

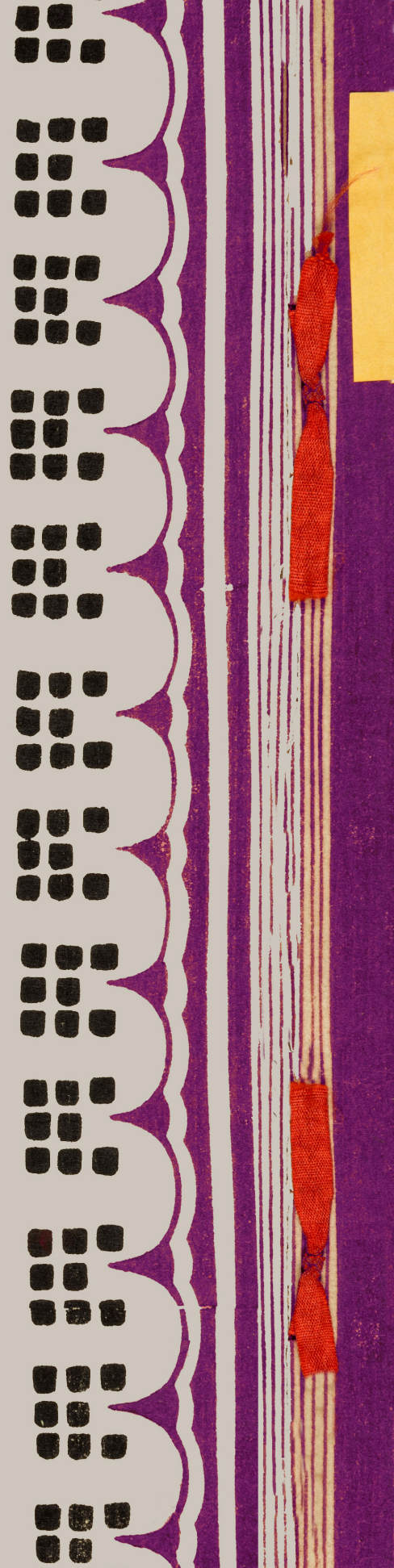
Kokugakuin Japan Studies

2020 | N° 01



Know Japan. Know the world.

KOKUGAKUIN UNIVERSITY



Kokugakuin Japan Studies

Volume 1, 2020

Contents

- 1 Foreword
- 3 Editorial Intent
- 5 The *Kojiki*'s Worldview: Entangled Worlds of Gods and Humans
TANIGUCHI MASAHIRO
- 25 On the Folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*: Classical Tellings and
Worldwide Comparisons
HANABE HIDEO
- 47 The Origins of Shimao Toshio's "Japonesia" Ideas
ISHIKAWA NORIO

Foreword

A Word of Welcome

The Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics under the Organization for the Advancement of Research and Development at Kokugakuin University is launching this new journal *Kokugakuin Japan Studies (KJS)* with the goal of making better known to an international audience the fruits of the scholarly labors being undertaken by researchers at this university.

Kokugakuin University traces its roots back to the Kōten Kōkyūsho, which was established in 1882. The Kōten Kōkyūsho was born out of a need to reappraise ancient Japanese history and thought amid the trend toward Westernization that developed after the Meiji Restoration. The distinguishing feature of the research that has been conducted at Kokugakuin University since then could best be described as an emphasis on Japanese studies.

The Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics was established at this university with the goal of carrying out research on Japan's spiritual culture from a broad scholarly perspective that includes comparisons with foreign cultures and classics. Currently, the Institute's efforts are focused primarily on Shinto and Kokugaku studies, on engaging in international exchanges that are related to Japanese culture, and on research related to disseminating academic research.

Given that the Institute was founded for the purpose of disseminating research on Japanese culture to an international audience, it is only natural for us to take on the mission of making the latest research produced at this university better known to the world. In order to convey this research more broadly to people around the world with an interest in Japanese studies, we deemed it necessary to adopt the format of an English-language, online journal.

We think of *KJS* as our mode of transport that has now set sail across the great ocean that is the internet to carry to its readers a cargo containing the essence of the Japanese studies being conducted at Kokugakuin University. We hope you will find it interesting and useful.

Hirafuji Kikuko

Director

Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics

February 2020

Editorial Intent

Special Feature: “Interrogating the Boundaries of Japanese Culture”

Historically, the borders of “Japan” were not consistently defined. Even today, there are still a considerable number of people who subscribe to the illusion that “Japan” as a country is a singular entity that covers a territory that has remained constant. However, a look back through history reminds us that the “Japan” at the time when the *Nihon shoki* was compiled in the eighth century and the “Japan” as a modern state with colonies were different, as is the “Japan” of today.

Just as “Japan” has been an entity in flux, “Japanese culture” likewise can be seen as having boundaries that differ depending on one’s perspective. In this inaugural issue of *Kokugakuin Japan Studies*, we decided that we would like to reinterrogate the boundaries of Japanese culture and produce this special feature with that goal in mind.

The article by Professor Taniguchi Masahiro investigates how the world was understood in the eighth-century *Kojiki*. He argues that in the *Kojiki* the division between the world of the *kami* in the heavens and on the earth and the world of human beings was not as simple as it may seem.

Professor Hanabe Hideo discusses the world of old folktales in his article. He considers what sorts of possibilities for comparing worldviews arise when tales with largely the same motifs are discussed as ancient folktales, when they are discussed as medieval *setsuwa*, and when they are discussed as folktales of foreign origin.

Finally, the article by Professor Ishikawa Norio takes up the concept of “Japonesia [*yaponesia*]” as coined by novelist Shimao Toshio. The space covered by this concept stretches from the South Sea Islands north to include the Japanese archipelago. Ishikawa examines what the meaning of this word “Japonesia” held for Shimao. It is from these three perspectives that we will interrogate the boundaries of Japanese culture.

KJS Editorial Committee

The *Kojiki*'s Worldview: Entangled Worlds of Gods and Humans

TANIGUCHI MASAHIRO

Keywords: Plain of High Heaven, Central Land of Reed Plains, Ōkuninushi, green-grass mortals, heavenly Kagu Mountain

Introduction

THE *Kojiki* 古事記 consists of three fascicles. This tripartite structure is commonly understood to organize the work's content in the following manner: the first fascicle depicts the world of gods, the second, a world inhabited by both gods and humans, and the third, the world of humans. However, does such a simplistic reading really enable us to grasp the inner structure of the *Kojiki* as a literary composition? In the preface, the author Ō no Yasumaro 太安万侶 explains the work's structure in the following way:

In general, the account starts with the beginning of heaven and earth and ends with the august reign of Owarida 小治田.

Thus, everything from Ame no Minakanushi no Kami 天御中主神 through Hikonagisatake Ugayafukiaezu no Mikoto 日子波限建鵜草葺不合命 is included in the first fascicle.

Everything from Heavenly Sovereign Kamuyamatoiwarebiko 神倭伊波礼毗古 through the august reign of Homuda 品陀 is included in the second fascicle.

Everything from Emperor Ōsazaki 大雀 through the august reign at the grand palace of Owarida is included in the third fascicle.

These three fascicles are brought together and presented to Your Majesty with reverence.¹

(Preface)

* This article is a translation of Taniguchi Masahiro 谷口雅博, “‘Kojiki’ no sekai ninshiki: Kōsaku suru kami no sekai to hito no sekai” 『古事記』の世界認識—交錯する神の世界と人の世界—, *Higashi Ajia bunka kenkyū* 東アジア文化研究 2 (2017), pp. 1–15.

1. Translations from the *Kojiki* follow the author's transcription of the original *kanbun* text, which is based on Nishimiya, *Kojiki*. The translations of the *Kojiki* into English by Philippi and Heldt as well as the recent translation into German by Antoni have been consulted.

Ō no Yasumaro does not mention a boundary between an age of gods and an age of humans. This distinguishes the *Kojiki* from the *Nihon shoki* 日本書記, whose first two fascicles are titled “fascicles of the age of gods” and suggest a different worldview. There are sections in all three fascicles of the *Kojiki* that seem to depict a world of gods *and* humans or a two-layered world inhabited by both gods and humans. In this article I will consider the *Kojiki*’s worldview by examining characters that seem to be related to both worlds, such as Ōkuninushi no Kami 大国主神 in the first fascicle, Yamatotakeru no Mikoto 倭建命 in the second fascicle, and the emperors Nintoku 仁徳 and Yūryaku 雄略 in the third fascicle.

Heavenly Time and Earthly Time

In considering the *Kojiki*’s worldview, I think it worthwhile to start from an investigation of how time is presented in the *Kojiki* myths. This includes not only direct descriptions of the passage of time but also the succession of generations. When parents give birth to a child, this signifies the birth of a new generation and thus results in a perception of the passage of time. However, one has to take into consideration the mode of the birth of deities in the *Kojiki*. The deities who appear at the beginning of heaven and earth are not born through sexual reproduction involving a male and a female deity but are rather depicted as beings who “became” (*narishi* 成). Consequently, there is no relationship between “giving birth” and “being born” and thus no succession of generations. That there is no succession of generations seems to suggest that there is also no perception of the passage of time. Conversely, on earth the two deities Izanagi no Mikoto 伊耶那岐命 and Izanami no Mikoto 伊耶那美命 produce lands and deities through sexual reproduction. It seems probable that this is the reason why the flow of time is not felt in heaven, whereas it is perceived on earth. However, the lands produced by Izanagi and Izanami do not give birth to a succeeding generation, and neither do the deities born through their union bring forth one generation after the other. The event that truly sets in motion the succession of one generation after the other, and thus the steady flow of time, is the marriage of Susanoo no Mikoto 須佐之男命 and Kushinadahime 櫛名田比売.

The different perception of time in heaven and on earth is observable in various episodes. For instance, in the myth of the pacification of the Central Land of Reed Plains (*Ashihara no nakatsukuni* 葦原中国) we are informed that three years passed after Ame no Hohi no Kami 天菩比神 was sent down to earth and eight years passed after Amewakahiko 天若日子 was dispatched. The passage of time is probably mentioned in this case since the deities have been dispatched to earth. The “eight days and eight nights of feasting” mentioned in the episode of Amewakahiko’s funeral also seems to be based on the perception of time on earth. In the *Nihon shoki*’s description of the

same scene (chapter 9, variant 1), the location of the funeral is identified as “heaven” and no specific number of days is provided. In the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle, we are told that at the beginning of his eastward expedition Emperor Jinmu 神武² stayed at the palace of Okada 岡田 in Tsukushi 竺紫 for one year, at the palace of Takeri 多祁理 in the land of Aki 阿岐 for seven years, and at the palace of Takashima 高嶋 in Kibi 吉備 for eight years. This section of the text, too, describes the flow of time on earth. In the myth of Amaterasu Ōmikami's 天照大御神 concealment in the Heavenly Rock-Cave, on the other hand, the phrase “eternal night (*tokoyo* 常夜) reigned” is employed. The birds appearing in this scene are called “long-crying birds of *tokoyo* 常世.” And the deity Omoikane no Kami 思金神 is in a later section of the text called Tokoyo no Omoikane no Kami 常世思金神. These expressions seem to reflect the perception of the Plain of High Heaven as a realm of eternity.³

It would be wrong to identify the Plain of High Heaven with the *tokoyo* to which Sukunahikona no Kami 少名毗古名神 or Mikenu no Mikoto 御毛沼命 crossed over, not to speak of the *tokoyo* discovered by Tajimamori 多遲摩毛理. In the *Kojiki*, *tokoyo* refers to an otherworld that is only described in the first and second fascicles. If we assume that the term *tokoyo* does not connote a specific location but rather an eternally existing world, the Plain of High Heaven can in fact be characterized as *tokoyo*. It is probably due to this reason that the expressions “long-crying birds of *tokoyo*” and Tokoyo no Omoikane no Kami appear in episodes set in the Plain of High Heaven.

As mentioned above, in the Plain of High Heaven there is no mention of the birth of children through sexual reproduction. This is because the relationship of “giving birth” and “being born” would introduce the passage of time into this eternal realm. The only deity in the Plain of High Heaven whose taking shape involves a relationship of “giving birth” and “being born” is Ninigi no Mikoto 迺迺彥命 (and his sibling Honoakari no Mikoto 火明命). This is related to a problem I have already addressed in an earlier article: it seems that Ninigi descends to earth instead of his father Ame no Oshihomimi no Mikoto 天忍穗耳命 (who had originally been ordered to descend) since he was born as a deity with earthly qualities.⁴ In order to marry a female deity after his descent to earth and create a lineage that is connected through succeeding

2. Against convention, the translator decided against adding dates for the individual emperors mentioned throughout the article since they are treated as protagonists of the *Kojiki* (which does not contain any dates) rather than as historical persons. The introduction of a chronology was one of the innovations of the *Nihon shoki*, which depicts the flow of time in a different manner than the *Kojiki*. The historicity of some of the emperors is disputed.

3. This is according to a footnote in Nakamura, *Shinpan Kojiki*, p. 43: “Here *tokoyo* 常世 refers to a world of immortals, that is, to the Plain of High Heaven as perceived from the Central Land of Reed Plains.”

4. Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 161–71.

generations with the first emperor, it was necessary for the deity dispatched to earth to have earthly qualities. The text moreover reports that Ninigi's son Hiko Hohodemi no Mikoto 日子穗穗手見命 dwelt at the palace of Takachiho 高千穂 "for five hundred and eighty years." This expression also suggests an awareness of the flow of time on earth.

Preceding Ninigi, Susanoo descended to the earth, married a female deity, and created a lineage spanning successive generations. The appearance of an old man and an old woman called Ashinazuchi 足名椎 and Tenazuchi 手名椎, respectively, in the episode of Susanoo's descent signifies that the flow of time on earth had already been set in motion.⁵ There is no one in the Plain of High Heaven who is explicitly described as old. The name of the goddess Ishikoridome no Mikoto 伊斯許理度売命, who is mentioned in the episode of Amaterasu's concealment in the Heavenly Rock-Cave, is written in the *Nihon shoki* using a Chinese character with the meaning "old woman" (姥). However, at least from the characters used in the *Kojiki*, such a meaning of the name cannot be inferred. Seven of Ashinazuchi and Tenazuchi's eight daughters are devoured by a great eight-headed serpent that appeared every year. They are devoured annually without giving birth to children of their own. In other words, the same course of events is repeated every year. In this manner, the same cycle is repeated endlessly and time cannot progress in a linear fashion. I propose that this was one of Susanoo's roles in the mythical plot to enable the passage from cyclical to linear time. In order to change a closed world, an outsider's involvement is necessary. Through Susanoo's marriage with Kushinadahime and the subsequent birth of their children, time begins to flow in a linear fashion from one generation to the next.⁶

Ōkuninushi is Susanoo's descendant in the sixth generation (or in the seventh, if one counts Susanoo's child as the second generation). While it is impossible to compare the two cases directly, if one takes Susanoo and Amaterasu as belonging to the same generation, it can be pointed out that Amaterasu's descendant in the sixth generation is Jinmu's son, the second emperor, Suizei 綏靖, whose reign is treated in the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle. Furthermore, if one takes into consideration Ōkuninushi's genealogy, it spans seventeen generations of deities, counted from Susanoo's child

5. Kobayashi, "Mihitaki no okina." Kobayashi points out that "among all deities, expressions of old age are only used with regard to these two" and argues that the passage of time during the birth and upbringing of Ashinazuchi and Tenazuchi's eight daughters and their eventual sacrifice to the great eight-headed serpent—all events that are not covered in the *Kojiki* in detail—is expressed in the terms "old woman" and "old man." When considering the modes of perception and description of time in the *Kojiki*, these remarks are extremely relevant and important. Generally, old people only exist on earth.

6. In the genealogical section following the description of Susanoo's deeds, Susanoo is said to give birth to children. As will be explained below, this mode of describing genealogies as patriarchal successions corresponds to the imperial genealogies in the second and third fascicles.

downward. Perhaps it is for this reason that the god Ōkuninushi, although his account is contained in the first fascicle, is described in some respects like a human.

First Fascicle: Ōkuninushi

The god Ōkuninushi, whose tale is told in the *Kojiki*'s first fascicle, has five different names:

This deity took as his wife a daughter of Sashikuniō no Kami 刺国大神 with the name Sashikuniwakahime 刺国若比売. There was born the child Ōkuninushi no Kami, also called Ōnamuchi no Kami 大穴牟遲神, also called Ashihara no Shikoo no Kami 葦原色許男神, also called Yachihoko no Kami 八千矛神, also called Utsushikunitama no Kami 宇都志国玉神. Altogether he has five names.

(First fascicle, genealogy of Susanoo's descendants)

When one examines the accounts dealing with this deity, one can infer that even though they are tales set in a mythical world, elements of the mundane world are superimposed onto them.

For instance, in an episode relating how the deity (here called Yachihoko) wooed a woman, a character otherwise reserved for emperors (*kō* 幸)⁷ is used to describe his action. For his wife a character connoting “empress” (*kisaki* 后) is employed. In this respect, Ōkuninushi overlaps with the emperors described in the second and third fascicles. Moreover, when Ōkuninushi fashions the land, a deity appears to assist him in this task. In exchange for his assistance, this deity demands to be worshipped by Ōkuninushi. A deity worshipping another deity seems like a strange occurrence, as worshipping gods is the responsibility of humans.⁸

Now Ōkuninushi no Kami lamented and declared: “How am I to fashion this land by myself? What deity can I join with so that we can fashion this land together?” At this time, there was a deity who approached, lighting up the sea. This deity spoke: “If you worship me, I will help you to fashion the land. But if you do not do so, it will be difficult for the land to reach completion.” Then Ōkuninushi no Kami said: “In that case, in what manner should I worship

7. In this instance, the character is used as part of the compound *idemashi* 行幸 (imperial visit).

8. There is one more similar case in the first fascicle of the *Kojiki*. Before his descent to earth, Amaterasu hands Ninigi the mirror that had been used to lure her out of the Heavenly Rock-Cave and instructs him to revere it as if he were worshipping in her presence. The text continues that the mirror and another deity (probably Omoikane) “are worshipped at the shrine of Isuzu of the bell-bracelets,” that is, at the Inner Shrine of Ise. The fact that Amaterasu and Ōmononushi no Kami 大物主神, the deity that assisted Ōkuninushi in fashioning the land, are the only two deities that are worshipped by other deities suggests their importance in the *Kojiki*.

you?” He replied saying: “Worship me on the eastern mountain of the green fence in Yamato.” This is the deity who dwells on Mount Mimoro 御諸.

