

AN
ANTHOLOGY
of
KOKUGAKU
SCHOLARS

¤

1690 to 1898

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A person asked if the Way of the *kami* was the same as the doctrine of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Let me answer this by saying that Laozi and Zhuangzi were bothered by the arrogant sophistry of the Chinese scholars. They both honored and praised naturalism, and because of this their thinking appears to resemble our Way. Nonetheless, they were born in a corrupt country, not in the country of the *kami*! Because they became accustomed to the successive theories of the Chinese scholars, what they believed to be naturalism was what the Chinese scholars deemed "natural." They did not know that every action here is the doing of the will of the *kami*, so the basic import of their ideas is different from ours.

"If you still desire to find a Way, rid yourselves of the corrupt thinking of the China heart, and replace that with a pure, natural Japanese way of thinking; having done that, you should peruse the ancient Japanese texts. If you do this, you will find on your own there is no Way that should be followed. Knowing that, you will see that you should accept and practice the Way of the *kami*. Because of this, I have argued thus, and though it is not in the teachings of the Way, I could not remain still, knowing and seeing the works of Magatsubi. Through the spirits of the *kami* Kamu Naobi and Ōnobi, this evil can be rectified."

The passages above cannot be said to be my own conclusions. Everything that I have said is taken from ancient texts, and if a person will search for himself, he will have no doubts.

This was written with fear and trembling on the ninth day of the tenth month of Meiwa 8 [1771] in Mitami of Iidaka District, Ise Province by Taira no Asomi Norinaga.

[MNZ 1976, 9:49–63]

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KOJIKI-DEN

Motoori Norinaga (1798)

[One of the great achievements of the Kokugaku movement was Norinaga's elucidation of *Kojiki* in *Kojiki-den*. A key element to strengthen the essential foundation for the complete evolution of Kokugaku from a nature-oriented, literary movement into one with an ideological purpose was the exposition of a concrete, Japanese Way. A clearer idea of this Japanese Way came about with the exhaustive annotation of *Kojiki*, a work Norinaga stated held the essence of the ancient Japanese mind. I have included excerpts from *Kojiki-den*, starting with his introduction. The majority of the excerpts deal with the critical areas of Shintō.]

INTRODUCTION¹

In what era did the recording of events from previous eras start in our history? In the "Richū" chapter of *Nihon shoki* it says, "Fourth year, autumn, eighth month. The court established recorders in the various provinces for the first time." Taking this line into consideration, before the era of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the court already employed historians who kept records. Those records are likely documents from each successive era, but we do not know how far into the past these went. Nevertheless, as they should have recorded things around the time of their individual eras, events of the past should have been recorded, even if only fragmentary. Historical records probably started with this era.

Therefore, I believe that when the court compiled *Nihon shoki* there were already many various records in existence. [This can also be inferred from the fact that there are so many quotes from variant sources in the divine age section of *Shoki*.] In the twenty-eighth year of Emperor Suiko [620], Prince Shōtoku made a compilation with Soga no Umako of *Tennōki*, *Kokki*, and the records of the 180 families of the court, including the Omi, Muraji, Tomo Miyakko, and Kuni Miyakko. This is the first instance of historical writing in Japan. Also, in the tenth year of Emperor Tenmu [681], the emperor issued a decree to twelve men, including Prince Kawashima,

1. Norinaga's original parenthetical material appears in dark brackets [], but I have ignored many of the shorter ones without using ellipses.

to compile a record from *Teiki* and the various accounts of ancient times. Unfortunately these two records have not survived.

During the reign of Emperor Genmei, on the eighth day of the ninth month of Wadō 4 [711], the emperor issued an order to Ō no Yasumaro to compile this work, *Kojiki*. Ō no Yasumaro presented the manuscript to the court in the first month, twenty-eighth day of the following year. This is all seen in the preface.² [This fact is missing from *Shoku Nihongi*.] Thus, *Kojiki* is the oldest surviving record Japan possesses. *Nihon shoki* was presented to the court in Yōrō 4 [720] during the reign of Emperor Genshō, a fact recorded in *Shoku Nihongi*, so *Nihon shoki* came about eight years after *Kojiki*.

As a matter of fact, we see from the preface that the compiler left the sentences in *Kojiki* unornamented, endeavoring to preserve the state of ancient Japan by placing emphasis on the ancient vocabulary. Nevertheless, since *Nihon shoki*'s compilation, society has lavished praise and respect on *Shoki*, and there are many people who have not even heard of *Kojiki*. The cause of this is the study of Chinese works, which scholars and courtiers emphasize as important. The ancient Japanese viewed Chinese things as the most superior, obtaining a strong affinity for anything Chinese, so the court rejoiced in compiling *Nihon shoki* in the style of Chinese annals, and treated *Kojiki* as an artless relic that deviated from the true style of national histories.

A person I know took offense at this attitude of mine and told me, "Wasn't *Nihon shoki* compiled a few years after *Kojiki* because there were errors in the latter's text?"

My reply was that what he said was not true. The reason both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* exist is because the court at the time was terribly fond of Chinese learning, and *Kojiki*'s text was so bland that they feared the work would seem unbecoming when compared with the histories from China. Also, the contents were shallow and the court soon tired of reading the work, so they ordered a compilation that relied on a variety of works, adopting a chronological system, imitating Chinese records, even adding segments from Chinese texts. With this, they were able to compile a record that conformed to the style of Chinese record keeping.

For a deeper explanation, I have already mentioned Prince Kawashima's project of compilation of *Teiki* and other records; however, later, in

2. Most scholars now believe that the majority of Ō no Yasumaro's task was to arrange, annotate, and commit to paper the work of Hieda no Are. Yasumaro, thus, is not a compiler in the literal sense, but an editor, putting the finishing touches on the text.

Wadō 7 [714], the court issued an order to Ki Asomi Kiyobito and Miyake Omi Fujimaro to compile a national history. This is seen in *Shoku Nihongi*.

Of these two compilations, Prince Kawashima's work was much like the rough draft of *Kojiki*, having been put together in the reign of Emperor Tenmu. It is difficult to know if *Kojiki*'s text took form before or after Kawashima's. However, if Prince Kawashima's work took form before *Kojiki*, then the sentence in *Kojiki*'s preface, "Teiki and Kuji who are in possession of the various families deviate from the truth, being full of prevarications" would be false.³ There is another problem if Prince Kawashima's work took form after *Kojiki*, for the work of *Kojiki* should have been sufficient in doing what the court had commanded Kawashima's to do; however, as seen from *Kojiki*'s preface, "The imperial reign changed and the compilation did not reach fruition," we realize that *Kojiki* and Prince Kawashima's work were compiled for different purposes.⁴ The difference is that Prince Kawashima's work concentrated on ornate sentences modeled after the Chinese records, while *Kojiki* placed its emphasis on giving an accurate account of things. This intention is seen in the preface.

By the [early] Nara era, Ō no Yasumaro received the command to continue the work in finishing Emperor Tenmu's wish, and he compiled the text corrected by Hieda no Are. The national history compiled in 714 was no doubt a work following the tradition of Chinese learning. Then, in the Yōrō era [717–24], the court commanded Prince Toneri to compile *Nihon shoki*. Therefore, the continuation of historical compilations resembling the Chinese tradition was based on the court's displeasure with the results of the previous two projects. It appears that these early compilations were destroyed rather early, and we have neither title nor report about these. Now, since *Nihon shoki*'s texts were more magnificent than anything compiled earlier, this became the orthodox history and the court ordered no further compilations. One reason *Kojiki*, compiled before *Shoki*, was not discarded is because it differed so much from the other earlier compilations, it being a true representation of ancient things. Thus, *Nihon shoki* came about not because *Kojiki* contained errors, but because the nature of its text differed from the other works. If there indeed were errors in the text, then the court would have destroyed it early on, like these other two

3. This issue about the veracity or falsehood of *Teiki* needs to be studied. We know that *Teiki* in two volumes was still in the imperial library as late as the Nara era, making some believe that it was not corrupt, like Tenmu had stated. A corrupt work surely would have been burned like those mentioned in *Jinnō shōtōki*.

4. Umezawa (1976:434) later reached the same conclusion, but it was based on a more pragmatic analysis of the texts.

records. You should consider the fact that of these three records, only *Kojiki* has survived.

In relation to this, a person may say that it is simply chance that a manuscript should be transmitted down to the present. A manuscript is not transmitted because its contents are good or bad. In China as well as in Japan, many good ancient works no longer survive, while there are some trivial works that have survived till the present.

To this I would reply that what he says is for the most part correct; however, *Kojiki*'s circumstances are different. The other two chronicles are mentioned in *Nihon shoki* and *Shoku Nihongi*, showing that they were official compilations. Even if these manuscripts had disappeared, there still would have been people who knew something about them, so at least the title would have remained in other works. But the titles of these works are unknown, and by the Nara era, people did not know anything about these compilations, for there are no quotes in *Man'yōshū*, which quotes many old works from these chronicles as evidence. On the other hand, the artless and bland *Kojiki* differs completely from the records modeled after Chinese records; if its text was fraught with problems, surely the Nara court with its reverence for Chinese learning would have suppressed the work. No one would have read it, and surely it would not have survived till the present.

Considering that the text was transmitted for a thousand years, you realize that even after Prince Toneri presented *Nihon shoki* to the court, courtiers and people in later generations read *Kojiki*. Are there not quotes from *Kojiki* here and there in *Man'yōshū*? [I do not fully understand the events surrounding things mentioned above, but I have given the account as I envisioned it after comparing *Kojiki*'s preface and the records concerning these two other chronicles.]

Having explained this, the next question was, "The Tenmu edict to Prince Kawashima to compile a record is seen in *Nihon shoki*, while the 714 edict is seen in *Shoku Nihongi*. Since we do not see anything concerning *Kojiki* in the record that must mean that *Kojiki* was not a large, public project of the court, but was a privately compiled record. Also, there are many places in the chapters dealing with the divine age in *Shoki* where variant records are quoted, and some of these appear to have come from *Kojiki*. This would mean that *Kojiki* was thus one of these 'other, variant records.' *Nihon shoki*, however, was a large-scale project completed under imperial auspices, compiling events from these various records, making sure that nothing was lacking, so it is unfair to compare *Nihon shoki* to *Kojiki*."

I would reply that the theory that *Kojiki* was a variant text, and all of these were compiled together into the *Shoki* text, and the historians made *Nihon shoki*'s text complete is reasonable. In reality, *Shoki*'s text is broad and detailed, being complete with dates given to the month or day. It is a well-prepared historical chronicle, and there are many points where *Kojiki* cannot compare. In spite of this, let me point out the strengths of *Kojiki*. First, in ancient times, there were no historical records, everything transmitted by word of mouth. These oral traditions were not necessarily passed down in the form recorded in *Shoki*, but the true form is preserved in *Kojiki*. *Nihon shoki* is mainly concerned with Chinese philosophy, and its sentences are highly ornate, while *Kojiki* has nothing to do with Chinese learning, but records the ancient traditions in such a way so these will not vanish.

Essence, entity, and expression are interrelated. Ancient essences, entities, and expressions belong to the ancient period, while later essences, entities, and expressions belong to the later period. Chinese essences, entities, and expressions belong to the Chinese sphere. *Nihon shoki* took later era essences and mapped them onto ancient entities. *Shoki* relied on Chinese expressions to describe our country's lexical essences, so there are many instances where the proper relation has broken down. *Kojiki* contains no strict interpretations, but recorded things as they had been handed down from antiquity. Thus, *Kojiki* preserves the interrelationship between essence, entity, and expression, conveying the truth of things from the ancient past. *Kojiki* accomplishes this feat because it concentrates on the ancient lexicon. All essences and entities are expressed with words, so this forms the core of the work. Since *Nihon shoki* concentrates on beautiful Chinese prose, there are many instances where the beauty of ancient Japan has vanished. *Kojiki* preserves the beauty of ancient Japan, because its text is centered on recording the ancient lexicon.

In fact, even if *Kojiki* was just one of the reference materials for *Nihon shoki*, meaning it was not an important, large-scale project, it is still worthy of our respect; how much more so because it was compiled by the strong desire of Emperor Tenmu. Again Emperor Genmei's edict brought about the final compilation, so it is not a work that we can scorn as a private work.

Considering these various facts, the work that deserves our greater respect is, of course, *Kojiki*. In spite of this, Chinese learning grew popular, and the legal system of our country was altered in imitation of China. Works modeled on a Chinese style were eagerly displayed in public, while works that accurately conveyed the ancient past were kept in the dark, treated like illegitimate private compilations. And that is why there is no

record of *Kojiki* in *Shoku Nihongi* or other orthodox histories. This trend only increased, resulting in fewer and fewer people reading *Kojiki*; it is very lamentable that the courtiers did not consider *Kojiki* to be an orthodox record, but neglected it altogether.

Since we have no other ancient records in Japan, we have nothing else but Chinese-based records from which to theorize what the ancient Japanese style of historiography was. Scholars have rejoiced over chronicles fashioned after Chinese models. If you do not have an affinity for the vanity so prevalent in Chinese studies, then you have no problem with a record that does not resemble Chinese annals. The widespread practice of basing everything on China, deciding which is good and bad, is sheer nonsense. Nonetheless, my master, Okabe Ushi [Mabuchi], worked with the Edo government in eastern Japan and speaks highly of the study of ancient learning. Through this study he has been able to cleanse the thousand-year-old corruption of Chinese learning. There are now people, few though they be, who are coming to an understanding of this learning. Also, there are people in society who are beginning to appreciate *Kojiki*. As far as this ancient learning is concerned, my master has accomplished a marvelous feat, something unparalleled since the divine age.

I received my master's blessing and have come to some understanding of this ancient spirit, and as time passes I have been able to recognize the defilement of Chinese philosophy and am now cognizant of the pure, sincere spirit from antiquity. Using *Kojiki* as the standard, I have determined it to be the oldest record we possess, being the most superior, *Nihon shoki* next in line. Those people who wish to pursue this ancient path to scholarship should not misinterpret the ancient records, even for a moment (MNZ 1976, 9:3-7). . . .

ABOUT HEAVEN

The High Plain of Heaven is, in other words, heaven. [Now, the theory that "the High Plain of Heaven" refers to the capital of the emperor is a private interpretation that goes strictly against the ancient traditions. All knowledgeable people in society are drowning in the Chinese heart based on the philosophy of Chinese works, harboring suspicions about the wondrous spirit of the *kami*. How truly foolish not to be able to believe that the High Plain of Heaven exists above the sky!] And so if we only say heaven, then what is the difference between that and the High Plain of Heaven? First, because heaven is the land where the *kami* reside, objects like mountains,

rivers, trees, grass, and the heavenly palace, in short, the myriad heavenly things resemble this land where the heavenly grandson rules. And since these articles are all superior, and the objects in the land of the *kami* are just like the myriad objects we now have before us now.

When we say the High Plain of Heaven, we are talking about a specific part of heaven. The reason we use this special name is because heaven itself is *high*, which is slightly different than just saying "high." An epithet for the sun is *takafikaru* "shines high," which has the same meaning as *amaterasu* "shining in heaven"; *takamikura* "the high throne" is also called the throne of heaven. These usages with *taka* "high" have the same significance. Also, *takayuku* and *fayabusa wake* "the swift falcon that flies high" use the word *taka* in place of sky. Even now, we call the sky *amatusora* "the heavenly sky." And so, with the adjective *high* attached, we call the land of the *kami* the High Plain of Heaven ... (MNZ 1976, 9:123-24).

ABOUT DIVINE BIRTH

The verb *naru* has three meanings. One, the appearance of something out of nothingness [such as the birth of man]—the meaning here is when *kami* come into existence; two, when an object becomes something else . . . ; three, completing the formation (or building) of something. An example is when Princess Toyo Tama Hime turned into a *wani* of eight feet as she was about to give birth. The third is the meaning of completion when something is being created. The text [of *Kojiki*] records that the land had firmly been created. These are the three meanings of *naru*. [In Chinese, the difference in meaning of these three is represented by different characters: 生 "give birth," 成 "become," and 變化 "change," but in the ancient language of the imperial country, there are many examples where these three meanings were subsumed under the same word *naru* . . .] (MNZ 1976, 9:124).

ABOUT THE KAMI

I have as yet to tease out the meaning of *kami*. [All the old theories attempting an etymology are incorrect.] Everything denoted as *kami* include first off the various *kami* we see in the ancient records, and the spirits residing in the various shrines. And of course, we can call people *kami*. Objects like birds, beasts, trees, plants, the sea, mountains, and almost anything else, anything uncommon in this world, having superior qualities

and inspiring reverence can be denoted as *kami*. [The word “superior” does not simply imply noble, good, or meritorious. If attributes such as evil and mysterious are terrifyingly superior, then we can also denote these attributes as related to *kami*. It goes without saying that the unspeakably noble successive emperors are the first *kami* among men. The reason the ancients called the emperor “a distant *kami*” is because he is far-removed from the commoner, requiring our honor and reverence. And thus we see in ancient times as well as in the present there were other people denoted as *kami*. There are minor *kami* in each province, each village, each household, be they discreet and unknown on a national level. Also, most of the *kami* of the divine age were men connected to that era, and because they were all *kami*, the ancients referred to this as *kami no yo* “the divine age.” Also, needless to say that thunder (*kaminari*)—which is not human—is a wonderfully mysterious existence, and a terrible *kami*, that is why it is referred to as *narukami* or *kaminari*. . . .]

And so there are many types of *kami*, some noble and some base, some strong others weak, some good and some evil. Their minds and deeds are as varied as they are, and because of this it is difficult to argue that a *kami* is mainly this or that. [However, it is a grave mistake for people in society to assume that foreign *kami*, such as Bodhisattva of Buddhism and sages, are in the same category as our *kami*, and that they are ranked above our *kami*, based on “the principle of the way things should be.” Evil, wicked *kami* engage only in things that go against reason, and if these wicked *kami* try to be good they cannot do things that are reasonable. If they are caused to become angry they become violent. And even though they are wicked *kami*, they are pacified when pleased. . . .] Furthermore, whether they be good or evil *kami* the greater their place of reverence and superiority the greater their mysterious, mystical, and wondrous nature; their existence is beyond the comprehension of man with his limited insight, and we cannot understand one layer of the thousand layers of their reasoning. We can only pay deference to their dignity and stand in awe and trembling before them . . . (MNZ 1976, 9:125–26).

