent and remarkable narrative is that of the Ōbara Ubuya in Miwa, Kyoto Prefecture. Located within what now is Ōbara Shrine there is a recreation for tourist and cultural purposes of an *ubuya* hut created by the Kyoto Tourism Federation. What is of remarkable importance regarding this replica is the narrative that accompanies it, for its description:

> "*Characterizes the Ōbara* ubuya *as a protective and sacred space that offered solace to birthing women. This image of the* ubuya *that shows women's agency and autonomy dramatically differs from the usual*

*representation, which emphasizes its oppressive physical isolation, the misery of its occupants, and by implication the polluted status of women. By displacing the notion of pollution (*kegare 汚れ *or* fujō 不浄*) with sacrality and that of isolation with restful solitude, the Ōbara* ubuya *website not only inverts the meaning of* ubuya *but also rescues women's alternative voices from the dark history of birth-giving practices.*"
[Tonomura, 2007, pp. 4-5]

As we can see, it seems that there is a narrative that ties women's sacrality and confort, including their right to privacy, in connection with what many times is considered a measure of involuntary isolation devised in order to control and subjugate women under a patriarchal ideological framework. In the author's opinion, it is perfectly possible for these two narratives to have existed simultaneously. As Tonomura (1948-) also states, the horrific conditions of life in the *ubuya* in several locations of the countryside cannot possible become a generalization of the whole range of the *ubuya* phenomenon and, hence:

"*the* ubuya *trope is a totalizing discourse that fuses the analylically distinct options of women, pollution (*kegare*), parturition, isolation, misery, and disempowerment into an unbroken circle of timeless Japaneseness that is tangibly confirmed by its very physical form and ontologically sustained by its imagined mythical origin.*" [Tonomura, 2007, p. 7]

Thus, this vision of the *ubuya* as a place for the restraining of women's pollution leads to maintaining and fostering the ideological structure of patriarchal tradition as the *status quo*, which leads us right into another point of great importance: the used of the sacred as a political and ideological tool. Within the realm of the sacred, we usually find at least two different categories or religion: one of them is religion as individual spirituality; the other, religion as a ritual construct. While, as Otto very well pointed out, the expressions of this numen as religious experience need many times of magico-ritual implements to be felt and produced, the core of religious experience is found the first definition of religion as spirituality. This is in no way contradictory with Motoori's *kashiko*, for the communal experience that characterizes, according to our analysis in **Chapter 2**, the main difference between Otto's analysis of the numen and Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*,' is comprised of the resonance of individual experiences merging into each other and, ultimately, becoming one. This experience of sacredness cannot be bent to other's will, and it cannot be taken away from an individual. It is the second, more ritualistic part of religion, which can be manipulated into control of the masses or of marginalized groups.

Rots (n.d.) has analyzed part of this problematic in his doctoral thesis *Forests of the Gods. Shinto, Nature, and Sacred Space in Contemporary Japan* (2013). Even if he parts from a notion of sacredness which does not exist as an autonomous ontological referent, which is obviously the opposite axiom of this essay, he examines the

contemporary sacralization of spaces and points out that, even nowadays, these processes of sacralization seem to serve to the nurturing of identity politics [Rots, 2013, pp. 87-8] which attempt to maintain and/or restore a comeback to the golden age of 'tradition.' In the same line, is it clear that may times "*religion had also become complicit in the logic of domination and* exploitation" [Satō, 2012b, p.15]. This is what seems to be happening regarding the *ubuya* discourse and, interestingly, the earliest example of this type of construction, present in written form in the *Nihon shoki* in reference to Toyotamahime, a daughter of a sea *kami*, Watatsumi, who gives birth to her children in a hut in order to protect her privacy and not show her husband her true, non-human form. As we saw in the case of the Izagi-Izanami narrative, it is typical for these petitions of privacy to be ignored, and so Hiko Hohodemi peeked at her true form and, in proper Izanagi fashion ran away. What Tonomura points out, however, is how, in the *Nihon shoki*, no reference is made to the pollution of birth, or of the woman herself, but it is simply what it is: a parturition hut.

Thus, we can clearly observe how many times the narratives regarding the sacred are reinterpreted in order to achieve a particular political goal, or to establish or reinforce an ideological framework. In this case, this narrative regarding women's pollution did not only affect regular women, but also those who were in charge of matters related to the sacred or to religiosity. This is in particular the case of the *miko*, who are characterized by their differentiation in the categories of priestesses (*kagura-miko*), who belong to instituzionalized religion and, on the other hand, *kuchiyose miko*, who

mostly situated in a realm of existence that was not only liminal, but also deprecating towards them. Nevertheless, this may have been mainly part of the institutional discourse, for *kuchiyose miko* were—and continue being in some regions—an important figure for the people of rural areas, particularly for women. Thus, even if *kuchiyose miko* were bound by their profession to be held and regarded as liminal beings that ought to not come into contact with the community except during certain times and occasions, such as when their services were needed for contacting the dead through a *séance*, their influence in the religious life and outlook of the people were paramount.

As B. Faure points out, these female mediums included in:

> "*the category of women called* miko *have long practiced all kinds of activities: not only oracles, divination, prayers, but also various "performing arts" (*geinō*). Although they were increasingly subject to all kinds of regulation, they did not entirely lose their power and, at least until the end of the Kamakura period, they played at times a significant political role.*" [Faure, 2003, pp. 287-8]

In the earliest stages, the shamanistic power of *miko* was characterized by the *kami* possessing her body and speaking through her mouth. Whereas later on there was a severe restriction of the role of even shrine *miko*, choosing them among young girls who were not yet considered women and had, thus, their sexuality negated, the power

of the original female mediums resided on their femaleness. It was their natural biological process which connected them to the realm of the sacred, and in its *kashiko* capabilities, they were considered to be part of the realm of *yama*, of the sphere where humans do not have any control over. This power over the realm of the strange, of the wholly other, is precisely what leads in many cultures, and not only the Japanese, to restrict and control their role in the religious, political, and social spheres [Raveri, 1984, p. 311]. This control is so through that, even in the case of the *itako* and the *kuchiyose miko*, their choice of profession does not belong to themselves, but to their families.

And because of their role as female mediums they are considered, as we previously pointed out, liminal beings, and thus are not to be regarded as wholly women. During the process of becoming an *itako*, they are symbolically married to a *kami*, which does not only signify their spiritual *kashiko* powers, but also fosters their distancing from the community and contraposes them to the role of the wife (*okusan* 奥さん) [Raveri, 1984, p. 319]. This way, their role as sacred women and as vessels of the *kami* is subtracted from their gender, which ends up being nullified and leaving them relegated to liminal spaces. In contrast with the female *miko* we can find the figure of the magician (*majutsushi* 魔術師). Usually a male figure, the *majutsushi* has pursued the way of the holy man but, instead of using the powers gained through severe and harsh ascetical training for the good of all beings, he has separated himself from the group. Standing upon his ego, the magician lends his powers to those who, stranded from the

community, choose to continue rebelling against it instead of assimilating back into it. However, this power comes with a hefty price for, as in the case of the powers of the *kitsune*, the effects of these magical measures cannot be controlled, and thus overwhelm those who have asked for their help. Ironically, the figure of the *majutsushi* is not considered the culprit of the use of this magic, even if they are still relegated to marginal, liminal spaces. Instead:

"*It is never the magician who is openly marginated but he who is accused of having successfully appealed to his endeavors. For all the inhabitants of the community, the culprit stops existing: he becomes a* murahachibu 村八分, *an ostracized.*" [Raveri, 1984, p. 328]. [Translation of the author].

Thus, we can observe a clear differentiation between the treatment of *miko* and those of magic users. It seems that, due to their gender, *miko* have consistently suffered more the effects of the ideological framework that came to govern the Japanese religious sphere. Their roles as religious leaders and figures that, in early antiquity, led their people, were soon subverted into a patriarchal system, going as far so as to almost being outlawed or, at least being considerably restricted in their oracles and abilities by governmental powers. As an example, even after Kamakura, during the Edo period, the *kuchiyose miko* of the Kantō region had to be employed under the "Master of sacred dance," a title held by a succession of leaders who all shared the same name, Tamura Hachidayū, and who more or less governed Shūgō Shintō [Groemer, 2007, p. 29].

We must once again highlight, however, that this apparent subservience of *miko* had notable exceptions, with many of them maintaining their arts as such, especially in areas further away from the capital. In contemporary Japan, this legacy has been passed on in the form of the founders of the New Religions, mainly women who stood up as religious leaders and who were able of achieving religious ectasis with ease. According to Raveri, these newer religious movements were born from a need for a more spontaneous and free experience of the sacred felt after the beginning of Japanese industrialization. Whatever other circumstances may have arose, the fact remains that not only are women still living and expressing their religiosity outside of standard, institutionalized religion, but also that the experience of the sacred as an autonomous ontological reality seems to continue to exist even today.

Conclusion

With these final reflections we now finalized the long journey of our current research. Recapitulating what has been said up until now, we started this essay by establishing some preliminary elements regarding the nature and the methodology of the present text. Summarizing those elements, we have proceeded to carry out an analysis of the concept of the sacred in Shintō as present in the classical mythological narratives of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* through the lenses of two classic authors who greatly contributed to define and delimitate this issue: Rudolf Otto and Motoori Norinaga. Before delving into those matters, however, we have dedicated a chapter to introducing to the reader the main characteristics of Shintō beliefs and, in addition, a brief summary of its history and schools of thoughts up to modern times. Once that foundation had been securely settled, we then went on to analyze R. Otto's main work, *The Idea of the Holy*, in order to extract from it an outline of the numinous as the *a priori* core of religious experience clean from Otto's considerations of Christianity as the most perfect religion. Once that goal was accomplished, we then continued with an analysis of Nativist scholar Motoori Norigana, and examined in detail his 'Definition of *kami*,' a passage within his major work, the *Kojiki-den*, which deals with the nature of these deities. Finally, we compared both Otto's theory of the numinous and Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*,' and concluded that, while Motoori's argumentation follows a different methodology from that of Otto who, in German fashion, attempts to clarify and categorize as many elements of the religious experience as possible, the elements that Motoori's 'Definition of *kami*' claims to be inherent to the nature of *kami*, and in particular the notion of *kashiko*, hold a clear parallelism with Otto's numinous, the

main differentiating point being Otto's emphasis on the individuality of religious experience when, regarding the *kami*, their experience is usually accomplished through communal worship.

Then, in Chapter 3, we went ahead and delved into the depths of this concept of *kami*, attempting to clarify its meaning, first to an etymological analysis and through the interpretations of Japanese authors, and then through considering *kami* as mana. Our conclusions regarding this chapter were that, while the notion of mana can in the Japanese religious sphere be identified with the term *tama*, this notion of *tama* can be equated to that of Otto's numinous but, however, is not reducible to the *kami*. Thus, we have learned that, while all *kami* contain this numinous energy and life force called *tama*, not all *tama* is *kami*, for there is something that differentiates both of these notions. In order to try to bring more clarity to this extremely broad concept of *kami*, we have dedicated Chapters 4 and 5 to analyze selected texts of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. From all the narrations present in this essay, what we have learned is that there certainly is, in the term *kami*, something that definitely differentiates this notion of *kami* from that of *tama*, and so we ascertained that one of the main differentiations between *kami* and *tama* is the presence of volition in *kami*. Now, while this does not help at all to clarify the distinction between *kami* and other supernatural entities, it does provide us with a more clear schema of the notion of the sacred in the mythological narrative of Shintō and, in a broader sense, in the Japanese religious sphere in general. The tales accounted for in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* have presented us with an

extremely broad outline of what *kami* are. Nevertheless, we seem to have found out that the emotional inner life of *kami* is what may translate into its raw supernatural power, that is, the life-force known as *tama*, which is equal to the numinous. Finally, in Chapter 6 our examination has been brought to an end with several broad and more contemporary considerations of the sacred in Shintō through its notions of polarity and liminality, its surprising treatment of the sea and cosmological view of the afterlife, and the many times unrecognized role of women in the religious sphere as mediators between the sacred and the profane. Along the way we have touched upon themes available for future research, and also made what the author considers to be observations of interest that could possible lead to more questions than answers, but that is the role of both Philosophy and the Humanities and, as we pointed during the Preliminaries to this essay, the hermeneutical horizon between us postmodern readers and the authors of the classics cannot be sailed through. Thus, questions and going forward are all that can possibly remain for us

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Annexes

Annex I – Outline of the Numinous in R. Otto's *Das Heilige*

A) Rational and Irrational. The Holy and the Numinous.