(First fascicle, Ōkuninushi’s creation of the land)

Moreover, and this applies to Susanoo as well, the entries in the genealogy of Ōkuninushi’s descendants take the form “... took as wife XX. There was born YY.” This corresponds to the form of the imperial genealogies in the second and third fascicles. In general, the myths related to Ōkuninushi show parallels to the accounts of the emperors contained in the second and third fascicles. Although Ōkuninushi’s account belongs to the mythical portion of the work, he is partially described like a character belonging to the mundane world. This connection to the mundane world is emphasized by the fact that many concrete toponyms are mentioned in the myths of Ōkuninushi. Moreover, Ōkuninushi’s alternate name Utsushikunitama no Kami (deity Soul of the Manifest Land) also seems to draw attention to his connection to the mundane world. This name appears one time in the genealogy quoted at the beginning of this section and one time within a narrative. However, in the narrative, all manuscripts use the character *nushi* 主 (master) rather than *tama* 玉 (soul), suggesting that Utsushikunitama no Kami 宇都志国主神 (deity Master of the Manifest Land) was the original form of the name.⁹ The narrative runs as follows:

So when he did as he was told and went to the place where Susanoo no Mikoto dwelt, that deity’s daughter Suseribime 須勢理毗売 came out and saw him, whereupon they exchanged looks and pledged themselves to each other. She went back inside and told her father: “A beautiful deity has come here.” Then the great deity went out to see for himself and said: “This is the one called Ashihara no Shikoo.” Then he invited him inside and made him sleep in a chamber filled with snakes.

...

And so [Susanoo] pursued them [Ōkuninushi and Suseribime] as far as the gentle decline of Yomi 黄泉, where he gazed outward and called out to Ōnamuchi no Kami, saying: “With the sword of life and the bow-and-arrow of life you are holding pursue your brothers and smite them on the hill crests. Chase after them and sweep them into the river rapids. Then, my boy, become Ōkuninushi no Kami, and Utsushikunitama no Kami, and make my

9. This seems to be the only instance where the character *nushi* is confused with *tama* or vice versa. There is a similar case relating to the name Okinaga no Mate no Ōkimi 息長真手王, in which some manuscripts use the character for “soul” (玉) rather than “king” (*ōkimi* 王) as the last character. However, this case should not be conflated with the confusion of the characters *nushi* and *tama* discussed above. Onoda, *Shohon shūsei Kojiki*.

daughter Suseribime your chief wife. Dwell by the foot of Mount Uka 宇迦, root the posts of your palace firmly into the base of the bedrock, and raise the roofbeams up as high as the Plain of High Heaven, you scoundrel!"

So he pursued his eighty brothers, bearing this sword and bow-and-arrow. He pursued them, and smote them on the hill crests. He chased after them and swept them into the river rapids. Then he began to create the land.

(First fascicle, Ōkuninushi's visit to the land Ne no Katsuru)

When Susanoo first sees the god his daughter Suseribime has brought home, he says: "This is the one called Ashihara no Shikoo (Ugly Male of the Reed Plains)." This name signifies that he is a deity from the Central Land of Reed Plains, that is, the earth. After his flight from the land Ne no Katsuru 根堅州, Susanoo shouts after his son-in-law: "Become Ōkuninushi no Kami (the deity Great Land Master)!" Therefore the narrative starting with the tale of the naked hare of Inaba 稻羽 and leading to the flight from Ne no Katsuru is often considered a tale of the deity's maturation: starting out as Ōnamuchi, he finally becomes Ōkuninushi and begins his task of creating the land. However, in this interpretation, Susanoo's second command, "Become Utsushikuninushi no Kami!", tends to be overlooked. One reason for this is that the various modern editions of the *Kojiki* change this name to Utsushikunitama no Kami and interpret it as meaning "the deity of the land soul of the earth." This is then subsumed as one of the many qualities of Ōkuninushi and not given much further attention. However, that the two names Ōkuninushi and Utsushikuninushi are used side by side at this central turning point in the deity's maturation process suggests that both names are of equal importance. If the first name signifies that he is the master (*nushi*) of the great land (*ōkuni*), the second implies that he is the master of the manifest land (*utsushikuni*). Is it not possible that the one name relates to Ōkuninushi's role as ruler of the divine world and the other to his role as ruler of the human world?

Since I have already discussed the term *utsushi* elsewhere,¹⁰ I will not repeat the details here. However, to summarize my findings, the term *utsushi* is used when a being belonging to the divine world manifests itself in the world of humans or, vice versa, when a being belonging to the human world manifests itself in the world of gods. Thus, to become the master of *utsushikuni* means nothing else than to become the ruler of the mundane world of humans. That the tale of Ōkuninushi's visit to Ne no Katsuru begins with the appellation Ugly Male of the Reed Plains (Ashihara no Shikoo) and ends with the name Master of the Manifest Land (Utsushikuninushi) being

10. Taniguchi, "Ōkuninushi no kami."

applied to the deity seems to suggest that the Central Land of Reed Plains is transformed into the Manifest Land (*utsushikuni*).

The following scene at the end of Izanagi's visit to Yomotsu Kuni contains the first appearance both of the term *utsushi* and of the appellation "Central Land of Reed Plains":

Then Izanagi no Mikoto proclaimed to the peaches: "As you have aided me, so may you also aid any green-grass mortal (*utsushiki aohitokusa* 都志伎青人草) from the Central Land of Reed Plains who falls into painful straits and suffers in anguish." ... Izanami no Mikoto said: "My beloved brother, if you do this, I will each day strangle to death one thousand of your land's grass mortals." To this Izanagi no Mikoto replied, proclaiming: "My beloved sister, if you do this, I will each day build one thousand five hundred birth huts." From that point on each and every day one thousand people have died, while one thousand five hundred people have been born.

(First fascicle, Yomotsu Kuni)

A number of commonalities can be observed between Izanagi's words and the ones Susano addresses to Ōkuninushi quoted above. In both cases, the words are uttered at the gentle decline of Yomi, a boundary marking the exit from an otherworld, and in both cases the words *utsushi* and *ashihara* (reed plains) are mentioned.

It is not clear what Izanagi's expression "any green-grass mortal (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) from the Central Land of Reed Plains" signifies. Judging from Izanami's words "your land's grass mortals," the expression must refer to something that at this point in time already existed in Izanagi's land, that is, in the Central Land of Reed Plains. If read as an origin myth of population growth, it is also possible to interpret the two deities' words as relating to a future point in time after the beginning of the age of humans; however, the formulation here translated as "from that point on" (*koko o mochte* 是以) supports the reading that exactly from this point in time the population of humans increases by five hundred each day. This formulation is used a total of thirty-eight times in the *Kojiki*. In thirty-four cases it is used as a conjunction within the narrative thread. Since, in the remaining four cases, the expression is used to explain the origins of a later phenomenon, it is possible to interpret the case under discussion here in the same way. However, judging from the expression "your land's grass mortals" and from the fact that the passage is dealing with "any green-grass mortal" from the "Central Land of Reed Plains," which is the designation of a mythical world, one is surely justified in concluding that at this point in time there already existed "green-grass mortals." This conclusion is further supported by the manner in which these "grass mortals" are counted. In contrast to the deities mentioned in the *Kojiki*'s mythical section (and to the

emperors and members of the imperial family descended from these deities) who are counted using the character “pillar” (*hashira* 柱), here the character “human” (*tari* 人) is employed to count the “green-grass mortals.” All of this suggests that humans were believed to have existed during the age of gods. Therefore, the prior understanding that the world of gods (first fascicle) comes to an end, to be followed by a world in which gods and humans intermingle (second fascicle), and finally evolve into a world of humans (third fascicle), has to be revised. It might be more correct to state that the *Kojiki* from beginning to end describes a world of gods *and* humans. Possibly, this world is in the first fascicle described from the perspective of a divine world and in the second and third fascicles from the perspective of a human world. Whenever these two worlds come into contact, things described as *utsushi* appear. Of course, a chronological progression takes place between the beginning of the first and the end of the third fascicle. However, this progression cannot be reduced to a transition to the age of humans after the age of gods has come to an end. It rather entails a change from narratives that are set in the world of gods to narratives that are set in the world of humans.

If the name Ōkuninushi signifies that the deity has become the ruler of the Central Land of Reed Plains as a land of gods, the parallel name Utsushikuninushi might well imply that he has become the ruler of the Central Land of Reed Plains that is inhabited by the green-grass mortals. The two names might thus express Ōkuninushi's role as ruler over this double-sided world that includes both the world of gods and the world of the green-grass mortals. In this way, we can infer from Susanoo's words addressed to Ōkuninushi at the edge of Ne no Katsus the two-layered nature of the Central Land of Reed Plains that is both a world of gods and a world of green-grass mortals.¹¹

Second Fascicle: Yamatotakeru

As suggested by the common characterization of the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle as a fascicle of gods and humans, deities often play a role in its narrative. In particular, the account of the first emperor Jinmu Tennō shows a strong connection to the age of gods. For instance, it contains a narrative of how the ancestral deities of the imperial family Amaterasu and Takagi no Kami 高木神 aid their descendant Jinmu's eastern expedition and reports that after his accession to the throne in Yamato he made a daughter of Ōmononushi no Kami 大物主神 his empress. The account of Sujin Tennō's 崇神天皇 reign reports that Ōmononushi caused many plagues until he was placated through the worship of his direct descendant Ōtataneko 意富多多泥古 resulting in

11. Taniguchi, “Ōkuninushi no kami.”

tranquility for the realm and prosperity for the people. The account of Suinin Tennō's 垂仁天皇 reign reports that the great deity of Izumo had put a curse on the emperor's son Homuchiwake 本牟智和氣 and demanded to be worshipped. Ōjin Tennō's 応神天皇 birth and reign is prophesized by Amaterasu and the three gods of Sumiyoshi 住江. Moreover, before his accession to the throne, Ōjin exchanges names with the deity Kehi no Ōkami 氣比大神. As these examples show, many deities appear in the plot of the second fascicle. However, in all these instances, the deities appear in dreams or through the divine possession of a human; no direct encounter of deity and human occurs.¹² The exception to this rule is Yamatotakeru, who, returning from his western expedition, "subdued and pacified all of the mountain deities, river deities, and deities of the sea-straits" only to be ordered by his father Keikō Tennō 景行天皇 to embark on a further expedition to "subdue and pacify the unruly deities and the unsubmissive people of the twelve regions to the east." During this eastern expedition Yamatotakeru met a large number of deities face to face. Not only are we told that he "subdued and pacified all the unruly mountain and river gods and unsubmissive people," but also that he confronted the deity of the sea crossing at Hashirimizu 走水, the deity of Ashigara 足柄 pass (a white deer), the deity of Shinano 科野 pass, and the deity of Mount Ibuki 伊服岐 (a white boar). How can this exception be explained?

Moreover, if deities are mentioned in other narratives, their appearance is usually related to oracles or worship, whereas Yamatotakeru competes with the deities who cross his way and subdues them. This is also an important difference. There is only one further example in the *Kojiki* of a human subduing deities: the account of Jinmu's eastern expedition is brought to a close with the words "Thus he subdued and pacified the unruly deities and drove off the unsubmissive people..." But is Yamatotakeru in fact a human?

If one pays attention to the expressions used in the recurring phrases about the subjugation of the east and the west, one realizes that deities are included in the standard phrasing of "unsubmissive people" and "unruly deities." Here one can already infer the duality of gods and humans. Apart from that, Yamatotakeru kills the deity of Ashigara pass, who appears before him in the form of a white deer, and subdues the deity of Shinano pass. When he wants to cross an ocean called Hashirimizu, the local sea god hinders his progress by stirring up waves, but Yamatotakeru's wife Ototachibanahime 弟橘比売 appeases the deity's wrath by throwing herself into the waves. Finally, he tries to take the deity of Mount Ibuki (a white boar) with his bare hands

12. One could possibly raise the story of Prince Homuchiwake's marriage with a woman called Hinagahime 肥長比売, related in the account of Suinin's reign, as one example of a direct human-divine encounter. The narrative contains elements of a human-animal marriage tale, since Hinagahime's real form is a snake.

but is instead dazed by the deity, ultimately resulting in his death. Yamatotakeru's defeat in this scene is related to the fact that he left behind the sword Kusanagi 草那芸 at the dwelling of a woman called Miyazuhime 美夜受比売.

In this way, Yamatotakeru is presented as a being who encounters many deities. Might this not be due to the fact that he himself was perceived as a nearly-divine being? However, to subdue deities even Yamatotakeru depended on an object that enabled him to achieve this task. What is needed to subjugate a deity is, of course, an object that is connected to the world of gods—in Yamatotakeru's case, the sword Kusanagi. During his eastern expedition, Jinmu's success also depended on such an object, namely a sword that was sent down from heaven instead of Takemikazuchi no Kami 建御雷神.¹³ The intention that underlies the appearance of the sword Kusanagi in this episode was probably to turn the account of Yamatotakeru's eastern expedition into a narrative of the Ise Shrine's, that is, Amaterasu's divine authority. However, in addition to that, one can also say that since it was a mighty sword that had emerged from the great eight-headed serpent, Kusanagi was deemed a manifestation of power that was necessary in order to subdue a deity.¹⁴ But even so, it probably takes a godlike being to handle such a sword.

In the end, Yamatotakeru was defeated by a deity because he had parted with his sword. Even his demise has a divine quality about it:

Now he changed into a giant white bird that soared into heaven and flew toward the shore.

(Second fascicle, account of Keikō's reign)

After his demise, Yamatotakeru is buried by his wives and children who rush to his side from Yamato. But, as quoted above, he turns into a giant white bird who flies away. The story continues like this:

He flew on from that land and rested at Shiki 志幾 in the land of Kōchi 河内. So they built a tomb at that place in which to lay his soul to rest. They named this tomb White Bird Tomb. But [the bird] yet again soared into heaven and flew away.

(Second fascicle, account of Keikō's reign)

In this way, he ultimately soared into "heaven." This "heaven" is possibly nothing else than the Plain of High Heaven mentioned in the *Kojiki*'s first fascicle as the world of

13. On the significance of this sword in the account of Jinmu's eastern expedition, see Inoue, "Kuni o tairageshi tachi."

14. Taniguchi, *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku*, pp. 249–61.

gods.¹⁵ This conclusion is suggested by some verses, in Yamatotakeru's exchange of songs with Miyazuhime:

But menstrual blood adhered to the hem of Miyazuhime's robe. Noticing this menstrual blood, he sang an august song:

Far off in the firmament
of heavenly Kagu 香具 Mountain
sounding like a sharp sickle
a swan soars across
 as slender and delicate
 as your supple arms.
 Although I wish to use it
 as my pillow...
 Although I desire
 to sleep with you...
 On the hem
 of the robe you are wearing
 the moon has risen.

Then Miyazuhime sang an august song in reply:

O high-shining
prince of the sun,
O my lord
ruling in peace!
 years new as raw gems
 have come and gone,
 moons new as raw gems
 have come and gone.
 Little wonder it is
 that while waiting for you,
 on the robe
 I am wearing
 the moon should rise.

(Second fascicle, account of Keikō's reign)

The part relevant to the present discussion is "Far off in the firmament / of heavenly Kagu Mountain / sounding like a sharp sickle / a swan soars across." The expression "sounding like a sharp sickle" is commonly taken to mean something along the lines of "squawking in a sharp and loud manner."¹⁶ Most annotators agree that this part of

15. The relationship between "heaven" and the "Plain of High Heaven" is discussed in Sunairi, *Yamatotakeru densetsu no kenkyū*, and Obata, "Gen Yamatotakeru monogatari."

16. SNKBZ 1, headnote, p. 229.

the song functions as an introduction to the following verses on Miyazuhime's slender and supple arms. Therefore, the verses "Far off in the firmament / of heavenly Kagu Mountain / sounding like a sharp sickle / a swan soars across" are often viewed as a description of Miyazuhime as well. But this view is questioned by some researchers.¹⁷ Is it not equally possible to view these verses as a description of Yamatotakeru himself? There are other songs, like the divine words of Yachihoko or Ōjin Tennō's song about the crab from Tsunuga 角鹿, in which the speaker begins by calling himself in the third person and later changes to the first person. Especially if one considers Ōjin's song, in which the emperor likens himself to "a crab from far-away Tsunuga," it does not seem unlikely that the verses "sounding like a sharp sickle / a swan soars across" might refer to Yamatotakeru himself. If one reads these verses as foreshadowing Yamatotakeru's later ascent to heaven in the form of a giant white bird, he can in a very real sense be said to soar across "heavenly Kagu Mountain." While Kagu is the name of a mountain situated in Yamato, "heavenly Kagu Mountain" in the *Kojiki* refers to a mountain located in the Plain of High Heaven.¹⁸ To sum up, Yamatotakeru can be understood as a human/deity who has to return to the Plain of High Heaven that still continues to exist in the *Kojiki*'s second fascicle. Due to his position in the *Kojiki*'s plot he could become an ancestral figure of the imperial lineage that after Chūai Tennō's 仲哀天皇 death continued with Ōjin and Nintoku.