ABOUT AME NO MINAKA NUSHI KAMI

Minaka in this name is the same as *manaka* “the middle.” The syllables *ma* and *mi* were originally related, and at a somewhat later time separated into two different lexical spheres. *Mi* means “respected or revered,” and *ma* means “to praise, to be blunt, or to completely use.” There are many ancient

remnants of this usage, such as *makumanu* and *mikumanu*. And there are many examples where *ma* should be used, but *mi* has been attached, like *misora*, *miyuki*, *miti*. *Minaka* is an example of this. This does not only have to do with heaven. We also see in the poetry of *Manyōshū*, *kuni no minaka sato no minaka* “within the middle of the village of the province, . . .”

The word *nusi* “lord” is the same as 大人 *usi* and is a contraction of *no usi*. [There are examples of writing *usi* as 主人. In *Shoki* we see Prince Hiko Ushi, who was the father of Emperor Keitai. In *Shoku Nihongi* we see the name Abe Asomi Miushi. The current readings have been corrupted.] Therefore, anciently any name with the suffix *usi* always had *no* attached. The suffix *nusi* was attached to nouns without *no*. Examples include Akiguhi no Ushi no Kami, Ohosehi no Mikuma no Ushi, Ohokuni Nushi, Ohomono Nushi, Koto Shiro Nushi, and Futsu Nushi. . . . Therefore, this *kami* resides in the middle of heaven, and the meaning of his name is the lord of the middle of the world (MNZ 1976, 9:127).

ABOUT TAKAMI MUSUBI KAMI

The *taka* of this name is a beautifying appellation; another name by which he is known is Takagi no Kami “the high-tree *kami*.” The *mi* is also ornamental. Kami Musubi is a name paired off with Takami Musubi, and so both these names have *mi* attached. . . . The word *musubi* is written with borrowed Chinese characters; *musu* means “to give birth to.” That is why Japanese call sons and daughters, their offspring, *musuko* “son” and *musume* “daughter.” Also, like moss, having a plant reproduce and grow is called *musu*. The *Nihon shoki* compilers wrote 日 *bi* (*fi*) with the character for spirit, and this fits well. Everything that has a mysterious air about it is called *fi*. The sun goddess who resides in the High Plain of Heaven gazes down from her land, and we call her *fi* “sun.” This is because there is no such thing on the earth, and she was given this name as she is the most mysterious and superior of all. The *fi* of prince and princess (*fiko/fime*) is a good prefix of praise. And *fi* [here voiced as *bi*] of the *kami* Magatsubi Naobi is of the same type. Therefore, *musubi* means the wondrous and mysterious power of the spirit of the *kami* who produces life. Other than these, we have names like Ho Musubi, Tamatsume Musubi, Iku Musubi, Taru Musubi, and Tsunokori Musubi. These all have the same meaning with *musubi*. Starting with heaven and earth, all things and actions originated with these two *kami*. Thus, though there are many *kami* in the world, the Japanese should revere this *kami* (Takami Musubi). It goes without

saying that this *kami* provides the blessing of prosperity, a *kami* worthy of respect and worship of men ... (MNZ 1976, 9:128–30).

CONCERNING KUNI NO TOKO TACHI

We can see from the characters (国之常立) that his name means the *kami* who stands eternally in heaven. [All the [traditional] explanations about the two characters of this name, 常立, are unsuitable.] It is not proper to leave out *no* and abbreviate the name to Kuni Toko Tachi. ... When we consider the origin of these twelve *kami* from Kuni no Toko Tachi until Izanami, we find that the two *kami* before Kuni no Toko Tachi, Ashikabi-hikoji and Ame no Toko Tachi, were heavenly *kami* born first in heaven like the sprouting reed. The *kami* from Kuni no Toko Tachi on were born from the substance that became the land floating like oil. [The substance that later became heaven had already sprouted, grown, and disappeared. The remaining residue became heaven.] Earth was created through the substance that settled downward, and then there is the substance that was pulled upward, as a variant tradition in *Shoki* notes, “Then there was another object resembling floating oil that had formed in the void. It changed into a *kami* named Kuni no Toko Tachi.”

The reason the name Kuni no Toko Tachi exists in contrast to Ame no Toko Tachi is because he was born of the earth (*kuni*). Thus, the clause “when the substance resembling floating oil drifted about” is a phrase connected to the birth of Izanami, and all the *kami* from Kuni no Toko Tachi (until Izanami) are born successively from this substance; this reading is the more natural of the two. Nonetheless, it is still difficult to be so decisive ... (MNZ 1976, 9:142–143).

ABOUT IZANAGI AND IZANAMI

The meaning of the names of the *kami* Izanagi and Izanami, according to *Nihon shoki kuketsu*, is “to invite.” My master also said that Izanagi is the nobleman of invitation, and Izanami is the lady of invitation. Truly, this is the meaning of these two *kami* who had intercourse and gave birth to the land; they invited each other and came together. This is as it should be. There are examples where the noble man is designated with just the suffix *gi*. We see examples such as in the section of the Great Words of the Aki *gi*. We see examples such as in the section of the Great Words of the Aki *gi*. We see the words *sazaki agi* “Sazaki, my son ...,” and in the Palace [Ōjin] we see the words *sazaki agi* “Sazaki, my son ...,” and in the

song from Prince Oshikuma [in the reign of Chūai] we have the words *iza agi* “Come on, my Lord.” These both mean “my lord.” Also, the suffix *megi* “lady” coalesces into *mi*.⁵ [One theory says that *ki* is an inverted abbreviation of *fiko*, and *mi* is an inverted abbreviation of *fime*. However, while this may happen sometimes, it does not apply here.] As I have thought on this, when these [two *kami*] were about to have intercourse they invited each other with the words *iza na* “I invite you,” so these two were named thus. The *na* in both names should be interpreted as “you.” [It is much the same type as *iza agi* from above, and in *Man'yōshū* and other works there are examples of *iza kodomo* “come, children.” So the suffix *ki* and *mi* have the meaning I mentioned above, and these words become part of their names as a form of praise. One could also claim that these were named thus because they spoke their words together, but that is not the case. And I have also thought that while *iza* is a form of invitation, then *nagi* is “my lord-*i*”, and *nami* is *nanimo-i* “my sister-*i*.” The final *i* here is a form like the emphatic *yo*. ...]

So I also thought that *gi* is a shortened form of *gii*, where the final *i* is a rhyming sound. The form *nanimo-i* becomes *mi* with the dropping of *ni* and to monophthongization of *moi*. I had thought thusly, but then comparing this with the name *kamurogi* and *kamuromi* I find that my theory does not work in these two examples, so I need to discard it ... (MNZ 1976, 9:151–52).

ABOUT THE SEVEN GENERATIONS OF KAMI

The divine age is called such because it is different from the age of men—a usage seen in the preface to *Kokinshū*. Japanese called it the divine age because people of ancient times were all *kami*. Since there is no obvious difference between the era when men were *kami* and the era when men were men, ancient times are broadly termed “the divine age,” as seen in some *Man'yōshū* poetry. When we have to make a distinction, however, the time until Ugayafukiaezu⁶ constitutes “the divine age,” and the time after the reign at the Kashiwara Palace [Jinmu] is the age of men. Since the condi-

5. Based on what we know about Old Japanese phonology, this type of sound change is difficult to accept. However, Unger (2008:50) proposed that an earlier *g lenited to zero in certain environments, triggering other changes, such as monophthongization of diphthongs. The environment Norinaga is explaining likely would not be a candidate for this sound change.

6. This is the father of Emperor Jinmu. His name is sometimes shortened to Fukiaezu.

tion of the world was truly different after the beginning of this reign, how fitting that we call it a new era.⁷ In spite of this, the reason that the time until Izanami is called the realm of the *kami* is because the five reigns after her⁸ still were called the reign of the *kami*. After the age of men began, then we are able to say that with the seven generations of *kami*, these other five reigns also constituted a part of the divine age. Truly, this seven-generation era was during the beginning of heaven and earth, the state of the *kami*, and the state of this world were as such as there has never been since. ... Of these twelve *kami*, the first two were produced alone, and the last ten were produced in pairs of male and female. We simply call these the era of twelve *kami* because it is difficult to divide them any farther. With the help of later examples of succession, we borrowed the term "seven generations" ... (MNZ 1976, 9:153).

ABOUT THE CREATION OF ONOGORO ISLAND

"Amano ukifasi"

This is a bridge placed between heaven and earth, creating a path that the *kami* can use to move up or down. Because it is placed in the firmament, it was called *ukifasi* "the floating bridge." Even when Ame no Oshihomimi Ninigi was about to descend down to our country he stood on this floating bridge of heaven and looked down. Based on the false wisdom from later people infected with the Chinese heart grounded in Chinese knowledge, people have argued about the nature of this bridge, but their arguments are deficient. *Tango fudoki* says, "Yosa District. In the northeast direction of the area under supervision by the District office is a village called Hayasi. The coastal area of the village has a very large and long cape. It is 1229 *jō* [12,290 feet] in length, but its width is less than nine *jō* [90 feet] in some places, and in others it is between ten and twenty *jō*. The tip of the coast is called 'the floating bridge of heaven.' The rear part of the cape is called Kushi Beach. The reason for these names is because the great *kami* Izanagi who created the land created a bridge so he could go back and forth to

7. Both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* make a textual distinction between the divine age and the age of men. Book 1 of *Kojiki* contains the myths of the *kami*, and Book 2 starts with Jinmu. Books 1 and 2 of *Nihon shoki* are the myths of the *kami*, and Book 3 is the record of Jinmu.

8. The reign of the *kami* includes the sun goddess, her son, her grandson, Ninigi, his son Hohodemi, and then Ugayafukiaezu.

heaven. Thus it was named 'the bridge of heaven.' However, when the great *kami* was sleeping, the bridge fell down. ..." According to this tradition, this floating bridge was originally constructed by this great *kami*. Now, because this bridge leads up to heaven, it became a ladder that was set upright, but when the *kami* went to sleep, it fell down, and the remains are on the coast of the sea in Tango. This story is the same type as Ame no Kaguyama in Yamato or Mo Yama in Mino.⁹ There are many such instances from the divine age. People in later eras whose thinking is based on Confucianism do not find this fact amazing ... (MNZ 1976, 9:161–62).

ONOGORO ISLAND

The island of Onogoro ... appears in *Shiki* where it says, "It is an island that congealed on its own. That is why it is called *onogoro sima* 'the self-congealing island.'" The name of the island is based on the action of the tide being stirred up, dripping off the tip of the halberd and then drying with a crackling noise. [Thus the word *koworo* "drying with a crackling noise" is simplified to *koro*. Now as this island was the first part of the land to be created, the word *tuti* "land, earth" was a creation from mud, and that is how you know the word is a contraction of *tudufidi*.] The prefix *ono* "self" was added because the other islands were all created by the two *kami* [Izanagi and Izanami]. Only this island was different. It formed by itself. That's why later in the text it says, "The only island they did not give birth to was Onogoro ..." (MNZ 1976, 9:164).

CONCERNING DIVINATION

In the section of the imperial reign in the Tamagaki Palace [Suinin] there is the usage of *futomani ni uranafete*. In *Nihon shoki* "great divination" is written as *futomani*, "And Ame no Koyane is the person who originally was granted authority over religious ceremonies. And that is why he per-

9. A tradition found in a fragment of *Iyo fudoki* says a mountain came down from heaven, and on its way down it split in two. One part landed in Yamato and is known as Mount Ame no Kagu. The other part landed in Iyo and is known as Mount Ame. Regarding Mo Yama, *Kojiki* records that at the funeral in heaven of Ama Waka Hiko, people mistook Ajishiki Takahikone for Ama Waka Hiko, which insulted him, and he cut down the mourning hut and it fell to earth and became Mount Mo, "Mount Mourning."

formed divination here." The word *futo* "thick" is like *futonorito* "powerful liturgy" and *futodama* "thick jewels"; it is an honorific prefix. Nevertheless, it is still unclear as to exactly what *mani* points to. [The usage of the character 占 "divination" in *Nihon shoki* was selected to represent the act of divination, but that does not necessarily mean that *mani* means divination. In general the characters used in *Shoki* do not fit the Japanese words but in most cases were selected for their meaning. In Chinese texts the characters 卦 "divination through the cracks in bones and scapula" and 占 "divination" are used in different contexts, but in our country both characters are used for the same word. In spite of this, the theory that there are different meanings for this act [in Japanese] based on the characters is completely wrong.] *Futomani* was one of the methods of ancient divination, and was one of the most important among the various ways to divine. . . .

The actual phrase 卜相而 "having divined together" should be read as *urafete*. . . . *urafe* is a shortened form of *uraafe*, and *afe* is an abbreviated form of *afase*. . . . Now, concerning the method of divination, one should read the section about Ama no Iwatoya (MNZ 1976, 9:180–82).

In *Nihon shoki*, Emperor Sujin section, it says, "The command to perform divine divination was given." The compilers of *Nihon shoki*, however, merely wrote this in imitation of Chinese literature, and in reality, the ancient Japanese performed divination on the shoulder blade of a stag. Since the Urabe family [who were in charge of divination] originated on the island of Iki, they brought divination by tortoise shell over from Korea. And it is seen in *Nihon shoki*, fourteenth year of Emperor Kinmei that Paekche presented divination and the use of the calendar to the Japanese envoys. It is from this time on that the Japanese used the Chinese method of divination. In an interpretation of *Nihon shoki*, however, a work known as *Gui zhao chuan* is quoted saying that divination by tortoise scapula originated in the divine age, and because of this, many scholars believed that divination originated thus. *Nihon shoki* abandoned the ancient method of stag divination, spreading the falsehood that the ancient Japanese employed divination by tortoise scapula from the beginning. The slandering of the ancient records is clear. How lamentable that the Japanese abandoned divination by stag, allowing divination by tortoise scapula to become the general method! In the codes on the ceremonies, the record only mentions divination by tortoise scapula, saying nothing about the older method of using the shoulder blade of a stag (MNZ 1976, 9:359–60).

ABOUT YOMI

Yomi is the place where the dead go. The word *yomi* is seen in *Manyōshū*, *Genji monogatari*, and *Eiga monogatari*. The word for resurrection or being brought back from the dead (*yomigaeru*) literally means to come back from *Yomi*. The definition of this word as recorded in *Nihon shoki kuketsu* is "the land seen at night." Though the last character 土 "land" is incorrect, the *yomi* part "seen at night" is indeed proper. Later we see the episode where Izanagi lights a torch, showing that this is a dark place. Also, the name of the moon *kami* [*Tsukuyomi*] who rules the world of the night has *yomi* attached to his name.

Now we see Izanami's words, "My Lord should rule the upper land, and I will stay and rule the lower." Also, Susanoo later says that he wishes "to go to the nether land below to where my mother has gone." Thus, we see that this place is somewhere below the land where humans reside. Later people who studied everything about the reasoning of life and death from Confucian and Buddhist books that came from abroad gave their own views about *Yomi*, but each of these is mistaken. These people should come to their senses about these foreign books which contain nothing about the ancient feelings of our people, and realize that *Yomi* is nothing more than the place where the dead go.

[A person once asked me, "When we die and go to *Yomi*, will we go with this body, or will only our spirit go?" I replied, "Since we lose this body in death, and it stays in this clearly visible world, only our spirits will go to *Yomi*." Whether you are rich or poor, good or evil, when people die, everyone goes to *Yomi*. . . .]

Izanami lamented to Izanagi, "I have eaten the food of *Yomi*." This food of *Yomi* means that she had eaten food prepared in the oven of *Yomi*. The reason this is foreboding is because fire is the origin of abstinence and purification. The numberless terrible evils originate from pollution by fire, and these evils have their origins in the spirit of Magatsubi who was formed from the pollution of *Yomi*. When fire defiles a person, countless evils occur because of the violent nature of this *kami*. Those who wish to pursue the Way of Shintō must rid themselves of the meaningless Chinese disposition, and remember what I have said.

Because of the existence of this evil *kami*, those who wish to love and govern the people must first purify themselves and abhor the fires in the country, and follow the will of the *kami*. Now, what I have been saying is that Izanami did not wish to part with her family [Izanagi], desiring to re-

turn to this world, but because the cooking fire of Yomi defiled her, it had thus become impossible for her to return. Ponder these words in *Kojiki*, and never take this terrible defilement of fire lightly! (MNZ 1976, 9:237–41)

ABOUT PURIFICATION

In ancient Japanese this is called *farafi* or *farafe*, and later the meanings of these two words were confused, being understood by people as meaning the same thing. Originally, these were different words. *Farafi* meant to perform purification of one's own volition, while *farafe* comes from the abbreviation of "cause to perform purification" (*farafase*). This is for people who have committed crimes or transgressions. In *Shoki* we see that Susanoo was caused to perform ablutions, which is 祛具, read *farafetumono*. . . .

Then there is *misogifarafi*. These two characters (禊祓) should be read as a verb [as opposed to a noun]. *Misogi* means to wash one's body. In the text below we see *kazukite sosogitamau*. . . . Even now, when people come out of mourning, they go to the ocean or river and cleanse themselves. Also, lustration by bathing in water comes from the original act of *misogi*. *Farafi* means to discard something, which *Nihon shoki* writes as 拂濯 "wash away." The earlier example from *Shoki* with 灌去 is the same thing, as the character 去 has the same meaning as 除 "rid." This word also has a connection with the word *arafi*, "to wash oneself." Now, *misogi* and *farafi* are by this time nominalized forms, but originally the ancient Japanese used them as verbs; *farafi* is original, and *misogi* also is seen in *Man'yōshū* in Book 3: *amanokafara ni / idetatite / misogitemasi wo* "I should have gone out to the plain of the Milky Way and performed ritual purification. . . ."¹⁰ We also find in Book 6: *suga no ne torite / sinofu kusa / farafete masi wo* "I should have pulled out the sedge by the roots and presented it as forget-me-nots for my ablutions. . . ."¹¹

We also find that the verb *farafimisogasimu* "performed their ablutions and then purified themselves in water" is also seen in the Richū section of *Nihon shoki*. Tradition says *misogi* is to be performed only on the shore by water [river or ocean]. The old records all state this, and this is what the Chinese character 禊 means. *Farafi* has a broader meaning, because it can be performed with or without water . . . (MNZ 1976, 9:261–64).

10. From MYS 420.

11. From MYS 948.

The imposition of one thousand tables on Susanoo for his evil conduct in the High Plain of Heaven is also called *farafi*. Therefore, there are two general meanings for *farafi*: one is like the ritual purification with water by Izanagi at the Ahagi Plain (*misogi*), and the other is like exacting a fine. The fine levied on a criminal is reparation of property. Thus, though there are two acts performed here with interrelated purposes, they originally were one and the same act. The example in the Richū section of *Nihon shoki* says, "... the emperor had them perform ablutions for evil and ablutions for good. They went to Nagasu Cape and performed their ablutions and then purified themselves in water." This shows that even criminals were caused to perform purification with water. A criminal offense and defilement are the same thing. The reader should remember what the Great Purification says, "Beginning with the eighty Tomonowo of the Tomonowo, the many administrators on this last day of this the sixth month, now have their various offenses that may have been committed hereby expiated, and you all are cleansed. . . ."