B) Characteristics of the Numinous

b.1) Creature-feeling

b.2) *Mysterium tremendum*

b.2.1) *Tremendum*

b.2.2) *Majestas*

b.2.3) Energy

b.2.4) *Das ganz Andere*

b.2.4.1) *Mirum*

b.3) *Fascinans*

b.4) Enormous

b.5) Sublime

b.6) *Augustus*

C) Expressions of the Numinous

    c.1) Direct expressions:

        c.1.1) *Viva vox*

    c.2) Indirect expressions:

        c.2.1) Terrible

        c.2.2) Sublime

        c.2.3) Mysterious

        c.2.4) Other

    c.3) Artistic Expressions:

        c.3.1) The sublime

        c.3.2) Symbols and emblems

        c.3.3) Dilated horizontality

        c.3.4) Gothic

        c.3.5) Darkness and silence

        c.3.6) Emptiness

        c.3.7) Music

D) Historical Development of the Numinous

d.1) Spells

d.2) Ancestor Worship

d.3) Representation of Spirits

d.4) Power

d.5) Primitivism

E) Addendum to the Numinous

e.1) Human Nature vs Divine Nature

e.2) Primeval sounds of the numinous

e.3) Mysticism and Faith

e.4) Emptiness

e.5) Prophetic experience of God

e.6) Silent worship

e.7) Sin, guilt, and morality

Annex II – Original Textual Citations

Chapter 2:

Motoori Norinaga's 'Definition of *Kami*'. Taken from Motoori Norinaga,

***Kojikiden*, Vol. I, Scroll 3. Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1918. Pp. 140-143.**

*Note: the red hiragana 'ku' represents the *kunojiten* used in vertical writing.

神名は迦微能美那波と訓べきことも首巻に伝り、迦微と申す名義は末思

得ず、〔舊く説ることゞも皆あたらず。〕さて凡て迦微とは古御典等に見

えたる天地の諸の神たちを始めて、其を祀れる社に坐御靈をも申し、又人

はさらにも云ず、鳥獣木草のたぐひ海山など其餘何にまれ、尋常ならずすぐ

れたる徳のありて、可畏き物を迦微とは云なり、〔すぐれたるとは、尊き

こと善きこと、功しきことなど、優れたるのみを云に非ず。惡きもの奇し

きものなども、よにすぐれて可畏（カシコ）きをば、神と云なり。さて人の中での神は、

先（ッ）かけまくもかしこき天皇は、御世々々皆神に坐（ス）こと、申すもさらなり。其（ソ）

は遠（トホ）き神とも申して、凡人とは遙（ハルカ）に遠く、尊く、可畏（カシコ）く坐（シ）ますが故なり。

かくて次々にも神なる人、古（ヘ）も今もあることなり。又天下に、うけばりてこ

そあらね、一國一里一家の内につきても、ほどて〳〵に神なる人あるぞかし。

さて神代の神たちも、多くは其代の人にして、其代の人は皆神なりし故に、

神代とは云なり。又人ならぬ物には、雷は常にも鳴神（ル）・神鳴（リ）など云ばさらに

もいはず、龍樹（タツコ）・靈狐（タマ）などのたぐひも、すぐれてあやしき物にて、可畏（カシコ）けれ

ば神なり。木霊（コタマ）とは、俗（ヨ）にいはゆる天狗にて、漢籍（カラブミ）に魑魅など云たぐひの物

ぞ。書紀舒明巻に見えたる天狗（コトモノ）は異物（ノ）なり。又源氏物語などに、天狗こたま

と云ることあれば、天狗とは別（コト）なるがごと聞ゆめれど、そは當時世に天狗（ツノカミ）と

もいひ木霊（コタマ）とも云るを、何とかくつらね云るにて、實（カコト）は一つ物なり。又

今俗にこたまと云物は、古山彦を云り。これらは此に要なきことゞもなれど

も、木霊の因に云のみなり。又虎をも狼を神と云ること、書記・萬葉など

に見え、又桃子に意富加牟都美命と云名を賜ひ、御頸玉を御倉板擧神と申せ

したぐひ、又磐根木株艸葉のよく言論したぐひなども皆神なり。さて又海

山などを神と云ふことも多し。そは其御靈の神を云に非ずて、直に其海をも

山をもさして云リ。此らもいとかしこき物なるがゆゑなり。〕

抑迦微は如此く種々にて、貴きもあり賤きもあり、強きもあり、弱き

ものあり、善きもあり、惡きものありて、心も行もそのさまぐに隨ひて、

とりぐにしあれば、〔貴き賤きにも段々多くして、最賤き神の中には

徳すくなくて、凡人にも負るさへあり。かの狐など怪きわざをなすこと

は、いかにかしこく巧なる人も、かけて及ぶべきに非ず。まことに神なれ

ども、常に狗などにすら制せらるばかりの、微き獸なるをや、されど然る

たぐひの、いと賤き神のうへをのみ見て、いかなる神といへども、理を以て

向ふには、可畏きこと無しと思ふは、高きいやしき威力の、いたく差ひある

ことを、わきまへざるひがことなり。〕大かた一むきに定めては論ひがたき

物になむありける。〔然るを世人の、外國にいはゆる佛薩聖人などと、同じ

たぐひの物のごと心得て、當然き理と云ことを以て、神のうへをはかるは、

いみじきひがことなり。惡く 邪 なる神は、何事も理にたがへるしわざのみ

多く、又善神ならむからに、其ほどにしたがひては、正しき理のまゝにのみ

も、えあらぬ事あるべく、事にふれて怒り坐る時などは、荒びたまふ事あり。

惡き神も、悦ばゞ心なごみて、物幸はふること、絶て無きにしもあらざるべ

し。又人は然は、え知らぬども、そのしわざの、さしあたりては惡しと思は

るゝ事も、まことには吉く、善しと思はるゝ事も、まことには凶き理のある

などもあるべし。凡て人の 智 は限ありて、まことの理は、えしらぬものな

れば、かにかくに神のうへは、みだりに測り論ふべきものにあらず。〕まし

て善きも惡きも、いと尊くすぐれたる神たちの御うへに至ては、いともく

妙に靈き奇しくなむ坐ませば、さらに人の小き智以て、其理など、ちへの

ひとへも、測り知らるべきわざに非ず。たゞ其尊きをたふとみ、可畏きを

畏みてぞあるべき。〔迦微に神字をあてたる、よくあたれり。但し迦微と

云は躰言なれば、たゞに其物を指て云のみにして、其事其德などを、さして

云ことが無きを、漢國にて神とは、物をさして云のみならず、其事・其德な

どをさしても云て、躰にも用にも用ひたり。たとへば彼國書に神道を云る

は、測りがたくあやしき道と云ことにて、其道のさまをさして神とは云るに

て、道の外に神と云物あるには非ず。然るを皇國にて迦微之道と云へば、神

の始めたまひ行ひたまふ道、と云ことにこぞあれ。其道のさまを迦微と云こ

とはなし。もし迦微なる道といはゞ、漢國の意の如くなるべけれど、其もな

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ほ直に其道をさして云にこそなれ。其さまを云にはならず。書紀に神劔・神

龜などある神字も、漢文の意に其徳をさして云るにて、あやしきたち、あや

しきかめと云ことなれば、迦微とは訓べからず。もしカミダチ・カミガメな

どよむときは、たゞに劔をさし龜をさして、迦微を名くるになるなり。凡て

皇國言の意と漢字の義と、全くは合がたきも多かるを、かたへに合ざる處あ

るをも、大方の合へるを取て、當たるものなれば、その合ざる所のあること

を、よく心得分べきなり。又漢籍に、陰陽不測之謂神、あるは氣之神者爲神、

屈者爲鬼など云るたぐひを以て、迦微を思ふべからず。かくさまにさかしだ

ちて物を説くは、かの國人の癖なりかし。〕名と云言のよしは、遠飛鳥

宮段の、氏々名々とある下に云べし。〔傳卅九の十二葉〕

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Chapter 4:

A) Izanagi, Izanami, and the Heavenly Pillar.

Analysis of the etymology and possible significance of:

a.1)「御」「柱」in 天之御柱

a.2)「命」in「伊邪那岐命」「伊邪那美命」

Original Text (*Kojiki*):

「於其嶋天降坐而、見立天之御柱、見立八尋殿 」[Kojiki 1982 p. 20]

「其ノ嶋於天降り坐し而、天之御柱を見立て、八尋殿を見立てましき。」

[Kojiki **1982 p. 21**]

Chamberlain:

"Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection [1] of an [sic] heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of a hall of eight fathoms."
[Chamberlain 1932 p.22]

Heldt:

"Descending to this island from heaven, they found a mighty pillar of heaven and a spacious hall." [Heldt 2014 p.8]

Philippi:

"Descending from the heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar[1] and a spacious palace.[2]"[Philippi 1968 p. 50]

B) Izanagi runs away from Izanami after seeing her decomposed body.

Analysis of the etymology and possible significance of:「畏」

Original Text (*Kojiki*):

「伊邪那岐命見畏み而、逃還之時、［中略］」[Kojiki 1982 p. 34]

「伊邪那岐命見畏み而、逃ゲ還ります時、［中略］」[Kojiki 1982 p. 35]

Chamberlain:

"Hereupon His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites, overawed at the sight, fled back […]"

[Chamberlain 1932 pp. 42-3]

Heldt:

"Now the mighty one He Who Beckoned grew frightened and fled." [Heldt 2014 p.15]

Philippi:

"Hereupon, IZANAGI-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ, seeing this, was afraid, and he turned and fled."