Third Fascicle: Nintoku Tennō and Yūryaku Tennō

As mentioned at the outset of this article, the *Kojiki*'s third and last fascicle is commonly thought to depict the age of humans. However, there are aspects in the account of Nintoku, the first emperor described in the third fascicle, that show his deep connection to the age of gods.

First, there is a scene in which Nintoku sings the following song:

When to the glittering
cape of Naniwa 難波
I go and stand
to look over my land,
I behold

17. Yamaji, *Kiki kayō hyōshaku*.

18. Aoki Shūhei argues that because "'heavenly Kagu Mountain' is well known as an important mountain for the imperial family, one can therefore also read this as an expression referring to Yamatotakeru himself as a representative of the imperial family." However, he suggests that the verse "a swan soars across" hints at Miyazuhime. Aoki, *Kodai bungaku no uta to setsuwa*, p. 88. I plan a separate study on Kagu Mountain in the *Kojiki* that also includes the Kagu Mountain mentioned in the scene contained in the first fascicle where Izanami divinely passes away.

Awa 淡 Island,
 Onogoro 於能碁呂 Island,
 Ajimasa 檳榔 Island.
 Remote are the islands I behold.

(Third fascicle, account of Nintoku's reign)

Nintoku sings this song when, in pursuit of a female called Kurohime, who has fled in fear of the empress Iwa no Hime's 石之日売 jealousy, he arrives on Awaji 淡路 Island, from where he surveys the sea. The island of Awa mentioned in this song is the first island Izanagi and Izanami gave birth to, right after the malformed deity Hiruko 水蛭子. The birth of both Hiruko and Awa Island were considered failures and thus they were not included in the number of the two deities' children. Whereas Hiruko was set afloat on the ocean, there is no mention that Awa Island met with the same fate. It can thus be considered to have continued to exist as the earliest-born island. Onogoro Island, in turn, came into being even before the two deities started giving birth to islands and served as the base for this task. It is thus the oldest island of all. That Nintoku surveys these islands should not be taken to mean that islands bearing these names actually existed in Osaka Bay, but rather that Nintoku viewed islands of the mythical world. In other words, the world of gods is superimposed onto the mundane world. Apart from its role in this narrative, this song is thought to have been recited by emperors when they performed the rite of surveying the land (*kunimi* 国見).¹⁹ This is a special occasion that enables the emperor to perceive the islands mentioned in the myths, which are invisible under normal circumstances. But why is this song mentioned in the account of Nintoku's reign? A possible reason is that the song is mentioned at the beginning of the third fascicle in order to emphasize that the divine world and the human world overlap. The tale of Iwa no Hime's jealousy parallels the mythical tale of Suseribime's jealousy towards Ōkuninushi's lovers. The account of Nintoku's reign contains many such passages alluding to the mythical world. Another example is the emperor's exchange of songs with Takechi no Sukune over the auspicious omen of a wild goose laying eggs in Japan. The setting of this scene is the Island of Women (*Onnashima* 女島) mentioned in the myth of Izanagi and Izanami giving birth to lands. The occurrence of such a large number of passages connected to the world of gods cannot be considered a coincidence.

It would not be a correct assessment of the *Kojiki*'s structure to view the second fascicle as describing a world inhabited by both deities and humans, and the third fascicle as describing a world of humans. The *Kojiki* does not draw a sharp line between the two fascicles but rather connects them by hinting at connections with the divine world

19. Tsuchihashi, *Kodai kayō to girei no kenkyū*.

throughout both fascicles. The story of the brothers Akiyama no Shitabiotoko 秋山之下氷壮士 and Haruyama no Kasumiotoko 春山之霞壮士 who competed for the hand of Izushiotome no Kami 伊豆志袁登壳神 can be raised as an example. This story, which is related at the end of the second fascicle, is parallel to the famous myth of Umisachi 海幸 (fortune of the seas) and Yamasachi 山幸 (fortune of the mountains) at the end of the first fascicle insofar as in both cases the younger brother triumphs over his senior. It has been shown that this myth, positioned as it is in a section that bridges the second and third fascicles, also marks a transition from father-son succession to a mode where brothers could succeed to the throne and thus functions as a legitimization for cases in which a younger brother, rather than the oldest, became emperor.²⁰ Aoki Shūhei proposes to subject the mythical contexts throughout the *Kojiki*'s three fascicles to close analysis and suggests that just as the mythical world continues from the first to the second fascicle, it serves as a foundation of the mundane world in the second and third fascicles.²¹ The tale of Akiyama and Haruyama's rivalry, moreover, contains the following description:

Then, when [Haruyama no Kasumiotoko] told his mother of his troubles, his august mother replied, saying: "While we are in this world, we should adopt the ways of the deities. Is it because he has adopted the ways of the green-grass mortals (*utsushiki aohitokusa*) that he does not pay what he owes?"

(Second fascicle, account of Ōjin's reign)

The mother utters these words when she learns that the elder brother refused to give Haruyama the things he had promised him in case he succeeded to marry Izushiotome. She concludes that the elder brother does not give what he has promised his brother since he has adopted the ways of green-grass mortals rather than the ways of the deities, as he was supposed to. In this scene, the green-grass mortals, discussed in the second part of this study, reappear. There is a mutual relationship between gods and green-grass mortals insofar as both are depicted as entities that can influence the elder brother Akiyama's behavior. This suggests that gods and green-grass mortals coexist. Izushiotome, the female for whose favors the two brothers compete, is the daughter of the eight-fold great deity of Izushi 伊豆志 who was brought to Japan by Ame no Hihoko 天之日矛. The story of Ame no Hihoko itself is poorly connected to

20. Fujisawa, "Akiyama no shitabiotoko."

21. Aoki, *Kojiki kenkyū*. In the preface titled "Expressions in the *Kojiki*," he states, "To answer the question how myth is expressed as a logical structure permeating the *Kojiki* through an examination of individual expressions forms the object of the chapters in the first part on 'Myth'" (p. 18). Moreover, he explains, "The basic standpoint of the first part on 'Myth' is to read the whole *Kojiki* as a myth that was written down (put into writing)" (p. 18).

the *Kojiki*'s overall plot. Therefore, it is difficult to place it in the *Kojiki*'s chronology. However, if one considers that Tajimamori, who is mentioned in the account of Nintoku's reign, is a descendant of Ame no Hihoko in the fifth generation and Okinagatarashihime no Mikoto 息長帯比売命 (better known as Jingū Kōgo 神功皇后), a descendant in the seventh generation, Izushiotome can hardly be called a being of the age of gods. The tale of the two brothers Akiyama and Haruyama is presented in a way that makes it impossible to ascribe it completely to either the divine age or the human age. The term *miyo* 御世 (here translated as "this world") in the mother's reply is an expression that is otherwise reserved for the reigns of emperors in the *Kojiki*. From these observations we can infer the validity of the hypothesis that this tale related at the end of the second fascicle serves as a bridge to the third fascicle.

Finally, I want to touch upon Yūryaku Tennō. Yūryaku is often discussed in relation to Yamatotakeru. Certainly, there are many commonalities between the two characters: both kill their elder brother(s), both are called *oguna* 童男 (young man), and the names of both contain the character *take* 建 (Yūryaku is a posthumous name; throughout the text, the emperor is called Ōhatsusewakatakeru no Mikoto 大長谷若建命). But there is one decisive difference between the two: while Yamatotakeru dies before ascending to the throne, Yūryaku becomes emperor by killing one potential imperial heir after the other. There are still many open questions to be solved that are also related to the *Kojiki*'s quality as a literary work, before this crucial difference (despite both characters' inclination to resort to violence) can be explained. Leaving this question aside, Yūryaku is also an emperor who transcends the distinction between gods and humans. This becomes exceedingly apparent in the scene in which he meets the deity Hitokotonushi no Kami 一言主神 (one word master) on Mount Katsuragi 葛城. Even in the second fascicle, which is commonly characterized as depicting the age of gods and humans, Yamatotakeru is the only one who encounters deities face to face, yet Yūryaku, whose reign is contained in the third fascicle, also has a direct encounter with a deity.

On another occasion, when the heavenly sovereign made his majestic way up Mount Katsuragi, the hundred officials in his retinue were all wearing red sashes and blue robes that he had bestowed upon them. At the time, a person came climbing up from the opposite side of the mountain. His majestic retinue was the same as the heavenly sovereign's. Even the manner of garb and the number of people were exactly identical. And so the heavenly sovereign, seeing this, inquired, saying: "There is no other king in the land of Yamato. Who are you to come here in this manner?" Straightaway he replied with the same words as those of the heavenly sovereign.... Hereupon the heavenly sovereign again addressed him, saying: "Declare your name. Then after both

of us have declared their names, let us loose our arrows.” To this, he replied, saying: “Having been asked first, I will give my name first. I am the god who can bring good or ill with a single word, Hitokotonushi no Ōkami of Mount Katsuragi!” The heavenly sovereign now grew fearful and spoke, saying: “I am struck with awe, O my great deity! Since there are ministers of the mortal world (*utsushiomi* 宇都志意美) [in your retinue], I was not aware of your presence.” And so saying, he first removed his mighty great sword and his mighty bow and arrows, and then he had his hundred officials strip off their robes, prostrate themselves before the deity, and make an offering of their garb and gear to him.

(Third fascicle, account of Yūryaku's reign)

There are different interpretations for the term *utsushiomi* appearing in the passage quoted above. According to an old theory, the term signifies “manifest body” (*utsushiōmi* 現し大身) and refers to the manifestation of Hitokotonushi, but this reading has been proved wrong. In contrast to the modern Japanese five-vowel system, ancient texts like the *Kojiki* distinguished between eight different vowels. According to this ancient system, the vowel in *mi* 美 (the character used in the text) does not correspond to the one in *mi* 身 (body). It is therefore not possible that the former character was used as a phonetical representation of the latter meaning. At present, there are two competing hypotheses as to the meaning of the expression. Advocates of the first hypothesis propose the reading “corporeal form” (*utsushiōmi* 現し大霊) and argue that the expression refers to the fact that the deity has appeared in human form.²² Proponents of the second hypothesis take the expression to mean “minister(s) of the mortal world” (*utsushiōmi* 現し大臣) (the Japanese expression makes no distinction between singular and plural). While some supporters of this hypothesis believe that the expression refers to Yūryaku's role as a retainer of Hitokotonushi belonging to the mortal world,²³ others point out that there is no other case in the *Kojiki* of an emperor referring to him- or herself as the retainer of a deity. Therefore, they argue that the expression refers to Hitokotonushi's retinue and take the whole sentence to signify that Yūryaku did not realize he was speaking to a deity since the latter was accompanied by mortal ministers.²⁴ For various reasons, this last reading seems the most convincing and has therefore been adopted in the translation above. That Yūryaku refers to the deity's attendants as “ministers of the mortal world” (*utsushiomi*) rather than just as “ministers” (*omi*) probably signifies their belonging to another dimension (the world of

22. Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, p. 200, headnote.

23. Okumura, “‘Utsusemi’ no gengi.”

24. Mōri, “‘Utsushiomi’ kō”; “‘Utsushiomi’ to ‘utsusemi.’”

humans) as seen from the perspective of a deity. If this conclusion is correct, the term *utsushi* is used in the same way as in the first and second fascicles. In other words, the expression *utsushi* is employed in the *Kojiki*, when the world of gods and the world of humans touch.

Concluding Remarks

In this article, I have examined the multilayered character of the divine world and the human world. In conclusion, I want to touch upon some of the characteristics shared by the deities and humans discussed in this article.

Yamatotakeru, Nintoku, and Yūryaku are all referred to as “prince of the sun” (*hi no miko* 日の御子) in songs.

(1) Yamatotakeru: See page 16 of this article.

(2) Nintoku Tennō:

O high-shining
prince of the sun
 how fitting it is
 for you to ask this,
 truly well it is
 for you to ask this,
 for I am the longest-lived
 in this age.
 In the sky-filled
 land of Yamato
 of wild goose eggs
 have I never heard.

(Third fascicle, account of Nintoku’s reign, the wild goose egg)

(3) Yūryaku Tennō:

In Makimuku 纏向 lies
 the palace of Hishiro 日代.
 It is a palace where shines
 the morning sun,
 a palace where gleams
 the evening sun.
 ...
 This is what it is
 that fills me with awe,
o high-shining
prince of the sun!

Of this same affair
is a tale told in words
such as these.

(Third fascicle, account of Yūryaku's reign, song of a court lady from Mie)

This appellation sets those three apart from other emperors as something special. This leads to the question why this appellation was granted to Yamatotakeru, who never became emperor in the first place. However, if we consider “prince of the sun” as a special appellation referring to persons that are connected to the world of gods, Yamatotakeru's inclusion in the list becomes understandable. Ōkuninushi, on the other hand, is presented as a person who ruled the earth before the advent of the imperial family.²⁵ As the first ruler of the earth, Ōkuninushi is depicted as a being with human-like elements in the world of gods. In contrast, Yamatotakeru, Nintoku, and Yūryaku are depicted as persons with god-like elements or with the ability to establish a connection to the world of gods. In the *Kojiki*, the world of gods and the world of humans appear to be overlapping. However, this does not mean that anyone can freely go back and forth between the two worlds, but rather that there are special persons who can on special occasions cross back and forth between the worlds. But it must be emphasized that the *Kojiki* is characterized by a three-layered structure of “deities, emperors, humans” or, perhaps, “deities—emperors/humans.” This makes it difficult to press the cosmos depicted in the *Kojiki* into the dichotomy “world of gods / world of humans.” This particular point will be a topic for future research.

(Translated by David Weiss)

REFERENCES

Abbreviation

SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakukan, 1994–2001.

Other Sources

Antoni, Klaus, trans. *Kojiki: Aufzeichnung alter Begebenheiten*. Berlin: Insel Verlag, 2012.

Aoki Shūhei 青木周平. *Kojiki kenkyū: Uta to shinwa no bungakuteki hyōgen* 古事記研究—歌と神話の文学的表現. Ōfū, 1994.

25. Aoki Shūhei, moreover, argues that Ōkuninushi shares some of the characteristics of the “princes of the sun.” Aoki, *Kodai bungaku no uta to setsuwa*.

- Aoki Shūhei. *Kodai bungaku no uta to setsuwa* 古代文学の歌と説話. Wakakusa Shobō, 2000.
- Fujisawa Tomoyoshi 藤澤友祥. “Akiyama no shitabiotoko to Haruyama no kasumiotoko: Shinwa no kinō to ‘Kojiki’ no jikanjiku” 秋山之下氷壮夫と春山之霞壮夫—神話の機能と『古事記』の時間軸. *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka kiyō* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 54:3 (2008), pp. 23–34.
- Heldt, Gustav, trans. *The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Inoue Hayato 井上隼人. “‘Kuni o tairageshi tachi’ juju no igi: ‘Kojiki’ Takakuraji no kenkendan no kōsatsu” 「国を平らげし横刀」授受の意義—『古事記』高倉下の献剣段の考察. *Kodai bungaku* 古代文学 52 (2012), pp. 66–73.
- Kobayashi Masami 小林真美. “‘Mihitaki no okina’ no zōkei: ‘Kojiki’ ni okeru jikan no byōshutsu o megutte” 「御火焼之老人」の造型—『古事記』における時間の描出をめぐる. *Nihon bungaku ronkyū* 日本文学論究 61 (2002), pp. 38–47.
- Kojiki* 古事記. SNKBZ, vol. 1.
- Mōri Masamori 毛利正守. “‘Utsushiomi’ kō” 「宇都志意美」考. *Man’yō* 萬葉 74 (1970), pp. 28–41.
- Mōri Masamori. “‘Utsushiomi’ to ‘utsusemi, utsusomi’ kō” 「うつしおみ」と「うつせみ・うつそみ」考. In vol. 10 of *Man’yō gobun kenkyū* 萬葉語文研究, ed. Man’yō Gogaku Bungaku Kenkyūkai 萬葉語学文学研究会, pp. 1–37. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2014.
- Nakamura Hirotochi 中村啓信, trans. *Shinpan Kojiki: Gendai goyaku tsuki* 新版古事記—現代語訳付き. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2009.
- Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民, ed. *Kojiki* 古事記. Rev. ed. Ōfū, 2000.
- Obata Kiichirō 尾畑喜一郎. “Gen Yamatotakeru monogatari o megutte: Minzoku to reki-shi no shiten kara” 原ヤマトタケル物語をめぐる—民俗と歴史の視点から. *Jōdai bungaku* 上代文学 56 (1986), pp. 22–37.
- Okumura Norikazu 奥村紀一. “‘Utsusemi’ no gengi” 「うつせみ」の原義. *Kokugo kokubun* 国語国文 52:11 (1983), pp. 34–50.
- Onoda Mitsuo 小野田光雄, ed. *Shohon shūsei Kojiki* 諸本集成古事記. Vol. 1. Benseisha, 1981.
- Philippi, Donald, trans. *Kojiki*. University of Tokyo Press, 1968.
- Sunairi Tsuneo 砂入恒夫. *Yamatotakeru densetsu no kenkyū* ヤマトタケル伝説の研究. Kindai Bungeisha, 1983.
- Taniguchi Masahiro 谷口雅博. “Ōkuninushi no kami no ‘mata no na’ kisai no igi” 大国主神の「亦名」記載の意義. In vol. 37 of *Ronshū jōdai bungaku* 論集上代文学, ed. Man’yōshichiyōkai 万葉七曜会, pp. 67–86. Kasama Shoin, 2016.
- Taniguchi Masahiro. *Kojiki no hyōgen to bunmyaku* 古事記の表現と文脈. Ōfū, 2008.
- Tsuchihashi Yutaka 土橋寛. *Kodai kayō to girei no kenkyū* 古代歌謡と儀礼の研究. Iwanami Shoten, 1965.
- Yamaji Heishirō 山路平四郎. *Kiki kayō hyōshaku* 記紀歌謡評釈. Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1973.