"Let the *kami Seori Hime* who resides in the shoals of the fast river take these offences out to sea. . . . The diviners of the four provinces will take the defilement out to sea via the great river road and purge them in the water." The act of expiation of crimes committed, and the purification of defilement are exactly the same. . . . Now, whether you have committed a crime, or have become defiled, it is the law of the ancients that purification be performed according to the extent and nature of the crime or pollution. It can be seen from old records that this law was part of the ceremonies carried out by the court until middle antiquity.

Now, we see two meanings concerning the fine levied on Susanoo. One is the imposition of various articles with which to perform the ablution. *Nihon shoki* writes this as *farafetumono* (祓具). Let us think about the character 具. The record goes on to say, "And they took his spittle and made of it white linen offerings. . . ." These were used in the purification. Also, in the Yüryaku section of *Nihon shoki*, where it talks about the crime of Hatane, it says, "He expiated his crime with eight horses and eight swords." Also, in an official decree from the Council of State in the fifth month of Enryaku 20 [801] we see, "The court establishes the following in levying fines for purification against a criminal. There will be twenty-eight items for a Great Purification . . . twenty-six items for a Greater Purification . . . twenty-two items for a Middle Purification . . . and twenty-two items for a Lesser Purification." These various items were part of the fine imposed for the purification, and the court established these in accordance to the seriousness of the crime.

First, when Izanagi purified himself in the plain of Ahagi, he threw down the various items he was wearing. In the same way, a criminal must throw away [or give away] his possessions because they have become defiled through his unclean actions. Thus, in later ages, the various items used in purification were put in water, and caused to float away.

Concerning the thousand tables (千位) paid by Susanoo, *Shiki*¹² says that it is the name of a table or dais upon which the articles were placed. This means that it is a table where the items for purification are set, just as a throne where one sits is called a *kurawi*. ... According to the seriousness of the crime, the items varied in number. This shows that Susanoo's crimes were of a very grave nature, and so an extreme number, one thousand, was imposed. ... (MNZ 1976, 9:383–85)

CONCERNING YASO MAGATSUBI

I will talk about the word *maga* in a moment. ... *Yaso* means much evil. The prefix *ofo* means extreme, and while there is no example of *Ofomagatsubi* in *Nihon shoki*, there is the name *Ofoayatsubi*. *Aya* and *maga* have the same basic meaning. ... Now, all the evil, wicked events in the world have their origins in the spirit of Magatsubi. ...

Let us now look at all the *kami* from Magatsubi until Izunome in detail. First, all the evil and damage that exists in the world comes from the pollution in Yomi. Thus, anciently, all the wicked and evil was called *kitanasi* “filthy” and *maga* “twisted.” In *Nihon shoki*, when describing a lying heart, a filthy heart, or an evil heart, the usage is always read as *kitanaki kokoro*. The imperial edicts in *Shoku Nihongi* use the words *kitanaku asiki yatuko* and *kitanaki yatuko*. The liturgies use the ancient usage of *magakoto* when talking about evil events. In *Nihon shoki*, in the Keikō account, we see 過害 “wicked injury” glossed as *maga*; *Kojiki* also has “evil” written as *maga*. Death is written as *magare*, because whether the word is *kitanasi* or *maga*, the meaning is the same: evil. Now, *nafosu* means to rectify evil by turning it into good, “be well” known as *naforu*. Thus, we have already seen where Izanagi washes the defilement away through purification, rectifying the evil and making it good. Defilement is evil, and purification through washing turns that evil into good. In spite of the fact that later generations believe *nafosu* is simply to fix or repair something bent or broken, it is a

12. A record or minutes of lectures held at court on the text of *Nihon shoki* that were held several times during the first two centuries of the Heian era. Only fragments of it are still extant, but *Shaku Nihongi* quotes it rather liberally.

mistake to think that purification fixes the flaws in one’s heart. Nevertheless, as I noted above, *maga* in ancient times meant everything evil, and *nafosu* meant to turn all forms of evil into good, to use a contemporary word that all would understand. So, anciently, all good things were called *akasi*, or *kiyosi*, or *nafosi* ... (MNZ 1976, 9:272, 276).

CONCERNING AMATERASU ŌMIKAMI

This name *terasu* “shine” does not exactly mean to shine in heaven. The verb *teru* has been elongated into *terasu* according to ancient Japanese grammar.¹³ *Amaterasu* means to reside in heaven and shine down. It is the same as *takafikaru* “to shine high above.” And the reason that the character 大 “big” is written as 太 “fat” in the Nobuyoshi manuscript of the *Kojiki* is that Nobuyoshi foolishly altered these to appear wise. ... Now, *Nihon shoki* states, “Hereupon they gave birth to the sun goddess, called Ohohirume no Muchi. Another record says, ‘Amaterasu Ohomikami.’ Another record has, ‘Amaterasu Ohohirume.’”

[The editors of *Nihon shoki* should not have recorded these names for the sun goddess [Ameratsu Ōmikami] as “another record says,” but as “She is also known as ...”¹⁴ The reason for this is that the record hereafter in *Shoki* continually refers to her as Amaterasu Ōmikami. ...] One record calls her Amaterasu Ohomikami, while another calls her Ohohirume; *Manyōshū* calls her Amaterasu Hirume. Thus, this great *kami* is the very sun that exists before our eyes and illuminates the world. Therefore, the moon and sun are created for the first time through this act of purification [by Izanagi]. [Before this, there was no moon or sun. Nonetheless, the learned men of the day say that the moon and sun naturally appear when heaven and earth were formed. They also say that these are natural objects different from Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi, but in what record does it say that? These are simply personal theories from people drowning in Chinese reason based on Chinese works, and they turn their backs on these extremely old records. If the moon and sun existed previous to this event [the purification of Izanagi], then what *kami* did Izanagi’s act of purification produce? It says the sun [sun goddess], but if these learned men want to

13. This is not quite accurate. The verbal suffix *su* is honorific, elevating the plain verb *teru* and making it more fitting for a *kami* like the sun goddess.

14. Norinaga apparently did not comprehend that the *Shoki* compilers had merely noted that the name of the sun goddess was recorded differently in other works. There were variant records, and this is the importance of *Shoki*’s word-usage. Norinaga’s suggestion would lessen the importance of these data.

twist the record and say that the *kami* created here is not the sun, then how do we deal with the passage in *Nihon shoki* where it mentions that Izanagi gave birth to the sun and moon? These scholars strain at a gnat and swallow a camel in relation to theories recorded in foreign works, but are not these theories heretical, causing men to disbelieve the true, ancient records of this country in which it is clearly stated that the sun and moon were produced here? And as was stated at the beginning of this chapter, it is a mistake to argue theories on the Chinese basis of this so-called *yin* and *yang* principle. . . .] (MNZ 1976, 9: 283–84)

CONCERNING THE KAMI TSUKUYOMI

This name should be read *tukuyomi*. *Shoki* records, “Next he gave birth to the moon *kami*. Another record states that he is Tsukuyomi (written as 月弓, 月夜見, and 月読). My master explained the meaning of this name thus: *mi* means to carry, to hold, as in the case of the names *Watatsumi* and *Yamatsumi*; so it means the moon that carries the night (*tuki-yo-moti*). Since this is the great *kami* who rules the land of night, such a name is only fitting. We see the older reading of *tukuyomi*. Moon-night is read as *tsukuyo*, which is what we see in *Man'yōshū*. The name of Yomi [the land of the dead] is related. I have one idea about the *mi* in this word, which I have made mention of in the section about Ame no Oshiho Mimi.

Now, this great *kami* is also in heaven and is the moon. Moonlight is recorded in *Man'yōshū* as *tukuyomi no fikari*. There is no doubt that this *kami* is male, but you can be sure by what *Man'yōshū* says, “The beautiful man of the moon, the man of the moon, the wonderful, superior man.”¹⁵ And even in *Nihon shoki*, where we see the moon *kami* pull out his sword and slay Ukemochi, which demonstrates that Tsukuyomi acts like a man . . . (MNZ 1976, 9:284–85).

CONCERNING TAKE SUSANOO

I will discuss the prefix *take* or *faya* later. *Susa* comes from the word *sabi*, which comes from *susabi*. This is abbreviated to *sabi*, the *susa* being shortened to just *sa* . . . and it means “to go forward committing violent acts.”

15. Norinaga has created his list based on the poetry found in MYS 985, 1372, and 983. It is interesting that he makes such a strong statement about the gender of this *kami*. Hirata Atsutane, who claimed to have inherited the mantle of the Motoori school after Norinaga's death, stated that the Moon *kami* was actually a female.

Nowo means male. Now, let us look at the washing of the eyes and nose.¹⁶ We only see the washing of these two body parts. There is no washing of the mouth or ears. The reason for this is because the eyes became defiled through the pollution Izanagi had seen, and the nose had smelled the putrefied state of things [especially Izanami] in Yomi. Thus, because Izanagi did not partake of anything in Yomi, his mouth was free from defilement. And though he heard Izanami's words, and heard the sound of the *kami* of thunder, and had in fact come in contact with their voices, there is no defilement or pollution in sound [in the voice]. Therefore, the true cause of defilement or pollution comes through contact with sight and smell. Now within these two, the defilement beheld through the eyes was light and free of stain, and that is why we had the birth of good *kami* like the moon and sun.¹⁷ The moon *kami* is called a wicked *kami* by Amaterasu in *Nihon shoki*, but this is in relation to only one action. On the whole, the moon *kami* was good. . . . Because the defilement of the nose—the smell was evil and putrid—was strong almost unto death, Susanoo was born an evil *kami* (MNZ 1976, 9:285–86, 342).

CONCERNING THE THREE PRECIOUS CHILDREN

Regarding the birth of the three precious children, the character 子 “child” is used not only for *kami*, but also for the islands and territory that Izanagi and Izanami gave birth to. . . . The three precious children are seen in *Shoki* through the words [of Izanagi], “I wish to give birth to precious children to rule the creations below heaven.” An annotational note says that the character 珍 is to be read *udu* “precious.” Here the three great *kami* are born. In the Jinmu record we also see the character 珍 used in the name Utsu Hiko. . . . The theory of my master is that *udu* means “noble and dignified.”

It goes without saying that the jeweled necklace refers to pearls on a string both the men and women anciently put around their necks, as well as wrapped around their wrists and ankles, as well as jewels used as decoration on people's clothing. In the story of Hoori, we find that he had decorations known as a “jeweled necklace.” Also, in *Shoki* we see where Susanoo had a string of five hundred jewels around his neck. . . .

16. The act that gave birth to the sun goddess and the moon *kami*. Izanagi washed his left then right eye as an act of ritual purification, and the sun and moon *kami* were born in that order. Susanoo was born when Izanagi washed his nose.

17. It should be noted that in *Shoki*, after the moon *kami* slays Ukemochi, the sun goddess declares, “You are an evil *kami*! You are no longer allowed to dwell here!” And that is why the moon and sun are not seen together.” Norinaga's reply to this is below.

The characters 汝命 “you” should be read *nagamikoto*, where the *ga* functions as a possessive. In the edicts in *Shoku Nihongi* we find 汝賀命 *na ga mikoto* in the words “[The emperor] said, ‘You should now inherit [the throne] and rule. . .’” Also, in *Kojiki*, in a song by Takeshi Uchi we find that he calls Ōsazaki “you, the prince.” This kind of usage is very prevalent in *Kojiki*. As I have stated previously, in later eras the personal pronoun *na* was used as a pejorative, but in the ancient era it was a word of respect. And that is why the deferential suffix *mikoto* was also added. . .

The High Plain of Heaven, as I have mentioned previously, points to heaven. The sun goddess even now looks down upon us, right before our eyes, and just as the words of Izanagi when he entrusted her with her duty, she was given eternal rule over heaven, and it is clear that she shines down on the oceans and the myriad countries of earth. [In spite of this, the learned men of the day argue that she set up her capital in the province of Yamato, or in Afumi, or in Buzen. These are all wretched theories. These mischievous theories state that because she is the founder of the imperial family, her virtue *was like the sun*, used metaphorically, and that is why she is called the sun goddess, but they do not think that she is actually the sun in the sky. They also believe that “heaven” is simply the great firmament, and since it has no shape or substance like our land and so on, they believe that there is no such existence because it is not rational. Thus, while the records call it the High Plain of Heaven, it is simply a name for her capital, so we should understand that all the events in the record surrounding her actually took place in our land. These are incorrect, dogmatic theories from people drowning in the learning of Chinese works. In general Chinese people are trammeled by conventional wisdom based on what they can see and hear in the present, and they are unable to process information that comes from rationality based on inexplicable and mysterious events. Because of this, people in our country have blindly become accustomed to this reasoning, so these people then take the wondrous events of the divine age and force these into the framework of conventional wisdom, but in the end this is wrong. Among these theories, the one stating that the capital of the sun goddess is in this land or that land is truly far-fetched.

On the whole, if one believes that the sun goddess is an entity different from the orb in the sky and ruled in our land, then how do you interpret the story about her hiding in the heavenly cave? At that time, even if she were in the cave for a small amount of time, but later then passed away, the world from that time onward would have been cast into eternal darkness. But that did not happen, and the world has been illuminated from the an-

cient past. How do people explain this? If people then claim that she did not pass away, but has been on the earth all these years, then where did she move after we entered the age of humans? Or why did she withdraw from the land she ruled over? This theory is completely incomprehensible. If she had actually ruled over Yamato or Afumi, then naturally her posterity would come forward and claim their right to rule. And what reason would there be for her to abandon her capital and journey to the land in the west?]. . . (MNZ 1976, 9:287–90).

CONCERNING THE LAND OF THE NIGHT

First, the phrase 食国 is a general term referring to the land that the descendants of the sun goddess rule over. The verb *wosu* means “to partake of something.” [*Shoki* glosses the graph 食 as *miwosisu* and food is glossed as *wosimono*. In the Book 12 of *Man'yōshū* the particle *wosi* is represented with the *kungana* 食.] However, when something is internalized, be it seen, heard, understood, or eaten, these all have the same meaning, and the verbs *misu* “see,” *kikosu* “hear,” *sirasu* “know,” and *wosu* “eat” are often used interchangeably, and whether one means the land that the sovereign rules over or the territory that he controls, the verb *sirasu* or *wosu* is used. The verb *kikosimesu* is also used. As one sees something, hears something, understands something, eats something, our lord rules over the land, he controls that territory—he has possession of it, has ownership of it. . .

Now, the sun goddess rules the day, and the moon *kami* rules over the night, and they both dwell in the High Plain of Heaven. Some may question why the verb 食国 “govern the land” is used when they do not dwell in this land, but my master’s theory states, “The word *kuni* refers to anything that has boundaries. In the dialect of the eastern countries there is the word *kune* ‘fence,’ and this is the same word. Therefore, when Susanoo journeyed up to heaven Amaterasu Ōmikami said, ‘You have come here with the intention of robbing me of my land.’ Susanoo was given the command ‘to rule over the oceans.’ Izanagi later said, ‘You will not rule over the land I entrusted to you.’ Originally, the posterity of the sun goddess were entrusted to rule over everything under the heavens, be it the heavens, the land, or the oceans. . .”

However, the record does not say that the sun goddess rules over the day, but that she rules over the High Plain of Heaven, and the reason that in contrast to the sun goddess, Tsukuyomi was commanded to rule over the night, or the land of the night, is because this is temporally limited in

scope. [While there is the contrast of night and day, day is the principal element.] ... (MNZ 1976, 9:292).

ON UNDERSTANDING THE DIVINE AGE

People debate the divine age from the point of view of human experience. [The learned scholars of the world cannot comprehend the mysterious reasoning of the divine age. They simply twist it, arguing from the perspective of all the men in the world, and this because they are drowning in Chinese learning.] I comprehend human experience by using the perspective of the divine age. Let me give a detailed discussion on the significance of this view. The reasoning of the state of the world, of the continual cycle of good and evil from generation to generation, from era to era, comes from the original state of things, great and small, at the beginning of the divine age. The significance of that logic started with the intercourse of the male and female *kami*, resulting in the birth of the various islands, and the many *kami*; thus, with the birth of the three precious children [sun goddess, Tsukuyomi, and Susanoo], Izanagi assigned each a responsibility, giving them charge over some sphere. From the act of intercourse until the birth of the countries and the *kami*, everything that existed was good. [However, we must say that the seed of evil is planted when the female *kami* spoke before the male.] With the birth of the fire *kami*, the great mother *kami* [Izanami] died, thus allowing evil to enter the world for the first time. [Through this evil, it is only reasonable that the people of the world should die. The reason for death, be it sickness or anything else, is because all these things are evil. ...]

And thus, because of this evil, Izanami went to the land of Yomi, which is actually a move from good to evil, and since she has remained in Yomi forever, we see that evil remains in the world, it being the source of the same. [Until Izanami gave birth to the fire god, she was a good *kami* who had given birth to various things [*kami* and islands]. But after, she entered Yomi and stayed there for a long time and became an evil *kami*, and it is here that she tried to kill one thousand people a day. Upon becoming a wicked *kami*, she became the source from which Magatubi was produced.]

Now as for the male *kami*, he [Izanagi] went after Izanami and entered this land [Yomi], unexpectedly coming in contact with pollution, because the entire world had turned evil. However, Izanagi quickly returned to the visible world, and performed expiation. [He performed this ritual to rectify

evil and return to good, to change the evil of the world into good. The Way of humanity is based upon this principle, to perform good.]

The reason that Magatubi came into existence is due to the filth in Yomi. As Izanagi expiated and cleansed himself from the defilement, he was able to give birth to the three noble children. [However, even among these three, Susanoo was an evil *kami*, and the reason that he was violent and destructive was because though Izanagi was a good *kami* from beginning to end, he came in contact with the evil of Yomi.] Finally, having Amaterasu rule the High Plain of Heaven meant that everything returned to the state of good, and this is how things should be in the world.