[Philippi 1968 p. 64]

C) Susa-no-wo: Birth and (Divine) Expulsion

Original Text (*Kojiki*) (I)

「建速須佐之男命、不治所命之国而、八拳須至于心前、啼伊佐知伎也。其泣

状者、青山如枯山泣枯、河海者悉泣乾。是似悪神之音、如狭蠅皆満、萬物之

妖^{おこ}悉発。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 42]

「建速須佐之男命、所命しし国を治さ不而、八拳須心前に至るまで、啼き

伊佐知伎。<伊自り下ノ四字は音を似ゐる。> 其ノ泣く状者、青山如す泣き

枯らし、河海者悉泣き乾しき。是を似ちて、悪しき神之音なひは狭蠅如す

皆満ち、萬ノ物之妖悉発りき。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 43]

Chamberlain:

"His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard reached the pit of his stomach. The fashion of his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas. For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they all swarmed, and in all things every portent of woe arose." [Chamberlain 1932 p. 52]

Heldt:

"But while the others ruled the lands entrusted to them, in keeping with these commands, the mighty one Reckless Rushing Raging Man did not rule over his allotted realm. Instead he wept and wailed until a beard eight hand spans long grew down past his chest. His weeping withered green mountains and dried up rivers and seas. And with this, the buzzing cries of evil spirits grew thick as summer flies, and all manner of calamities occurred." [Heldt 2014 pp.18-9]

Philippi:

"While [the other deities] ruled [their realms] in obedience to the commands entrusted to them, PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ did not rule the land entrusted to him. [Instead], he wept and howled [even] until his beard eight hands long extended down over his chest.[1] His weeping was such that it caused the cerdant mountains to wither and all the rivers and seas to dry up. At this, the cries of malevolent deities were everywhere abundant like summer flies; and all sorts of calamities arose in all things.[2]" [Philippi 1968 p. 72]

Original Text from the *Kojiki* (II):

「尒、答白、僕者欲罷妣国根之堅洲国故、哭。尒、伊邪那岐大御神大忿怒詔、然者、汝不可住此国乃、神夜良比尒夜良比賜也。<自夜似下七字以音。>」[Kojiki 1982 p. 42]

『尒して、答て白さく、「僕者妣ノ国根之堅洲国に罷らむト欲ふが故に、哭く。」トまをす。尒して伊邪那岐大御神大く忿怒りて詔らさく、「然あらば者、汝は此ノ国に住む可くあらず。」トノらす乃ち、神夜良比尒夜良比賜ひき<夜自似下ノ七字は音を似ゐる。>』[Kojiki 1982 p. 43]

Chamberlain:

""He replied, saying: "I wail because I wish to depart to my deceased mother's land, to the Nether Distant Land."Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shalt not dwell in this land," and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion. " [Chamberlain 1932 p. 53]

Heldt:

"“And so he replied, saying: “Because your servant wants to go to the land of his mother, the land that lies beneath the hard earth’s roots; that is why he weeps.” And so the great and mighty spirit He Who Beckoned became furious and proclaimed: “Then you shall not live in this land!” Straightaway he expelled his son with a spirit expulsion. ” [Heldt 2014 p. 19]

Philippi:

“Then [Paya-susa-nö-wo-nö-mikötö] replied: “I wish to go to the land of my mother, NE-NÖ-KATA-SU-KUNI. That is why I weep.”[3] Then IZANAGI-NÖ-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, greatly enraged, said: “In that case, you may not live in this land!” Thus [saying], he expelled him with a divine expulsion. [4]” [Philippi 1968 pp. 72-3]

Original Text of the *Nihon shoki* (I):

「次に素戔嗚尊を生みまつります。一書に云はく、神素戔嗚尊、速素戔嗚尊といふ。此の神、勇悍くして安忍なること有り。且常に哭き泣つるを以て行とす。故、國内の人民をして、多に以て天折なしむ。復使、青山を

枯に變す。故、其の父母の二の神、素戔嗚尊に勅したはく、「汝、甚だ無道し。以て宇宙に君臨たるべからず。固に當に遠く根國に適ね」とのたまはひて、遂に逐ひき。」[*Nihongi*, 1996, pp. 86-87]

「次生素戔嗚尊。一書云、神素戔嗚尊、速素戔嗚尊。此神、有勇悍以安忍。且常哭泣爲行。故、令國内人民、多以夭折。復使靑山變枯。故、其父母二神、勅素戔嗚尊、汝甚無道。不可以君臨宇宙。固當遠適之於矣根國、遂逐之。」[*Nihongi*, 1996, pp. 87,88]

Aston:

"Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto [2]. Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto. [3] This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed [4] Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying: —"thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether Land.[1]" [1]. So they at length expelled him. [Aston, 1896a, pp.19-20]

Original text of the *Nihon shoki* (III):

「一書に日はく、伊奘諾尊の日はく、「吾、御寓すべき珍の子を生まむと欲ふ」とのたまひて、乃ち左の手を以て白銅鏡を持りたまふときに、則ち化り出づる神有す。是を大日孁尊と謂す。右の手に白銅鏡を持りたまふときに、則ち化り出づる神有す。是を月弓尊と謂す。又首を廻して顧眄之間に、則ち化る神有す。是を素戔嗚尊と謂す。即ち大日孁尊及ひ月弓尊は、並に是、質性明麗し。故、天地に照らし臨ましむ。素戔嗚尊は、是性殘ひ害ることを好む。故、下して根國を治しむ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.88]

「一書曰、伊奘諾尊曰、吾欲生御寓之珍子、乃以左手持白銅鏡、則有化出之神。是謂大日孁尊。右手持白銅鏡、則有化出之神。是謂月弓尊。又廻首顧眄之間、則ち有化出神有。是謂素戔嗚尊。即大日孁尊及月弓尊、並是質性明麗。故使照臨天地。素戔嗚、是性好殘害。故冷下治根國。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.89]

Aston:

"In another writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.'He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror, [2] upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land." [Aston, 1896a, p.20]

Original text of the *Nihon shoki* (IV):

「一書に日はく、伊奘諾尊の 日 はく、「吾、 御 寓 すべき珍の子を生まむ

と欲ふ」とのたまひて、乃 ち 左 の手を以て白銅鏡を持りたまふときに、

則 ち化り出づる神有す。是を大日霊尊と謂す。右の手に白銅鏡を持りたま

ふときに、則ち化り出づる神有す。是を月弓尊と謂す。又首を 廻 して

顧眄之間に、則ち化る神有す。是を素戔嗚尊と謂す。 即 ち大日霊尊及ひ月

弓尊は、 並 に是、質性明麗し。故、天地に照らし臨ましむ。素戔嗚尊は、

是 性 殘 ひ害ることを好む。故、下して根國を治しむ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986,

p.88]

「一書日、伊奘諾尊日、吾欲生御寓之珍子、乃以左手持白銅鏡、則有化出之

神。是謂大日霊尊。右手持白銅鏡、則有化出之神。是謂月弓尊。又廻首顧眄

之間、則ち有化出神有。是謂素戔嗚尊。即大日霊尊及月弓尊、並是質性明麗。

故使照臨天地。素戔嗚、是性好殘害。故冷下治根國。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.89]

Aston:

"In another writing it is said:—"Izanagi no Mikoto said: 'I wish to procreate the precious child who is to rule the world.'He therefore took in his left hand a white-copper mirror, [2] upon which a Deity was produced from it called Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto. In his right hand he took a white-copper mirror, and forthwith there was produced from it a God who was named Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto. Again, while turning his head looking askance, a God was produced who was named Sosa no wo no Mikoto. Now Oho-hiru-me no Mikoto and Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto were both of a bright and beautiful nature, and were therefore made to shine upon Heaven and Earth. But Sosa no wo's character was to love destruction, and he was accordingly sent down to rule the Nether Land." [Aston, 1896a, p.20]

Original text of the *Nihon shoki* (VI):

「是に、素戔嗚尊、請して曰さく、「吾、今教を奉りて、根國に就りなむとす。故、暫く高天原に向でて、姉と相見えて、後に永に退りなむと欲ふ」とまうす。「許す」と勅ふ。乃ち天に昇り詣づ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.102]

「於是、素戔嗚尊請日、吾今奉教、將就根國。故、欲暫向高天原、與姉相見而、後永退矣。勅許之。乃昇詣天也。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.103]

Aston:

"I will now obey thy instructions and proceed to the Nether Land. Therefore I wish for a short time to go to the Plain of High Heaven and meet with my elder sister, after which I will go away for ever." Permission was granted him, [sic?] and he therefore ascended to Heaven." [Aston, 1896a, p.33]

D) Susa-no-wo: *Ukepi* with Amaterasu and Trashing the Land

Original from the *Kojiki* (I):

「尒、天照大御神詔、然者、汝心之清明何知。於是、速須佐之男命、答白、

各宇気比而生子。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 44]

「尒して、天照大御神詔らさく、「然あら者、汝が心之清く明きは何を似

ちて知らむ。」トノらす。於是、速須佐之男命、答へ而白さく、「各宇

気比而子生まむ。」トまをす。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 45]

Chamberlain:

"Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?" Thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness replied, saying: "Let us each of us swear, [11] and produce children."[*]" [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 55-6]

Heldt:

"And so the great and mighty spirit Heaven Shining proclaimed: "If that is so, how am I to know your intentions are pure and clear?" Now the mighty one Rushing Raging Man replied, saying: "Let us swear sacred oaths and make children."" [Heldt 2014 p.20]

Philippi:

"Then AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ said: "If that is so, how am I to know that your intentions are pure and bright?"Then PAYA-SUSA-NÖ-WO-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ replied: "Let us swear oaths [8] and bear children."" [Philippi 1968 p. 75]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (I):

「時に、天照大神、復問ひて曰はく、「若し然らば、將に何を以てか爾が赤き心を明さむ」とのたまふ。對へて曰はく、「請ふ、姉と共に誓はむ。夫れ誓約の中に、誓約之中此をば宇氣譬能美儺箇と云ふ。必ず當に

子を生むべし。如し吾が所生めらむ、是女ならば、濁き心有りと以爲せ。若し是男ならば、淸き心有りと以爲せ」とのまたふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, pp.104-5]

「于時、天照大神復問日、若然者、將何以明爾之赤心也。對日、請與姉共誓。夫誓約之中、誓約之中、此云宇氣譬能美儺箇。必當生子。如吾所生、是女者、則可以爲有濁心。若是男者、則可以爲有淸心。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.105]

Aston:

"Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?"[2] He answered and said:—Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure." [Aston, 1896a, p.35]

「時に、天照大神、復問ひて曰はく、「若し然らば、将に何を以てか爾が赤き心を明さむ」とのたまふ。対へて曰はく、「請ふ、姉と共に誓はむ。夫れ誓約の中に、誓約之中此をば宇氣譬能美儺箇と云ふ。必ず当に子を生むべし。如し吾が所生めらむ、是女ならば、濁き心有りと以爲せ。若し是男ならば、清き心有りと以爲せ」とのまたふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, pp.104-5]

「于時、天照大神復問曰、若然者、将何以明爾之赤心也。對曰、請與姉共誓。夫誓約之中、誓約之中、此云宇氣譬能美儺箇。必當生子。如吾所生、是女者、則可以爲有濁心。若是男者、則可以爲有清心。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.105]

Aston:

"Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami again asked him, saying:—"If this be so, how wilt thou make evident the redness of thy heart?"[2] He answered and said:—Let us, I pray thee, make an oath together. While bound by this oath, we shall surely produce children. If the children which I produce are females, then it may be taken that I have an impure

heart. But if the children are males, then it must be considered that my heart is pure."