On the Folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*: Classical Tellings and Worldwide Comparisons

HANABE HIDEO

Keywords: *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*, folktales, folktale types, *setsuwa*, *monogatari*, international comparison, Buddhism's eastward expansion, regional characteristics

Introduction

THE folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* (“Yome no koshi ni ushi” 嫁の輿に牛, in *Nihon mukashibanashi taisei* 日本昔話大成 [Collection of Japanese Folktales]; “Ushi no yome-iri” 牛の嫁入り or “The Ox's Marriage” in *Nihon mukashibanashi tsūkan* 日本昔話通観 [Survey of Japanese Folktales]) is similar in its motifs to Japanese textual materials and tales recorded in the Aarne-Thompson Index (an international catalogue of folktale types) under the type “The Lecherous Holy Man and the Maiden in a Box” (AT896). The former are found in medieval collections of *setsuwa* 説話 (parables), such as *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (Sand and Pebbles) and *Ōdanshū* 雑談集 (Miscellaneous Discussions), and in collections of *monogatari* 物語 (narrative tales), such as the *otogizōshi* 御伽草子 (prose narrative) *Sasayaki-dake* ささやき竹 (Sasayaki Bamboo).¹

The story goes as follows. A Buddhist priest, seeing for the first time a beautiful young woman who has come to a temple to pray, comes up with a strategy to make her his wife. The strategy is half-successful, and she is brought to the temple in a carriage. However, on the way, when the person leading the cart steps away from it, a lord (*tono-sama* 殿様) who happens to be passing by switches the young woman with an ox and takes her as his wife. The ox that is brought to the temple goes on a rampage.

* This article is a translation of Hanabe Hideo 花部英雄, “Mukashibanashi ‘Yome no koshi ni ushi’ no kenkyū: Koten oyobi sekai to no hikaku” 昔話「嫁の輿に牛」の研究—古典および世界との比較—, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌 120:3 (2019), pp. 19–32.

1. Translator's note: In this paper, the author refers to *setsuwa* and *monogatari* as “classical” tellings.

Research on this folktale has primarily been carried out by scholars of medieval Japanese literature. They have focused on presenting various versions and their differences and similarities, as well as the divinities, shrines, temples, localities, and figures that appear in the story. Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次 (1911–2004), who was a leading authority on medieval *monogatari* and *setsuwa*, pointed out in *Mikan chūsei shōsetsu kaidai* 未刊中世小説解題 (Explanatory Notes on Unpublished Medieval Stories, 1942) the similarity between *Sasayaki-dake* and related *setsuwa* collections. This was followed by the research of Nagai Yoshinori 永井義憲² and Sawai Taizō 沢井耐三.³ The former presented a previously unnoticed but similar story in *Shūrin shūyōshō* 鷺林拾葉鈔. While presenting his view that the story was told in the context of sermons on the *Lotus Sutra*, highlighting the story's character “Saka-no-mono” 坂ノ者 of Kiyomizudera 清水寺, he hypothesizes that it can be traced back to the Heian period (794–1185). However, the ground for concluding this is weak.

The temple/divinities that the young woman and/or her close family members visit vary between versions. In *Shasekishū* we find Jizō Bosatsu 地藏菩薩 (Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva), in *Ōdanzhū* Kuramadera 鞍馬寺, in *Shūrin shūyōshō* Kiyomizudera, and in *Jizō bosatsu reigenki* 地藏菩薩靈驗記 Mibu Jizō 壬生地蔵. The different settings of similar *setsuwa* are probably related to the backgrounds against which these works came into existence. If the abovementioned temples were related to the management of these *setsuwa*, then this might be due to the involvement of the religious professionals that resided at them. However, here I will only raise this issue and not explore it further.

Above, I have noted developments in Japanese literature research based on materials in which stories similar to this folktale are recorded. However, research based on oral transmissions inside and outside of Japan lags behind, and only Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠 and Matsubara Hideichi 松原秀一 introduce versions of it.⁴ Minakata draws from his extensive knowledge to introduce similar stories from *Nansō satomi hak-kenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (Eight Dog Chronicles), China's *Yōyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang; Jp. *Tūyō zasso*), India's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Ocean of the Streams of Stories; Jp. *Katāsarittosāgara*), and elsewhere. Matsubara introduces a similar story from France's *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (One Hundred New Tales). However, in the second half of this story, the young woman is not switched out from the cart, and, furthermore, a lecherous holy man deceives her into thinking that she is carrying the child of God. In this way, the second half of the story develops a Christian-influenced

2. Nagai, “Kōkyō dangi to setsuwa.”

3. Sawai, *Otogizōshi*.

4. Minakata, “Bijin no kawari ni mōjū”; Matsubara, *Chūsei no setsuwa: Higashi to nishi no deai*, pp. 150–90.

motif. Matsubara then seeks out similar *contes* from European sources and engages in a comparative discussion of them.

The aim of this paper is to engage in an international comparison of the folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*. First, after comparing the characteristics of this folktale and Japanese *setsuwa/monogatari*, I will carry out a comparative analysis with similar tales from overseas. I have adopted this approach because medieval Japanese tales of lust—which are from a specific time and place—might be able to play a mediating and enhancing role in comparisons between this Japanese folktale and similar tales from other countries, an endeavor that investigates growth process and transmission of these folktales while making clear their regional characteristics.⁵

An Ox in the Bride's Carriage and Setsuwa/Monogatari

MATERIALS FOR COMPARISON AND TABLES

In table 1, I have listed *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*-type *setsuwa/monogatari* and the *rakugo* comic storytelling piece *Otama ushi* お玉牛, as well as fifteen folktale versions of this story. While this is not many folktale versions, it is an adequate number for comparative purposes. Looking at their distribution, there is a good number from the Tohoku area and the Amami Islands, and few from central or western Japan. At first glance the folktales appear to be different from medieval *setsuwa/monogatari* in terms of their themes, motifs, and development. However, historically they have had a deep relationship, and here I have ventured to include them in the same table, partially in order to make their differences apparent.

From its title, the *rakugo* piece *Otama ushi* appears to have been composed with the *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* folktales and *setsuwa/monogatari* serving as a foundation. The story is as follows. The playboy Shigehira brags about having won over the highly regarded beauty Otama and how he was going on a nocturnal tryst to see her. On the day of the tryst, a family member puts a calf in her bedding. Shigehira sneaks in and, in the darkness, caresses and praises its horns, hair, and skin. However, in the end the calf shakes off the futon and dashes away. The following day, his friend asks Shigehira if he made Otama gasp, to which he replies no, adding the excuse, “I made her moo.” This is the punch line. While it is more of a parody of *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* than a similar story, I have included it here as an example of an early modern transformation of this story. In fact, this is the same as folktale no. 15, and the phrase “I thought it was her gray hair but it was a cow!” in folktale no. 18 is related to *rakugo* as well. Also, the incident in the bedding found in the above *rakugo* piece is also the same as the climax scene in the

5. Aarne, *Mukashibanashi no hikaku kenkyū*.

Table 1. *Yōme no koshi ni ushi*. Made by the author.

	SETSUWA/MONO-GATARI OR AREA OF TRANSMISSION	MAIN CHARACTER	OCCASION	DECEIVER	STRATEGY
1	<i>Shasekishū</i>	Young Woman	Jizō worship	Young Buddhist priest	Whispers near her ear “the first man”
2	<i>Ōdangshū</i>	Noble young woman	Visit to Kurama-dera	Kurama priest	Instructs her as deity to marry temple priest
3	<i>Jizō bosatsu reigenki</i>	Hikohime	Visiting Mibu Jizō	Passionate Buddhist priest	Using bamboo tube, “the first man ...”
4	<i>Shūrin shūyōshō</i>	Woman	Kiyomizu visit	Buddhist priest	Using bamboo tube, “the first man ...”
5	<i>Sasayaki-dake</i> (Pattern I)	Noble young woman	Kurama cherry blossom viewing	Superintendent (<i>bettō</i> 別当)	Using bamboo tube, as deity instructs her to marry superintendent
6	<i>Sasayaki-dake</i> (Pattern II)	Noble young woman	Summoning high monk to request prayers	Saikō-bō	Instructs her from a bamboo tube to marry Saikō-bō
7	<i>Otama ushi</i> (<i>rakugo</i>)	Otama	Young woman’s gossip	Shigehira	Forced nocturnal tryst
8	Kizukuri, Aomori	Sanko	n/a	Rich person	Gets her as bride using pressure
9	Tsuchibuchi, Tōno, Iwate	Young woman	n/a	Buddhist priest from neighboring village	Give daughter and 50 <i>ryō</i> to temple
10	Itoyo, Kitakami, Iwate	Elder sister	n/a	Buddhist priest	Give daughter and 50 <i>ryō</i> to temple
11	Kotooka, Yamamoto, Akita	Young woman	Comes to temple hall to pray for marriage	Superintendent (<i>bettō</i> 別当)	Give her to temple’s superintendent

	SUCCESSFUL ²	RESCUER	REPLACEMENT	ENDING	SOURCE
1	No	Samurai Buddhist priest	n/a	Freed from curse	<i>Shasekishū</i>
2		Lieutenant General (<i>chūjō</i> 中將)	Calf	Calf rampage	<i>Ōdanshū</i>
3	Yes	Feudal Lord (<i>daimyō</i> 大名)	Calf	Calf rampage	<i>Jizō bosatsu reigenki</i>
4	No	Rich person	n/a	Marries daughter of Saka-no-mono	<i>Shūrin shūyōshō</i>
5		Kunai Shōyū	Calf	Calf rampage	<i>Sasayaki-dake A</i>
6		Regent (<i>kanpaku</i> 関白)	Ox	Ox goes on a rampage, stampeding through a crowd	<i>Sasayaki-dake B</i>
7		n/a	Ox	Sharing a bed with an ox	<i>Otama ushi (rakugo)</i>
8		Lord (<i>tono-sama</i> 殿様)	Calf	Young woman becomes wife of lord, ox goes to her parent's house	<i>Kizukurimachi no mugashikoshū</i>
9		Lord	Calf	Young woman returns, ox goes to her parent's house	<i>Tōno no mukashi- banashi</i>
10		Lord	Calf	Returns ox to her par- ent's house	<i>Suneko, tanpako</i>
11		Master (<i>ŷakata- sama</i> 屋形様)	Ox	Young woman returns, ox goes to her parent's house	<i>Akita mugashiko</i>

	<i>SETSUWA/MONO-GATARI</i> OR AREA OF TRANSMISSION	MAIN CHARACTER	OCCASION	DECEIVER	STRATEGY
12	Bizuka, Shinjo, Yamagata	Young woman	Buddhist priest called for Buddhist service	Buddhist priest	Hand over to temple for bad fortune exorcism
13	Nishizao, Nagaoka, Niigata	Young woman	Praying to mountain god for marriage	Dim-witted person	First man you meet on the way home
14	Yamanashi	Elder's daughter	Praying to tutelary deity	The peasant Gonbē	Give daughter to Gonbē
15	Mitsu, Okayama	Young peasant woman	Gave in due to repeated visits	Young person	Slips into young woman's bedding
16	Kotoura, Tottori	Young woman	Praying to hall of fortune	Hall caretaker	Give her to the caretaker
17	Yatsuka, Matsue, Shimane	Elder's daughter	Praying to tutelary deity	Young Buddhist priest	Man who comes to shrine's land should marry into your family
18	Kagawa	Elder's daughter	n/a	n/a	n/a
19	Kikaijima, Kagoshima	Woman	Woman makes vow to a god	Young man	Become the young man's wife
20	Naze, Kagoshima	Young woman	Goes herself to temple to pray	Priest	Become priest's wife
21	Naze, Kagoshima	Beautiful woman from village	n/a	Priest	Come to be my wife in a large box
22	Kohamajima, Taketomi, Okinawa	Young woman	To talk about daughter finding a marriage partner	Buddhist monk from China	Give your daughter to the monk to extend her life

	SUCCESSFUL?	RESCUER	REPLACEMENT	ENDING	SOURCE
12		Lord	Ox	Young woman becomes wife of lord, ox goes to her parent's house	<i>Shinjō no mukashibanashi</i>
13	Yes	Lord	Calf	Young woman becomes wife of lord, ox goes to her parent's house	<i>Obaba no mukashibanashi</i>
14		Bandit	Calf	Ox rampages	<i>Kai mukashibanashishū</i>
15		n/a	Ox	Runs away upon hearing "moo"	<i>Okayama-ken Mitsugun mukashibanashishū</i>
16		Samurai	Calf	The ox does not return to the young woman	<i>Daisen hokuroku no mukashibanashi</i>
17	Yes	Lord	Calf	Young woman becomes lord's wife	<i>Hiruzen bonchi no mukashibanashi</i>
18		Man	Calf	"I thought it was her gray hair but it was a cow!"	<i>Nishi Sanuki chihō mukashibanashishū</i>
19		Lord	Unweaned calf	Unweaned calf goes on a rampage	<i>Kagoshima-ken Kikaijima mukashibanashishū</i>
20		Child of lord (<i>dono</i> 殿)	Brown ox	Young woman goes to lord, brown ox goes to her parent's house	<i>Fukushima Naomatsu mukashibanashishū</i>
21		n/a	Young horse	Young horse goes on a rampage	<i>Hisanaga Naomatsu ōna no mukashibanashi</i>
22		Young samurai	Calf	Cow is reunited with daughter at theater	<i>Okinawa no mukashibanashi</i>

classical telling *Sasayaki-dake* (Pattern II),⁶ in which the priest pats the inside of the tub while praising the young woman (the ox). This is truly an interesting point in terms of comparisons between oral tradition culture and literature/the arts.

When creating the table, I first divided the story's constituent elements into two parts: the first part that consists of the "deception" to get the young woman, and the second part that consists of her being "replaced" in the box with an ox and rescued. Then, I added the "occasion" that led the young woman to become the target of the deceiver, and the "conclusion" that follows the whole incident.

THE "OCCASION" AND "DECEPTION FOR MARRIAGE"

Next, I will go through this table to discuss notable content found in the story's constituent elements. Despite temples playing such a significant role in the "occasion" part of classical *setsuwa* and *monogatari* that one is led to assume that the *setsuwa* were managed by temples, in folktale versions one finds Shinto gods more than temples, as well as some folktales without an "occasion" part. In these latter cases there is no scheming: the suitor is intimidating, directly demanding money and the young woman. Despite temples playing a small role overall in such stories, the priest's attitude is, in contrast, arrogant. It appears that from the beginning the storytellers intended to have the priest play the evil role of a deceiver.

However, when, for example, a young village person is the deceiver, he carries out a deceptive act that involves scheming. These are the same as the strategies in classic tellings: hiding in the shadows of the gods/buddhas and saying one's own name, instructing a young woman to go to a specific place or through the temple on a specific route and then going there before her. In some cases, this works, and in others it does not. I have indicated this under the "Successful?" column. For example, in numbers 3, 13, and 17 in the table, the woman does as the deceiver instructs, the latter gets the former, and he brings her to an appointed place in a carriage. In contrast, in numbers 1 and 4, the strategy is unsuccessful: the woman meets another man before the deceiver, who goes off with her. Therefore, the subsequent development of the young woman being replaced with a cow does not appear. These two stories are a little unnatural when seen from how the story forms. For example, the subsequent development changes greatly. This form probably was the result of changes made later to these versions in an effort to make them stand out.

6. The *Sasayaki-dake monogatari* ささやき竹物語 (held by Iwase Bunko 岩瀬文庫) in *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisho* 室町時代物語大成, vol. 6, is a comparatively shorter Pattern I, and the *Sasayaki-dake* ささやき竹 (formerly held by the Akagi Bunko 赤木文庫 in the same volume) is a Pattern II longer version. Yokoyama and Matsumoto, *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisho*.

Incidentally, in numbers 12 and 22, we find a strategy that does not appear in classical tellings: the ox and woman are summoned so that an exorcism can be carried out to remove bad fortune. I will touch upon this again when engaging in an international comparison.

“RESCUE” AND THE MEANING OF THE OX

Of the constitutive elements of the rescue motif found in the latter half of the story, let us first turn to the “rescuer.” In the story’s classical tellings, the rescuer is presented under the commonly used name for an authority figure of the era. In contrast, in the case of folktales the rescuers are always either lords or samurai. It appears that narrators imagined the story against the backdrop of the Edo period (1603–1868). Also, the woman is almost always replaced with a calf (ox). Medieval *setsuwa*/*monogatari* and folktales are the same on this point. This constitutive element only being an ox is something that does not change regardless of the era, and is a unique characteristic of Japanese tellings compared to those of other countries.

Finally, let us turn to characteristics of the conclusion. Excluding numbers 1 and 4, which do not have a “replacement” part, the *setsuwa* and *monogatari* have a happy ending, with the women marrying a high-status man. In contrast, the temple priest incurs considerable loss, being unable to control the rampaging ox. Turning to folktales, six of them (8, 12, 13, 17, 20, 22) clearly state that the woman becomes the wife of the lord. In two of them (9, 11) the woman returns to her parent’s home, and in six of them the priest sends the woman back to her parent’s house because she had turned into an ox (8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 20). When seen from the numbers, we cannot say that the folktales are particularly concerned with the young woman’s marriage. In relation to this, in one story (22), this is followed by the calf being raised at the parental house of the young woman who returned and the ox being reunited with the daughter.

In classical tellings, the rampaging ox is quite a nuisance, but folktales demonstrate a strong interest in the whereabouts of the calf. We can see this as having come from the reality in which people lived: they raised oxen and used them for agriculture. In the background to a single *setsuwa* or folktale are people’s actual daily lives that are deeply related to them. Extra caution should be exercised with regard to easy desk work-like judgments that ignore this.