Now the reader should diligently ponder these acts, understanding that this is the condition of this world, that evil comes from good, and that this is the principle of common interaction. Also, people should understand that though we have this type of evil in the world, in the end it will not overcome good. [Though Izanami killed one thousand people a day, Izanagi gave birth to fifteen hundred people a day, displacing the force of evil. Because of the violence of Susanoo, Amaterasu hid herself in the Ama no Iwato cave, but she came back out after a while, shining upon this world ever since, and the myriad *kami* banished Susanoo from heaven. This is that principle at work.] The reader also should understand that a person should avoid and abhor evil, instead performing good acts. How mysterious! How wondrous! How profound! How very profound! (MNZ 1976, 9:294–96)

LITURGIES

Book 17 of *Man'yōshū* contains the poem: **nakatomi no / futo noritogoto / ififarafe** “The Nakatomi speak the thick [words of] the liturgy and perform purification. ...”¹⁸ In *Shoki* we see the words “They put Ame no Koyane in charge of the thick words of the liturgies of expiation. ‘Thick words of the liturgies’ is read *futo norito*.” In the liturgy of the Great Purification, we find the following, “Recite the words of the thick liturgy of heaven from the Nakatomi family.” This refers to the recitation of the purification liturgy. ... This is the purpose of liturgies. The etymology is *noru* “speak” *toki* “expound” *goto* “words.” *Noru* is not necessarily the commands of high-ranking people, but points to saying and asking things of a person. The word *toku* “to explain” is written in *Nihon shoki* with the character 講

18. In MYS 4031.

"to teach and enlighten," in the compound verb 太諱辭, and the contemporary word *kudoku* "entreat someone" is close in meaning to this. ...¹⁹

"Express words of congratulation." These words are also seen at the end of this book of *Kojiki*.²⁰ The characters 禱白而 should be read *negimaturite*.²¹ The character 禱 is also read *fogi* and *nomi*. When we consider these words from the angle of the ancient vocabulary, *fogu* is a phrase of prayer through praise. *Nomu* is a prayer of supplication. The verb *negu* includes both meanings. Now in regard to what constituted the congratulatory, thick words of this liturgy, *Shoki* mentions, "... Ame no Koyane, the distant ancestor of the Nakatomi, enumerated words of celebration for the *kami*." We also see the phrase "[Imibe Obito] proffered a liturgy full of generous and affectionate words of praise." And other examples aside from in this record of words of congratulation include examples from the various liturgies, and gathering these examples and considering them, these words were used to praise the various objects of offering that Futotama had collected and held [in the branch he had decorated]. Thus, these are said to be divine words of prayer and praise ... (MNZ 1976, 9:368–69).

CONCERNING THE NETHER LAND

All examples of land of Tokoyo "nether land" in the ancient period can be grouped into three meanings: one, it points to Tokoyo Naganakidori Tokoyo Omoikane "Eternal-World-Endlessly-Crying-Bird." This is the meaning of *tokoyo*, as mentioned above. Two ... our land (Japan) is eternal and unchanging. The meaning of the character 常 is "to be unchanging." Three points to the actual land of Tokoyo. These three all use the same character set (常世), but the three meanings are different and are not interchangeable. Now, as for the meaning of the nether land, it is not the name of a country. It points to an area that is very remote from the imperial land, no matter what direction you travel. The nether land is the name broadly used for this land, a land that is difficult to reach. Thus, the word refers to a remote place. Anciently, all the usages of the nether land had no other

19. Linguistically, there are a few problems with this theory, the greatest being that *norito* is written with a type-one character (*tuo*) while the *to* of *toku* (found in *kudoku*) is written with a type-two character; therefore, the two words are etymologically unrelated.

20. Those congratulatory words are spoken by Ōkuninushi in the section where he cedes authority over his land to Ninigi.

21. Onoda's textual work on *Kojiki* reconstructs the interlinear gloss as *fokimawosite* (1977:126).

meaning than this. ... Because this place, as I have explained above, is a place that must be reached by crossing the distant oceans—regardless of the direction you travel—all the myriad countries other than the imperial country belong to the designation of Tokoyo (MNZ 1976, 10:8–10).

CONCERNING WORSHIP

Of all the usages of *agamimafe* in the ancient lexicon many have to do with "being in the presence of a *kami*." At the end of this [the twelfth book of *Shoki*] section, we see a command from Amaterasu where she says, "Hold ritual services for [my spirit] as if I were here before you." Also she said, "Omoikane will receive my words and will officiate in worship for me." In the second book of *Kojiki*, in the record of the Mizugaki emperor [Sujin] in the dream of the emperor we have the words of the command of Ōmononushi, "If you worship me [as if I were here], then no disease will appear from my divine curse. ..."

Also, the meaning of the constant use of the noun *mafe* "before" is a bit difficult to interpret, but having pondered the usages, [I believe that] *mafe* has the same meaning as "throne," and is used in reference to the throne where the *kami* originally sat. So the word originally referred to the august throne of the *kami*, but eventually as it came to refer to the *kami*, the usage of "rule before me" came to mean "rule for me." If you ponder the passages quoted above, you will understand this (MNZ 1976, 10:14).

Shrines to the *kami* of heaven and earth. *Nihon shoki* records this as "shrines to the *kami* of heaven and earth," and as "*kami* of heaven and the state. ..." *Ryō no gige* explains, "Heavenly *kami* are the kind that are worshipped at the great shrines of Ise, Yamashiro, Kamo, Sumiyoshi, and Izumo. Earthly *kami* refer to the great ones of Ōmiwa, Ōyamato, Katsuragi, Kamo, and Izumo. The great heavenly *kami* at Izumo refers to Susanoo. ..." Heavenly *kami* are those who reside in heaven, or those who descended to earth from heaven. Earthly *kami* are those who reside in Japan (MNZ 1976, 10:27).

THE DIVINE EDICT

In reference to the line "According to the words of Takami Musubi and Amaterasu ...," whenever the *kami* make a declaration, there are instances where these two *kami* are listed together, as above, and there are instances

where Amaterasu is listed before Takami Musubi, and there are places where Takami Musubi has been dropped and only Amaterasu is listed as the subject. The reason for this is because Amaterasu is the paramount and Takami Musubi is the subordinate *kami*. The reason I can state that is because Takami Musubi does not rule over the High Plain of Heaven. It was Amaterasu who was given charge of ruling over the High Plain of Heaven by command of the great *kami* Izanagi, and it this divine decree that we are addressing here where she transfers that right to rule to her child and orders him to descend down to the land.

However, Takami Musubi dwelt in the High Plain of Heaven from the beginning when heaven and earth were created. All things and events in the world were utterly given birth through the power and virtue of his binding spirit. And that is why even this decree was given with both *kami* present, and thus he is worshipped as a distant ancestor of the imperial grandchildren (MNZ 1976, 10:44–45).

INHERITING THE HEAVENLY THRONE

In *Manyōshū* this term 天津日繼 “heavenly-sun-inheritance” is read *ama no fitugi*. This is named because it has reference to one who receives the great, divine commission from the great *kami* of the sun in the heavens, and these people undertake the great work of ruling over the land through successive generations. In the record of Tenmu, after the phrase “recited a eulogy about the successive rulers and their ascensions to the throne” the text notes, “Anciently ascension to the throne was called *fitugi*.²² The princes that have the right to ascend to this position were called *fitugi no miko* “princes of the sun inheritance.” Thus, the meaning noted above surely cannot be altered, and anybody would think that this is as it should be, but at the moment I have a different idea about this one section. The character 繙 means “to provide,” so perhaps it is known as the inheritance of the heavenly realm because the great *kami* of heaven provides and bequeaths things and those in authority receive and accept them. Things that are provided and bequeathed refers to the many offerings presented by the masses under the heavens, so this by extension is “a thing” bestowed by Amaterasu and received by the emperor. Among the various objects that are presented, rice stalks are the chief among these, and the reason for this is seen in

22. Norinaga is incorrect here, as this actually appears in the record of Jitō, and not Tenmu.

Shoki, where Amaterasu “also decreed, ‘I will bestow this rice from the sacred paddy of mine in the High Plain of Heaven upon my son ...’” (MNZ 1976, 10:114–15).

CONCERNING A FIRE DRILL

The characters 鑽出火 should be read *fi wo kiri idete* “drill and start a fire.” In *Wamyōshō* the character 火鑽 “fire drill” is glossed as *fikiri*, and 鏃 “flint” is read as *fiuti*. When starting a fire, there are differences between flints and sparks. In the second book of *Kojiki* in the story of Yamato Takeru there is the line “and using a flint he caused a counterfire.” This idea of a flint is common knowledge in the world. In the ancient period fires that were abhorred and purified were all started by using a fire drill. Even up to the present the Great Shrine of Ise uses this type of fire to cook the rice for their offerings ... (MNZ 1976, 10:130).

ABOUT NINIGI²³

Nigisi is simply a prefix of honor. ... *Amatu fidaka* is seen in the Great Purification, where it says, “*Ofoyamato fidakami no Kuni*.” My master says, “The *kami* are praising the land of Yamato, praised for being settled on all fronts. The higher the ordered firmament is, the greater the land. This is the metaphor. As always, the sun resides in the ordered heavens, and thus, the heaven is high (*fidaka*), and this has been the way of saying it from ancient times. ...” The name Fono Ninigi comes from the word for rice ear (*fo*). *Ni* refers to the ripening of the ear. ... *Gi* is an abbreviation of *kafi* (*kai*), which means an abundance of rice ears (MNZ 1976, 10:142–44).

CONCERNING PRINCES

All males are *fiko* and females are *fime*, and these are appellations of praise. The first syllable, *fi*, refers to the mysterious power in all things. When *Shoki* talks about the birth of Amaterasu it says, “The two *kami* were pleased, and said, ‘Though our children have been numerous, none have

23. *Kojiki* records his full name as Ame Nigisi Kuninigisi Amatu Fidaka Fiko Fono Ninigi.

KODŌ TAI

Hirata Atsutane | 1811

[This somewhat lengthy work written in colloquial Japanese is a record of lectures Atsutane gave his students. He discusses the characteristics of the ancient Way, and expounds upon how students may come to their own knowledge, mainly by studying *Kojiki* and other ancient texts. In this lecture he gives his version of the ancient mythology, from the creation down through Ninigi descending to Japan to the establishment of Jinmu as the first emperor, demonstrating a trend where he exhibits a lack of concern about blending together the stories in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.]

PART ONE¹

The subject that I would like to address presently is that of the significance of the ancient Way.² First, the subjects I would like to discuss are (1) the reason that our study is labeled *kogaku* “ancient learning,” (2) the origin of our field, (3) give a general summary of the pioneers of this field and a biography of those people who spread the teachings of our field, (4) discuss what [texts] *kogaku* is based on, (5) provide an outline of the “divine age,” (6) explain why we should be grateful for the virtue of the *kami*, (7) why our country is the divine land, and (8) the reason why you and I—down to the lowliest man—are undisputedly the progeny of the *kami*. Also, I will give a general breakdown about the beginning of heaven and earth starting with the so-called opening of creation, the prosperity of the unbroken imperial line, why our country is unparalleled among all the nations of the world, why everything we do is superior to the other nations, and why our people naturally possess hearts of integrity (眞の心) because they belong to the divine country; it is this heart of integrity that ancients was called *yamatogokoro* or *yamatodamashii*. I will address these topics briefly.

Now, the legends in the divine age and the deeds of these *kami* are very strange and hard to believe for the common mind of people. I will disabuse you of any errors, and within my discussion concerning the things men-

tioned above, the overall meaning of the true Way naturally will come to light. However, when it comes to an outline of the divine age or the reason for our gratitude to the *kami*, though I should talk for twenty or even thirty days on end without pausing to take a breath, I could not expound upon one ten-thousandth of the boundless, noble, exceptional virtue of the *kami*. Thus, it might sound as if what I will summarize here in this brief period of two or three days is shallow and superficial, but though these things are roughly abbreviated, if I do not address the divine age there will be much that you will not be able to comprehend. Therefore, I will address the “divine age,” being obliged to summarize it, addressing the issue as if I were running through the story, as it were. Thus, I will not touch upon the well-known story of [the sun goddess] hiding in the Ama no Iwato cave, nor will I deal with the slaying of the [eight-headed] monster by Susanoo. As regards the minute details of these legends, I will address certain points at a later time by taking the story in its pure form from the legends in the ancient records.

Perhaps there are some who think, “Why does he not give us a detailed exposition now?” There is a reason for this. And that reason is this: the central point of the ancient Way, the so-called great Way under heaven that I will discuss is the Way of man, and since we are all citizens of the imperial country, you all should be able to comprehend the overall gist of these things without studying about it. Therefore, though we expound upon these things, there should not be one person who finds the ideas difficult to accept, regardless that in present society there are a variety of Ways, starting with Confucianism and Buddhism, which are spreading. Various people put their hearts into these various Ways, some into Buddhism, some into Confucianism, others into what is commonly called Shintō, or the Zhu Xi school of thought, or the school of Ishida.³ And even if a person has not set his heart upon these schools of learning, every person is accustomed to seeing, hearing, and discussing these philosophies mentioned above, being influenced to some extent by these schools’ dogma. Thus, if we were to suddenly start expounding about the first principle of the ancient Way, very often what happens is that we are prevented from progressing because of various examples of people in the world being already accustomed to seeing, hearing, and discussing these doctrines. If we try to provide a thor-

1. I have had reference to Odronic’s translation (1967).

2. This is where the title of the work comes from: the ancient way (古道) and general outline (大意).

3. Called 心学 “studies of the mind,” the school was started by Ishida Baigan (1685–1744). He believed that the general principles for learning were a concrete part of the human intellect, stating that no matter how basic one’s lifestyle was, a person could be enlightened through learning.

ough understanding, the student cannot comprehend the true meaning. And because they cannot hear the proper words—their minds being accustomed to other doctrines—they misunderstand the principles, and great errors arise. Not only do they make errors, but they fail to believe the points of the principles that we explain, and fail to hearken to our words, only hearing a fragment of what we say; and with that smattering of knowledge, they exaggerate their mistakes, which originated from their disbelief, and journey to other places, treating me with contempt. Looking throughout society we see that there have been many people like this.

Naturally, the things that I will expound here belong to the general outline of the Way, things you are all familiar with, and I cannot expound even one ten-thousandth of the ancient Way. If you have only heard this small one ten-thousandth of the Way once or twice, then there is nothing you can say. For example, suppose there is a large ox here, but a blind person cannot see it. And he tries to figure out the size by only handling the tail without touching the entire animal. He then takes an attitude of belittling the animal, believing the ox is small in size. [In similar fashion] trifling disparagements [about the Way] are worthless. In spite of this, you will come to comprehend these things about the Way when we lecture about them; however, when we speak of that important record [*Kojiki*] wisely put together anciently that chronicles the events from the beginning of creation and transmitted down to the present, we should be filled with trepidation if we were to neglect the will of the *kami* of heaven and earth, and all the visible *kami* (the emperors) from antiquity. Thus, let us first address the true state of things that we are accustomed to hearing and seeing, and the existing fallacies. Remember what you know about Buddhism, Confucianism, as well as the Dharma of the mind and the way to enlightenment,⁴ or even vulgar Shintō,⁵ and when your resolve is firm, and we lecture deliberately about the mysteries of the ancient Way through the ancient legends, then there will be no doubt about what we say if we convince you based upon [these ancient traditions]. If we do this, then surely there will

4. Atsutane writes 心法悟道, which if translated directly is “the Dharma of the mind, and the way to enlightenment.” Odronic (1967:58) interpreted this as a set term.

5. Atsutane and other Kokugaku scholars found Shintō in their time to have become a bewildering amalgamation of Japanese traditions altered by Buddhist and Confucian thought, known by names such as *Yuitstu Shintō* “only-one Shintō” (Inoue et al. 1999:445), *Ryōbu Shintō* “combinatory Shintō based on the dual fundamental mandalas of Shingon esoteric Buddhism” (ibid., p. 447), *Honjaku engi Shintō* “Shintō of essence and trace” (ibid., p. 11), or *Suika Shintō* “compilation Shintō … the way of preserving the unity of sovereign and subject” (ibid., pp. 437–38).

be no misunderstanding due to insufficient knowledge, or speaking evil of someone because he has only heard part of the story from another person. . . .

Now, there is something I would like to add. There appears to only be one kind of scholarship in society, but in reality there are many types. Using some granularity, the scholarship of our imperial country can be divided into seven or eight areas. First there is the study of “the Way of the *kami*,” and next there is poetics, or what some call the Way of poetry. Then there is the study of the legal codes, and there is the study of literary works like *Ise monogatari* and *Genji monogatari*; then there is the study of history, which researches into the events of the successive imperial reigns. Then there is the study of ancient precedent and ceremony, and there are several competing schools that focus on what is commonly called Shintō. Even within the Way of poetry there are two or three different schools. If one is going to briefly study all the things of the imperial land, there are varying branches within that study. . . .

And now, as I lecture to you, skipping over things here and there, I will examine things over and over so that I say nothing that goes against the true meaning of the ancient Way, basing my theories on the ancients, and the public lectures and profound theories of the elders of our field of learning. But during this long lecture, there may perhaps be places where I lose some thought, or say something wrong. The reason for this is because I am originally a person of dull wit, and do not know even one ten-thousandth of the things in society, and I am prepared for such things as a misspoken thought. . . .

The beginning of our scholarship lies in the Great Ruler-Lord Tōshō,⁶ and [his son] Yoshinao of Owari⁷ inherited his desire to take care of the ancient things of Japan; later Minister Mito Chūnagon Mitsukuni⁸ took this learning to greater heights. It is well known by people in society how excellent this Minister Mitsukuni was, and it is this same man who received the title of Mito no Kōmon. He lamented the fact that people of the time were only interested in Chinese study, and there was no one diligently studying the ancient things of our country, so he esteemed the imperial court above all else, and gathered scholars around him who collected an-

6. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). After his death Emperor Gomizunoo gave Ieyasu the posthumous title of Tōshō Daigōken. Ieyasu was later deified, and worshipped as the Great God Tōshō, and Atsutane has used this form of this title.

7. Tokugawa Yoshinao (1600–50). He was the ninth son of Ieyasu.

8. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700). He is known in Japan by his popular appellation Mito Kōmon.

cient works on all subjects. He sent many people to the shrines and Buddhist establishments in the various provinces, even to the remote places in Japan to collect ancient works, even if these were no more than one or two leaves in length. He then carefully examined these ancient records, and compiled a large record called *Dai Nihonshi* starting with the reign of Emperor Jinmu down to the hundredth sovereign, Emperor Go-Komatsu, totaling a period over two thousand years. He also compiled a work known as *Shintō shūsei* and he compiled a record of ceremonies at court, gleaned from hundreds of old records kept by the nobility at court, and this became a work of over five hundred volumes. To pay for this large work, he set aside 100,000 *koku* of rice out of his yearly revenue of 350,000 *koku*.⁹ After several decades of hard labor, the work was accomplished. When he presented the finished product to the court it received unusual praise and was granted the honorary title of *Reigi ruiten*.