[Aston, 1896a, p.35]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (II):

「是の時に、天照大神、弟の惡しき心有らむと疑ひたまひて、兵を起して詰問ひたまふ。素戔嗚尊對へて曰はく、「吾來る所以は、實に姉と相見えむとなり。亦珍寶たる瑞八坂瓊の曲玉を獻らむと欲はくのみ。敢へて別に意有るあらず」とのたまふ。時に天照大神、復問ひて曰はく、「汝が言の虛實、將に何を以てか驗とせむ」とのたまふ。對へて曰はく、「請ふ、吾と姉と、共に誓約立てむ。誓約の間に、女を生さば、黑き心ありと爲せ。男を生さば、淸き心あり爲せ」とのたまふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.108]

「是時、天照大神、疑弟有惡心、起兵詰問。素戔嗚尊對曰、吾所以來者、實欲與姉相見。亦欲獻珍寶瑞八坂瓊之曲玉耳。不敢別有意也。時天照大神、復問曰、汝言虛實、將何以爲驗。對曰、請吾與姉、共立誓約。誓約之間、生女爲黑心。生男爲淸心。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.109]

"At this time Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, suspecting that the intentions of her younger brother were evil, prepared war and questioned him. Sosa no wo no Mikoto answered and said:—'Truly the sole reason of my coming is that I wished to see my elder sister face to face, and moreover to present to her these beautiful curved jewels of Yasaka gem. I dare not have any other purpose.' Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami asked him again, saying:—'Wherewithal wilt thou prove to me whether thy words are true or false?' He answered and said:—'Let thee and me bind ourselves by an oath. If while we are bound by this oath, the children produced are females, my heart is to be accounted black, but if they are males, it is to be thought red." [Aston, 1896a, p.38]

Original text form the *Nihon shoki* (III):

「日神、素戔嗚尊と、天安河を隔てて、相對ひて乃ち立ちて誓約ひて日はく、「汝若奸賊ふ心有らずるものならば。汝が生むめらむ子、必ず男ならむ。如し男を生まば、予以て子として、天原を治しめむ」とのたまふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.110]

「日神與素戔嗚尊と、隔天安河、而相對乃立誓日、汝若不有生奸賊之心者、女所生子、必男矣。如生男者、予以爲子、而令治天原也。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.111]

"In one writing, it is said:—"The Sun-Goddess stood opposite to Sosa no wo no Mikoto, separated from him by the Tranquil River of Heaven, [2] and established a covenant with him, saying, 'If thou hast not a traitorous heart, the children which thou wilt produce will surely be males, and if they are males, I will consider them my children, and will cause them to govern the Plain of Heaven.'" [Aston, 1896a, p.39]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (IV):

「然して後に、諸の神罪過を素戔嗚尊に歸せて、科するに千巫置戸を以てして、遂に促め徴る。髪を拔きて其の罪を贖はしむるに至る。亦曰はく、其の手足の爪を拔きて贖ふといふ。已にして竟に逐降ひき。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.113]

「然後、諸神歸罪過於素戔嗚尊、而科之以千巫置戸、遂促徴矣。至使拔髮其、以贖其罪。亦曰、拔其手足之爪贖之。已而竟逐降焉。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.113]

"After this all the Gods put the blame on Sosa no wo no Mikoto, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables, [3] and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair plucked out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt." [Aston, 1896a, p.46]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (V):

「已にして罪を素戔嗚尊に科せて、其の祓具を責る。是を以て、手端の吉棄物、足端の区棄物有り。亦唾を以て白和幣とし、洟を以て靑和幣として、此を用て解除へ竟りて遂に神逐の理を以て逐ふ。送糞、此をば俱蘇摩屢と云ふ。玉籤、此をば多摩俱之と云ふ。祓具、此をば波羅閉都母能と云ふ。手端吉棄、此をば多那須衞能余之岐羅毗と云ふ。神祝祝之、此をば加武保佐杞保佐杞杞と云ふ。逐之、此をば波羅賦と云ふ。」 [*Nihongi*, 1986, p.116]

「已而科罪於素戔嗚尊、而責其祓具。是以、有手端吉棄物、足端区棄物。亦以唾爲白和幣、以洟爲靑和幣、用此解除竟、遂以神逐之理逐之。送糞、此云俱蘇摩屢。玉籤、此云多摩俱之。祓具、此云波羅閉都母能。手端吉棄、此云多那須衞能余之岐羅毗。神祝祝之、此云加武保佐杞保佐杞杞。逐之、此云波羅賦。」 [*Nihongi*, 1986, p.117]

"After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto was convicted, and fined in the articles required for the ceremony of purification. Hereupon these were the things abhorrent of luck of the tips of his fingers, and thigs abhorrent of calamity of the tips of his toes.[1] Again, of his spittle he made white soft offerings, with which the purification service was performed. Finally he was banished according to the law of Divine banishment."
[Aston, 1896a, p.48]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (VI):

「故、諸の神大きに喜びて、即ち素戔嗚尊に千座置戸の解除を科せて手の爪を以ては吉爪棄物とし、足の爪を以ては凶爪棄物とす。乃ち天兒屋命をして、其の解除の太諄辭を掌りて宣らしむ。世人、愼みて己が爪を收むるは、此其の縁なり。既にして諸の神、素戔嗚尊を嘖めて曰はく、「汝が所行甚だ無賴し。故、天上に住むべからず。亦葦原中國にも居るべからず。急に底根の國の適ね」とひいて、乃ち共に逐降ひ去りき。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.118]

「故諸神大喜、即科素戔嗚尊千座置戶之解除、以手爪爲爪吉棄物、以足爪爲

凶爪棄物。乃使天兒屋命、掌其解除之太諄辭而宣爲焉。世人愼收己爪者、此

其緣也。旣而諸神、嘖素戔嗚尊曰、汝所行甚無賴。故不可住天上。亦不可居

於葦原中國。宜急適於底根之國、乃共逐降去。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.119]

"Therefore all the Gods rejoiced greatly, and imposed in Sosa no wo no Mikoto a fine

of a thousand tables of (articles of) purification. [3]. Of the nails of his hands they made

things abhorrent   of luck, and of the nails of his feet they made things abhorrent of

calamity. Then they caused Ama no Koyane no Mikoto to take charge of his Great

Purification Liturgy, and made him recite it. This is the reason why the people of the

world are careful in the disposal of their own nails.

After this, all the Gods upbraided Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—'Thy conduct has

been in the highest degree improper. Thou must, therefore, not dwell in heaven. Nor

must thou dwell in the Central Reed-Plain Land. Thou must go speedily to the Bottom

Nether Land.'So together they drove him away downwards." [Aston, 1896a, pp.49-50]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (VII):

「是^こに、素戔嗚尊、誓^{うけ}ひて曰^{のたま}はく、「吾^{やつかれ}、若し不善^{よからぬこと}を懐^{おも}ひて、復上來^{まうできた}らば、吾^{やつかれ}、今玉を囓^くひて生^うめらむ兒^こ、必ず當^{まさ}に女^{をみなご}ならむ。如此^{かから}ば、女^{をみなご}を葦原中國^{あしはらのなかつくに}に降^{くだ}したまへ。如し淸^{きよ}き心^{こころ}有らば、必ず當に男^{をのこご}を生^うまむ。如此^{かから}ば、男^{をのこご}をして天上を御^{しら}しめたまへ。且^{また}姉^{あねのみこと}の所生したまはむ、亦此^{またこ}の誓^{うけひ}に同^{おな}じからむ」とのたままふ。」 [*Nihongi,* 1986, pp.119-120]

「於是、素戔嗚尊、誓之日、吾若懐不善、而復上來者、吾今囓玉生兒、必當爲女矣。如此則可以降女於葦原中國。如有淸心、必當生男矣。如此則可以使男御天上。且姉之所生、亦同此誓。」 [*Nihongi,* 1986, pp.119,121]

"Thereupon Sosa no wo no Mikoto swore to her, and said:—'If I have come up again cherishing evil feelings, the children which I shall now produce by chewing jewels will certainly be females, and in that case they must be sent down to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. But if my intentions are pure, then I shall produce male children, and in

that case they must be made to rule the Heavens. The same oath will also hold good as

to the children produced by my elder sister'." [Aston, 1896a, p.51]

D) Amaterasu in the sacred weaving hall:

Original from the *Kojiki*:

「於是、萬之神之声者、狭蝿那須［中略］満、萬妖悉発。」[Kojiki 1982 p.50]

「於是、萬ノ神之声者、狭蝿那須［中略］満ち萬ノ妖悉発りき。」

[Kojiki 1982 p.51]

Chamberlain:

"Hereupon the voices of the myriad [4] Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarm and a myriad portents of woe arose." [Chamberlain 1932 p.64]

Heldt:

"Now the buzzing cries of spirits grew thick as summer flies, and all manner of calamities arose everywhere." [Heldt 2014 p.20]

Philippi:

"Because of this, constant night reigned, [3] and the cries of the myriad deities were everywhere abundant, like summer flies; and all manner of calamities arose.[4]" [Philippi 1968 p. 81]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (I):

「又天照大神の、方に神衣を織りつつ齋服殿に居しますを見て」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.112]

「又見天照大神、方織神衣、居齋服殿」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.113]

"Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred [2] weaving hall, engaged in weaving the garments of the Gods, […]"[Aston, 1896a, p.41]

Chapter 5:

A) Yamato-takeru:

Original text from the *Kojiki*:

「於是、天皇、其御子之建荒之清、而詔之［中略］」[Kojiki 1982 p.176]

「於是、天皇其ノ御子之建く荒き清に惶り而詔之らさく［中略］」[Kojiki 1982 p.177]

Chamberlain:

"Thereupon the Heavenly Sovereign, alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition, commanded him […]"[Chamberlain 1932 p.249]

Heldt:

"Now heaven's sovereign, growing greatly fearful of his wild and reckless royal son, commanded him […]"[Heldt 2014 p.99]

Original text from the *Kojiki* (II):

「多迦比迦流　比能美古　夜須美斯志　和賀意富岐美　阿良多麻能　登斯賀
岐布礼婆　阿良多麻能　都紀波岐閇由久　宇倍那宇倍那宇倍那　岐美麻知賀
多介　和賀祁勢流　意須比能須蘇介」[Kojiki 1982 p.186]

「高光る 日ノ御子　八隅知し　我が大君　あらたまノ　年が来経れば　あら
たまノ
月は来経行く　諾な諾な諾な　君待ち難に　我が服せる　襲ノ襴に　月立
たなむヨ」[Kojiki 1982 p.187]

Chamberlain:

"Altè resplendentis solis auguste puer! Placidè administrationem faciens mî magne
domine! Renovatis annis venientibus et effluentibus, renovatæ lunæ eunt veniendo et
affluendo. Sane, sane, dum te impatienter exspecto, luna suâpte surgir in orâ veli quod
ego induo ![4] " [Chamberlain 1932 p.261]

Heldt :

"O high-shining sun's mighty heir, our great lord ruling all eight corners of the world, years new as raw gems have come and gone, moons new as raw gems have come and gone. Little wonder it is, little wonder it is, little wonder it is, that in enduring the wait, I have dressed myself in a robe on whose hem my moon may have risen! " [Heldt 2014 p.105]

Philippi:

"O high-shining / Sun Prince, / O my great lord / Ruling in peace![6]
As the years one by one / Pass by, / The moons also one by one / Elapse, / It is no wonder that / While waiting in vain for you, / On the cloak / I am wearing / The moon should rise. [7]" [Philippi 1968 p. 245]

Original text from the *Kojiki* (I):

「於是、詔、茲山神者、徒手直取而、騰其山之時、白猪逢于山辺に。其大逢牛。尓、為言挙而詔、是化白猪者、其神之使者。雖今不殺、還時将殺而、騰坐。於是、零大氷雨、打或倭建命。<比化白猪化者、非其神之使者、当其神之正身、困言挙見惑也。> 故、還下坐之玉倉部之清泉到息坐時、御心稍寤。」[Kojiki 1982 p.186]