Plot Developments in *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* Around the World

When engaging in an international comparison of folktales/*setsuwa*, due to the issue of different languages being used, one must make clear the criteria for recognizing similar stories. Therefore, here my basic criteria are the existence of the deception and rescue motifs. These motifs appear in a variety of contexts and also vary greatly

Table 2. *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* around the world. Made by the author.

	REGION	COUNTRY/SOURCE	BEGINNING	
			MAIN CHARACTER	OCCASION
1	East Asia	Korea/ <i>Kin Tokujin mukashibanashishū</i>	<i>Yangban</i> young woman	Listening to the young woman's gossip
2	East Asia	China/ <i>Yūyō zasso</i> , vol. 11	Mo's daughter	n/a
3	Tibet/Mongolia	Russia/ <i>Hoppō minzoku no minwa</i>	Young woman	Prays at monastery
4	Tibet/Mongolia	Mongolia/ <i>Shiddi-kūru</i>	Young woman	Praying at Avalokiteśvara Hall
5	Tibet/Mongolia	Tibet/ <i>Chibetto no shiki yonjūnanawa</i>	Young woman	Praying at Avalokiteśvara Hall
6	East Asia	Vietnam/ <i>Sekai no minwa: Ajia II</i>	Young woman	Young woman visits temple
7	India	India/ <i>Katāsarittosāgara</i>	Merchant's daughter	Mendicancy
8	India	India/ <i>Sekai minwa zenshū, Indo-hen</i>	Young woman	Young woman's marriage consultation
9	Europe	Bulgaria/ <i>Sekai no minwa: Tōō</i>	Bride	n/a
10	Europe	France/ <i>Sekai no minwa: Nan'ō</i>	Female servant	n/a
11	Europe	United Kingdom/ <i>Sekai no minwa: Igirisu</i>	Tailor	Plum-eating promise

	DECEPTION TO MARRY			RESCUE		CONCLUSION	NOTES
	DECEIVER	STRATEGY	SUCCESSFUL?	RESCUER	REPLACEMENT		
1	Buddhist monk	Carries the woman away in a chest of drawers	n/a	Group of hunters	Tiger		
2	Buddhist monk	(Taken by robber)	n/a	Prince of Ning	Bear	Monk eaten by bear	
3	Poor man	In the shadow of a Buddhist statue, "first visitor"	Yes	Khan boy	Tiger	Tiger rips him up	Young woman's background investigated
4	Poor man	Hides in shadow of Buddhist statue, "first visitor"	Yes	Khan prince	Tiger	Eaten by tiger	Young woman's background investigated
5	Poor man	Hide behind Avalokitesvara, "first visitor"	Yes	Neighboring country's prince	Tiger	Eaten by tiger	Young woman's background investigated
6	Merchant Mon	Temple spirit tells her to marry Mon	n/a	Hunting prince	Tiger	Tiger comes out of basket	
7	Ascetic	Releases young women's basket into river to eliminate bad fortune	n/a	Prince	Monkey	Bitten	
8	Islamic clergy member	Black box released into river due to instructions in dream	n/a	Neighboring country's prince	Hunting dog	Dog bites and kills	
9	Cunning person	Bride replaced with corpse	n/a	Wedding ceremony witness	Female dog	Bites man's nose	Beans/chicken/pig/ox exchange
10	Turlendu	Exchanges mule for female servant	n/a	Person from inn	Dog	Bites man's nose	Louse/chicken/pig/ox exchange
11	Demon	Offers tailor to demon	n/a	Cowherd	Male goat	Small demon is injured	Promise to demon

in degree. However, since differences show the characteristics of areas, I have kept my criteria loose. Also, following the previous section, I have broken down eleven texts into their constituent elements to create table 2. I have divided the table into four regions (East Asia, Tibet/Mongolia, India, and Europe) and will go through and explain the stories falling under each of them.

EAST ASIA

Here, I have included Vietnam in addition to Korea and China as it is not only part of the Chinese character cultural sphere but also due to the similar content of the folktales. Incidentally, if I may go on a brief tangent, about three years ago I resided in Hanoi, Vietnam, for a month. In preparation for my trip I read Japanese translations of Vietnamese folktales and was surprised to come across one that was very similar to Japan's *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*. This is what led me to engage in comparative research on the subject. The story goes as follows.

An unmarried young woman goes to a temple and prays to marry a high-ranking government bureaucrat. The merchant Mon finds out about this, and, pretending to be a temple spirit, arrogantly tells her to marry him. The young woman becomes determined to marry Mon, looks for him, and tells him about the temple spirit's words. When Mon, having put the young woman in a basket, is carrying her to his house, he encounters a prince going hunting. Putting the basket by the side of the road, Mon hides in the bushes. The prince opens the basket to find the young woman, asks her what happened, takes her as his wife, and puts a tiger in the basket. Mon returns home carrying the basket. He has his mother engage in marriage preparations, and, upon opening the basket, a tiger comes out.⁷

While the Vietnamese story's deceiver is a calculating merchant, in the Korean and Chinese versions he is a devious Buddhist monk. In these versions there is no deception involved. All of a sudden, he violently kidnaps the young woman. However, when being transported, a hunter or the Prince of Ning, an actual historical figure, takes away the young woman, replacing her with a tiger or bear, and the story ends mercilessly, with the monk being eaten. The Chinese *Yuyang zazu* is a ninth-century (Tang dynasty, 618–907) book by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803–863). This indicates that already from around this time there was a rescuer motif.

TIBET AND MONGOLIA

Tibet and Mongolia, located at the edge of Central Asia, as well as the northern peoples of Russia and Siberia, are centered around nomadism and oasis agriculture.

7. *Tera no sei*.

Perhaps due to their shared regional environment, their stories are similar. It is even possible that they are directly related, belonging to the same genealogy.

The story is as follows. A poor man eavesdrops on a couple's conversation, and the following day hides in the shadows of an Avalokiteśvara statue before they come to the Avalokiteśvara Hall. When they arrive, he says, "Tomorrow, give your daughter to the first man that visits." Having successfully acquired the daughter and wealth, he puts her in a box and brings her back to his village. First, he buries the box and returns to his house, saying that he's going to carry out a ritual to become rich. A prince who passes by the buried box shoots an arrow into the now black mound of sand, and rescues the young woman from the box into which the arrow had stuck. He replaces her with a tiger, and leaves. Not knowing this, the man brings the box to his house and opens it. The tiger jumps out and eats the man.

Subsequently the young woman becomes a queen, has three children, and is living happily. However, retainers come to have doubts about the queen's background. Troubled, she returns to her hometown to escape the castle. She finds her parent's house surrounded by a grand palace and temple. Her younger brother and parents welcome her. The retainers who went with her see this and return to the castle. The following day she awakens, but the palace and temple are gone—they were illusions. The queen is able to restore her prestige and again returns to the castle to live.⁸

In real-world background to this sequel-like part, a strong social status system may have existed in which people married those fit for their social status. This development probably ensured that this story felt realistic in this area, and in this sense, we might be able to say that it shows regional inland Eurasian characteristics of *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*. Incidentally, *Siddhi-Kür*,⁹ which includes this story's Mongolian telling, is the Mongolian version of India's *Vetalapañcavimsati* (Twenty-Five Tales of the Corpse Demon).¹⁰ There are also multiple Tibetan versions. However, this story is not included in the Indian and Tibetan versions and it was probably subsequently added. It is quite possible that there were Buddhism-mediated influences between Indian, Tibetan, and Mongolian *setsuwa*.

Nishiwaki Takao 西脇隆夫, who recently translated *Siddhi-Kür*, introduces at the end of the volume similar stories to those contained therein, including some similar to *A Bride in the Ox's Cart*. While I did not include them here because they are only summaries, there is no doubt that in countries surrounding China there are many versions of this story and it was widely adopted.

8. *Musume no Hemapuradēpu*.

9. Nishiwaki, *Shiddi, küru: Mongoru setsuwashū*.

10. *Shiki nijūgo wa*.

INDIA

At an early stage, this story was included in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which was compiled around the middle ages. It is as follows. An ascetic who is engaging in the practice of silence visits the house of a rich merchant to beg for food. Seeing the merchant's beautiful daughter who had brought him food, he speaks, in spite of himself. When the merchant asks why, the ascetic replies that it is because an inauspicious sign appears on the daughter, and informs the merchant that if he does not put the woman in a black box with a torch attached and release it into the Ganges River at night, his family will be destroyed. The merchant does as he is told. A prince who had come to bathe then finds the box, and opens it to reveal a beautiful young woman. Disciples sent by the ascetic then pick up the box and deliver it to him. However, the prince has replaced the young woman with a monkey, and the monkey comes out and bites the ascetic.

This is a comical plot, and the actions of the characters are depicted vividly. In this story the ascetic informs the family that their daughter has an inauspicious appearance, and plots to make her his own. In Japanese folktales we also find it said that the young woman and ox have an inauspicious appearance. With that said, I do not intend to try and show based on this that the story came from India to Japan. This element exists probably because in both India and Japan priests and the like would treat people with inauspicious signs. I see this similarity as being due to the stories matching people's actual lives.

As can be seen by the telling included in the likes of *Sekai minwa zenshū*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story is still found in India today. Also, according to the explanation by Iwamoto Yutaka 岩本裕 in the same book, it is also found near Ceylon.¹¹ The transmission situation in India serves as a great reference when thinking about Japan.

EUROPE

Lastly, turning to European versions, one finds that they differ greatly in content than those we have seen above. They do not contain the first part's deception motif and the rescue motif also differs. In all of the European versions, a cunning person demands that various things be exchanged for something he holds, and the bride (female servant, demon) that he had acquired as his final exchange is replaced with an animal. The content of France's *Turlendu* [*Dururandu* in Japanese] is as follows.

The cunning Turlendu leaves a louse at an inn. It is eaten by a hen, and he demands the hen. At the next inn, the hen is eaten by a pig, and he receives the pig. This pig dies from being kicked by a mule, and he receives the mule. When a female servant mistakenly drops this mule in a well and kills it, he receives the female servant,

11. Iwamoto, *Sekai minwa zenshū*.

and has an inn hold onto a bag into which he has placed her. The owner of the inn replaces the female servant with a dog, and upon opening the bag at his home a dog comes out, and bites his nose.¹²

This development is the same as Japan's *Warashibe chōja* 藁しべ長者 (The Straw Millionaire).¹³ However, this is a story of success in which the main character replaces one item for another. In the case of France, it is a tale of failure with a surprise ending that results from the woman being replaced.

In the Bulgarian story (9), the cunning person acquires a bride by making a fuss that a participant in a wedding ceremony, who had knocked down a corpse he had propped up, actually killed the person. However, in the end she is replaced with a female dog. The trick of propping up a corpse and then making a fuss that it had died after it is pushed over matches the Japanese folktale *Chie aridono* 智恵有殿 (The Lord with Wisdom).

In the case of the UK (11), the character is eating a plum and says that if they eat more they would not care if they are kidnapped by a demon, thereby digging their own grave. When a demon is about to take his life, he is replaced with a male goat thanks to the quick wit of a cow herd. It concludes with the goat going on a rampage and the demons having a terrible time. The above is based on the *Sekai no minwa* 世界の民話 (World Folktales) series, and I have referred to Ozawa Toshio's 小沢俊夫 explanations therein.¹⁴

The examples from Europe greatly differ from the Asian *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*. The replacement motif is used in the last part of a pattern in a cumulative tale.¹⁵ While we cannot say that these stories directly influenced each other, perhaps ideas arising from people's actual daily lives are in the background.

The Folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*: International Comparison

Above, I have compared the content of the *setsuwa/monogatari* and folktale tellings of *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* in Japan, as well as with folktales from around the world of the same type and with the same motifs. Based on this, I would like to try and trace the process of this folktale's birth, growth, and movement from the perspective of its emergence, themes, and transmission.

12. *Dururandu*.

13. *Konjaku monogatari*shū.

14. Ozawa, *Sekai no minwa: Kaisetsu hen*.

15. Saitō, "Ruisseki mukashibanashi to wa nani ka."

THE FOLKTALE'S EMERGENCE

Generally speaking, it is nearly impossible to decide when and where folktales emerge. This is due to them having been orally told by a large number of now nameless individuals and not being written down unless there was some need to do so. This is also the case for *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage*.

However, if we consider this issue in terms of probability, we could say that it probably emerged from India, where Buddhism's roots lie. This is because temples and temple priests/monks play a major role in the story's development. Initially a beautiful young woman visits a temple hoping to find a good match, and a superficial Buddhist monk/priest who sees her launches a plan. We could say that the priest engaging in the quite immoral act of pretending to be a Buddhist icon while hiding in the shadow of its statue is an idea that comes from a critical position that rejects a secularizing Buddhism. However, this issue of secularization is not limited to India but is found in all Buddhist countries. This might make it certain that this folktale emerged in the Buddhist country of India; not only is this story related to Buddhism in terms of its content, but the countries in which this story of a degenerate monk/priest is transmitted includes, in addition to India, other Buddhist countries such as Tibet, Mongolia, and Japan. This is because the story's telling is authentic or real in the context of a Buddhist country. This story has had an impact in environments where Buddhism and Buddhist priests/monks have a strong influence within society.

The issue of degenerate clergy members is not limited to Buddhism. One finds stories of them in other religions. In the second part of the story discussed by Matsubara Hideichi from France's *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* mentioned earlier, a priest impregnates a young woman and deceives her into thinking that she is carrying the child of God. This is related to Christianity. Furthermore, the degeneracy of church clergy in medieval Europe is humorously depicted by Giovanni Boccaccio in *Decameron*.¹⁶ This is like the degenerate priests in Japan's *Ōtsumi-shū* and *Sasayaki-dake*, which are from the same time period. While what is presented as realistic depends on a country's cultural environment, structural problems are always found in human society.

However, looking at how this story was told in Japan over time, while we find temples being deeply involved in the middle ages, the influence of Buddhism decreases in folktales. As the deceiver shifted from the temple priests of *setsuwa* and *monogatari* to the young people of folktales, the Buddhist hue grew weaker. This issue is related to the story's themes as well, and I will discuss this again in the next section.

16. Hirakawa, *Decameron*.

THE FOLKTALE'S THEMES

I have already discussed how this folktale is comprised of a deception motif in its first part and a rescue motif in its second part. However, looking at these two motifs in terms of themes, we find that there are subtle changes in content with regard to the balance of the two. For example, when weight is attached to the deception, much attention is paid to the rhetoric of the deceiver's strategy. As a result, the demise of this character tends to be more hair-brained and comical. Saikō-bō 西光坊 in the classical *Sasayaki-dake* (Pattern II), and marriage with Saka-no-mono in *Shūrin shūyōshō* are typical examples of this.

On the other hand, as we can see in the examples from Korea and China, when weight is placed on the rescue in the second part, the young woman is replaced with a tiger (viciousness itself), and bloodshed ensues. The immoral behavior of the evil monk—in other words, the vicious act of kidnapping and seizing the young woman—serves as a premise for this draconian punishment of death. In either case, in the background to these two motifs lies a base logic of righting wrong in society: there are punishments appropriate for wrong acts. Depending on the emphasis, differences appear in how the story develops.

However, when focus shifts from the temple priest to the young women, subtle differences arise. In the case of Japanese *setsuwa* and *monogatari*, marriage becomes a major theme. In this case, the young woman is presented as a divine blessing, the daughter of a fallen aristocratic family, or the holder of diverse abilities, and the narrative unfolds from her perspective. Also, the stories are highly realistic. For example, the terms used for the rescuer's social status match those found at the time. This tendency might reflect the narrator or audience hoping that their daughters would marry an exalted person.

The issue of the young women's origins found in Tibet, Mongolia, and elsewhere is similar in the sense that it is related to marriage. Her background being investigated by others serves to ensure the reality of a commoner daughter and king marrying. This is also probably because of a high interest in marriage. With regard to this point, the charlatan wishing for the bride or female servant as his last exchange in the Bulgarian story and France's *Turlendu* is due to an attachment to marriage.

In Japan's folktales the same level of interest is shown in ox-raising as the young woman's marriage. I covered this in the second section's discussion of the rescue and the ox. This is not a way of looking at the story that sees the ox as a sign of the degenerate priest's punishment but is an understanding with people's daily lives in mind. Looking at this as an issue of development over time from classical tellings, we could say that the theme of marriage spread and became a secondary development. This is related to the folktale's schematic choice of characters: the young woman's marriage is with a

stereotypical partner (like a “lord”), just as it is a “prince” in folktales from other countries. The content of a folktale changes due to the era and cultural environments in which it is told. This is also proof that folktales live along with their tellers and listeners.

THE SPREAD OF THE FOLKTALE

Diffusionism is an academic theory that, explaining cultural history and heterogeneity, holds that human culture flows from high places to low places, just like water. On the other hand, the theory of multi-dimensional simultaneous emergence (*tagenteki dōji hasseiron* 多元の同時発生論) holds that human culture arises when human society and living environments reach a certain level. To simplify, in research on folktales, geographical-historical methods have primarily relied on the former, while psychological structuralism has relied on the latter.

When interpreting *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* with Buddhism in mind, diffusionism is more compelling. As I have already discussed above, Buddhism, the teachings preached by Śākyamuni Buddha in India, spread from west to east. Connecting the countries in which this folktale has been passed down, we can derive a route that goes from India, through inland Asia, to Mongolia and East Asia, and then Japan. Tracing this route, we could see this folktale as having reached its present form in Japan after undergoing unique transformations in each of these areas.

When understood as having developed in this way, we could say that the folktale's development as *setsuwa* and *monogatari* in medieval Japan consisted of it being reconstructed and written down in Buddhist books or by people affiliated with Buddhism to fit the sociohistorical situation of Japan at the time. On the other hand, there is little material to judge whether the European-style replacement motif was directly transmitted from India. This is an issue to be explored in the future after more materials have been collected.