* * * *

During the same era, there was a man called Keichū from Naniwa. He became a monk in the Shingon sect of Buddhism for some reason, but he dearly believed the ancient things of our country, and using the ancient vocabulary as it is preserved in old manuscripts, he produced a work called *Waji seiranshō* in which he corrected the usage of the *kana* syllabary that had been muddled since middle antiquity. He also put together other worthy works, and his reputation is indeed great. Keichū's reputation reached Minister Mitsukuni's ears and deeply impressed him, and he sent messengers on many occasions to announce that the minister wanted to officially meet Keichū, but the monk firmly declined, and the meeting never took place. However, Minister Mitsukuni continued to yearn to meet Keichū, so he sent one of his retainers, Andō Tameakira, who also had a deep affection for the learning of the imperial country, and made him a disciple of Keichū's. *Man'yōshū* is a poetic anthology that has been a great help in studying about all ancient Japanese things, not just ancient poetry, but all commentaries on this anthology were inferior, so Mitsukuni asked Keichū to put together a new commentary on it. Keichū humbly accepted the request, and wrote *Man'yōshū daishōki* and presented it to the minister. Our study on *Man'yōshū* starts with this work. Minister Mitsukuni looked

9. One *koku* of rice originally was a measurement that supposedly was enough rice to feed an individual for a year. One *koku* is roughly equivalent to five bushels of rice. Here the values are less important than the fact that Atustane is trying to reinforce in his students' minds that Mitsukuni spent about 30 percent of his allotted yearly income on the study of the ancient Way.

through this work, which was vastly different from other commentaries in that it provided annotation about the ancient vocabulary and ancient meaning of Japanese, and being superbly well done, the minister was very pleased, and sent one thousand pieces of silver, and three thousand rolls of silk to Keichū. It is said that Keichū did not keep the gifts, but gave them all to the poor. And while he was collecting ancient records for his compilation, *Daishōki*, Keichū also put his energies into a commentary on *Kokinshū*, which is titled *Kokin yozaishō*. This commentary is well written and is greatly different from other commentaries on *Kokinshū*. Keichū left this world at the age of sixty-three, on the twenty-fifth day of the first month of Genroku 14 [1701]. There are twenty-five different works written by him, and they come to over 120 volumes.

After Keichū, there appeared a man named Kada no Sukune Azumamaro, commonly known as Hakura Saigū, and he did a great service to the spread of scholarship on our imperial country. In the four quarters of the land his reputation is great, and he obtained permission from the government to build a school of learning in Kyōto. He purchased the land for that school in Higashiyama, but his dream was never realized, and he fell sick and died. His works are said to number around twenty or thirty, coming to several hundred volumes, but for some reason he burned most of these in the latter years of his life, and only five or six works survive, equaling only a few volumes. And yet, it was this person who laid the foundation for the study of our ancient Way.

The next person after Kada is Kamo no Agatai Ushi Mabuchi, who is commonly known as Okabe Eji. Because his house was known as Agatai, he is known as Master Agatai. This master was a disciple of Master Kada, and he received his master's kindness and was supported in his studies. One of Mabuchi's distant ancestors was Kamo Taketsunumi, a descendant of Kamu Mimusubi. He turned into the Yata crow, and this is the *kami* who guided Emperor Jinmu in his quest to unite Japan, so Mabuchi is a descendant of this *kami*. This family has been successive priests at the Kamo Shrine in the village of Okabe within the imperial land of Hamamatsu in Tōtōmi Province. A person known as Masasada, a grandfather of Minister Agatai five generations back obtained great glory in the Battle of Hikumahara¹⁰ and received from Lord Tōshō a sword forged by Rai Kuniyuki¹¹ and a Ganryū suit of armor with a helmet as gifts.

10. This refers to the Battle of Mikatagahara in Tōtōmi Province fought at the end of the twelfth month of Genki 3 [1572]. Here Tokugawa Ieyasu suffered defeat at the hands of Takeda Shingen.

11. Dates unclear. He was a renowned swordsmith of the Kamakura era (1185–1333).

Mabuchi pondered and researched higher and deeper than his master Azumamaro, and taught that unless one rid himself of Chinese and Buddhist thinking he would not be able to obtain true understanding to elucidate the ancient Way. He also kindly taught that composing poetry and interpreting the ancient lexicon were all steps to comprehending the ancient Way of the divine age. After a while he was invited to the residence of Lord Tayasu, and became a teacher of the learning of Japan. There were many excellent scholars among his disciples, people such as Fujiwara Umaki, Katori Nahiko, Katō Chikage, and Murata Harumi, the last two of whom were with us till lately.¹² Our master passed away on the last day of the tenth month of Meiwa 6 [1769] at the age of seventy-three. He left forty-nine works, equaling roughly one hundred volumes.

The next person is our master, Motoori, the man we look up to as our mentor, known as Taira no Asomi Norinaga. He originally was engaged in medicine, and was known as Motoori Shun'an, but was later summoned by the Chūnagon in the province of Kii,¹³ and his name was altered to Chūe. Norinaga's ancestor was a descendant of Emperor Kanmu, through Taira no Tatesato, an inspector, a six-generation descendant through Dainagon Yorimori of Ike. Norinaga was from Matsusaka in the province of Ise, and as he called his residence Suzunoya, he is often known as the great master of Suzunoya or the elderly man of Suzunoya. His scholarship knows no parallel in society, and needless to say, if you read through Motoori's works, you will reach the same conclusion. However, in the beginning, Norinaga studied Chinese learning deeply, but then moved on to the study of our imperial country, following in the footsteps of Master Agatai. He received the greatest of his master's affection and achieved great scholarly merit concerning the learning of our Way, which has no equal anciently or present....

I have in my possession a reply to a letter sent to Norinaga from Murata Hashihiko, a person from Shirako in Ise who wished to become his student. Norinaga replied, "I have not even a dewdrop of information from

Kuniyuki never used the character Rai (来) in his name, but he is acknowledged as the founder of the Rai school of swordmaking.

12. Fujiwara Umaki (1721–77), Katori Nahiko (1723–82), Katō Chikage (1735–1808), and Murata Harumi (1746–1811).

13. Tokugawa Harusada (1728–89) had the title of Chūnagon. He was the ninth feudal lord over Kii. It is possible, however, that Atsutane had Harusada's son, Harutomi (1771–1852) in mind, but Harutomi was Dainagon, not Chūnagon. Harutomi's grandmother, Seishin-in (1718–1800), was a student at Mabuchi's school. Motoori Norinaga had occasion to lecture at her residence.

these so-called secretly passed traditions. Every one of these traditions is evil. Since my purpose is to expound the Way widely, I have nothing secret to pass on, even if you are not a student of mine. Because of this, nothing is more joyful or satisfying to me than to hear that you are an earnest seeker after the ancient Way of the imperial court."

Those groups who call themselves poetic or Shintō scholars refer to various secret traditions. For example, poetic scholars clamor about the secret *Kokinshū* traditions, such as *Three Plants Three Birds* tradition,¹⁴ or the *Te-ni-wo-fa* tradition,¹⁵ while Shintō scholars claim to have the *Floating Bridge of Heaven* tradition or the *Tsuchikane* tradition,¹⁶ but as the intentions of these people are corrupt, it is wise for a student who wishes to pursue open scholarship to simply stay away from these strange traditions. As I will hereafter discuss, Master Motoori of Suzunoya passed on without reluctance to his disciples what he had learned, and established the method of learning in a pure and clear form. Because of this, in the beginning he was deeply hated by those groups that cherish these secret traditions. But as time went on, Norinaga's scholarship spread far and wide just like his generosity, and if one examines his student enrollment book, [you find] he had students from all sixty-six provinces in Japan, save two, enrolled in his school. In Kyōwa 1 [1801], Norinaga traveled to Kyōto, and during the time that he stayed in an inn on Fourth Avenue, and distinguished court nobles and other men who were officially engaged in scholarship came to visit and enroll as students. Starting with Lord Nakayama Chūnagon¹⁷ who is well known in society, Tomi no Kōjishin Sanmi, Shibayama Chūnagon, and others came in abundance and joined Norinaga's school. Even the poetic master Hino Ichii Sukeki was interested in Norinaga's work, and sent his grandson, Hino Chūgū Gondaijin, to Master Norinaga to become a student ... [HAZ 1.3–12].

* * *

14. 三木三鳥. One form of the secret tradition of *Kokinshū*. This one refers to secret traditions constructed around three specific plants (*ogatamanoki* "Michelia compressa," *kawanagusa* "river weed," and *medonikezuribana* "sericea") and three birds (*naoosedori* "unknown," *momochidori* "plover" or "bush warbler," and *yobukodori* "cuckoo"). The tradition sprung up because the identification of these six objects became obscure over time.

15. A secret tradition about how the particles *te*, *ni*, *wo*, and *fa* were used or should be interpreted in *Kokinshū* poetry for special poetic effect

16. Apparently both titles refer to the same tradition, where Yoshida Shintō has created a tradition constructed around the Chinese ideology of *yin* and *yang* and the five principles.

17. Perhaps this points to Nakayama Tadayori (1778–1825).

From this point the study of the ancient Way has spread throughout society, and people working in this discipline have consistently increased, and while they have low social status, the three great names of this movement are Master Kada no Sukune Hakura Azumamaro, Master Kamō no Agatai Nushi Okabe Mabuchi, and Master Taira no Asomi Motoori Norinaga. They each studied and taught in succession. Their students are numerous and this is how their work has prospered and we all, including myself, have been blessed by their efforts; we can teach about ancient things from the generosity of our hearts. Much of this is generally due to Lord Tōshō, and filled with gratitude and reverence I am left speechless. I have written extensively on this in a different work.¹⁸ Now I have simply run through a very basic outline of a basic description of these events.

In relation to what the source material is that my lectures of the Way are based on, it is the orthodox records of our imperial court that have documented the facts of antiquity. In all reality, we already possess the true Way. However, many scholars believe that if you do not have a record containing the precepts and doctrine [of the Way] then you cannot obtain it. This is a serious misconception, because precepts are much lower in importance than facts. The reason for this is because if you have facts, then you do not need the teachings. Precepts spring up because there are no facts in other "Ways." The words of Laozi of China see right through to the core of this problem, for he said, "When the Great Way has been abandoned there are the teachings of benevolence and integrity."¹⁹

It is a fact that precepts do not sink into the depths of the hearts of men. For example, to give courage to the heart of a soldier, it is better to let him read an account of actual, honorable events of a brave soldier taking the initiative and fighting intrepidly in a battle instead of having him read a work that says, "When you go out in battle, take the lead and do not get left behind." These actual events sink deep into the heart, and with courage will say, "When the occasion arises, I will do just like So-and-So from the an-

18. Perhaps a reference to maki 9 of *Tamadasuki*, where Atsutane provides a more detailed history of Kokugaku, outlining important episodes from the schools of Azumamaro, Mabuchi, and Norinaga. It is here that Atsutane quotes from the "Petition to Establish a School" (supposedly) by Azumamaro.

19. Atsutane appears to interpret this as "teachings" replace the Way. The original text is found in Section 18 of *Dao de jing*. Wagner (2003:176) translates this section as, "Once (a ruler) has abandoned the Great Way, there will be humaneness and justice (guiding his actions)." It is also interesting that in an excavated text, the *Mawangdui*, this is quoted as "Thus, when the Great Way has been abandoned, that is when I believe there will be benevolence and integrity."

cient past!" Having the words to get out ahead of everyone and not get left behind simply does not stir the hearts of men. And in recent times, rather than teaching that one should destroy his master's enemy, it would be better to relate the actual events about Ōishi Kuranosuke and the other forty-seven *samurai* who killed Kira Kōzuke no Suke, the enemy of their master, Asano Takumi no Kami.²⁰ The facts from this story sink into the soul, causing the hair on one's head to stand and tears to flow ... (HAZ 1.14–15).

* * * *

Now, as I have stated, one cannot savor the true Way through precepts. The singular book that contains the actual events of the ancient, true Way is *Furugotobumi*.²¹ This *Furugotobumi* is commonly known as *Kojiki*, and the reason that this work was compiled is because Emperor Tenmu wanted to demonstrate his gratitude for the thirty-nine successive emperors, starting with Emperor Jinmu.

Before *Kojiki* was put together, the imperial court and the various families had their own versions of the legends from the opening of heaven and earth on down, recorded in the ancient language of the divine age. However, within these records, there were errors and misleading parts, so Emperor Tenmu advised the court, "If we do not select the truth from among these misleading traditions at this time, then people in later periods will not be able to discern truth from falsehood." Starting with the court records, the records in possession of the noble families were also brought together, carefully examined, and the accurate, correct accounts were put in order without the slightest inaccuracies.

At the time of compilation, even the voiceless and voiced sounds of the ancient lexicon were strictly researched into, and the text itself was read aloud by the emperor to make sure that there were no mistakes and that nothing was amiss.²² At that time, there was a twenty-eight-year-old woman known as Hieda no Are²³ who was known for her intelligence and

20. Asano Naganori (1667–1701). This is the famous story of the 47 *rōnin*. Kira Yoshinaka's cruel treatment of Naganori ended in the latter wounding Yoshinaka, which act brought about the suicide of Naganori, leaving his retainers without a master. Forty-seven of these retainers avenged Naganori by cutting off the head of Yoshinaka.

21. Atsutane follows Norinaga in reading of the title *Kojiki* 古事記 as *furu-goto-bumi*, the Japanese rendering.

22. Atsutane is extrapolating some information based on the preface of *Kojiki*.

23. In *Koshi-chō* Atsutane argues that Hieda no Are was a woman, because she was a descendant of Ame no Uzume, another woman. Atsutane is the first person to propose that

wisdom. Anything she read or heard once was inscribed into her memory and she never forgot what met her eyes or ears. The court summoned Hieda and Emperor Tenmu taught her from his own lips the texts that had been carefully examined and selected, from the beginning of heaven and earth down to the events of his own father, Emperor Jomei, and had Hieda repeat those words until she had them memorized.

Originally, our country was known in the ancient language as “the land blessed by the spirit of the word.”²⁴ The *kami* who protects and blesses the Way of our language dwelt here, and since the exact essence of the true Way resides in the vocabulary of our imperial country, these words have been esteemed so that they would not be altered nor lost. Thus, after having Hieda read through the text, memorizing the voiceless and voiced syllables along with the pitch accent of separate words (上下までを), the emperor had the wonderful idea of causing the work of Hieda to be written down.

During this time, the imperial reigns changed, and Emperor Jitō ascended the throne. After her appeared Emperor Monmu. But during the reigns of these two emperors, the work that Are had memorized was not written down for some unknown reason. Next appeared Emperor Genmei, and during her reign Are was now over fifty years of age.

Nevertheless, on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of Wadō 4 [711], an imperial command was given to a man named Ō no Asomi Yasumaro to write down what Are had memorized. Yasumaro finished his work on the twenty-eighth day of the first month of the following year, and presented the text to the throne. And that is basically what is written in the preface to *Kojiki*. It is now 1101 years from Wadō 5 [712] down to this year, Bunka 10 [1813]. Due to the profound idea of Emperor Tenmu, the true and accurate legends of antiquity were selected by the emperor himself, and the ancient vocabulary was read aloud; thus, this record [*Kojiki*] is peerless in the world, a work that is highly esteemed. If the imperial command had not been accepted in the reign of Emperor Genmei, and the text had not been committed to paper, then these exalted and appreciative words would have departed from the world with the passing of the woman Are. But how fortunate that these words were written down in the Wadō era and have been transmitted to us in the present, and we should be

Are was really a woman and not a man as had been supposed. Naturally there is no solid proof either way.

24. Two places of note make mention of this: MYS 894 where it says “The country which has been called “The Land blessed by the spirit of the word.” The other is in *Shoku Nihon kōki*, 849 CE, third month, where it says, “Our land of Yamato, the place where the sun originates, has been called the land blessed by the spirit of the word for generations.”

grateful that we are able to cast our eyes upon them even now. And anyone who has a great or small desire to pursue the Way should feel gratitude in his heart for these two emperors, Tenmu and Genmei, and never forget the dedication of Hieda no Are and Ō no Asomi Yasumaro.

This *Kojiki* starts with the events of the *kami* when heaven and earth were created and includes other events surrounding the myriad things in the universe, and the true essence of the Way permeates throughout. And that is why our master Motoori composed the following poem:

*kamituyo no
katati yoku miyo
isonokami
furugotobumi fa
masomi no kagami*

When one examines
the configuration of
the “divine age,”
it is reflected in that translucent mirror,
the record of ancient matters.

The first two stanzas mean that one should examine the state of the divine age carefully, and if one truly wishes to know about the divine age, and reads through *Kojiki*, then the true meaning of the ancient Way will be apparent, like looking into a mirror that is not darkened. My lecture will center on the facts in *Kojiki*, expounding clearly upon the ancient Way, and since I will talk about the *kami*, anyone can comprehend the profound foresight of these two emperors, Tenmu and Genmei. I am a person of low social status, but what I will speak to you are facts about the *kami*, the thoughts of the ancient emperors who we revere with awe, words that we should not take lightly—words of the august traditions, recorded from the august lips of the emperor.

There are many people in society who study Shintō, and they have revered and studied the first two books of the divine age of *Nihon shoki*²⁵ from the beginning, printing the two books of the divine age separately. These crude Shintō scholars then added bothersome and confusing commentary and annotation to the text. They believe that in order to know about the events of the opening of heaven and earth and the conception of the *kami*, that *Nihon shoki* is the only record available, but this is a misconception.

The reason for this chain of events is explained in the beginning of Master Norinaga’s *Kojiki-den*, but let me give a brief overview of his ideas.

25. Atsutane goes on later to claim that the original and true title is *Nihongi*; however, he uses *Nihon shoki* here as well as in a few other places. I have standardized the title to *Nihon shoki*.

First, this record called *Nihon shoki* was compiled and presented to court in the fifth month of Yōrō 4 [720], during the reign of Emperor Genshō, who was the forty-fourth sovereign. This was eight years after *Kojiki* was presented to the court in the first month of Wadō 5. This work was compiled by imperial command at the hands of Prince Toneri. The reason that the court ordered the compilation of *Nihon shoki* even though *Kojiki* had already been abridged at an earlier date is, as I have stated above, because *Kojiki* was the wondrous idea of Emperor Tenmu, and Yasumaro kept that purpose in mind as he recorded Are's words. He recorded the essence of the events of antiquity just as they were, without embellishment, so the resulting record did not resemble the national histories of China. At the time, Chinese learning was in vogue at court, and the courtiers were dissatisfied with the plain, unembellished, unattractive, and shallow text of *Kojiki*. Thus, the courtiers widened the scope, adding a chronology, adorning the text with Chinese phrases, taking whole Chinese passages out of Chinese histories, and the record they put together resembled the Chinese national histories.