「於是、詔らさく、「茲ノ山ノ神者、徒手に直に取りてむ。」トノらし而、其ノ山に騰ります時、白猪山ノ辺に逢へり。其ノ大きさ牛ノ如し。尓して、言挙ゲ為而詔らさく、「是ノ山ノ白猪に化れる者、其ノ神之使者ならむ。今殺さ不雖、還らむ時殺さ将。」トノらし而、騰り坐す。於是、大氷雨を零らし、倭建命を打ち或はしまつる。<比ノ白猪に化れる者、其ノ神之使者に非ず、其ノ神之正身に当たりしを、言挙に困りて惑はさ見つるソ。> 故、還り下り坐して玉倉部之清泉に到りて息ひ坐す時、御心稍く寤メましき。」

[Kojiki 1982 p.187]

Chamberlain:

"Hereupon he said: "As for the Deity of this mountain, I will simply take him empty-handed,"—and was ascending the mountain, when there met him on the mountain-side a white boar whose size was like unto that of a bull. Then he lifted up words,[3] and said: "This creature that is transformed into a white boar must be a messenger from the Deity. Though I slay it not now, I will slay it when I return,"—and [so saying,] ascended. Thereupon the Deity caused heavy ice-rain [5] to fall, striking and perplexing His Augustness Yamato-take. (This creature transformed into a white boar was not a messenger from the Deity, but the very Deity in person. Owing to the lifting of the words, he appeared and misled [Yamato-take.[6]]) So when, on descending back, he reached the fresh spring of Tama-kura-be and rested there, his august heart awoke somewhat." [Chamberlain 1932 pp.262-3]

Heldt:

"Now he proclaimed: "I will take the spirit of this mountain with my own bare hands." And so proclaiming, he went up the mountain and came across a giant white boar the size of an ox. And so he raised his voice and cried aloud, declaring:"This thing in the form of a white boar is the spirit's messenger. I will not kill it now, but rather when I return this way." And so declaring, he began to continue his climb up the mountain, when all of a sudden a raging hailstorm hurtled down to stun Yamato Brave, striking him senseless. (The thing in the form of a white boar was not the messenger of the

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spirit but the spirit itself. He was struck senseless because he had raised his voice against it.) So he came back down and rested at the wellspring of Jewel Hoard Guild, where his mighty mind gradually awoke from its swoon."[Heldt 2014 pp.105-6]

Philippi:

"At this time he said: "I will take the deity of this mountain with my bare hands." [Thus saying], he went up the mountain. Then on the mountain he met a white boar the size of a cow. [1] Thereupon he spoke out [2] and said: "This is the deity's messenger, which is here transformed into a white boar. I will not kill it now, but will kill it when I come back."[Thus saying], the went up. At this time, [the deity of the mountain] caused a violent hail storm and dazed [3] YAMATÖ-TAKERU-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ. It was not the deity's messenger which had been transformed into the white boar, but the deity himself. He was dazed because he had spoken out [to it]. Then he came back down [the mountain]; his mind [4] awoke somewhat [5] as he rested at the spring of TAMA-KURA-BE." [Philippi 1968 p. 246]

Original text form the *Nihon shoki* (I):

「二十八年の春二月の乙丑の朔に、日本武尊、熊襲を平けたる状を奏して曰さく。「臣、天皇の神霊に頼りて、兵を以て一たび挙げて頓に熊襲の魁師物を誅して、悉に其の國を平けつ。是を以て、西洲既に謐りぬ。百姓事無し。唯吉備の穴濟の神、及び難波の柏濟の神のみ、皆害る心有りて、毒しき氣を放ちて、路人を苦びしむ。並に禍害の藪と爲れり。故、悉に其の惡しき神を殺して、並に水陸の俓を開く」とまうす。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.300]

「廿八年春二月乙丑朔、日本武尊、奏平熊襲之狀曰、臣賴天皇之神靈、以兵擧、頓誅熊襲之魁師物者、悉平其國。是以、西洲既謐。百姓無事。唯吉備穴濟神、及難波柏濟神、皆有害心、以放毒氣、令苦路人。並爲禍害之藪。故悉殺其惡神、並開水陸之俓。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.301]

"Yamato-dake no Mikoto reported to the Emperor how he had subdued the Kumaso, saying:—"Thy servant, trusting in the Emperor's Divine Spirit,[3] by force of arms at

one blow, suddenly slew the Kumaso chieftain and reduced that whole country to peace. In this way the Western Land is now quiet, and the people are undisturbed. Only the God of the Ferry of Ana in Kibi and the God of the Ferry of Kashiha at Naniha, both, with mischievous intent, sent forth a poisonous vapour, by which travellers were plagued. Both of them formed centres of calamity. Therefore I killed all those evil Deities, and have thrown open the roads by land and water alike." [Aston, 1896a, p.201]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (II):

「是^{ここ}に、日本武尊^{やまとたけるのみこと}、乃^{すなは}ち斧鉞^{をのまさかり}を受^{うけたまは}りて[…]今亦神祇^{いままたあまつかみくにつかみ}の靈^{みたま}に賴^より […]」 [*Nihongi,* 1986, pp.302-3]

「於是、日本武尊、乃受斧鉞[…]今亦賴神祇之靈 […]」 [*Nihongi,* 1986, p.303]

[Note 2]: "Numina." [Aston, 1896a, p.204]

"Then Yamato-dake no Mikoto received the battle-axe […] Now again, trusting in the spirits [2] of the Gods of Heaven and Earth […]"[Aston, 1896a, p.204]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (III):

「然るに日本武尊、烟を披け、霧を凌ぎて、遙に大山を俓りたまふ。既に峯に逮りて、飢れたまふ。山の中に食す。山の神、王を苦びしめむとして、白き鹿と化りて王の前に立つ。王異びたまひて、一箇蒜を以て白き鹿に彈けつ。則ち眼に中りて殺しつ。爰に王、忽に道を失ひて、出づる所を知らず。時に白き狗、自づからに來て、王を導きまつる狀有り。狗に隨ひて行でまして、美濃に出づること得つ。吉備武彦、越より出でて遇ひぬ。是より先に、信濃坂を度る者、多に神の氣を得て瘼え臥せり。但白き鹿を殺したまひしより後に是の山を蹤ゆる者は、蒜を嚼みて人及び牛馬に塗る。自づからに神の氣に中らず。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, pp.307-8]

「然日本武尊、披烟凌霧、遙俓大山。既逮峯、而飢之。食於山中。山神令苦王、以化白鹿立於王前。王異之、一箇蒜彈白鹿。則中眼而殺之。爰王、忽失道、不知所出。時白狗自來、王有導王之狀。隨狗而行之、得出美濃。吉備武

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彦、自越出而遇之。先是、度信濃坂者、多得神氣以瘻臥。但從殺白鹿之後、蹈是山者、嚼蒜而塗人及牛馬。自不中神氣也。」 [*Nihongi*, 1986, pp.307,9]

"Yet Yamato-dake no Mikoto, bursting through the smoke, and braving the mists, distantly crossed Mount Oho-yama. He had already reached the summit when he became hungry and had food on the mountain. The God of the mountain plagued the Prince. He assumed the form of a white deer and stood before him. The Prince, wondering at this, took a stick of garlic, and jerked it at the white deer, striking it in the eye and killing it. Here the Prince suddenly lost his way and could find no issue. Then a white dog came of its own accord, and made a show of guiding the Prince. Following the dog, he proceeded on his way, and succeeded in coming out into Mino. Kibo no Take-hiko, coming out from Koshi, met him. Before this when any one crossed the Shinano pass, he inhaled so much of the breath of the Deity that he became ill and lay down. But after the white deer was killed, the travelers who crossed that mountain chewed garlic, and smearing with it men, kine, and horses, preserved them from being affected by the Deity's breath." [Aston, 1896a, p.208]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (IV):

「是に、近江の五十葺山に荒ぶる神有ることを聞きたまひて、即ち劒を解きて宮簀媛が家に置きて、徒に行でます。膽吹山に至るに、山の神、大蛇に化りて道に當れり。爰に日本武命、主神の蛇を化れるを知らずして謂はく、「是の大蛇は、必に荒ぶる神の使ならむ。既に主神を殺すこと得てば、其の使者は豈求むるに足らむや」とのたまふ。因りて、蛇を跨えて猶行でます。時に山の神、雲を興して氷を零らしむ。峯霧り谷曀くして、復行くべき路無し。乃ち捿遑ひて其の跋渉まむ所を知えず。然るに霧を凌ぎて強に行く。方に僅に出づこと得つ。猶失意せること醉へるが如し。因りて山の下の泉の側に居して、乃ち其の水を飲して醒めぬ。［中略］能褒野に逮りて、痛甚なり。則ち俘にせる蝦夷等を以て、神宮に獻る。」

[*Nihongi,* 1986, pp.308-10]

「於是、聞近江五十葺山有荒神、即解劒置於宮簀媛家、而徒行之。至膽吹山、々神化大蛇當道。爰日本武命、不知主神蛇之謂、是大蛇必荒神之使也。既得殺主神、其使者豈足求乎。因跨蛇猶行。時山神之興雲零氷。峯霧谷曀、無復可行之路。乃捿遑不知其所跋渉。然凌霧強行。方僅得出。猶失意如醉。因居山下之泉側、乃飲其水而醒之。〔中略〕逮于能褒野、而痛甚之。則以所俘蝦夷等、獻於神宮。」[*Nihongi,* 1986, pp.309,11]

"Here he heard that on Mount Ibuki in Afumi there was a savage Deity. So he took off his sword, and leaving it in the house of Miyazu-hime, went on afoot. When he arrived at Mount Ibuki, the God of the mountain took the shape of a great serpent, and posted himself on the road. Hereupon Yamato-dake no Mikoto, not knowing that it was the master God who had become a serpent, said to himself:–"This serpent must be the savage Deity's messenger. Having already slain a master God, is a messenger worth hunting after?"Accordingly he strode over the serpent and passes on. Then the God of the mountain raised up the clouds, and made an icy rain to fall. The tops of the hills became covered with mist, and the valleys involved in gloom. There was no path which he could follow. He was checked and knew not whither to turn his steps. However, braving the mist, he forced his way onwards, and barely succeeded in finding an issue. He was still beside himself like a drunken man. He therefore sat down beside a spring at the foot of the mountain, and, having drunk pf the water, recovered his senses.[…]

When he came to the moor of Nobo, his sufferings became very severe. So he made an offering of the Yemishi whom he had captured to the Shrine of the God." [Aston, 1896a, pp. 208-9]

B) Empress Jin-gū Prophesizes the Conquest of Korea:

Original from the *Kojiki* (I):

「其大后息長帯日売命者、当時帰神。故、天皇坐筑紫之詞志比宮、将撃熊曾国之時、天皇控御琴而、建内宿禰大臣於沙庭、請神之命。於是、大后帰神、言教覚詔者、西方有国。金銀為本、目之炎耀、種々珍宝、多在其国。吾今帰賜其国。尓、天皇答白、登高地見西方者、不見国土、唯有大海、謂為詐神而、押退御琴不控、黙坐。尓、其神大忿詔、凡、茲天下者、汝非応知国に非ず。汝者向一道。於是、建内宿禰大臣白、恐。我天皇。猶阿蘇婆勢其大御琴。<自阿至勢似音。> 尓、稍取依其御琴而、那摩那摩迩 <此五字似音。> 控坐。故、未幾久而、不聞御琴之音。即拳火見者、既崩訖。」[Kojiki 1982 pp. 194,6]