Conclusion

The folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* is known as a story similar to the classical *Sasayaki-dake*. While there has been research on its various versions and formation in the field of Japanese literature, scholarship on folktales and international comparisons has been limited to introductions of various versions and other information. This paper has examined *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* from the standpoint of folktale research by engaging in an international comparison primarily of Japanese classical tellings and versions found in Asia.

In classical tellings, the Buddhist priest's strategy to acquire the young woman fails magnificently, and she marries a high-status person. However, while in folktales there is some interest in the young woman's marriage, we find new developments. For

example, the calf—who was just a nuisance in classical tellings—is returned to the young woman's house, and she becomes involved in raising it. This was a change that took place in the context of people using oxen for agriculture and the like.

Looking overseas, we find that while in Japan the thoughtless behavior of the temple priest invites derision and mockery, in the stories from Korea and China, we find drastic developments in which, for example, the monk takes the young woman by force and is then punished for this by death. Also, in the likes of Tibet and Mongolia, we find a sequel in which people investigate the background of the young woman who married the prince. This might be related to this area's social status system. We find regional characteristics in other countries' stories as well. For example, in India the box is released in the Ganges River.

It is highly probable that this story originated in India. It appears at an early stage in an Indian parable collection, and Buddhist temples and monks are involved. It is possible that as part of Buddhism's eastward expansion it went through inland China and was brought to Japan in the middle ages by priests or through Buddhist books. It appears that in the process of taking root in each country, this story underwent unique changes. While we do find a bride (female servant) being replaced—apparently a transformation of the rescue motif—in European stories, I will turn to the issue of the direct relationship of this with this folktale at another point.

In the discussion of the regional distribution AT896, “The Lecherous Holy Man and the Maiden in a Box,” it is stated that there are similar stories in West Asia. Therefore, further research that takes into account these regional traditions is needed.

Seki Keigo 関敬吾, holding that folktales are not dead like items on display in a museum but, rather, exist in people's heads, proposed the terms “folktale biology” or “folktale ecology.” Folktales live while changing with the times, and here I have highlighted the changing form of the folktale *An Ox in the Bride's Carriage* in light of this principle. Making clear how a single folktale emerged and moved while growing and changing is the geographical-historical research method, and I have followed this in this paper.

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

REFERENCES

Abbreviation

SNKT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 106 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.

Other Sources

- Akita mugashiko* 秋田むがしこ. Vol. 2. Miraisha, 1968.
- Aarne, Antti. *Mukashibanashi no hikaku kenkyū* 昔話の比較研究. Trans. Seki Keigo 関敬吾. Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1969.
- Chibetto no shiki shijūnanawa* チベットの屍鬼四十七話. Tekune, 2016.
- Chie aridono 知恵有殿. Collated by Seki Keigo. In vol. 10 of *Nihon mukashibanashi taisei* 日本昔話大成, pp. 141–47. Kadokawa Shoten, 1979.
- Daisen hokuroku no mukashibanashi* 大山北麓の昔話. Miyai Shoten, 1970.
- Dururandu* テュルランデユ. In *Sekai no minwa: Nan'ō* 世界の民話—南欧, vol. 2, ed. Ozawa Toshio 小沢俊夫, pp. 134–36. Gyōsei, 1977.
- Fukushima Naomatsu mukashibanashishū* 福島ナヲマツ昔話集. Private Printing, 1973.
- Hirakawa Sukehiro 平川祐弘, trans. *Dekameron* デカメロン. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2012.
- Hiruzen bonchi no mukashibanashi* 蒜山盆地の昔話. Miyai Shoten, 1968.
- Hisanaga Naomatsu ōna no mukashibanashi* 久永ナオマツ嫗の昔話. Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1973.
- Hokekyō shūrin shūyōshō* 法華經鶯林拾葉鈔. Rinsen Shoten, 1991.
- Hoppō minzoku no minwa* 北方民族の民話. Vol. 1. Dai Nihon Kaiga Kōgei Bijutsu, 1978.
- Ichiko Teiji 市古貞二. *Mikan chūsei shōsetsu kaidai* 未刊中世小説解題. Rakurō Shoin, 1942.
- Iwamoto Yutaka 岩本裕. *Sekai minwa zenshū* 世界民話全集. Vol. 7. Hōbunkan, 1958.
- Jizō bosatsu reigenki* 地藏菩薩靈驗記. *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 25:2. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kansei Kai, 1984.
- Kagoshima-ken Kikajima mukashibanashishū* 鹿児島県喜界島昔話集. Sanseidō, 1974.
- Kai mukashibanashishū* 甲斐昔話集. Furusato Kenkyūsha, 1930.
- Katāsarittosāgara* カター・サリット・サーガラ. Iwanami Shoten, 1954.
- Kin Tokujun mukashibanashishū* 金徳順昔話集. Miyai Shoten, 1994.
- Kizukurimachi no mugashikoshū* 木造町のむがしこ集. Aomori Bunka Kyōkai, 1984.
- Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集. Vol. 16, no. 28. SNKT, vol. 35, pp. 542–47.
- Matsubara Hideichi 松原秀一. *Chūsei no setsuwa: Higashi to nishi no deai* 中世の説話—東と西の出会い. Tōkyō Shoseki, 1979.
- Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠. “Bijin no kawari ni mōjū” 美人の代りに猛獣. *Minzokugaku* 民俗学 2:15 (1930), pp. 731–32.
- Musume no Hemapuradēpu* 娘のへまブラデープ. In *Chibetto no shiki shijūnanawa*, vol. 1., trans. Kajihama Ryōshun 梶濱亮俊, pp. 185–98. Tekune, 2016.
- Nagai Yoshinori 永井義憲. “Kōkyō dangi to setsuwa: ‘Jurin shūyōshō’ ni mieru taru sasayaki-dake monogatari” 講經談義と説話—「鶯林拾葉鈔」に見えるたるささやき竹物語—. *Ōtsuna kokubun* 大妻国文 4 (1973), pp. 2–11.
- Nishi Sanuki chihō mukashibanashishū* 西讃岐地方昔話集. Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1975.

- Nishiwaki Takao 西脇隆夫, trans. *Shiddi, kūru: Mongoru setsuwashū* シッディ・クールーモンゴル説話集. Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 2013.
- Obaba no mukashibanashi* おばばの昔ばなし. Nojima Shuppan, 1966.
- Okayama-ken Mitsu-gun mukashibanashishū* 岡山県御津郡昔話集. Sanseidō, 1974.
- Okinawa no mukashibanashi* 沖縄の昔話. Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1980.
- Ozawa Toshio 小沢俊夫. *Sekai no minwa: Kaisetsu hen* 世界の民話—解説編. Gyōsei, 1978.
- Rakugo no neta* 落語の根多. Kadokawa Bunko, 1976.
- Saitō Kimiko 齊藤君子. “Ruisseki mukashibanashi to wa nani ka” 累積昔話とはなにか. In *Mukashibanashi: Kenkyū to shiryō* 昔話—研究と資料— 39 (2011).
- Sasayaki-dake I-gata* ささやき竹I型. *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* 室町時代物語大成. Kadokawa Shoten, 1978.
- Sasayaki-dake II-gata* ささやき竹II型. *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei*. Kadokawa Shoten, 1978.
- Sawai Taizō 沢井耐三. *Otogizōshi* お伽草子. Kichōbon Kankōkai, 2000.
- Sekai minwa zenshū* 世界民話全集, vol. 7, *Indo* インド. Hōbunkan, 1958.
- Sekai no minwa: Ajia II* 世界の民話—アジアII. Gyōsei, 1999.
- Sekai no minwa: Igirisu* 世界の民話—イギリス. Gyōsei, 1999.
- Sekai no minwa: Nan'ō* 世界の民話—南欧. Gyōsei, 1999.
- Sekai no minwa: Tōō* 世界の民話—東欧, vol. 1. Gyōsei, 1999.
- Shasekishū* 沙石集. Iwanami Shoten, 1966.
- Shiddi, kuru* シッディ・クール. Hiroshima: Keishusha, 2013.
- Shiki nijūgowa: Indo denkishū* 屍鬼二十五話—インド伝奇集. Kamimura Katsuhiko 上村勝彦. Trans. Somadeva Bhaṭṭa. Heibonsha, 1978.
- Shinjō no mukashibanashi* 新庄のむかしばなし. Shinjō-shi Kyōiku Inkai, 1971.
- Suneko, tanpako* すねこ・たんぱこ. Fukuinkan Shoten, 1958.
- Tera no sei* 寺の精. In *Sekai no minwa: Ajia* 世界の民話—アジア. Vol. 2. Gyōsei, 1999.
- Tōno no mukashibanashi* 遠野の昔話. Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1975.
- Yokoyama Shigeru 横山重 and Matsumoto Ryūshin 松本隆信. *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* 室町時代物語大成. Vol. 6. Kadokawa Shoten, 1978.
- Yūyō zasso* 酉陽雜俎. Heibonsha, 1980.
- Zōdanshū* 雑談集. Miyai Shoten, 1973.

The Origins of Shimao Toshio's “Japonesia” Ideas

ISHIKAWA NORIO

Keywords: Shimao Toshio, “Japonesia,” Amami Islands, Southern Islands, Ryūkyū Arc, hometown, Okinawa’s return to Japan, Tohoku

Introduction

FROM 3 to 7 October 2008, I had the opportunity to visit the Amami Islands for the first time. While I did not go on the trip to view material related to novelist Shimao Toshio 島尾敏雄 or to engage in a field survey, when doing pre-travel background research, one cannot avoid coming across his writings. Also, I decided to stay in Naze 名瀬 (part of the City of Amami since 2006), and ended up naturally following the footsteps of Shimao when traveling around to see Amami’s history and culture. There were many things that I saw and heard for the first time, and this led me to reread Shimao’s works. After my trip, I gave presentations at a private literature study group and other places on points that I came to realize about Shimao’s work. Although I also had the opportunity to give a talk in Odaka 小高 (Minamisōma 南相馬, Fukushima) on 6 December of the same year—coincidentally the land of Shimao Toshio’s ancestors—at the invitation of the Association for Modern Japanese Literary Studies, eight years went by without penning an article related to my travel experience and Shimao Toshio’s writings. However, when discussing views from the margins of the Japanese archipelago, my experiences of 2008 come together with the writings of Shimao the author to form a distinctive image inside of me, and I want to take this opportunity to write this down.

In Japan, most people have heard of the Amami Islands yet few people can immediately bring their location to mind. The Amami Islands are located basically right between Yakushima 屋久島 and Okinawa, and they are part of Kagoshima Prefecture. Perhaps due to them having been part of the prefecture’s Ōshima 大島 district, it appears that within the prefecture they are normally called Ōshima. While the islands

* This article is a translation of Ishikawa Norio 石川則夫, “Shimao Toshio no ‘Yaponesia’ ron: Sono kigen e” 島尾敏雄の「ヤポネシア」論—その起源へ. *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雑誌 118:1 (2017), pp. 67–84.

to the south of Kagoshima are lumped together in people's minds as "tropical southern islands," they are in fact each unique. For example, Tanegashima 種子島 is where guns first arrived in Japan, and it has a space center. Yakushima to its south has the Jōmon Sugi 縄文杉, an ancient tree. Ever since the latter was designated as a World Heritage Site, sightseeing tours of the island have been flourishing. Some people probably think of famous Amami products such as Ōshima *tsumugi* 大島紬 weaving, and brown sugar *shochu* (*kokutō shōchū* 黒糖焼酎), a kind of alcoholic drink. However, its other cultural heritage and customs are not very well known. While more and more attention is being paid to the increasingly popular *shima-uta* 島唄 folk music, the majority of Amami's cultural heritage remains fairly minor, even in tourism industry advertisements. Without any flashy development or advertising of Amami as a southern island tourism resource, most tourists tend to visit neighboring Okinawa. In other words, there is an abundance of untouched nature that seems to embody the image of "the southern islands" (*nantō* 南島) themselves. Although island life and lifestyles changed around World War II, Amami's appearance and the essence of people's lives have largely remained the same since the time Shimao Toshio lived there—at least that was the impression I had when I visited the island.

Shimao Toshio's Relationship with the Amami Islands

First let us review chronologically Shimao Toshio's relationship with Amami. In November 1944, twenty-seven-year-old Shimao was posted to Kakeromajima's 加計呂麻島 Nominoura 呑之浦. This was his first encounter with the Amami Islands. Shimao was waiting for an order to embark on an attack mission when the war ended on 23 August the following year, and he then left. During his time there he had met Ōhira Miho 大平ミホ, and married her at the age of twenty-nine in March 1946. Subsequently they lived in Kobe, where his father's house was, and he began self-publishing his writings. However, in 1952, they moved to Tokyo. As is well known, his three years of living in Tokyo until moving to Naze in October 1955—just after Amami was returned by the United States to Japan on 25 December 1953 (before Okinawa)—would form the background for his novel *Shi no toge* 死の棘 (The Sting of Death, 1960). Shimao's second time living on Amami spanned the twenty years from October 1955 to April 1975, when he would then move to Kagoshima's Ibusuki 指宿. Interestingly, this time was both one in which he would examine and reflect on his self during and after the war, as well as attempt, from the Japanese archipelago, to "retake" Japan's southern islands, particularly the Amami Islands, in the context of the Pacific Rim's East Asian culture. In other words, while on the one hand his interior dialogue came to fruition in the form of the writing and publication of *Shi no toge* and *Shuppatsu wa tsui ni otozurezu* 出発は遂に訪れず (The Departure Never Came, 1964), on the other

hand, we also find his tenacious repeated creation and expansion, as well as sharing, of concepts: the southern islands, the Ryūkyū Arc (*ryūkyū-ko* 琉球弧), and Japonesia (*yaponesia* ヤポネシア).

He also worked in a public capacity on the Amami Islands, becoming an employee of the prefecture of Kagoshima in 1957 and working as the director of the Amami Japan-US Culture Institute (Amami Nichibei Bunkakaikan 奄美日米文化会館). This institute appears to have primarily been for the sharing of US culture. It held movie screenings, had US magazines available for readings, and so on. In 1958, he also became the director of the Amami branch of the Kagoshima Prefectural Library. At the branch he established the Amami Local Research Group (Amami Kyōdo Kenkyūkai 奄美郷土研究会; first called the Amami History Discussion Group, or Amami Shidankai 奄美史談会). The latter, which is still active today, has played a major role in informing islanders and others about the value and significance of Amami's history and culture. Its work particularly deserves our attention for constructing a foundation for historical and folklore research by working to collect textual materials related to Amami's history, interviewing elderly people about oral traditions, and so on. Shimao continued to engage in these activities until leaving his post as branch director in April 1975.

The View from the Amami Islands:

The Southern Islands, Ryūkyū Arc, and Japonesia

Above I have presented a chronological overview of Shimao's relationship with Amami. However, it appears that, separate from this, Shimao himself continually pursued an internal momentum which drew him to Amami. This first appeared when he was a history researcher specializing in Eastern history and Chinese cultural history. We can see that he was filled with excitement about excavating the history of the Amami Islands, which were placed under the rule of the Ryūkyū Kingdom in the thirteenth century, had a massive amount of wealth extracted via sugar cane cultivation after falling under the direct control of the Satsuma 薩摩 domain in the seventeenth century, and then were placed under US military rule after World War II.

Poverty is part of daily life on the island. Young women want to abandon the island and go to Yamato [the Japanese mainland]. If they leave, they probably won't try to come back. No—they won't be able to. It even appears that islanders are cursing the dead-end street life on the island. This island only has its history of being subordinate to the Ryūkyū Kingdom, exploited by the Shimazu 島津 domain, and then, again, just until recently has been under the United States' forsaking direct rule. No—actually, the island does have its people's lives, but historical materials have completely disappeared and the

compilation of history has been completely forgotten. To think that the only history of this island that has been written is a melancholy introduction to Minamoto no Tametomo and the Heike legends!

However, these things actually excite me. Here is unknown territory. The treasures buried there are waiting to be excavated.¹

However, what appeared in the gaze of twenty-seven-year-old Lieutenant Shimao Toshio when he faced the Amami Islands for the first time in November 1944? He had been posted with 183 subordinates as the commander of the eighteenth Shin'yō 震洋 Squad to a base in Kakeromajima's Nominoura—in other words, to a suicide corps base. How did the natural environment appear to this commander and his squad waiting to die in battle in the surely not so distant future?

When I went to this port [Naze] ten years earlier in a thirty-ton hot bulb fishing boat, with what kind of feeling did I look upon its radio tower? While I can no longer outline it precisely, for me at the time Amami was cut off in an ancient mist. It appeared that Buddhism and Confucianism had been unable to permeate it. In the bottom of my relocation wicker trunk I had the Iwanami Bunko edition of the *Kojiki* 古事記, and rereading it on Amami I forgot it was a book from ancient times. I thought that a spitting image of the world written therein was alive in the island's reality and enveloping us.²

Shimao says that upon rereading the *Kojiki*, he felt that the reality of Amami was the same world as the ancient one therein in which neither Buddhism nor Confucianism existed.

His second trip and relocation to Amami after the war was based on the marital/family relationship depicted in *Shi no toge*. These were very private circumstances, and this must have been the extent to which he was determined to live out his life with his family—a determination that was the complete opposite of that of the suicide corps. Did his failure to construct a family life on the Japanese mainland strengthen his heart and mind's inclination towards the southern islands? Shimao's interest did not stop at the Amami Islands 奄美大島 but spread to Okinawa and Miyako 宮古. It would be driven towards the “area in the world of Japan” called the “southern islands”:

I like the name *nantō*, which means “southern islands.” People have given various names to the[se] islands that are loosely connected, like flower decora-

1. “Amami Ōshima kara” 奄美大島から, December 1955, STZS vol. 16, p. 31.