Nihon shoki was compiled for this general reason, and as it is Chinese in style it has lost a great amount of the facts of the ancient Way. In the first place, the meaning, substance, and words should be in harmony; thus, an ancient meaning, substance, and words had the characteristics of the ancient era, while the meaning, substance, and words of later eras had characteristics of the later period. In China meaning, substance, and words had Chinese characteristics. However, *Nihon shoki* represents ancient events (substance) via latter-era ideas (meaning), recording the entire story in classical Chinese (word), and so these three essences do not harmonize. That is why there are so many places where the facts of the ancient Way have been lost. *Kojiki* does not add an iota of sophistry, but records events as they have been transmitted from the ancient past, so the meaning, substance, and word are in harmony. These are the facts from antiquity, and that is why the first principle employed when *Kojiki* was compiled was recording the events in the ancient language. Because the meaning and substance are both transmitted via the word, the "word" employed within a record becomes the most important characteristic. . . .

* * * *

Now, when we compare these two accounts, the Chinese version [in *Nihon shoki*] sounds more reasonable, and people believe this to be the case, while the version that represents the ancient traditions sounds simple and shallow, so anyone would be entrapped by Chinese accounts. The learned men of history, starting with Prince Toneri, the compiler of *Nihon*

shoki, up to the present have all been led astray. Therefore, they interpreted the true essence of the Way through a Chinese lens, and produced bothersome, dismal commentaries, clamoring that this was a secret tradition, or that was orally transmitted knowledge, but all of these are nothing but frivolous foolishness.

Also, *Nihon shoki* says, "These *kami* were formed in the path of *yang*, and because they did not have any contact with the *yin* elements, they were undefiled male *kami*." Then it says, "Hereupon, they came into contact with the *yin* (female) elements and were made male and female *kami*." These passages reflect the thinking of the compilers who took sentences from the *Shiyi*, a commentary of the *Book of Changes* and spliced them into the text. Also, it is not proper to call Izanagi the "yang" *kami* and Izanami the "yin" *kami*. Things were written this way because society was pleased with Chinese culture from top to bottom, but this culture has turned out to be the great deceiver of later ages. Scholars of later eras also enjoyed Chinese learning, for the same reason, and with their puerile intelligence they believe Izanagi and Izanami are tentative appellations attached to beings that are anything but *kami*; they view these two *kami* as re-creations of the Chinese *yin* and *yang* elements. These scholars teach about these *kami* basing their thought on the divination work *Zhouyi*, and refer to the five-element *yin-yang* divination, making all the events in the divine age mere fabrications; the ancient legends are thus overpowered by Chinese learning, and the facts in these legends have been buried and are no longer visible . . . [HAZ 1.16–20].

* * * *

Hereupon, Master Motoori realized the worthlessness of learning obtained through Chinese works, and expounded to the world that there is no better vehicle than *Kojiki* for clearly seeing the actual state of the ancient, serious Way, which was reflected unmistakably in the mirror. And he put together the valuable forty-four volume *Kojiki-den*, which is unparalleled in its scope. In order to appreciate the esteemed value of *Kojiki*, the student must know about the many tainted areas of *Nihon shoki*. Without curing oneself of the bewildering disease of Chinese learning, the worthy sections of *Kojiki* will not be obvious, and one cannot know the true ancient learning without knowing the worthy areas of *Kojiki*. Master Motoori thought about it, and demonstrated that *Kojiki* was the most superior historical record, and made *Nihon shoki* secondary. He munificently taught us how we can avoid being deceived, even those who aspire to study our imperial land.

Now the title *Nihongi* is often written as *Nihon shoki*, but this is layman

usage, and the true title is *Nihongi*, without *sho*. But even the title *Nihongi* is difficult to fathom, as the title is in imitation of Chinese histories like *Hanshu* and *Tangshu*, putting the name of Japan first. Because the name of China changed with each era, if the era name was not attached, it would be unclear which history the work referred to; in this respect, the ruler of our country has never changed, enduring for many generations, so there is no reason to add the name of Japan to the title and call it *Nihon shoki*. Adding the name of the country to the title is the attitude one takes when talking about the records from other foreign countries ... [HAZ 1.21–22].

* * * *

Everyone in society calls Japan the land of the *kami*, and that we are the offspring of the *kami*, and this is certainly true. Through the special blessings of the *kami* of heaven, our country was created, and the myriad foreign countries are unworthy of comparison with Japan. Japan is a very fortunate country, and is surely the land of the *kami*, and we are all the offspring of the *kami*, even down to the basest of men and women. But there are many people who do not know the basis for Japan being a divine country and its people being the descendants of the *kami*. What a terrible shame to be born in the divine country, and then need someone to tell them that they are the offspring of the *kami*. And these people do not know about the divinity of Japan, nor the divinity of the Japanese, nor do they have any interest in knowing about these things; there is nothing that can be done about people living their life in an insipid manner. But those of you who have come here to hear the generous words of the *kami* demonstrate that you have the desire to know. Even if you are of menial birth, if you have the desire to know about the true Way, then I hope you will investigate one fact that I will present.

Even the Chinese mentioned this fact. In *Liji* it says, “In this way the superior men of antiquity panegyrized the excellent qualities of their ancestors, and clearly exhibited them to future generations ... if they did not take knowledge of the good qualities which [their ancestors] possess, that showed their want of intelligence ... , which a superior man should have been ashamed.”²⁶ The meaning of this is that a person who walks down the true Way should collect the virtuous deeds of his ancestors, and transmit them for future generations. But if one does not know that his ancestors did worthy acts, then he is called “lacking intelligence,” and he is blind to the way of reason. Also if one knows about the good deeds of his ancestors,

26. Translation from Legge (1967, 2:253).

but does not make the attempt to transmit them clearly for his own posterity, then he is unrighteous, and in a word he is unfaithful and unfilial to his ancestors. And this is shameful for the person who is pursuing the true Way.

Now if a Chinese individual says things like this, how regrettable that we, who are fortunate enough to have been born in the divine country as offspring of the *kami*, do not even know the truth about our existence. Japan is vastly different, more venerated, and far more superior than all the nations in the world, more excellent than China, India, Russia, Holland, Siam, or Cambodia. It is not for self-adoration that the people of this country are called the citizens of the divine land. The beginning of this usage is seen when all the nations of the world were created by the *kami* in the “divine age,” and these *kami* were all born in this, the imperial land. This country is the birthplace of the *kami*, and that is the reason that it is known as the divine land; this is a universally acknowledged fact and requires no further discussion; however, even in countries where they lack knowledge about our ancient traditions, they recognize Japan as the divine country from which naturally emanates the light of authority.

The contemporary [unified country of] Korea originally was divided into three countries known as the three Han: Silla, Koguryō, and Paekche. During that era, those people heard that there was a mysterious and blessed country, and since this country was located to the east of Korea, those people said that in the east there is a divine land known as the land where the sun rises, and they trembled with awe. Those words have gradually spread over the entire earth and whether they know it or not, this country has been known as the divine land. Even the Chinese used this appellation, and one can know that this land is surely the land of the *kami* when he studies the divine age.

First off, this world is vast and wide, and naturally there are many countries. Some people say that it sounds self-conceited to state that among all these countries that only Japan is the divine land, but as I have stated above, this is a universally accepted fact, and I will now give evidence to show that without a doubt Japan is the land of the gods.

Now, according to the divine oral tradition about the beginning of the world, there was no sun or moon in the beginning of the heaven and the earth; there only was a great expanse. This great expanse was very wide without end, and it was so great that words cannot describe it. Within this great, boundless expanse there appeared a *kami* known as Ame no Minaka Nushi, then two other *kami* appeared, Takami Musubi and Kamu Musubi, who were very venerable and miraculous. Because of the mysterious and

superior virtue of these two imperial-bearing-spiritual *kami*, within this boundless expanse there appeared an object that could not be described, and it floated in the expanse like a cloud floating about in the sky with nowhere to go. Now, from this object there appeared something like a reed that fluttered as it climbed upward. This was a shoot from the reed, and that is why it was described in this manner. . . .

Now, after this reed had climbed upward, a *kami* was created, named Umashima Ashikabi Hikoji. The reed floated upward and became heaven. The next *kami* who was born high up in the expanse was called Ame no Toko Tachi. Now there was something which dripped down from the root of the reed, and there appeared Kuni no Toko Tachi. The *kami* who was born next clinging to Kuni no Toko Tachi was named Toyo Kumunu. The object that had dripped down from the root of the reed was later severed and became the moon.

Now, at this time there was nothing upward and nothing below, and the first two *kami* who established the foundation for these things are known as Uihijini, a male, and Suhijini, a female. After this came the pairs Ōtonoji and Ōtonoben, then Omodaru and Kashikone, then the pair that is well known in the world, Izanagi and Izanami . . . [HAZ 1.22–25].

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Now, at this time, the sun goddess and the moon *kami* appeared to men, and they instructed them with the words that Takami Musubi is “our honorable parent,” but at this time this usage meant something like “ancestor.” Now, to explain the fact that while the sun goddess and moon *kami* are the offspring of Izanagi and Izanami, they are also called the children of Takami Musubi, if one were to trace back the lineages of all the *kami* that had been born, they would all come back to Takami Musubi and Kamu Musubi, for there was nothing that did not receive its existence through the procreation of these two spirits. And that is why the sun goddess and moon *kami* refer to him as “our parent.”

Now in the record of the “divine age,” it says that the procreative spirit had fifteen hundred children. The text writes “fifteen hundred,” but it is not restricted to that number. This is the ancient form for writing a limitless number, and it is also written as eight million, and it is in reality a fine expression because all of the myriad *kami* could be considered offspring of this *kami*. And this means that all *kami* and all men were born through the mysterious power of the divine virtue of this *kami*.

Shūshū, the third imperial commissioned anthology, contains this poem:

*kimi mireba
musubu no kami zo
uramesiki
turenaki fito wo
nani tukurikemu*

When I look at you,
I think that perhaps
the Musubi *kami*
are vexed for having
created a heartless man.

[SS 1265]

The meaning of this poem is, “You are pitiful. Every time I look at you, I think that the Musubi *kami* must be irritated, feeling keenly, ‘Why did I create such a cruel soul?’” This was originally a love poem, but at the time, people in society still remembered the divine virtue of this *kami*, and that is why there is a poem like this. In this way, there is an actual, ancient event recorded from the divine age under the name of Kamu Musubi, and it is obvious from this poem that everything exists due to the mysterious spirit of this *kami*. And from the words of the sun goddess and moon *kami* who said, “These are the distinguished acts of our parent, Takami Musubi, who created the heavens and the earth,” one can sense appreciative virtue for this *kami*, and realize that he is the true leader of this world which is enveloped by the heavens.

And though the things described above make perfect sense, those scholars who are ruining Chinese learning and the Indian schools, and even those groups that have no learning, but were born with fatuous knowledge doubt these things not even knowing they were given their very existence by the spirit of this *kami*. They find it hard to believe that this legend is typical of Japan, and that these events actually occurred. I have more to say to these groups. Human beings were created in all the foreign countries, not just our imperial land, and though these people were evil, they coalesced into nations, and were able to make merchandise—all of these events were generated through the spirit of this *kami*, and as evidence there are legends in each land. First, the old myth in China calls Kamu Musubi the ruler of the upper sphere, or the ruler of heaven, or even calling him the sovereign of heaven (上帝・天帝). This *kami* went up to heaven and became the master of the world; the human race was born through his spirit, and this old tradition states that even the essence of the true heart, benevolence, integrity, courtesy, and wisdom, were prepared by this *kami*. This is from a work of the Han era, and one may find even older examples if he sifts through words like *Shijing* (Book of Odes), *Shujing* (Book of Documents), and *Lunyu* (The Analects). However, since Chinese learning is flawed in its understanding, there are places where the story has been strangely perverted through allegories. But I have discussed these things in a general way in *Shinki shinron*, which I wrote some years ago . . . [HAZ 1.26–27].

* * *

And now we see that there are numerous *kami* in the world, but [the two] Musubi *kami* are the creative fountain, and they should be revered especially. Needless to say, we should be grateful for the divine virtue of their spirit, and it is this *kami* that should be worshipped and venerated the highest. Because of this, in the reign of Emperor Jinmu, the emperor himself went up into the mountains of Tomi, built an altar, and worshipped the eight protective *kami* of the court. He worshipped these two procreative *kami* first, then he worshipped Tama Tsume Musubi, then Iku Musubi, then Taru Musubi, and then he paid tribute to the other *kami* Ōmiya no Hime, Miketsu, and Koto Shironushi; eight *kami* in all. These are the eight *kami* that the Shintō priests of the court worship. Among these *kami*, Tama Tsume Musubi, Iku Musubi, and Taru Musubi are the ones who control life, which fact should receive special attention. Now, the people of this country who are the offspring of the *kami* born in Japan through the procreative power of the spirit of this *kami* should worship him above the others because of his virtue. Even in other countries like China, the southern barbarians, and Columbo do not realize how important this *kami* is, nor do they attempt to venerate Kamu Musubi, and this is the grossest of mistakes, a terrible waste, and something more terrifying than anything.

Nonetheless, since the common man, speaking generally, is not engaged in the study of ancient things, I do not fault them; it is the scholars who until this day have been blinded by the meaningless dribble of China and the empty wisdom of Buddhism [I fault]. They have failed to notice the virtue of the procreative *kami*, not understanding them, failing to expound upon these things to those in society. And even if we were to say nothing further about these foolish scholars, people in society still say things like, "It is the Way of heaven," or "We were born this way due to the Way of heaven." In reality, these people know nothing about the Way of heaven, but are only speaking utter foolishness. But in ancient times, the Japanese understood well the virtue of these procreative *kami*, and the poem in *Shūishū* [quoted above] can basically be taken to mean the way of heaven: When I look at you / I think that perhaps / the Musubi *kami* / are vexed for having / created a heartless man. There are those who say, "Well, I suppose we must," and revere and worship this procreative *kami* without knowing why. If they knew why they should worship this *kami*, then it would be well to remember his name and worship him. It may appear somewhat tedious why, but when you consider that this procreative *kami* created the heaven and earth, governing everything, gave birth to the various *kami* through

his virtuous power, is limitless in power in heaven and earth, and existed before anything else was created, regardless of what may happen to heaven and earth, it is this *kami* who bestows boundless fortune and blessings. Since every one of us, Shaka and Confucius, cats and ladies, everything received its existence through the mysterious power of the spirit of the creative *kami*, should we not follow in the path of truth and remember to acknowledge this great central *kami*?

As in China, even people of countries whose ancient traditions are incorrect produce great men like Confucius who say things such as, "If you are punished by heaven, there is nothing left to pray about."²⁷ The meaning of this is if you are censured by the heavenly ruler, in other words the heavenly *kami*, then there is nowhere else to go to pray for forgiveness. The reason for this is because the heavenly *kami* is the governing entity over all the other various *kami*, and if you are punished by this the highest of powers, then there is nothing which can be done. The interpretation of these words by Confucius is dealt with in detail in my work, *Kishin shinron*. As I have repeatedly stated, the virtue of this procreative *kami* should not be forgotten day and night; it is well that you check yourself so that you remember to do these things ... [HAZ 1.28–29].

* * *

By the way, when one searches after ancient meaning of meanings of all usages of the word *kami* in the imperial vocabulary, we find from the ancient corpus that these all refer to the spirits of *kami*, starting with the various *kami* of heaven and earth, and all the other spirits that descend down to the shrines. Also, it is needless to state that anything that is exceptional, possessing a special virtue and inspiring awe and respect, like humans, birds, beasts, trees and shrubbery, mountains and seas, and anything else, can be referred to as *kami* according to the ancient meaning. What I mean by *special* are virtues like respect, goodness, and courage, and it does not refer only to superior traits, but can also refer to evil or strange characteristics; anything that is awe-inspiring and deserving of respect can be labeled as *kami*²⁸ ... [HAZ 1.31].

27. Atsutane has given what must have been a vulgar version of this saying. The original appears in the "Bayi" Section of *The Analects*, and actually says, "If you offend Heaven, prayer is useless" (Nylan 2014:8).

28. I have abbreviated the rest of this, as it is basically a long quote from Norinaga's definition of *kami*, found in *Kojiki-den*. See pp. 423–24 in this volume.

PART TWO

As I lectured to you the other day, from the beginning when the world sprang forth from the existence that was floating in the great expanse, the heavens were created from the one bud that put forth its head and grew upward. And from the bottom of the object that forms the foundation of the heavens another thing sprang forth and from it the *kami* Kuni no Toko Tachi and Toyo Kumunu were created. We call the thing that sprang forth from below "the underworld" or "the solid land underneath," but later on it separated from the heavens and is now what we see before us as the moon. By the way, the heavens were created from pure and bright matter that grew upward, and Amaterasu later was given dominion over this realm; that light shines everywhere and gradually increases in brilliance. In relation to the oral tradition that Amaterasu ruled over the High Plain of Heaven, some Shintō scholars have said that heaven is really the capital, and the idea that she rose to heaven refers to her having ascended the imperial throne. These scholars say impudent things, but it is only idle talk. These scholars twist the tradition of the heavenly *kami* and the truth handed down from the thoughts of the ancient emperors about her, and it is no small crime to err when talking about the sun goddess. Also, Tsukuyomi was given the command to "rule over the country of the night," and Izanagi accomplished the command that he himself received from Takami Musubi, so he returned to heaven and made his report to the ancestral *kami*. And from that time forth, he has long dwelt in the Hinowaka Palace in heaven.

There is an ancient legend in China that resembles the tradition of the *kami* of the sun and moon having been born from the eyes of Izanagi. That legend says that in the beginning of the creation of heaven and earth, there appeared a person named Pan Ku, and his left eye became the sun while his right eye became the moon. This legend is believed to be the Japanese tradition transmitted to China in a degenerated form. But there are scholars who argue the following:

I have been listening to your lecture on the "Divine age," and you have quoted things that greatly resemble traditions in foreign countries. Thus, having a commonality of traditions in other countries does not necessarily mean that the traditions from the divine age are correct. The reason for this is that if a group of foreigners were gathered in one place, and shared their ancient traditions with each other, they would argue that "my own tradition is correct," "my country's tradition is the original," "my country is where the sun goddess was born." If such were the case who would be able to judge the truth and reach a decision? It is impossible to

expect that there would be individuals from the beginning when heaven and earth were created still alive, and by saying that foreign ideas are all incorrect and that everything from the divine age is infallible, I get the feeling that we are pursuing the idea that everything in one's own country is noble. And the fact that there is confusion here and there proves that it is difficult to decide which is "correct" and which is "incorrect." Thus, it is better not to believe the whole story of the divine age.