「其ノ大后 息長帯日売 命 者、当時神帰りたまひき。故、天 皇 筑紫之詞

志比宮に坐して、熊曾国を撃た将トしたまふ時、天 皇 御琴控きたまひ而、

建内 宿禰大臣沙庭於居て、神之 命 を請ひき。於是、大后 神帰りたまひて、

言教覚　て詔者らさく、「西ノ方に国有り。金・ 銀 を本ト為て、目之炎

耀く、種々ノ珍しき宝、多に其ノ国に在り。吾今其ノ国を帰せ賜はむ。」

トノらす。尓して、天皇トて白さく、「高き地に登りて西ノ方を見れ者、

国土は見ェ不、唯大海ノミ有り。」トまをして、詐を為す神ト謂し而、御

琴を押し退ケて控か不、黙し坐す。尓して、其ノ神大く忿りて詔らさく、

「凡そ、茲ノ天下者、汝ノ知らす応き国に非ず。汝者一道に向ひたま

へ。」トノらす。於是、建内宿禰大臣白さく、「恐し。我が天皇。猶其

ノ大御琴を阿蘇婆勢<阿自り勢至では音を似ゐる。>」トまをす。尓して、稍

く其ノ御琴を取り依せ而、那摩那摩迩<此ノ五字は音を似ゐる。>控き坐す。

故、未だ幾久あらず而、御琴之音聞ず。即ち火拳ゲて見れ者、既に崩

りまし訖。」[Kojiki 1982 pp. 195,7]

Chamberlain:

"This Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi, was at that time [1] divinely

possessed. [*]So when the Heavenly Sovereign, dwelling at the palace of Kashihi in

Tsukushi, was about to smite the Land of Kumaso, [2] the Heavenly Sovereign played

on his august lute, and the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court, [3] requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. [4] I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea;" and saying [5] "they are lying Deities," [6] he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which though oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!"[7] Hereupon the Prime Minister the Noble Take-uchi said: "[I am filled with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign1 [8] Continue playing thy great august lute." Then he slowly[*] drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead." [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 277-8]

Heldt:

"During this time, his queen, the mighty one Lady Perfect of Long Breath, was possessed by a spirit oracle. So heaven's sovereign, then dwelling at the mighty halls of Evergreen Oaks in Lands End and preparing to attack the land of the Bear Folk, played his mighty zither while his chief minister, Brave Heir of Riverbound, sat in the

sacred courtyard and sought the oracle's decree. Now the oracle possessing the queen gave instruction, proclaiming: "Westward lies a land rich in gold, silver, and all manner of marvelous treasures that dazzle the eye. I now give you this land." And so heaven's sovereign replied, saying: "When I climb to a high place and look westward, there is no land to be seen, only the great sea." Thinking the oracle was being deceitful, he shoved aside his mighty zither and sat silent without playing. And so the oracle grew greatly angered and proclaimed: "No longer will you rule over all under heaven as your realm! Go now, and face in your final direction!" Now his chief minister, Brave Heir of Riverbound, paled and spoke, saying: "I am filled with dread, my lord; keep playing Your Majesty's zither!" And so he finally drew his mighty zither to him and began to play half-heartedly. After a while, the royal zither ceased playing. Straightaway they lifted lights to look. His Majesty had passed away." [Heldt 2014 pp. 112-3]

Philippi:

"In those days the Empress OKINAGA-TASARI-PIME-NÖ-MIKÖTÖ often became divinely possessed. [1] [It was] at the time when the emperor dwelt at the palace of KAPISI in TUKUSI and was about to attack the land of the KUMASÖ. [2] The emperor was playing the cither, [3] and the OPO-OMI TAKESI-UTI-NÖ-SUKUNE abode in the ceremonial place [4] in order to seek the divine will. [5] Then the empress became divinely possessed and spoke this words of instruction: "There is a land to the west. Gold and silver, as well as all sorts of eye-dazzling precious treasures, abound in

this country. [6] I will now give this country [into your hands]." Hereupon the emperor replied: "When one climbs to a high place and looks toward the west, no land is visible. There is only the ocean."Saying [that this was] a deceiving deity, he pushed away the cither and sat silent without playing it. Then the deity, greatly enraged, said: "You are not to rule this kingdom. [7] Go straight in one direction!"[8] At his time, the OPO-OMI TAKESI-UTI-NÖ-SUKUNE said: "This is a dreadful thing. My lord, continue to play the cither!" Finally, then, he drew the cither to him and began to play reluctantly. After w ahile, the sound of the cither stopped. When they raised the lights, they saw that he was dead. [9]" [Philippi 1968 p. 257-8]

Original text from the *Kojiki* (II):

「答詔、是天照大神之御心者。亦、底筒男・中筒男・上筒男、三柱ノ大神物也。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 198]

「答 て詔らさく「是は天照大神之御心者。亦、底筒男・中筒男・上筒男ノ、三柱ノ大神物也。」」[Kojiki 1982 p. 199]

Chamberlain:

"Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing [8] of the Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity, likewise it is the three great Deities Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possesing-Male and Surface-Possessing-Male. [9]" [Chamberlain 1932 p. 280]

Heldt:

"Straightaway the oracle replied, proclaiming: "This is the will of the great and mighty spirit Heaven Shining and also of the three great spirits Bottom Sail Man, Middle Sail Man, and Surface Sail Man." [Heldt 2014 p. 113]

Philippi:

"The answer was: "This is the will of AMA-TERASU-OPO-MI-KAMÏ, also of the three great deities SÖKÖ-SUTU-NÖ-WO, NAKA-DUTU-NÖ-WO, and UPA-DUTU-NÖ-WO."[14]" [Philippi 1968 p. 260]

Original text from the *Kojiki* (III):

「［中略］即似墨江大神之荒御魂、為国守神而祭鎮、還渡也。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 1998]

「［中略］<ruby>即<rt>すなは</rt></ruby>ち<ruby>墨江<rt>すみノ</rt></ruby><ruby>大神<rt>おほかミ</rt></ruby>ノ<ruby>荒御魂<rt>あらみたま</rt></ruby>を<ruby>似<rt>モ</rt></ruby>ちて、<ruby>国守<rt>くにもり</rt></ruby>ノ<ruby>神<rt>かミ</rt></ruby>ト<ruby>為<rt>し</rt></ruby><ruby>而<rt>て</rt></ruby><ruby>祭<rt>まつ</rt></ruby>り<ruby>鎮<rt>しづ</rt></ruby>メて、<ruby>還<rt>かへ</rt></ruby>り<ruby>渡<rt>わた</rt></ruby>りたまひき。」[Kojiki 1982 p. 199]

Chamberlain:

"[…] and having made the Rough August Spirits [9] of the Great Detities of the Inlet of Sumi [10] the guardian deities of the land[10], she laid them to rest, and crossed back." [Chamberlain 1932 pp. 282-3]

Heldt:

"Then straightaway she appointed the rough and mighty souls of the great spirits of Clear Coves to be the spirit wardens of that land, pacified it with rites of rulership, and set sail for home." [Heldt 2014 p.114]

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[10] Of the lands of Shiragi and Kudara.

Philippi:

"[…] and worshipped the rough spirit [8] of the great deities of SUMI-NÖ-YE, [9] whom she made the tutelary deities of the land. The she crossed back over [the sea][10]."

[Philippi 1968 p. 263]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (I):

「水門に到るに、御船、進くこと得ず。則ち熊鰐に問ひて曰はく、「朕聞く汝熊鰐は、明き心有りて参來り。何ぞ船の進かざる」とのたまふ。熊鰐奏して曰さく、「御船進くこと得ざる所以は、臣が罪に非ず。是の浦の口に、男女の二神有す。男神をば大倉主と曰す。女神をば菟夫羅媛と曰す。必に是の神の心か」とまうす。天皇、則ち禱祈みたまひて、挾杪者倭國の菟田の人伊賀彦を以て祝として祭らしめたまふ。則ち船進くこと得つ。皇后、別船にめして、洞海 洞、此をば久岐と云ふ。より入りたまふ。潮涸て進くこと得ず。時に熊鰐、更還りて、洞より皇后を迎へ奉る。則ち御船の進かざることを見て、惶ぢ懼りて、忽に魚沼・鳥池を作りて、悉に魚鳥を聚む。皇后、是の魚鳥の遊を看して、忿の心、稍に解けぬ。潮の滿つるに及びて、即ち岡津に泊りたまふ。」[*Nihongi,*

1986, pp.314-15]

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「到水門、御船不得進。則問熊鰐曰、朕聞、汝熊鰐者、有明心以參來。何船不進。熊鰐奏之曰、御船所以不得進者、非臣罪。是浦口有男女二神。男神曰大倉主。女神曰菟夫羅媛。必是神之心歟。天皇則禱祈之、以挾杪者倭國菟田人伊賀彦爲祝令祭。則船得進。皇后別船、自洞海　洞、此云久岐。入之。潮涸不得進。時熊鰐更還之、自洞迎奉皇后。則迎御船不進、惶懼之、忽作魚沼・鳥池、悉聚魚鳥。皇后看是魚鳥之遊、而忿心、稍解。及潮滿、即泊岡津。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.315]

"But in entering the harbour, the ship was unable to go forward. So he inquired of Kuma-wani, saying:—"We have heard that thou, Kuma-wani, hast come to us with an honest heart. Why does the ship not proceed?" Kuma-wani addressed the Emperor, saying:—"It is not the fault of thy servant that the august ship is unable to advance. At the entrance to this bay there are two Deities, one male and the other female. The male Deity is called Oho-kura-nushi, the female Deity is called Tsubura-hime. It must be owing to the wish of these Deities."The Emperor accordingly prayed to them, and caused them to be sacrificed to, appointing his steersman Iga-hiko, a man of Uda in the province of Yamato, as priest. So the ship was enabled to procceed. The Empress entered in a different ship by the Sea of Kuki. As the tide was out, she was unable to go on. Then Kuma-wani went back and met the Empress by way of Kuki. Thereupon he saw that the august ship mad eno progress, and he was afraid. He hastily made a

fish-pond and a bird-pond, into which he collected all the fishes and birds. When the Empress saw these fishes and birds sporting, her anger was gradually appeased, and with the flowing tide she straightway anchored in the harbour of Oka." [Aston, 1896a, p.220]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (II):

「群臣に詔して、熊襲を討たむことを議らしめたまふ。時に、神有して、皇后に託りて誨へまつりて曰はく、「天皇、何ぞ熊襲の服はざることを憂へたまふ。是、膂宍の空國ぞ。豈、兵を擧げて伐つに足らむや。茲の國に愈りて寶有る國、譬へば處女の睩の如くにして、津に向へる國有り。

［中略］眼炎く金・銀・彩色、多に其の國に在り。是を栲衾新羅國と謂ふ。若し能く吾を祭りたまはば、曾て刃に血らずして、其の國必ず自づから服ひなむ。復、熊襲も爲服ひなむ。其の祭りたまはむには、天皇の御船、及び穴門直踐立の獻れる水田、名けて大田といふ、是等の物を以て幣ひたまへ」とのたまふ。天皇、神の言を聞しめして、疑の請有します。便ち、高き岳に登りて、遙に大海を望るに曠遠くして國も見えず。是に、天皇、神に對へまつりて曰はく、「朕、周望すに、海のみ有りて國無し。豈、大虛に國有らめや。誰ぞの神ぞ徒に朕を誘くや。復、我が皇

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祖諸天皇等、盡に神祇を祭りたまふ。豈、遺れる神有さむや」