2. “Naze no machi, sono saisho no inshō to machi no sugata no aramashi” 名瀬の町、その最初の印象と町のすがたのあらまし, May 1957, STZS vol. 16, p. 293.

tions, in the ocean between Kagoshima and Taiwan. I am unable to set aside the allure of wanting to bring together these islands and think about them as "one area in the world of Japan." In this case, I feel that the expression "southern islands" vividly comes back to life.³

Now I have seen once the other four islands besides Ōshima—Tokunoshima 徳之島, Kikaijima 喜界島, Okinoerabujima 沖永良部島, and Yoronjima 与論島. I am filled with the expectations of wanting to grasp, while drawing comparisons with Ōshima, the "Amami" that is the northern part of the Ryūkyū Arc by depicting the outlines of each of these islands.⁴

As can be seen by looking at a map, it is an inescapable fact that Japan is an island country. Island countries are surrounded by the ocean. The Pacific Ocean is a very large ocean, and there are various islands in it. In particular, there are many in the South Pacific. I think that the lives of the people who live on these islands are similar. Is not Japan one of them too? In the South Pacific there are the islands of Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, and Indonesia, and I feel that, like them, Japan exists as a single group of South Pacific islands. So, I have named it Japonesia.⁵

Shimao's interest became more and more abstract as he moved from the concepts of "the southern islands" to "the Ryukyu Arc," and then, finally, "Japonesia." It was here that Shimao's ideas on "Japonesia" unfolded. It goes without saying that "Japonesia" would spread as a concept and term with a very strong political nature while increasing in content each time it was touched upon and referred to by scholars and other writers.

If we divide Shimao's life on the Amami Islands into the wartime period and postwar period, it is clear that there are differences in how he existed as a subject during them. In other words, the world of death was near in his gaze as a commander of the Shin'yō suicide corps, and a world of suffering—one in which he was crazy for his family life, yet had little signs of hope—lay in his gaze during the postwar time, when all he could do was leave the healing of Miho to the island's climate. The aim of this paper is to consider the "Amami Islands" that appear standing at the intersection of these two gazes.

3. "Minami no shima de no kangae" 南の島での考え, August 1959, STZS vol. 16, pp. 125–26.

4. Postscript, "Ritō no kōfuku, ritō no fukō" 離島の幸福・離島の不幸, April 1960, STZS vol. 16, p. 137.

5. "Watashi no mita Amami" 私の見た奄美, June 1962, STZS vol. 16, p. 217.

In the Context of the Southern Islands Discourse

The intellectual tide that highlighted, surveyed, and excavated the customs and folklore culture of the Ryūkyū Archipelago (primarily Okinawa) and Japan's various southwestern islands, thereby pressing people to reconsider their conceptions of Japanese cultural history, began with the pre-World War II work of Iha Fuyū 伊波普猷 (1876–1947; known as the “father of Okinawaology”), Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875–1962), Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887–1953), and others. Subsequently, against the postwar political backdrop of the return of the Amami Islands, and then Okinawa, from the US to Japan, this intellectual tide would be constructed under the influence of a push to rediscover one's own country. It was not long ago that Shimao's “Yaponesia no nekkō” ヤポネシアの根っこ (The Roots of Yaponesia, December 1961) was framed and came to receive attention as an Amami Ōshima resident's “theory of the southern islands.” These ideas of Shimao gained momentum after being further developed by the sympathetic folklorist Tanigawa Ken'ichi 谷川健一 and Yoshimoto Takaaki 吉本隆明 (1924–2012). While pushing ahead towards the relativization of the culture, history, and country of Japan,⁶ in the end they would be criticized for beginning a perilous “southern islands ideology” as well as for having a flimsy anti-state ideology, among other reasons. Put simply, criticisms held that these ideas were lacking as a theory of a state, and remained just the written personal impressions of a man of literature, that is, at the phase of “sensing” (*kanju* 感受), a term that Shimao himself used frequently. In the special issue of *Yurika* ユリイカ (August 1998) on Shimao, many favorable views regarding his Yaponesia writings were included. However, Ogura Mushitarō 小倉虫太郎 criticized the positioning of Shimao's work as follows:

It should be emphasized that the combination of Shimao and his wife Miho in the development of postwar literary history up through today has often been subsumed into a classic imperial nostalgia or colonial narrative: “The selfless love of an island shamaness of ancient times and a representative of the emperor from Yamato (*marebito* マレビト [divine visitor]) going on a journey to death.” And so on. These images were also joined with the narratives of romanticists that projected an image of ancient Japan onto the “base

6. Yanagihara Toshiaki's points about this are invaluable as he comes from the field of medieval Japanese history. He engages in a detailed discussion on the topic and expresses his concern as follows: “Considering how much people have been talking about the ‘multiple Japans’ view of history, one does not really detect any signs of people trying to properly place the Yaponesia writings of Shimao, which are a precursor to this [view of history]. In particular, Tohoku 東北 history scholars, who have engaged in their research based on the same kind of awareness and focus as Shimao, do not look to him. Is this really okay?” See Yanagihara, “Tōhoku to Ryūkyū-ko,” p. 68.

layer" of the "southern islands": Yanagita Kunio, Orikuchi Shinobu, and Yoshimoto Takaaki.⁷

Ogura also severely criticizes the optimistic outlook of the approach that tries to relativize the modern Japanese state by using the term "Japonesia" to refer to the culture found on the Amami Islands/southern islands/Ryūkyū Arc and sees it as the remains of Japan's base culture. He states that this outlook continues to be immersed in a romance of adoration towards ancient times and "completely forgets" without "bringing to mind" the "things the modern period has saddled and suppressed" that lie in the background to the likes of the Ryūkyū *shobun* 琉球処分 (Japan's annexation of the Ryūkyū Kingdom) and views for and against these islands' return to Japan.

Furthermore, Morimoto Shin'ichirō 森本眞一郎, who added his perspective as a resident of the Amami Islands, expresses as follows his sense of discomfort regarding the lumping together of islands under "Japonesia":

In order to reabsorb "America's Ryūkyū" as "Japan's Okinawa Prefecture," Shimao continued to broadcast from the neighboring Amami the ethnic sameness of Ryūkyū and Japan (the theory that Japan and Ryūkyū/Japan and Amami have the same ancestors), something that had been repeated ever since the Ryūkyū *shobun* in 1879. The core of this was the [concept of] "the Japan that existed in the distant past" or the "southern islands" that Yanagita Kunio and academic researchers had repeatedly developed after World War II. This was Shimao's "Japan within Japan that was nothing other than Japan," / Ryūkyū Arc / the Ryūkyū Cultural Sphere / "Amami/Okinawa." Shimao's "Ryūkyū-ko no shiten kara" 琉球弧の視点から [From the Perspective of the Ryūkyū Arc] was an intellectual (political) supporting pillar for hauling and reabsorbing the territory of Okinawa into a new postwar Japan. To repeat myself: the domestic political circumstances that were Okinawa's return to Japan (*Okinawa henkan* 沖縄返還) in 1972 was the reabsorption of the Ryūkyū Kingdom colony that Satsuma invaded in early modern times and that the Empire of Japan invaded in modern times.⁸

In other words, the "community fantasized about by Shimao did not go beyond the domain of the state." Furthermore, while collecting the likes of Amami folktales and engaging in research on folklore culture, "Shimao, who settled in Amami for twenty years and wrote novels and the like one after another was, despite his determination, unable to write one book in his entire life that used Amami history and folklore as material."⁹

7. Ogura, "Meta, 'Nantō' bungakuron," p. 170.

8. Morimoto, "Shimao Toshio no teikoku to shūen," p. 65.

9. Morimoto, "Shimao Toshio no teikoku to shūen," p. 58.

Morimoto sees the frustration of Shimao's ideas regarding Japonesia as lying in the arbitrariness of his understanding of Amami and, in the end, despite promoting the idea of Japonesia, being unable to bring together its content in his expressive work as a novelist.

Shimao's ideas regarding "Japonesia" were certainly not theoretically structured, and, when he expanded the purview of his Japonesia ideas with his personal experience on Amami playing a central role, he could not deny that historical and folklore evidence from Okinawa and the Ryūkyū Arc was lacking. Furthermore, there were more than a few times when Shimao himself was unable to avoid falling into self-questioning regarding Amami, where he lived for over twenty years. For example, Wakamatsu Jōtarō 若松丈太郎, a poet who engages in research on Shimao in Minamisoma, Fukushima (Shimao's ancestral land), writes the following:

In 1970, Shimao Toshio gave a lecture in Okinawa's Naha entitled "Yaponesia to Ryūkyū-ko" ヤポネシアと琉球弧 [Japonesia and the Ryūkyū Arc]. Yet, in the "Naha ni kanzu" 那覇に感ず [Thoughts on Naha] that he wrote immediately afterwards, he said that he wondered while giving his talk why his own words "were spinning in place so much without any feeling of substance." In other words, while talking about his ideas regarding Japonesia he felt despair regarding their hollowness: my words are spinning in place, they do not have any feeling of substance, my words are empty.¹⁰

In his above-quoted article, Morimoto makes a similar point about Shimao's wavering as follows:

"I no longer understand the island"; "It's to the extent that I want to say that I can't see anything";¹¹ "It's like I'm going to get screwy, thinking that there're bigger things than the island."¹²

"I've said too much that the Ryūkyū Arc is Japan";¹³ "In other words, I think that the characteristics of the southern islands temporally and spatially have a *something* longer and broader than the Japanese state that has unfolded on Yamato (the mainland)."¹⁴

"In truth right now I feel like I don't want to write anything about the southern islands."¹⁵

10. Wakamatsu, "Shimao Toshio ni okeru 'inaka': Sono ishiki no hen'yō."

11. "Amami no shima kara" 奄美の島から, 1971, STZS vol. 17, p. 256.

12. "Amami no shima kara," 1971, STZS vol. 17, p. 257.

13. "Ryūkyū-ko ni sunde jūroku nen" 琉球弧に住んで十六年, 1971, STZS vol. 17, p. 266.

14. "Ryūkyū-ko ni sunde jūroku nen," 1971, STZS vol. 17, pp. 266–67.

15. "Shimao Toshio hi shōsetsu shūsei dai ikkan atogaki" 島尾敏雄非小説集成第一巻あとがき, 1973, STZS vol. 17, p. 287.

Here, Shimao is clearly coming undone at the seams with regard to the relationship between the southern islands and Japan. However, perhaps having been healed when taking a U-turn from Amami to Japan's Kagoshima, he would again resurrect himself as the creator of the concepts of the Ryūkyū Arc and Japonesia. Even so, this was only in essays and dialogues, and he did not produce a novel that took islands, the Ryūkyū Arc, or the southern islands as its topic.¹⁶

In this way, Shimao was puzzled and even sometimes felt hopeless regarding the difficulty of theoretical development, which emerged as a problem in the process of expanding his own concept of Japonesia to the southern islands, the Ryūkyū Arc, and the Japanese archipelago as a whole, as well as regarding the demand that simultaneously presented itself of reconfirming the content of his own experience. Put conversely, Shimao's statements regarding Japonesia could not withstand questioning regarding their consistency as historical and cultural theory, as well as their effectiveness as a theory of a state. Reexamining his ideas regarding Japonesia from this perspective would surely entail recalling that these are words that came from the hands of a novelist, as well as gauging the power of the word "Japonesia" in terms of its functioning within the statements of an author. To rephrase simply, instead of examining this word in terms of its validity as a theoretical concept, we would examine in his written expressions its functioning within the process that spanned from his initial motivation to write on "Japonesia" to his development of this idea. Many scholars have, of course, suggested this direction, and I will next examine the path of their discussions.

On Shimao's Motivation to Write About "Japonesia"

As is well known, when the word "Japonesia" appeared in Shimao's writing, the folklorist Tanigawa Ken'ichi quickly incorporated it into his theoretical apparatus in his "'Yaponesia' to wa nani ka" 『ヤポネシア』とは何か (What Is Japonesia?, 1970). It is also well known that this apparatus changed in nature in the process of Tanigawa's own academic development.¹⁷ However, Tanigawa, while holding that Shimao's ideas regarding Japonesia came into existence due to his "second southern islands experience" after World War II "giving him the job of engaging in a kind of abstraction," and also while stating that his own feelings regarding this concept have changed, makes the following suggestive statement:

16. Morimoto, "Shimao Toshio no teikoku to shūen," p. 58.

17. In Hanada's "Yaponesia no hajimari," and particularly in his subsequent "Yaponesia no owari," he critically examines in detail the concept of Japonesia and Tanigawa Ken'ichi's folklore research, and then proposes that the term itself should be rendered dead.

When talking about southern island life filled with the sunny blessings of Apollo, I cannot help but recognize difficult-to-grasp shades, like the shadows of fishes, in the depths of Shimao's writings. If so, it is natural that my interest goes towards what he did not say rather than what he did say. I think that at the very least his ideas regarding the southern islands should be read with this as a premise.¹⁸

Here Tanigawa describes his feelings regarding the backdrop of Shimao's words on Japonesia. This perspective is an attempt to reflect on the qualities of Shimao as an author and the texts he wrote. In other words, it is a suggestion that we try taking in Shimao's "Japonesia" writings as his "southern islands literature." This perspective was later clearly spelled out in an article by Suzuki Naoko 鈴木直子. Suzuki points out that Shimao's "writings on 'southern island' culture" have had a strong influence on diverse fields, and, furthermore, deeming these writings (including what she calls "southern island novels," or novels that apparently take his relationship with Amami culture as a theme) "southern island literature," states the following:

Shimao's southern island literature consists of texts written not about the nature of the southern islands or how to articulate the southern islands but about whether it is possible in the first place to do so. Rather than the act of narrating an Other being, something that constructs an adequate relationship with the Other, is it not rather directly connected to the act of "naming" and ruling over the Other? This kind of question, which is the basis of Shimao's writings in general, certainly exists here as well. Shimao's hesitation regarding the issue of how it is possible to narrate the Other without excluding or subsuming it permeated his southern island literature. Furthermore, this approach of pursuing the (im)possibility of the act of narrating the Other appears to be an essential element of not only [his] texts regarding the southern islands but actually his writing in general.¹⁹

The analytical objects of Suzuki's article are the novels *Kawa nite* 川にて (At the River, 1959) and *Shima e* 島へ (To the Island, 1962). Suzuki argues out that, aside from their criticism of Japanese culture, they are "self-critique literature that adopts a first-person single viewpoint," and that this critique has the two focal points of war experience and marital relations. She also proposes that we examine "the southern islands in [Shimao's] novels."²⁰ Also, in the same year Hanada Toshinori 花田俊典 reexamined Shimao's confession that the motivation for his statements regarding "Japonesia" was

18. Tanigawa, "Shimao Toshio ni okeru Nantō," pp. 153–54.

19. Suzuki, "Shimao Toshio no Yaponeshia kōsō," pp. 42–43.

20. Suzuki, "Shimao Toshio no Yaponeshia kōsō," p. 48.

feeling "a stifling something" in the current situation in Japan and that he "could not repress" his "feeling of wanting to no matter what free" himself "from it."²¹

At the core of the development of his ideas regarding Japonesia must have always been his personal emotion—or, rather, his emotion as one individual—of wanting to get out of a stiff and barren uniformity... For him, that [discovery of the southern islands] was above all discovery of a "foreign land." ... He was moved by the declaration "here is unknown territory" as a literary (in other words, personal) revelation, and in the end broadcast this as Japonesia.²²

We could overlay the statements pregnant with meaning found in Tanigawa's article onto Hanada's points, as well as understand Suzuki's article as a concrete proposal from this perspective.

Next let us return to the *Yurika* special issue on Shimao and consider its articles a little more. Higashi Takuma's 東琢磨 "Kikkake toshite no 'Yaponesia'" きっかけとしての「ヤポネシア」(Japonesia as an Initial Impetus) focuses on "'Okinawa' no imi suru mono" 「沖縄」の意味するもの (The Meaning of Okinawa), one of Shimao's "southern island essays" from 1954, and considers the "things included [therein] besides the archaeological-folklore studies vector."²³ In his article, Higashi refers to Okamoto Keitoku's 岡本恵徳 research into and analysis of Shimao's conception and development of the idea of "Japonesia." Okamoto, focusing on a discussion between three literary figures residing in Okinawa and Shimao, points out Shimao's hesitation that appears therein. Drawing from this article, Higashi deciphers the complexity of Shimao's nature as a human and brings into relief his optimistic attitude towards his own country and other countries' cultures. However, he also says that what prompted Shimao's ideas on Japonesia deserve more attention than their danger.