To outsiders it may seem distressing to have been criticized thusly, but I was not distressed in the least. Rather that is where the virtue of scholarship shows through, for I replied in this manner:

First, as far as the confusion is concerned, when one looks at it with the eyes of scholarship, he can immediately discern truth from falsehood. To give a familiar example of what I mean, the *hyakunin isshu* [one hundred poems from one hundred poets] that Lord Teika compiled in the mountain villa of Mount Ogura should have originally been written on a square piece of colored paper, one poem per sheet. However, whether it is the poem of Sugawara²⁹ or Semimaru,³⁰ we find that ten different men have possession of that one piece of paper. And these men engaged in debating that their piece of paper was the original. This debate appears extremely confusing, but a person trained in differentiating between ancient strokes of a brush could discern the original poem in every case, locating the original from among the ten. In exactly the same way, one can discern the truth; it may appear wise to discard everything by saying that it is a fraud, but this is not wise because the person does not have the intellect to discern the truth. Therefore, it is exactly the same when you say that you do not believe the traditions from the divine age because they resemble the legends of foreign countries, and the truth cannot be comprehended. Let me give another familiar example of discerning the truth. People who engage in selling rice can tell by looking at a handful of mixed rice what is excellent rice from Mino, or rice from Sendai or Kyūshū, even if the mixture is from five or ten provinces. To an unlearned man this may sound unbelievable, but when one watches the seller examine rice, he realizes that each strain of rice has a different shape, and the difference is so distinct that there is no confusion. This leaves the unlearned man speechless. Scholarship is much the same; by looking through the traditions with precise eyes that have been trained justly in scholarship, eyes that are able to survey the ancient and present, there is no difficulty in discerning the truth when taking the truth and the ancient state into consideration. The truth of the ancient traditions from the divine age when considered with the facts we now have does not shift one iota, even though one may say that the legends resemble that in other countries.

Now, to answer the question about why I quote foreign legends that tend to be incorrect, it gives us a baseline. In order to enlighten the im-

29. Sugawara Michizane (845–903). His poem is no. 24 in the sequence.

30. Semimaru's dates are unknown, but it is believed he lived in the latter half of the ninth century.

penitent souls who doubt the truth of the ancient traditions, when you quote to them the foreign legends that resemble ours, even if they are incorrect, then we can take these things together and realize the fact that all the countries in the world have fragments of the ancient traditions of Japan in one aspect or another. After they have come to this realization and compare this and that, there are often people who are freed from the disbelief that our tradition is true among all of the legends of the countries. Quoting foreign legends that resemble our tradition aids in this realization and after the person has obtained this enlightenment, then any further quoting of foreign legends becomes meaningless.

Here is a teaching from Buddhist scripture. A person wishing to show where the moon is lifts his finger into the air and says, "There! There it is." But after the person finds the moon himself, the finger is no longer needed and the other person puts it down. Referring to foreign legends is the same, and it is fine to think of me doing this to enable a student to locate the ancient legends of the imperial country. Now, even if I could summarize even a hundredth of the story about the two *kami* Izanagi and Izanami receiving the command from the heavenly *kami* in the beginning and descending down to Onogoro Island and giving birth to the islands of the land of Ōyashima, those who cannot comprehend these things no doubt think that these events concern a few years. However, the life of the *kami* is eternally long and incomprehensible. Many years passed but even at this stage in the tradition, the imperial land was still not finished. But various *kami* had been created and their descendants began to increase; among these, the descendants of Susanoo had strong power and there was an excellent *kami* named Ōnamuji. He had eighty brothers, and in the beginning Ōnamuji suffered great trials at the hands of his brothers; however, due to the intervention of Susanoo, who resided in the land of Yomi, these brothers were brought into submission and Ōnamuji ruled over this country. We also know that he ruled over this land because he is also known as Ōkuninushi. He had many children, the eldest being Koto Shironushi, and he is one of the eight protective *kami* of the court worshipped by the Shintō officials. Also, another child named Ajisuki Takahikone is the *kami* of Takakamo. And Take Minakata is the one who went to Suwa in the province of Shinano; these *kami* are very powerful. This Ōkuninushi has many names, and one of them, Ōnamochi evolved into Ōnamuji. This Ōnamuji came upon a large, divine halberd. He combined his strength with a *kami* named Sukuna Bikona, and they established and strengthened the country. That is, they put the finishing touches on the important work that Izanagi and Izanami had begun. These two *kami* also established the Way of medicine and medicinal herbs; I will say more about this in my discussion on medicine.

Hereupon, Amaterasu did exactly as Izanagi had stated, and became the ruler of the High Plain of Heaven. She bestows blessings on every corner of this world—not to mention the High Plain of Heaven—with Takami Musubi and Kamu Musubi. And she spoke those divine words to her son, Masaka Akatsu Kachihayahi Ame no Oshihomimi, saying, "My son will govern the central land of Reeds." This Ame no Oshihomimi is the product of Amaterasu and Susanoo, appearing through the vow the latter two *kami* made with (the power of) the jewel and the sword. The secret tradition of the jewel and the sword that followers of Shintō noisily talk about refers to this. This *kami* (Ame no Oshihomimi) married Tamayori-hime, the daughter of Yorozuhata Toyoakitsu Shihime, who was the daughter of Takami Musubi. The child born from these two is Ame Nigishi Kuni Nigishi Amatsuhidaka Hikoho Ninigi. Because of this genealogy, Ninigi is the actual descendant of the sun goddess, while being a great grandson to Takami Musubi. That is why we refer to Ninigi as the imperial grandchild. He is also known as the Heavenly grandchild ... [HAZ 1.34-37].

The *kami* that accompanied the imperial grandchild were Ama Koyane and Ama Futotama. Ame no Koyane is enshrined in Hiraoka in Kawachi Province and is the ancestor of the Nakatomi~Fujiwara families. Ame no Futotama is the ancestor of the Imibe family. There were five *kami* who accompanied Ninigi including these two. Other than these five, there was another *kami* set up to protect Ninigi with his spiritual power, and his name is Ame no Tejikarao. He is enshrined in Shinano. There is also Toyo Ukebime who made sure that all the food prepared for the people from the imperial grandchild down to the lowest person was safe. She is enshrined in the outer shrine at Ise. Also, there is Ama Iwatowake, who was in charge of making sure that all manner of evil did not enter the imperial camp from the four quarters. And there is Ama Omoikane, whose spirit was blessed with a discerning power, able to comprehend marvelous things. Here we see that many eminent *kami* were prepared to accompany the imperial grandchild. From here the group crossed the floating bridge of heaven. As it says in the Great Purification liturgy, "He divided the many layers of clouds," meaning that Ninigi divided asunder the many layers of thick clouds, with the rock quiver on his back, given to him by his father Ama no Oshimimi. Girded with the great sword, he held the heavenly bow made from the wax tree and carried arrows made from deer bones.³¹ With these protective *kami* surrounding Ninigi, he descended down to Japan, landing

31. The arrows are known as *makagoya*. *Ma* is an honorific, while *kago* refers to deer. We know from *Weizhi* that the ancient Japanese made their arrowheads out of deer bones.

on Mount Takachiho in the land of Hyūga. The first person Ninigi met was a local *kami* named Saruta Hiko. When Ninigi descended down from heaven, the sky darkened, making it impossible to distinguish the shape of objects. Ninigi plucked rice ears and scattered the chaff in all directions, upon which the sky brightened. This area is now called Kirishima or Mount Kirishima. To the west of this mountain is Soo District in Ōsumi Province. To the east is Morokata District in Hyūga. There are many strange aspects about this mountain. Even now, people find rice growing there that began growing with the divine command, and sometimes thick fog envelops the peak. When this occurs, the people grab rice ears and thrash them about like their elders taught them, following the ancient traditions. Once they have done this, the fog dissipates, and a person can safely climb the mountain.

Nevertheless, the floating bridge of heaven that legend says the heavenly grandchild rode when he descended is a vehicle used to cross the interval between heaven and earth. Since it floats, it is called "a floating bridge." Resembling boats on this earth, it is also known as the heavenly rock boat. This is the same floating bridge of heaven upon which in the beginning the records said that Izanagi and Izanami stood, and searched for a country with the spear in the mud. Now the riding of this floating bridge implies that Ninigi descended from a high place, and we believe that the ladders located in the various provinces are remnants of this vehicle created by the *kami*.

First, in *Harima Fudoki* it says that in the village of Masuki in the district of Kako there was a ladder.³² Also, in *Tango Fudoki* it says that there was a ladder by the ocean in Hayaishi Village in Yosa District.³³ This ladder was very large, measuring 2,229 *tsue* in length and the width was nine or ten *tsue*. It also says that the widest spot was some twenty *tsue*.³⁴ People in

32. The beginning of *Harima fudoki* has been lost. Atsutane appears to have either misremembered this passage, or simply garbled it. The entry for Yake Village actually says, "There is a mountain within the limits of the village, called Mount Masukata. It was constructed of stone vessels and wooden tubs. There is also a stone bridge. An old tradition says that in the ancient past the bridge reached heaven and people in groups of eighty ascended and descended the bridge. Thus it is called the Eighty Bridge."

33. *Shaku Nihongi* records, "Yosa District. Northeast of the Miyake District is the village of Hayashi. By the ocean in this village is a long and large cape. The tip of the cape is known as the Heavenly Ladder, while the rear is called Kushi Beach. The reason for the first name is because when Izanagi, who created the country, traveled down from heaven, he set up a heavenly ladder."

34. One *tsue* is about three meters (9.5 feet). There is some confusion in the *Shaku Nihongi* text concerning the first figure. The text reads "20 (twenty) 229. Perhaps this is 1000."

the country know about this place, and many go to see this ladder. Many of my friends have gone to see this ladder, but all were afraid. Even those who tend to be proud were sufficiently humbled at the sight. This floating bridge was originally created for Izanagi and Izanami to traverse space, and later other *kami* used it to descend down to earth.

On the other hand, when Amaterasu climbed up to heaven, the record says that she used the Heavenly Ladder. This is likely a different object. But remember that at this time it was said that the distance between heaven and earth was not that great, so I believe that it was fairly simple to ascend to heaven. At this point in the story, however, the heavenly grandchild, Ninigi, is riding in the floating bridge and descending to earth. And as the record says, "He divided the many layers of clouds," so we believe that the distance between heaven and earth was great. Now, after he descended from heaven, the distance back to heaven grew greater and greater, and so the *kami* abandoned the floating bridge as a means of travel back to heaven. The ladder also fell back to earth, and the remains are in Harima and Tango.

In this way, the sun rose into heaven and its position became fixed in the sky. It never moves to any other place. It only rotates to the right. This is the state of the heavenly globe. And the great land makes the heavenly globe her focal point, revolving to the right in one large circle. This represents one year. But within this revolution there is rotation. When the earth faces the sun it is day, and when it faces away, it is night. This rotation is called one day. With more than 360 of these revolutions, the earth revolves completely around the heavenly sun, and this is one year. Now, the land of Yomi cut away from the earth when it began its revolution and became the moon. It revolves around the earth going from a fully visible state to invisible one, and in 29½ days it returns to its original state. This is known as one month. That is an overview of the current state of the sun, earth, and moon ... HAZ 1.39–41].

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Our honorable country is the root of heaven and earth, and the student may understand that in relation to everything our country is superior to all the other countries according to what I have said above. And because of what I have said, the various foreign countries have fragments of our old myths remaining because these were not properly transmitted as in Japan.

The Taiei manuscript says 1,229. Hirata has read the text as 2,229. NKBT *Fudoki* has 1,229. Also Atsutane has accidentally or deliberately misread the grammar of the text. The figures for length and width are for the cape, *not* the ladder.

An example of this is news of an event that happened in the capital being orally transmitted to people in the provinces. Naturally the information people receive in the provinces will not be as accurate as that transmitted to people living in the capital. And the fact that our myths were transmitted to foreign countries in distorted fragments is much like the analogy of news being transmitted to the provinces. These foreigners now start claiming these fragments are really their country's tradition. After many years have passed, the people forget where the story originated, and transmit the story as if these events had occurred in their own land. If the student ponders carefully this principle, then it becomes crystal clear that the heavenly child [emperor] should reign over the myriad countries of the four seas. Though he deserves reverence, he deserves more than the average reverence of people in the world. And yet, the scholars of the world are only interested in the learning of foreign countries, drowning in such scholarship, ignorant of any respect for Japan. Once in a while there are scholars who hear the truth about Japan, and cannot believe it, so they turn around and attempt to refute it. This is a mistake in the extreme.

Also, there are scholars who are partial to anything connected to foreign learning and often declare that our country is a tiny state, a late bloomer. These scholars repeatedly mention that our country is small, but what they forget to mention is that the respect or vulgarity, the good or evil of everything has no relation to size. A gigantic rock does not compare to a tiny gem. And large animals like bulls, horses, and elephants cannot compare to the smaller humans. No matter how big a country is, an inferior country is still inferior. And even if it is narrow and small, a superior country is indeed superior. When you look at a recent map of the world you see countries like Russia and America. There are many other large countries like this, and in some of these there are lands where grass does not grow, where people do not exist. So are these examples of superior countries? We need not use foreign examples, for there are plenty of examples of things that are superior, average, and inferior in Japan alone. This quality is not determined by the size of the object. We decide upon the quality of the country by the type of merchandise produced there along with the climate.

Concerning the claim that our country is a late bloomer,³⁵ these scholars criticize Japan by saying that it is slow in acquiring wisdom. In reality, we

35. Atsutane is referring to the fact brought up by some that because Japan follows a policy of national isolation, it lags behind the West in technology, medicine, and other areas of development.

lack prudence. In other words, since Japan is the progenitor of the various countries, being the core country, the essence of our land is thick. So the Japanese seem to be slow in excelling in wisdom and talent. A good example is a person like Minister of the Right Oda Nobunaga.³⁶ Nobunaga was a lazy dolt until the age of twenty. Everyone called him stupid. And Ōishi Yoshio³⁷ was a superior person whose fame will last forever like heaven and earth, but even he was labeled a fool until he was twenty years of age. Many of Japan's great men have been of this disposition. Even in the animal world, birds and beasts can peck at rice and insects from the moment of birth, while they can have intercourse after only two or three months pass, and can do other base things. From that perspective, humans cannot become quick experts at anything. But that is why human beings are worthier than animals. The student may make a connection between foreigners who quickly become experts in sophistry, while many Japanese preserve the innocent state from the divine age and are not cunning.

In a Chinese work titled *Laozi* it says, "Great men are created slowly."³⁸ The meaning of this phrase is the same as what I said above about great men and superior wisdom taking time to create. Though he was a foreigner, Laozi described this state accurately. I just remembered this, but as I have said, Japan is the root of heaven and earth. To be allegorical, Japan is the calyx of fruit. Fruit like melons and peaches grow in size as the meat of the fruit expands away from the calyx. When the fruit ripens, however, it ripens from the surface backwards, the calyx being the last part to ripen. This is because the calyx is the core of the fruit, and its essence is the thickest. Whether it be the ripening of fruit, or the birth of humans, the matter is the same. There is no difference from this and the creation of heaven and earth.

Now, though I have explained this principle in detail, there will be people slow of understanding who will not be able to comprehend my words. These people are absent-minded and dull-witted, but as time goes on, they will gradually perceive what I am saying. When they consider this and that, they will understand. When this happens, they will not be satisfied with the tedious words of Atsutane, and try to commit these words to paper, but as the Chinese say, the pen does not do justice to the tongue. So

36. Oda Nobunaga (1534-82) began a course to unify Japan, but his life was cut short by a retainer who assassinated him. The movement to unify Japan was only later completed by Tokugawa Ieyasu.

37. Ōishi Yoshio (1659-1703) was the leader of the famous forty-seven *rōnin*. See note 20 this chapter.

38. Found in section 41 of *.*

they will attempt to express these words, but the expressions are insufficient to convey the thoughts. Therefore, like a person who does not know the hand movements or the steps to a dance, they shuffle about in a comfortable fashion. So something like my speech can be endured even if you doze off once in a while. . . .

[As I noted earlier] Ninigi first descended from heaven onto the top of a peak in Takachiho in the province of Hyūga in Tsukushi. He then went in search of a proper place for his capital, and ruled the country from Takejima in Nagaya on Kasaya Cape in Ata. Thus, the earthly *kami* revered the imperial grandson as the son of the heavenly *kami*, and served him. And that is why the successive emperors are called the son of the heavenly *kami*. The usage of the characters 天子 “son of heaven” is Chinese in origin, and is a proper appellation for the son of the heavenly *kami*; the only person who should be labeled “the son of heaven” is our emperor. I expound upon the reason that “son of heaven” does not apply to the ruler in China in *Saiseki gairon*.³⁹

Now, Ninigi built his palace in Takejima on Kasaya Cape and governed the land. Here he wed Konohana Sakuyahime, the daughter of Ōyamatsumi. They gave birth to Amatsu Hidaka Hiko Hohodemi. This Hiko Hohodemi went to the palace of the sea *kami*, married Toyo Tamahime, the daughter of the sea *kami*, and they gave birth to Hiko Nagisatake Fukiaezu. Fukiaezu also married a daughter of the sea *kami*, known as Tamayori Hime, and they gave birth to Kamu Yamato Iware Hiko. During the reign of this individual, the capital was moved from Kasaya Cape to Yamato. During this time, he put to death Nagasune Hiko and other bandits, and the “he” we are talking about is the well-known Emperor Jinmu. However, the name Jinmu is not his real name. His actual name was seen above, Kamu Yamato Iware Hiko, and the name Emperor Jinmu was bestowed upon him in the Chinese fashion over one thousand years later.

Now, there is something that must be said here. The theories of scholars in society as well as the average man all say that there are seven generations of heavenly *kami*, five generations of earthly *kami*, and twenty or thirty reigns of earthly rulers. What kind of fool started this? It is very incorrect and does not apply here. *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* do say that from Kuni Toko Tachi to Izanagi and Izanami consists of seven generations, but the words “heavenly *kami*” are nowhere to be found. This is only proper. These seven generations of *kami* from Kuni Toko Tachi to Izanagi and Izanami

39. Completed in 1811, *Saiseki gairon* is also known as *Judō taiti*.

deal with *kami* born from this country [Japan], and there is no reason to call them “heavenly *kami*.”

The *kami* who appeared when heaven and earth were first created are Ame Minakanushi, Takami Musubi, Kamu Musubi, then Umashi Ashikabi Hikoji, and Ame Toko Tachi. *Kojiki* calls these five generations of *kami* “heavenly *kami*"; therefore, it is clear that the seven *kami* (from Kuni Toko Tachi to Izanagi and Izanami) were not labeled “heavenly *kami*.” In spite of this, there is also no record that labels these *kami* “earthly *kami*.” The usage of “earthly *kami*” is used after Ninigi to make a distinction between the *kami* in heaven.