とのたまふ。時に、神、亦皇后に託りて日はく、「天津水影の如く、押し

伏せて我が見る國を、何ぞ國無しと謂ひて、我が言を誹謗りたまふ。其れ

汝王、如此言ひて、遂に信けたまはずは、汝、其の國を得たまばじ。唯

し、今、皇后始めて有胎みませり。其の子獲たまふこと有らむ」とのたまふ。

然るに、天皇、猶し信けたまはずして、強に熊襲を撃ちたまふ。得勝ちた

まはずして還ります。［中略］天皇、忽に痛身みたまふこと有りて、

明日に、崩りましぬ。**時に、年五十二。即ち知りぬ、神の言を用

ゐたまはずして、早く崩りましぬることを。一に云はく、天皇、親ら熊襲を

伐らたまひて、賊の矢に中りて崩りましぬといふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.326-

8]

「詔群臣以議討熊襲。時有神、託皇后而誨日、天皇何憂熊襲之不服。是膂宍

之空國也。豈足擧兵伐乎。愈茲國而有寶國、譬如處女之睩、有向津國。［中

略］眼炎之金・銀・彩色、多在其國。是謂栲衾新羅國焉。若能祭吾者、曾不

血刃、其國必自服矣。復熊襲爲服。其祭之、以天皇之御船、及穴門直踐立所

獻之水田、名大田、是等物爲幣也。天皇聞神言、有疑之請。便登高岳、遙望

之大海、曠遠而不見國。於是、天皇對神日、朕周望之、有海無國。豈於大虛

有國乎。誰神徒誘朕。復我皇祖諸天皇等、盡祭神祇。豈有遺神耶。時神亦託

皇后日、如天津水影、押伏而我所見國、何謂無國、以誹謗我言。其汝王之、

如此言而、遂不信者、汝不得其國。唯今皇后始之有胎。其子有獲焉。然天皇

猶不信、以强擊熊襲。不得勝而還之。［中略］天皇忽有痛身、而明日崩。**

時年五十二。即知、不用神言而早崩。一云、天皇親伐熊襲、中賊矢而崩也。」

[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.327,9]

"The Emperor addressed his Ministers, and consulted with them as to attacking the

Kumaso. At this time a certain God inspired the Empress and instructed her, saying:—

"Why should the Emperor be troubled because the Kumano do not yield submission?

It is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worth while raising an army to attack it? There is

a better land that this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a

beautiful woman—the land of Mukatsu,[3] dazzling to the eyes. In that land there are

gold and silver and bright colours in plenty. It is called the Land of Silla of the coverlets

of paper-mulberry.[4] If thou worshippest me aright, that Land will assuredly yield

submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood.

Afterwards the Kumaso will surrender. In worshipping me, let these things be given as

offerings, namely the Emperor's august ship and the water-fields [1] called Ohota, presented to him by Homutachi, the Atahe of Anato."When the Emperor heard the words of the God, his mind was filled with doubt, and straightway ascending a high hill, he looked away into the distance. But far and wide there was the ocean, and he saw no lang. Hereupon the Emperor answered the God, and said:—"We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in the Great Void?[3] Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions? Moreover, all the Emperor Our ancestors have worshipped the Gods of Heaven and Earth without exception, and none has been omitted." Then the God again spake by the mouth of the Empress, saying:— "I see this country lie outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou that there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shall not possess this land. The child with which the Empress has just become pregnant, he shall obtain it."The Emperor, however, was still incredulous, and persisted in attacking the Kumaso. But he retreated without having gained a victory. […] The Emperor took suddenly ill, and died on the following day, at the age of 52.

One version says:—"The Emperor having gone in person to smite the Kumaso, was hit by an enemy's arrow, and slain."" [Aston, 1896a, pp. 221- 2]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (III):

「九年の春二月に、足中彦天皇、筑紫の橿日宮に崩りましぬ。時に皇后、

天皇の神の教に從はずして早く崩りたまひしことを傷みたまひて、以爲

さく、祟る所の神を知りて、財寶の國を求めむと欲す。是を以て、

群臣及び百寮に命せて、罪を解へ過を改めて更に齋宮を小

山田邑に造らしむ。

三月の壬申の朔に、皇后、吉日を選びて、齋宮に入りて、親ら神王を

爲にたまふ。則ち武内宿禰に命して琴撫かしむ。中臣烏賊津使主を喚

して、審神者にす。因りて千繒高繒を以て、琴頭尾に置きて、請して日

さく、「先の日に天皇に教へたまひしは誰の神ぞ。願はくは其の名をば

知らむ」とまうす。七日七夜に逮りて、乃ち答へて日はく、「神風の

伊勢國の百傳ふ度逢縣の拆鈴五十鈴宮に所居す神、名は撞賢木嚴之御魂

天疎向津媛命」と。亦問ひまうさく、「是の神を除きて復神有すや」と。

答へて曰はく、「幡荻穂に出し吾や、尾田の吾田節の淡郡に所居る神有り」と。問ひまうさく、「亦有すや」と。答へて曰はく、「天事代虚事代玉籤入彦嚴之事代神有り」と。問ひまうさく、「亦有すや」と。答へて曰はく、「有ること無きこと知さず」と。是に、審神者の曰さく、「今答へたまはずして更後に言ふこと有しますや」と。則ち對へて曰はく、「日向國の橘小門の水底に所居て、水葉も稚に出で居る神、名は表筒男・中筒男・底筒男の神有す」と。問ひまうさく、「亦有すや」と。答へて曰はく、「有ることとも無きこととも知らず」と。遂に且神有すとも言はず。時に神の語を得て、敎の随に祭る。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.330-2]

「九年の春二月、足中彦天皇崩於筑紫橿日宮。時皇后傷天皇不從神敎而早崩、以爲、知所祟之神、欲求財寶國。是以、命群臣及百寮、以解罪改過、更造齋宮於小山田邑。

三月壬申朔、皇后選吉日、入齋宮、親爲神王。則命武内宿禰令撫琴。喚中臣烏賊津使主、爲審神者。因以千繒高繒、置琴頭尾、而請曰、先日敎天皇者誰

神也。願欲知其名。逮于七日七夜、乃答曰、神風伊勢國之百傳度逢縣之拆鈴五十鈴宮所居神、名撞賢木嚴之御魂天疎向津媛命焉。亦問之、除是神復有神乎。答曰、幡荻穗出吾也、於尾田吾田節之淡郡所居神之有也。問、亦有耶。答曰、於天事代於虛事代玉籤入彦嚴之事代神有之也。問、亦有耶。答曰、有無不知焉。於是、審神者曰、今不答而更後有言乎。則對曰、於日向國橘小門之水底所居、而水葉稚之出居神、名表筒男・中筒男・底筒男神之有也。問、亦有耶。答曰、有無之不知焉。遂不言且有神矣。時得神語、隨敎而祭。」

[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.331,3]

"In his 9th year, Spring, the 2th month, the Emperor Naka-tsu-hiko died in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi. At this time the Empress was grieved that the Emperor would not follow the Divine instructions, and had consequently died a premature death. She thought she would find out what God had sent the cruse, so that she might possess herself of the land of treasures. She therefore commanded her Ministers and functionaries to purge offences [4] and to rectify transgressions, also to construct a Palace of worship [1] in the village of Wayamada.

3rd month, 1st day. The Empress, having selected a lucky day, [2] entered the Palace of worship, and discharger in person the office of priest. [3] She commanded Takechi no Sukune to play on the lute,[4] and the Nakatomi, Igatsu no Omi, was designated as Saniha.[5] Then placing one thousand pices of cloth, high pieces of cloth, on the top

and bottom of the lute, she prayed saying:—"Who is the God who on a former day instructed the Emperor? I pray that I may know his name."After seven days and seven nights there came an answer, saying:—"I am the Deity who dwells in the Shrine of split-bell Isuzu in the district of hundred-transmit Watarahi in the province of divine-wind Ise, [6] and my name is Tsuki-sakaki idzu no mi-tama ama-zakaru Muka-tsu hime [7] no Mikoto.

Again, she inquired:—"Other than this Deity, are there any Deities present?" The answer was:–"I am the Deity who comes forth on the ears of the flag-like Eulalia, and my dwelling is in the district of Aha in Ada-fushi in Oda." She inquired:—"Are there others?"There was an answer, saying:—"There is the Deity who rules in Heaven, who rules in the Void, the gem-casket-entering-prince, the awful Koto-shiro-nushi."[9]

She inquired:—"Are there others?" There was an answer, saying:—"It is not known whether there are others or not." Hereupon the Saniha said:–"There is no answer now, but they will speak again afterwards." So there was an answer, saying:—"There are the Gods who have settles to the bottom of the water of the Little Strait of Tachibana[2] in the Land of Hiuga, and who are produced and dwell there like fresh water plants. Their names are Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, and Soko-tsutsu no wo."

She inquired:—"Are there others?"There was an answer, saying:—"Whether there are or not is unknown." And nothing more was ever said as to the existence of other Gods. Now that the Divine words[4] had been obtained, the Gods were worshipped in accordance with their instructions." [Aston, 1896a, pp.224-6]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (IV):

「既にして神の誨ふること有りて曰はく、「和魂は王身に服ひて壽命を守らむ。荒魂は先鋒として　師　船を導かむ」とのたまふ。**和魂、此をば珥岐瀰多摩と云ふ。荒魂、此をば阿邏瀰多摩と云ふ**。即ち神の教を得て、拜禮ひたまふ。因りて依網吾彦男重見を以て祭の神主とす。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.336]

「既而神有誨曰、和魂服王身而守壽命。荒魂爲先鋒而導師船。和魂、此云珥岐瀰多摩。荒魂、此云阿邏瀰多摩。即得神敎、而拜禮之。因以依網吾彦男重見爲祭神主。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.337]

"After this a God gave instructions, saying:—"A gentle spirit will attach itself to the Empress's person, and keep watch over her life: a rough spirit will form the vanguard, and be a guide to the squadron."" [Aston, 1896a, p.229]

** Does not appear in Aston's translation

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (V):

「既にして則ち荒魂を撝ぎたまひて、軍の先鋒とし、和魂を請ぎて、王船の鎮としたまふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.336]

「既而則撝荒魂、爲軍先鋒、請和魂、爲王船鎮。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.337]

"After this the rough spirit was told to act as vanguard of the forces, and the gentle spirit requested to act as guardian of the Royal vessel." [Aston, 1896a, p.229]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (VI):

「一に云はく足仲彦天皇、筑紫の橿日宮に居します。是に神有して、

沙麼縣主の祖内避高國避高松屋種に託りて天皇に誨へて曰はく、「御孫

尊、若し寶の國を得まく欲さば現に授けまつらむ」とのたまふ。便ち

復曰はく、「琴將ち來て皇后に進れ」とのたまふ。則ち神の言に隨ひ

て、皇后、琴撫きたまふ。是に、神、皇后に託りて誨へて曰はく、「今御

孫尊の所望の國は、譬へば鹿の角の如し。無實たる國なり。其れ今御孫尊の

所御へる船、及び穴戸直踐立が所貢れる水田、名は大田を幣にして、能く

我を祭はば美女の睩の如くして金・銀多なる、眼炎く國を以て御孫尊

に授けむ」とのたまふ。時に天皇、神に對へて曰はく、「其れ神と雖も何

ぞ謾語きたまはむ。何處にか將に國有らむ。且朕が乘る船を、既に神に奉

りて、朕曷の船にか乘る。然るを未だ誰の神といふことを知らず。願はく

は其の名を知らむ」とのたまふ。

時に神、其の名を稱りて曰はく、「表筒雄・中筒雄・底筒雄」と、如是三

の神の名を稱りて、且重ねて曰はく、「吾が名は、

向匱男聞襲大歴五御魂速狹騰尊なり」とのたまふ。時に天皇に謂りて曰は

く、「聞き惡き事言ひ坐す婦人か。何ぞ速狹騰と言ふ」とのたまふ。時に

天皇、皇后に謂りて曰はく、「汝王、如是信けたまはずは、必ず其の國

を得じ。唯し今皇后の懷姙みませる子、蓋し獲たまふこと有らむ」とのたま

ふ。是の夜に、天皇、忽に病發りて崩りましぬ。然して後に、皇后、

神の敎の隨に祭ひたてまつる。則ち皇后、男の束裝して新羅を征ちた

まふ。時に神留り導きたまふ。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.340]