I feel that there is something more important than their dangerous nature. Namely, the "initial impetus" that was the self-awareness of Shimao Toshio before he spoke of Japonesia. Where was the space of his daily life? Kobe, Amami, Tokyo. In the case of Shimao, "here" and "there" must have replaced each other. Considering this, perhaps Japonesia was like a gaping hole in the space of his daily life that connected here and there.²⁴

21. Hanada, "Yaponesia no hajimari," p. 38.

22. Hanada, "Yaponesia no hajimari," pp. 38–42.

23. Higashi, "Kikkake toshite no 'Yaponesia,'" p. 195.

24. Higashi, "Kikkake toshite no 'Yaponesia,'" pp. 200–201.

Then, while describing how Shimao's ideas regarding "Japonesia" exerted a great influence on the Okinawan movement against the island's return to Japan, he asks, however, what was "decisively different about Shimao's Japonesia and opposition to Okinawa's return":

Where did this difference lie? I think that we need to reread multiple times the "sensation" [*kankaku* 感覚] and "sensing" [*kanju*] aspects of Shimao Toshio. Tenaciously going back to the place before "Japonesia" ([an idea] that Shimao was able to present precisely because he was the writer of war novels, fantasy novels, and I-novels) became a fully formed theory, in other words, back to its point of departure—this is perhaps to not forget the confusion that was present in the moment that prompted these ideas.²⁵

So where was the "moment" of this "point of departure"? Drawing from Okamoto Keitoku's view that Japonesia arose out of the relationship between Shimao and Ōhira Miho, he concludes, "the tale of never-ending negotiations between the 'Other' that was Miho gave birth to Japonesia."²⁶

Other scholarship also touches upon the origins of and initial impetus that lead to "Japonesia." In the same *Yurika* special issue, Tanaka Yasuhiro 田中康博 assesses Shimao's Japonesia ideas in the article "Tasha no manazashi" 他者の眼差し (The Other's Gaze), stating that they "do not adopt the position of an *anti*-state discourse ... but rather could be called a *non*-state discourse, softly unraveling the concept of the nation-state,"²⁷ and also discusses the initial developmental stage that produced them:

The initial development stage that led to [Shimao's] ideas regarding Japonesia was—to borrow his phrase—him being a "person who has lost his hometown 故郷." Shimao, who had roots in Tohoku, settled in Amami after living in multiple other places. By encountering the southern air he realized Japan's diverse nature. At first, Amami appeared before him as a "foreign land" or "the ancient past."²⁸

The viewpoint that focuses on Shimao's consciousness as someone who had lost his hometown is also in the above-quoted passage by Higashi. Takasaka Kaoru 高阪薫 also takes this as a premise. Indicating her agreement with Okamoto's view that the "existence of Miho" is the contact point between literature and Japonesia for Shimao, she writes the following:

25. Higashi, "Kikkake toshite no 'Yaponeshia,'" p. 204.

26. Higashi, "Kikkake toshite no 'Yaponeshia,'" p. 205.

27. Tanaka, "Tasha no manazashi," p. 214.

28. Tanaka, "Tasha no manazashi," p. 215.

Thinking about this contact point in my own way, Shimao's suicide corps experience in Amami/Kakeromajima, where he met Miho, forms the core of it. With this in mind, I think that one of the motifs of his writings regarding Japonesia is his war experience—or, delving deeper, one that covers war responsibility—and that this is also a motif of having a complex with regard to being both a perpetrator and a victim. In other words, I think that Shimao and Miho met in Amami through the war, this became literature, and its content is inlaid with Japonesian elements.²⁹

It is certainly true that for readers of *Shi no toge*, as well as for the readers of Shimao's works that have been labeled and received as "sick wife" stories, the presence of the Other of Miho looms large, and it is easy to understand how her unique image in his novels embodies the "foreign land" of Amami or southern island culture. However, some call for caution regarding the reductive method of such a very simplistic I-novel interpretation. Adachibara Tatsuharu 安達原達晴, expressing agreement and drawing from Okamoto Keitoku's ideas on the subject, analyzes the renderings in *Gyoraitai gakusei* 魚雷艇学生 (Motor Torpedo Boat Student, 1985), and points out the following:

However, I think that when discussing Shimao and "the southern islands," there is a tendency to neglect a clear fact: Shimao's first encounter with the "southern islands" (here, Kakeromajima) predates that with Miho. For the suicide corps member Shimao, more than a place of a fateful meeting with an island daughter, a living space that heals an injured heart and mind, or a ground from which to weave his thought, the southern islands must have been nothing besides a military base.³⁰

Takasaka also holds that Shimao's "experience of being a suicide corps commander, in other words, his experience of the good/evil, right/wrong, and love/hate involved in war gave birth to his Japonesia ideas," and attaches importance to two works that Shimao wrote during the war (in 1945) from which we can detect the beginnings of this motif: "Hamabe no uta" はまべのうた (The Song of the Beach) and "Shima no hate" 島の果て (The End of the Island).³¹

We must keep in mind that even Takasaka's article, based on a traditional view of the I-novel, treats Shimao's novels—a fiction discourse—in the same way as diaries and other writings and works to uncover facts, looking at this dimension of the history of scholarship on Shimao's Japonesia writings. However, it appears that moving away

29. Takasaka, "Toshio bungaku ni miru 'Yaponesia' no hōga to keisei," p. 230.

30. Adachibara, "'Gyoraitai gakusei' to 'Nantō' no hakken," p. 66.

31. Takasaka, "Yaponesia-ron no kanōsei: 'Mō hitotsu no Nihon' no yukue," p. 267.

from discussions of the undeveloped nature of these writings as theory, a direction is emerging towards discussing Japonesia while using as a reference framework the words and statements of the novelist Shimao as a whole. This is a direction clearly indicated in the above-examined works of Suzuki Naoko and Hanada Toshinori. Furthermore, an article primarily analyzing Shimao's short story "Shima e" by Yasuhara Yoshihiro 安原義博 also tries to go in this direction:

The "island" motif that appears in Shimao's literature develops anew along with the contradiction that began to reveal itself in his conception of Japonesia. In fact, in "Watashi no naka no ryūkyū-ko" 私の中の琉球弧 [The Ryūkyū Arc in Me], written five years after "Shima e," he reveals the following: "Right now I can say that I do not have an understanding of Amami, even a little bit. Thinking that I had understood it somewhat was an illusion." Here, what is important is that "another Japan" is, as before, possible to express, but the islands have lost their image as a Shangri-La. Actually, Shimao's conception of Japonesia is moving towards the impossibility of knowing "another Japan." However, could we not say that due to this realization, Shimao's literature acquired "islands" as places of literature? We can detect this in the same essay's following passage: "While a dramatic way of saying things, the Ryūkyū Arc appears to me like the potential of Japan and Japanese people's expression. In other words, I feel like here is an open window to the world in the insular creative expressions of Japanese people."³²

Thinking about the motivation that led to the emergence of the words "islands" and "Japonesia," we can see that they arose along with words and tales that sprung out of Shimao Toshio's body. The questions thus arise of why Shimao Toshio continued to write, as well as why it was possible for him to continue to write. In turn, we wonder why did this have to be "the southern islands," "the Ryūkyū Arc," and "Japonesia?" Was his encounter with the Amami Islands a privileged and absolute experience? Readers of *Shi no toge* already know the story of moving north hand-in-hand with his wife's illness.

The Overlapping and Instability of Japonesia and Emishi

Above, I have tried to consider how the direction towards "another Japan" in Shimao's writings—gradually acquired amid twists and turns—functioned as an initial developmental stage that led to his writing and linguistic rendering. Upon entering the mid-1960s, we again find a tendency in Shimao to understand Amami via internalization. He said that "in a way, Amami and Tohoku have a shared feeling"

32. Yasuhara, "Shimao Toshio 'Shima e' chō genjitsu to Yaponesia," p. 84.

when pondering “unaffectedness” and “something like loyalty to weakness that is to an excessive extent” based on his sense that “a way of feeling and seeing that has the qualities of Tohoku, where the likes of my father and mother were born,” remains in him.³³ Then reconsidering his encounter with Amami, he came to “feel like I had returned to the old era of my hometown,” and, delving into this feeling, upon “groping my way around Tohoku via my ancestral land of Fukushima,” he is led to imagine that “there is some kind of thing, like that which is at basis of the hearts and minds of old-time Japanese people, flowing as similar emotions between [Tohoku and] the islands of the Ryūkyū Arc.”³⁴ In 1975, Shimao, having left Amami, even declares, “I felt that I had known *a priori* this island, and that by spending time on this island the Tohoku blood in me became weightier.”³⁵ Does this mean that Shimao’s internal thoughts created a distant circuit and began to circulate between the southern island of Amami and Fukushima’s Minamisōma Odaka?

For example, a way of feeling and seeing that is like Tohoku, where the likes of my mother and father were born, remains in me. I sometimes consciously lay this bare and look at Amami. When this element functions strongly, I sometimes think that that which is absorbed in Amami is fake. And at the same time, in a way Amami and Tohoku have a shared feeling that jumps over the central regions [of Japan]. This is when I am pondering unaffectedness. A sincere something, something like loyalty to weakness that is to an extent excessive.³⁶

I realized that there is some kind of similar feeling flowing between Tohoku and the islands of the Ryūkyū Arc. While this is unrelated to the likes of academic proof, I simply cannot deny sensing this signal. In the background of Tohoku—and this is also an unrestrained way of saying things—the world of the Ainu remains lying in a way that closely resembles a transparency. I had wondered if perhaps this is related to, for example, them being areas that are political backwaters.³⁷

When I myself first came to the island, I felt in some way that I had returned to an old era of my hometown. I think that this island is preserving Japan’s roots in a more unaffected, or pure, form.

33. “Amami o te gakari ni shita ki mama na sōnen” 奄美を手がかりにした気ままな想念, January 1967, STZS vol. 17, pp. 108–9.

34. “Amami, Okinawa no kosei no hakkutsu” 奄美, 沖縄の個性の発掘, April 1970, STZS vol. 17, p. 175.

35. “Kakeroma-jima Nominoura” 加計呂麻島呑之浦, April 1975, STZS vol. 17, p. 319.

36. “Amami o te gakari ni shita ki mama na sōnen,” STZS vol. 17, pp. 107–9.

37. “Ryūkyū-ko no shiten kara,” January 1967, STZS vol. 17, p. 114.

Amami might not be the only place where I feel this. For example, I feel the same kind of thing in Tohoku. My father, mother, and their ancestors are also from Tohoku. While I myself have not resided there, groping my way around Tohoku via my ancestral land of Fukushima, there is some kind of thing, like that which is at basis of the hearts and minds of old-time Japanese people, flowing as similar emotions between [Tohoku and] the islands of the Ryūkyū Arc, including Amami.³⁸

Shimao's discoveries on the Amami Islands in his two periods there—first, the time spent awaiting his death after being transferred to Kakeromajima's Nominoura, and, second, the twenty years spent after moving with his family—as well as his contemplations regarding them appear to have transformed into entirely internal issues on a deep level as time passed and he continued to write about Amami. Wakamatsu Jōtarō supposes that this happened as follows:

Amid his Amami Islands life from 1955 and later, there was a time when Shimao Toshio tried to see and establish himself on Amami, considering it his hometown. However, on the other hand, he felt that he was a person who could not settle on Amami, perceived himself as having Tohoku Emishi エミシ blood, and felt that he was someone who had lost his hometown. These ended up jostling up against each other in his mind. For example, on the one hand, he would say, "I feel uneasy about limiting my home to only Tohoku" ("Furusato o kataru" ふるさとを語る), call himself "a person who has lost his hometown," and remark, "However, there is nowhere that I can call my hometown." On the other hand, he would also say that in the dark depths of his heart and mind he "hears heavy and low murmurs of Tohoku" ("Futatsu no nekkō no aida de" 二つの根っこのあいだで). It seems that he ultimately constructed the concept of Japonesia as a bridge between Amami and [his] "hometown," in other words, between southwestern Japan and Tohoku (northeastern) Japan. As far as I am aware, Shimao first used the word "Japonesia" in his "Miyamoto Tsuneichi cho 'Nihon no ritō'" 宮本常一著『日本の離島』 [Miyamoto Tsuneichi's *Japan's Remote Islands*], which he published in October 1960...

Around 1962, when he was forty-five years old, Shimao read *Kitakami sankei ni seizon su* 北上山系に生存す [Surviving in the Kitakami Mountains], which was edited by Ōmura Ryō 大牟羅良, who was engaging in local activities in remote Iwate villages. This is a collection of reports on the lives of eleven people largely in their early twenties. It appears that therein Shimao saw and sympathized with the sure-footedness of their daily lives and acquired hints

38. "Amami, Okinawa no kosei no hakkutsu," April 1970, STZS vol. 17, p. 175.

for his creative activities. This can be gathered not only from his "Ômura Ryô hen 'Kitakami sankei ni seizonsu'" 大牢羅良編『北上山系に生存す』[Ômura Ryô, ed., *Surviving in the Kitakami Mountains*] but also from when he touched upon this book in *Bungei jihyô* 文芸時評 [Literary Comment], which he published four years later. Partially due to such reading, he became more strongly aware of the Tohoku Japan *emishi* blood in him.

The year 1967 was the one hundredth anniversary of the Meiji Restoration and in parts of central Japan there were related events. In contrast, Shimao deepened his ideas regarding Japonesia and the Ryūkyū Arc, which very much took into account the objections of the people of Okinawa ("Uchinanchū" ウチナンチュー) and the people of Tohoku ("Emishi"), in other words, of the two "non-Yamato" in the southwest and northeast.³⁹

Wakamatsu understands Shimao's return to Odaka (in Minamisōma, Fukushima; his ancestral land) and his discovery of "Tohoku" there as something with a weight that was not less than his experience on Amami Ōshima, and aims to extract Shimao's desire to draw closer to this place and establish his own hometown. We can easily see that Shimao's desire was motivated by his self-identification as a "person who has lost his hometown." Doesn't this moment that led to him realizing his own faults show us the almost entirely intimidatory nature of the experience of having no other method besides calling the southern islands "Japonesia?" Those "southern islands" thrust in front of Shimao must have been an inarticulable and unreachable foreign land from which he was estranged, and this activated, in the form of the novelist Shimao Toshio, a power that actually for this very reason continually pulled him towards linguistic expression.

"Japonesia" must have come together with "Emishi" to form his expressive style. While appearing as the will to search out "another Japan" that is in Japan, it was designed in a way that pushed the centrifugal force that continues to be called an I-novel in an opposite direction from this. In other words, we should measure the entirety of Shimao Toshio's expressions in terms of the drive of words that could not help but continually seek a foreign land that is not located "here."

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

39. Wakamatsu, "Shimao Toshio ni okeru 'inaka': Sono ishiki no hen'yō."

REFERENCES

Abbreviation

STZS *Shimao Toshio zenshū* 島尾敏雄全集. 17 volumes. Shōbunsha, 1982–1983.

Other Sources

Adachibara Tatsuhara 安達原達晴. “‘Gyoraitei gakusei’ to ‘Nantō’ no hakken” 『魚雷艇学生』と「南島」の発見. In *Nantō e Nantō kara: Shimao Toshio kenkyū* 南島へ南島から—島尾敏雄研究—, ed. Takasaka Kaoru and Nishio Nobuaki 西尾宣明, pp. 53–73. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2006.

Hanada Toshinori 花田俊典. “Yaponeshia no hajimari: Shimao Toshio no ‘Nihon’ chizu” ヤポネシアのはじまり—島尾敏雄の「日本」地図—. *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 46:11 (1997), pp. 34–42.

Hanada Toshinori. “Yaponeshia no owari: Tanigawa Ken’ichi no kōzai” ヤポネシアの終わり—谷川健一の功罪—. In *Nantō e Nantō kara: Shimao Toshio kenkyū*, ed. Takasaka Kaoru and Nishio Nobuaki, pp. 237–60. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2006.

Higashi Takuma 東琢磨. “Kikkake toshite no ‘Yaponeshia’” きっかけとしての「ヤポネシア」. *Yuriika* ユリイカ (Tokushū: Shimao Toshio 特集—島尾敏雄 [Special issue on Shimao Toshio]) 30:10 (1998), pp. 195–205.

Morimoto Shin’ichirō 森本眞一郎. “Shimao Toshio no teikoku to shūen: Yaponeshia no Ryūkyū-ko kara” 島尾敏雄の帝国と周縁—ヤポネシアの琉球弧から—. *Shakai bungaku* 社会文学 21 (2005), pp. 54–74.

Ogura Mushitarō 小倉虫太郎. “Meta, ‘Nantō’ bungakuron: ‘Toshio’ to ‘Miho’ no aida kara mietekuru mono” メタ・「南島」文学論—「トシオ」と「ミホ」の間から見えてくるもの. *Yuriika* (Special issue on Shimao Toshio) 30:10 (1998), pp. 170–81.

Suzuki Naoko 鈴木直子. “Shimao Toshio no Yaponeshia kōsō: Tasha ni tsuite kataru koto” 島尾敏雄のヤポネシア構想—他者について語ること—. *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 國語と國文學 74:8 (1997), pp. 42–55.

Takasaka Kaoru 高阪薫. “Toshio bungaku ni miru ‘Yaponeshia’ no hōga to keisei” 島尾文学にみる「ヤポネシア」の萌芽と形成. *Yuriika* (Special issue on Shimao Toshio) 30:10 (1998), pp. 229–37.

Takasaka Kaoru. “Yaponeshia-ron no kanōsei: ‘Mō hitotsu no Nihon’ no yukue” ヤポネシア論の可能性—「もうひとつの日本」の行方—. In *Nantō e Nantō kara: Shimao Toshio kenkyū*, ed. Takasaka Kaoru and Nishio Nobuaki, pp. 261–89. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2006.

Tanaka Yasuhiro 田仲康博. “Tasha no manazashi” 他者の眼差し. *Yuriika* (Special issue on Shimao Toshio) 30:10 (1998), pp. 210–19.

Tanigawa Ken’ichi 谷川健一. “Shimao Toshio ni okeru Nantō” 島尾敏雄における南島. *Kokubungaku* 國文學 (Shukumei toshite no bungaku 島尾敏雄—宿命としての文学 [Special issue on Shimao Toshio: Literature as Destiny]) 18:13 (1973), pp. 150–54.

Wakamatsu Jōtarō 若松丈太郎. "Shimao Toshio ni okeru 'inaka': Sono ishiki no hen'yō" 島尾敏雄における「いなか」—その意識の変遷. *Fukushima jiyūjin* 福島自由人 23 (2008).

Yanagihara Toshiaki 柳原敏昭. "'Tōhoku to Ryūkyū-ko': Shimao Toshio 'Yaponeshia-ron' no shikai" 「東北と琉球弧」—島尾敏雄「ヤポネシア論」の視界—. *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyūshitsu kiyō* 東北文化研究室紀要 48 (2007), pp. 61–70.

Yasuhara Yoshihiro 安原義博. "Shimao Toshio 'Shima e' chō genjitsu to Yaponeshia: 'Shōsetsu no sōgōteki kanōsei' ron josetsu" 島尾敏雄「島へ」...超現実とヤポネシア—「小説の総合的な可能性」論序説—. *Geijutsu shijō shugi bungei* 芸術至上主義文芸 32 (2006), pp. 80–88.