It is also a serious mistake to call the five generations from Amaterasu to Fukiaezu “earthly *kami*.” The reason is that Amaterasu was born in this country, but rules over heaven according to the will of her father, Izanagi. Thus, there is no doubt that she is a heavenly *kami*, the one ruling over the sun we worship before our very eyes. The sun goddess’s son, Oshiro Mimi and his son, Ninigi, were both born in heaven, so they are also heavenly *kami*. Because of this, Ninigi descended from heaven and ruled over this country. His descendants after his son Hohodemi are called children of the heavenly land. Nevertheless, Hohodemi and Fukiaezu were born in this country, and are not labeled heavenly *kami*. Again, though, there is no record where they are called earthly *kami*. They were born on the earth, but they come from the lineage of heavenly *kami*, so they are known as imperial grandchildren, or as the Chinese tradition states, heavenly grandchildren ... [HAZ 1.42–46].

* * * *

Kamu Yamato Iware Hiko, also known as Emperor Jinmu, ruled the country from Kashiwara in Yamato. The imperial line has continued in an unbroken succession from this emperor until the present, being one hundred and twenty generations.⁴⁰ There is no other nation on earth that can compare with this, nor is there any other nation that is so blessed. This is the original purpose of the Way, and it differs entirely from the thinking of the Chinese. Japan is a country born from the profound thoughts of these special *kami* who created heaven and earth, the foundation supported by Ōnanmuji and Sukuna Bikona, descendants of these *kami* who were blessed with an especially strong authority. The existence of the myriad countries of the four seas, as well as the fowl, beasts, shrubbery, and trees originate

40. During Atsutane’s day this would have been Emperor Ninkō (r. 1817–46), who was the 120th sovereign according to the traditional genealogy.

entirely from this country, the original essence being that of the bud that sprouted and grew upward to become the heavenly shining globe. This land is also the birthplace of the sun goddess, who rules over the sun, bestowing blessings on the entire world within the sphere of existence. And Ninigi is the great grandson of Takami Musubi, the grandson of Amaterasu, given special affection by these two *kami*, and he is particularly noble among all the *kami* in heaven. A number of *kami* who had won the confidence of these two great *kami* were selected to accompany Ninigi [when he descended], and he received from Amaterasu as imperial proof the three regalia, which were particularly revered. The sun goddess herself used these sacred words, "The land of Ashihara Mizuho will be ruled by successive generations of my descendants, a land that will stand forever."⁴¹ According to the divine command, our rulers have governed this land every day since the reign of Ninigi. And in relation to the descendants of the *kami* who accompanied Ninigi to earth, they continue in an unbroken line, their descendants spreading throughout Japan. Some of the imperial descendants were granted surnames such as Taira and Minamoto, and their descendants have entered the ranks of the imperial subjects, and have increased in number. We together now are their progeny. ...

Through the facts found in these ancient records, I have made things clear; we can say that our country is the divine land, and that we are descendants of the *kami*. For you people who are too busy with the affairs of daily life and cannot elucidate the records by yourselves, you have come to hear and remember this speech, and now surely are able to step forward and repeat these things with vigor. If you cannot, when a person censures you by saying, "How can you say that only your country is a divine country, and only your people are descendants of the *kami*?" I am afraid you will be shocked. But when you are censured like this, if you can answer as I have told you, then you will not be ashamed of the words that even the Chinese whom we despise use. That is, "We are collecting and clarifying for later generations the splendid works of our ancestors. Not knowing that our ancestors have performed noble works is to say that certain facts are un-

41. Atsutane is taking some liberties with the story. *Kojiki* says, "They gave a command to Ninigi, saying, 'The land of Toyo Ashihara Mizuho is a land we entrust to you to govern. Therefore, descend down there according to our will'" (Kōnishi et al. 2007:115). *Nihon shoki* records, "Amaterasu said, 'The land of Toyo Ashihara Nakatu is the place over which my son should rule'" (Kojima et al. 2002, 1:123). A different variation says, "Amaterasu gave a command to Ninigi, saying, 'The land of Ashihara Nakatu is the land over which my descendants should rule. You, imperial grandson, go and rule. Now off with you. May the prosperity of your reign know no bounds, like heaven and earth'" (Kojima et al. 2002, 1:130).

known to you; thus, this casts a shadow over reason. Knowing about these ancient works and not passing them onto posterity is corrupt, showing you are unfaithful and unfilial to your ancestors."

Therefore, we are the posterity of the *kami* as the record points out, and this country is the divine country. The many foreign countries that span the edge of heaven and earth, lacking nothing, enjoy satisfaction and beauty, and it is wonderful that the five grains are the first link to life in the myriad countries. Since people eat rice till they are full—the five grains exist thanks to Tamayori Hime, the *kami* of the Outer Shrine in Ise who was born in this land full of the wonders of nature; thus, we call the people born in Japan "the seeds." All foreigners, though they are not the same age, are powerful and of great intelligence. But when a person uses this knowledge of the ancient traditions properly and expounds upon things truthfully, people blinded by foreign learning and people who think they are wise end up saying that no matter what Hirata says about Japan, he is just biased. So though you try and tell these types of people about the facts about Japan, they refute this and that, quoting astronomy, geography, and foreign theories. These people say that the idea that Japan is superior to all other foreign countries is mere public opinion lodged between heaven and earth. I will address this issue at our next meeting. ... [HAZ 1:49–51]

* * *

The earth is perfectly round, like a device used by fortune-tellers. People construct a globe with the outlines of countries attached to the outside. Like the device used in fortune-telling, there are many rings revolving around the inner sphere, just like an astrolabe. The round sphere where the various countries are attached is the earth. Because it is round, we also call it 地球 "the globe." The character 球 is "ball" [so ball of land]. The outer surface of this round earth is land and sea. To give an example, depressed places became oceans and rivers because water gathered there. Elevated places became the countries. Extremely high places became mountains. If you think of this example, you will not go wrong. A proverb says the earth is six parts water, three parts mountain, and one part plain. So sixty percent of the surroundings consist of ocean, thirty percent being mountains, and the remaining ten percent flat land. There is also the saying that the earth is half water and half land.

Now, we can divide this great land mass into five spheres. The first is Asia, the second Europe, the third Africa,⁴² the fourth South America, and

42. Atsutane's text has アメリカ *amerika* "America," but this clearly is a mistake for ア

the fifth North America. These are called the five great continents. Our imperial country, China, Mongolia, and India belong to the first large group, Asia. So there are still four other spheres like this one stretching from Japan to Mongolia and India. And even if you put all the land together, there still is an even greater area of ocean. So is not the land terribly large? Something this large floats in the firmament without falling, but since it does not move up and down, how did anyone find out about all this? People from Europe, a place in the second continent I mentioned above, have traveled freely all over the globe in ships, visiting all the countries. There is a small place in Europe called Holland, and they have traveled freely all over the globe. To do this they had to be skilled in astronomy and geography, so they made these subjects foremost in studying. These people are possessed of a patient nature, and they think things through. Through their thinking, they have manufactured various measuring devices, like the telescope and sun reflector⁴³ to view the sun, moon, and stars, surveying devices to measure the size and distance of things on land. In making these devices, some took five years, others ten, some a whole lifetime. When ideas were greater than the lifetime of man, these men wrote down their ideas, leaving the finishing of ideas to their posterity. Generation after generation of posterity and students continued to work on these problems, trying to develop the device in question. But I will refrain from mentioning things related to countries that do arbitrary things, like China, where they engage in slippery subjects built on conjecture. Therefore, when there are things that man cannot comprehend, no matter how much he studies, this is called *Gotto*,⁴⁴ where the Dutch say it is incomprehensible, the work of the heavenly deity. . . .

So this globe is round and floats in space. Proof of this can be seen by a boat that sails east later appears in the west. We confirm this theory with this as proof. Now if the earth is round, it would appear to be difficult to fix top and bottom, but if you look at the sky you will see the North Pole and South Pole, locations that are immovable. . . . When these astronomical theories came to our country, a man from Nagasaki called Nishikawa Kyūrinsai⁴⁵ made these things public. He lived during the Genroku era. It is well known that nothing was known of astronomy or geography or for-

フリカ *afurika* "Africa," because North and South America appear next in the line. I have translated it thus.

43. Written 遮日鏡, glossed as *zongarasu*. This is from Dutch *zonneglas* "sun glass." Apparently this was a device like a helioscope (cf. Odronic 1967:184).

44. Atsutane writes this as 造物主 "the creator," but glosses this as *gotto*. This likely is a German version of the word ("Got" or "Gott"), as Dutch has "God" back to Old Dutch.

45. Nishikawa Kyūrinsai (1648–1724). More commonly known as Nishikawa Joken. He

eign countries before this time, and theories that did exist were fanciful, as described by Nishikawa in *Tenkei wakumon*⁴⁶ and *Kaitsūshōkō*.⁴⁷ These works introduced us to foreign customs, spreading this knowledge far and wide. Nishikawa has many other works. From his time on, people know about foreign countries. He was a gifted man with a strong Japanese spirit, and through his study of Western astronomy, geography, and Chinese learning, he was able to publish a work called *Nihon Suidokō* "The Topography of Japan"⁴⁸ . . . [HAZ 1.52–54].

* * * *

Among the works that have reached our country from the far west is one called *Beschreibung von Japan*. In our language the title means *A Description of Japan*, and it was written by a man named Engelbert Kaempfer.⁴⁹ This man wished to know about various countries, and traveled around without any specific destination in mind. He desired to investigate our country, and became an official called *Kafitan* on a Dutch ship.⁵⁰ During the Shōtoku period (1711–15), Kaempfer came to this country, and visited Kyōto as well as Edo.⁵¹ He published a topographical work on various countries in the world, which has become famous. He worked hard to leave his name to posterity, and created a very detailed work. From the point of view of Japan, Holland is indeed a distant land, and I do not intend to play favorites with Japan over other nations, but Kaempfer visited the

was a man from Nagasaki who originally studied Neo-Confucianism, but after having contacts with the Dutch, he started seeking information from them.

46. A description of Chinese and Western astronomy, written by Nishikawa in 1720.

47. Written by Nishikawa in 1695. The work was expanded in 1708. It describes various aspects of foreign countries, such as the geographical location, notes on the people and population, including topographical information. This work introduced to Japanese the existence of North and South America.

48. Written in 1720.

49. Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) was a German scholar who made a long voyage to Asia, eventually arriving in Japan. He wrote exactly what he saw and titled his work *Heutiges Japan* "Japan Today." Nevertheless, the work was only published some eighty years after Kaempfer wrote it. At that time, the title had become *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* "A History and Description of Japan." Atsutane's quotation of the title appears to be an abbreviation. See Bodart-Bailey (1999) for a translation of this work.

50. No doubt the word *kafitan* is simply a Japanese rendering of the German *Kapitän* "captain." Of course, Kaempfer was never the captain of a ship. He was sent as a physician to Dejima.

51. In reality, Kaempfer set foot on Japanese soil on September 25, 1690. He spent two years in Japan and left on October 31, 1692.

world over, and he could not find another country as fine as ours, and he wrote it as he saw it ...⁵² [HAZ 1.54, 56].

* * * * 53

There is any number of teachings in the world. Having heard them, most are Confucian, and these scholars teach in a clever, narrow-minded manner. And there are scholars who follow Daoism who deal with strengthening the mind and enlightenment, things which smell of Buddhism and hell. They display a lack of human feeling, trying to establish a doctrine that is weak in the knees. When a person gets a whiff of these doctrines, they appear to make perfect sense, but upon pondering the ideas, you find that they go against the true Way. If this is true, then some ask if the Way is difficult to pursue, but in reality it is actually simple, not difficult to attain like *shinpō* "law of mind" or "the way to enlightenment." There is no obstacle to the Great Way, a way of peace where one can walk triumphantly; everyone is already walking down this path without knowing it ... [HAZ 1.65].

An ancient poet once wrote:

*mononofu no
torifaku tati no
tuka no ma mo
wasurezi to omofu
yamato tamasifi*

The sword girt about
the waist of the soldier;
I will not forget
the sensation of the hilt,
nor my Japanese spirit.⁵⁴

The meaning of this poem is that like the soldier who always wears his sword about his waist, his feelings are under control. The use of *tuka no ma*

52. Beatrice Bodart-Bailey gives the following passage from Kaempfer, "The citizens surpass all others in manners, the arts, virtue, and all kinds of polite behavior, and they prosper as regards internal trade, fertility of soil, good health, strength of spirit, the necessities of life, and the peace of their land" (1988:7).

53. Hirata Atsutane goes to great lengths to deal with Kaempfer, especially since the German sided with the Japanese when it came to their closed-country policy. Atsutane's reasoning simply was, "When a country is strong, her people are strong like ours, have an abundance of goods on hand, and there is no necessity to have trade with foreign countries. And that is why our country is closed and we do not engage in trade." This quote is representative of five pages of text that I have abbreviated.

54. I have not been able to find any poem such as this quoted. The stanza *yamato tamasifi* is actually a product of the language after the Warring States period. Also, the epithet *mononofu no* attaches to either the toponym Uji or the number eighty *yaso*. This leads me to believe the poem is a later product. It is possible that Atsutane has fabricated this poem by splicing stanzas from two older poems together.

is a pun on hilt and "not for a moment," the poet will not forget his Japanese spirit even for a moment.

Our master, Norinaga, wrote another poem:

*sikisima no
yamato kokoro wo
fito tofaba
asafi ni niofu
yama sakurabana*

If asked what is
the heart of natural poetry,
it is the scent
of mountain cherry blossoms
lingering in the morning sun.⁵⁵

First, *sikisima* refers to our country, but anciently it was an epithet for the place name of Yamato, as it is here. The meaning of this verse is, "If a person were to ask me how my heart was, wishing to know what the Japanese spirit is, I would say it is like beautiful cherry blossoms in bloom on a mountain in spring. The morning sun climbs into the sky above the blossoms, the petals dancing in the sunlight. My heart is just like this."

There is nothing more beautiful, more enjoyable, and more charming among all the sights than this. It may be tedious to repeat, but everyone born in this country possesses this beautiful, enjoyable disposition deep in their souls; many Japanese, however, have shifted their hearts to foreign learning, these feelings covered with a cloud. I urge you all to polish this heart and restore it to its original beauty. When you have not sufficiently polished your Japanese spirit, then we find that many misunderstandings occur in various respects. The words of the Chinese, "After you lay the foundation, then the Way appears naturally," is applicable here. ...⁵⁶

There is an abundance of scholars in this present age, but most have bad habits and are good-for-nothing. There is a well-known phrase, "People despise what they always see, but adore what they have never heard before." There are many people like this. In other words, they blindly follow something said by a foreigner or people from the past, but take no heed of something a Japanese or a living person has said. And even when these people believe that I have said something worthy, they do not change their prejudices. They part the hair and look for small scars, obsessed with the spirit of failure, looking for the smallest failing. And there are even people now

55. Norinaga composed this poem to praise the day when he made a portrait of himself in honor of his sixty-first year. Norinaga appears to be saying, "I see your outward appearance, but what is your heart like?" The poem is thus a response to this question. Cf. MNZ 1976, 15:462.

56. Found in the "Xue er" section of *The Analects*, "Once the root is secured, the Way unfolds" (Nylan 2014:3).

and then who do not even realize that they are going directly against the spirit of scholarship.

This was a bad habit of the ancient Chinese, and there are three or four places in *The Analects* of Confucius where he chastises the people for this. Nevertheless, there is nothing we can do about these people who are overlooking the good; however, people who wish to pursue scholarship should be very careful not to forget this. If people pay attention to you, then do not hesitate to correct your mistakes, making a clean break from this bad habit of not being able to make quick alterations in one's thinking. Remember the words of our old master: Pick the new bud without breaking the old one from last year. How we all wish to travel together down the path of learning.

The true way of humanity means that you do not keep everything to yourself, but let others hear about your learning. The Chinese say, "If you hear about the Way in the morning, then you may die in the evening [without regrets]."⁵⁷ If you hear the truth in the morning, then you are so happy that you do not mind if you leave this world in the evening. Even the Chinese know this, so if they understood how indebted they are to this country, then they would not be able to restrain themselves from telling others.

Thus, though I am lacking, I strive to inform others about this Way, encouraging them to follow it. This is the virtue of the heavenly and earthly *kami*. I have no desire to forget the generous blessings of the awe-inspiring emperor and the shogun. This is how I show my gratitude for my parents who raised me from a child, and I believe that is the way of humanity. I entreat all of you to strive to follow this way, for it is best to continue making progress [HAZ 1.66–68]



57. Found in the "Li ren" section of the *Analects*, "In the morning hear the Way; in the evening die content" (Nylan 2014:10).

TAMA NO MIHASHIRA

Hirata Atsutane | 1812

[Atsutane was greatly influenced by "Sandaikō," found in *Kojiki-den*, and reuses those diagrams to tweak the theory of Norinaga and Nakatsune, thus creating his own theology. While he accepted the overall framework, he pushed back against the idea of Yomi as the afterlife as framed by Norinaga and Nakatsune. Instead of seeing the dead spirits journeying to a separate realm, Atsutane argued that the spirits remained here on earth, though in a different dimension. Thus, those dead spirits were still near and could offer assistance and protection to the living.]

PART ONE

The pillar I thrust into the ground here is what supports the [true] Yamato Heart (*yamato gokoro*) of the students who study ancient learning. And this pillar is thrust down and erected upon the deep bedrock at the bottom of the earth. If this foundation is not built upon an unmoveable rock, then all our words, all our works, whether they are words or works—will be without support—having no pillar. If there are no pillars, then the beams and crossbeams, doors and windows creak, the anchor ropes loosen, the roof thatch becomes disturbed, and noises in the night along with a multitude of other disasters occur. But that is not all. A person's spirit does not know which way to go, and that person begins to follow theories that have come bounding over the seas from foreign countries, and we find it difficult to watch people blindly following these theories. Because we strongly desire to make the pillar of one's heart thick and sturdy, planted upon a large rock so that one will not be swayed by foreign ideas, we have obtained the power from the *kami* Yabune,¹ and this is the pillar we wish to set erect. This pillar [figuratively] opens and elucidates the true Way for each spirit after death, causing each to be at ease, making it such that the Japanese soul is not swayed by other forces.

*makibasira
futoki kokoro wo
tifafemu to*

A pillar of black pine—
it is said he will protect
your stout heart,

1. The *kami* who protects a person's roof. The name of this entity appears in the Ōtonosai liturgy.