「一云、足仲彦天皇、居筑紫橿日宮。是有神、託沙麼縣主の祖内避高國避高

松屋種、以誨天皇曰、御孫尊也、若欲得寶國耶、將現授之。便復曰、琴將來

以進皇后。則神言、而皇后撫琴。於是、神託皇后、以誨之曰、今御孫尊所望

之國、譬如鹿角。以無實國也。其今御孫尊所御之船及穴戸直踐立所貢之水田、

名大田爲幣、能祭我者、則如美女之睩而金銀多之、眼炎國以授御孫尊。時天

皇對神曰、其雖神何謾語耶。何處將有國。且朕所乘船、既奉於神、朕乘曷船。

然未知誰神。願欲知其名。時神稱其名曰、表筒雄・中筒雄・底筒雄、如是稱

三神名、且重曰、吾名向匱男聞襲大歷五御魂速狹騰尊也と。時天皇謂皇后曰、

聞惡事之言坐婦人乎。何言速狹騰也。於是天皇曰、汝王如是不信、必不得其

國。唯今皇后懷姙之子、蓋有獲歟。是夜天皇忽病發以崩之。然後、皇后隨神

敎而祭。則皇后爲男束裝、征新羅。時神留導之。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.341]

"One version says:—"When the Emperor Tarashi-nakatsu-hiko dwelt in the palace of Kashihi in Tsukushi, there were Deities who spake by the mouth of Uchi-saru-taka, Kuni-saru-taka, and Matsu-ya-tane, ancestors of the Agata-nushi of Saha, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'If the august descendant wishes to gain the Land of Treasure, we will presently bestow it on him.' So on a later day, a lute was brought and given to the Empress. And the Empress played upon the lute in accordance with the word of the Gods. Hereupon the Gods spake by the mouth of the Empress, and admonished the Emperor, saying:—'The land which the august descendant wishes for is, as it were, a stag's horn, and not a real country. But if the august descendant now makes due offering to us of the ship in which he sails and of the water-field [1] called Ohota given him as tribute by Homutate, the Atahe of Anato, we will bestow on the august descendant a dazzling land, a land of plenteous treasure, fair to look upon as a beautiful woman.' Then the Emperor answered the Gods, saying:—'Gods though ye

may be, why these deceiving words? Where is there any country? Morevover, when the ship in which We sail has been offered to you Deities, in what ship shall We sail? Nor do I know what Gods ye are. I pray you, let me know your names.' Then the Gods gave their names, saying:—'Uha-tsutsu no wo, Naka-tsutsu no wo, Soko-tsutsu no wo.' Such were the names of the three Gods given by them. And again one said:—'I am Mukahitsu no wo, Kiki-so-ofu-itsuno mitama, Hayasa-nobori no Mikoto.' Then the Emperor spake to the Empress and said:—'What ill-sounding things they say! Is it a woman? What is meant by Hayasa-nobori?'[2] Then the Gods addressed the Emperor, saying:—'O King, since thou art thus unbelieving, thou shalt not possess that country. But the child which is now in the Empress's womb, he will doubtless take possession of it.' On that night the Emperor took suddenly ill, and died. Afterwards the Empress performed worship in accordance with the directions of the Gods.[1] Then the Empress, clad in male attire, went on the expedition against Silla, and the Gods guided her."

[Aston, 1896a, pp.233-4]

C) Emperor Yū-ryaku meets the Great Deity of Katsuragi and the Deity of Mimuro Hill:

Original text from the *Kojiki*:

「於、答日、吾先見問。故、吾先為名告。吾者雖悪事而一言、雖善事而一言、ゝ離之神。葛城之一言主之大神者也。天皇、於是、惶畏而白、恐。我大神有、宇都志美者、［中略］不覚白而、大御刀及弓矢始而、脱百官人等所服之衣服以拝献。尒、其一言主大神、手打受其奉物。」[Kojiki 1982 pp.276-278]

「於是、答て日さく、「吾れ先づ問は見き。故、吾れ先づ名告為む。吾者悪事なれ雖一言、善事なれ雖一言、言ひ離つ神。葛城之一言主之大神者也。」トまをす。天皇、於是、惶畏み而白さく、「恐し。我が大神、宇都志意美に有らむト者。［中略］不覚にあり。」ト白し而、大御刀ト弓矢及始メ而、面官ノ人等ノ所服る衣服を脱かしメて拝みて献る。尒して、其ノ一言主大神、手打ちて其ノ奉り物を受ケたまふ。」[Kojiki 1982 pp.277-279]

Chamberlain:

"As I was the first to be asked, I will be the first to tell my name. I am the Deity who dispels with a word the evil and with a word the good, — the Great Deity of Kadzuragi, Lord of One Word.[3] The Heavenly Sovereign hereupon trembled, and said: "I reverence [thee], my Great Deity. I understand not that thy great person would be revealed;"[4]— and having thus spoken, he, beginning by his great august sword and likewise his bow and arrows, took off the garments which the hundred officials had on and worshipfully presented them [to the Great Deity].[5] Then the Great Deity, Lord of One Word, clapping his hands,[6] accepted the offering." [Chamberlain (1932) pp. 386-387]

Heldt:

"Whereupon he replied, saying: "Having been asked first, I will give my name first. I am the spirit who can bring good or ill with a single word, the great spirit Master One Word of Kudzu Hold!" Heaven's sovereign now grew greatly fearful and spoke, saying: "These words fill me with awe, great spirit! Being a mere minister of the mortal world, I was ignorant of your presence." And so saying, he first removed his mighty great sword and his mighty bow and arrows, and then had his hundred officials strip off their robes, prostrate themselves before the spirit, and make an offering of their garb

and gear to him. And so the great spirit Master One Word clapped his hands in acceptance of these offerings."[Heldt 2014 pp. 167-8]

Philippi:

"This time, the reply was: "Since I have been asked first, I will say my name first: good fortune with one word, [3] bad fortune with one word, [3] the word-deciding deity [4] PITÖ-KÖTÖ-NUSI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ of KADURAKÏ am I!"At his, the emperor was afraid and said: "I am struck with awe, O my great deity! I did not know that you had a corporeal form." Thus saying, beginning with his own great sword and bow and arrows, he had his many attendants take off the garments they were wearing and reverentially [5] presented them. Then this PITÖ-KÖTÖ-NUSI-NÖ-OPO-KAMÏ, clapping his hands, [6] accepted these offerings." [Philippi 1968 pp. 360-1]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (I):

「天皇、葛城山に射獵したまふ。忽に長き人を見る。來りて丹谷に、

望めり。面貌容儀、天皇に相似れり。天皇、是神なりと知しめせれども、

猶故に問ひて曰はく、「何處の公ぞ」とのたまふ。長き人、對へて曰

はく、「現人之神ぞ。先づ王の諱を稱れ。然して後に諿はむ」とのたまふ。

天皇、答へて曰はく、「朕は是、幼武命なり」とのたまふ。長き人、

次に稱りて曰はく、「僕は是、一事主神なり」とのたまふ。遂に與に

遊田を盤びて、一の鹿を駈逐ひて、箭發つことを相辭りて、轡を竝べ

て、馳騁す。言詞恭しく恪みて、仙に逢ふ若きこと有します。是に、

日晚れて田罷みぬ。神、天皇を侍送りたてまつりたまひて、來目水までに

至る。是の時に、百姓、咸に言さく、「徳しく有します天皇なり」

とまうす。」[*Nihongi,* 1986, pp.466-7]

「天皇射獵於葛城山。忽見長人。來望丹谷。面貌容儀、相似天皇。々々知是神、猶故問日、何處公也。長人對日、現人之神。先稱王諱。然後應遵。天皇答日、朕是幼武命也。長人次稱日、僕是一事主神也。遂與盤于遊田、駈逐一鹿、相辭箭發、竝轡馳騁。言詞恭恪、有若逢仙。於是、日晚田罷。神侍送天皇、至來目水。是時、百姓、咸言、有徳天皇也。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.467]

"The Emperor went a-hunting with bow and arrows on Mount Katsuraki. Of a sudden a tall man appeared, who came and stood over the vermilion valley. In dace and demeanor he resembled the Emperor. The Emperor knew that he was a God, and therefore proceeded to inquire of him, saying:—'Of what place art thou Lord?" The tall man answered and said:—"I am a God of visible men.[1] Do thou first tell thy princely name, and then in turn I will inform thee of mine." The Emperor answered and said:—"We are Wake-take no Mikoto."The tall man next gave his name, saying:—"Thy servant is the God Hito-koto-nushi."[2] He finally joined him in the diversion of the chase. They pursued a deer, and each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to but, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company of genii. Herewith the sun went down, and the hunt came to an end. The God attended on the Emperor and escorted him as far as the Water of Kume. At this time the people all said:—"An Emperor of great virtue!" [Aston, 1896a, pp.341-2]

Original text from the *Nihon shoki* (II):

Note: This section does not appear in the *Kojiki*, so only the text from the *Nihon Shoki* will be analyzed.

「天皇、少子部連蜾蠃に詔して日かく、「朕、三諸岳の神の形を見むと欲ふ。或いは云は、此の山の神をば大物主神と爲ふといふ。或いは云はく、菟田の墨坂神なりといふ。汝、膂力人に過ぎたり。自ら行きて捉て來」とのたまふ。蜾蠃、答へて日さく、「試に往りて捉へむ」とまうす。乃ち三諸岳に登り、大蛇を捉取へて、天皇に示せ奉る。天皇、齋戒したまはず。其の雷虺虺きて、目精赫赫、天皇、畏みたまひて、目を蔽ひて見たまはずして、殿中に却入れたまひぬ。岳に放たしめたまふ。仍りて改めて名を賜ひて雷とす。」
[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.472]

「天皇詔少子部連蜾蠃日、朕欲見三諸岳神之形。或云、此山之神爲大物主神也。或云、菟田墨坂神也。汝膂力過人。自行捉來。蜾蠃答日、試往捉之。乃

登三諸岳、捉取大蛇、奉示天皇。々々不齋戒。其雷虺々、目精赫々、天皇畏、

蔽目不見、却入殿中。使放於岳。仍改賜名爲雷。」[*Nihongi*, 1986, p.473]

"The Emperor commanded Sukaru Chihisako Be no Muraji, saying:—"It is our desire to see the form of the Deity of Mimuro Hill. [*Some say that the Deity of this mountain is oho-mono-shiro-nushi no Kami. Others say Uda no Sumi-zaka no Kami.*] Thou dost excel in strength of body. Go thyself, seize him, and bring him here." Sukaru answered and said:—"I will make the attempt, and go to seize him." So he ascended the Hill of Mimuro and caught a great serpent, which he showed the Emperor, who had not practiced (religious) abstinence. Its thunder rolled, and its eyeballs flamed. The Emperor was afraid, and, covering his eyes, would not look upon it, but fled into the interior of the Palace. Then he caused it to be let loose on the Hill, and giving it a new name, called it Ikadzuchi.[4]" [Aston, 1896a, p.347]