Japan Review, 2001, 13:3-31

Calming the Killing *Kami*: The Supernatural, Nature and Culture in *Fudoki*

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The deities known as *araburu kami*, malevolent deities, in Japanese mythology have previously been interpreted as deities of transportation. By employing the structuralist methodology of French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, this paper explores the meaning of these myths that appear in *Fudoki* in a way in which they have not been approached before, and the result is a new interpretation. In short, *araburu kami* are the 'wild spirits' of female river deities that are pacified by irrigation and flood control works carried out by the ruling élite or Korean immigrants. The hidden 'message' of these myths is that Korean technology, i.e. 'culture', triumphs over Japanese 'nature'.

Keywords : STRUCTURALISM, *FUDOKI*, MALEVOLENT DEITY, KOREAN IMMIGRANTS, SPADE/HOE, WATER CONTROL, NATURE, CULTURE.

INTRODUCTION

The present paper results from my long-term study of *Harima Fudoki*, which contains many myths and legends of the ancient Harima Province. As one line of research that might deepen my understanding of myth in general I studied some of the works of Lévi-Strauss on the subject, and out of idle curiosity, a kind of mental doodling, I started to apply Lévi-Strauss's approach to some of the myths in *Harima Fudoki*. The present paper focuses on a cycle of myths that centre on malevolent deities known as *araburu kami*. I started with no preconceived idea about where this mental doodling might lead. It was simply a question of following Lévi-Strauss's method and seeing what might result. In that sense, this paper is a test of the applicability of his 'structural' approach to Japanese myth. It also subjects the myths selected for that purpose to a different methodology from previous studies—and results in a new interpretation of them.

From the 1950s to the 1980s the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss applied a methodology known as structuralism to cultural anthropology. The intellectual legacy of his thought has been enduring in various fields of Western

scholarship in the humanities and social sciences; once one is initiated it is very difficult not to view the subject through new lenses and at least to become aware of previously unperceived possibilities.

With regard to his analysis of myths and mythology, Lévi-Strauss works from the premise that 'every myth is an organised totality'.[1] Reduced to its simplest explanation, his complicated analysis of the myths circulating among (largely pre-literate) native Americans follows two lines of approach. One is internal to each individual myth: to analyse the internal structure of the tale. His other approach is also structural but this time external: he compares the themes and structures of individual native American myths with others, on the one hand, and also applies to them what he understands of their contemporary lives in the cultural anthropological context, on the other.

His method is to start with a particular myth and identify in it elements that appear in other, related, myths. It is perhaps analogous to taking a jigsaw puzzle that has so many pieces missing from it that it is impossible to reconstruct the complete picture. He compares this incomplete picture to other puzzles (myths) on the same topic, which are likewise incomplete. If enough puzzles are examined in this way, he argues, it eventually becomes possible to deduce what it is that must be missing from the original picture selected. In the process it also becomes possible to reconstruct what must be missing from many of the other incomplete selected puzzles too.

By this method Lévi-Strauss deduces the underlying message(s)[2] of the myths that are not at first sight apparent. In *The Raw and the Cooked*, for example, he demonstrates that 'the raw' signifies nature, as opposed to 'the cooked' that signifies culture—and further, that 'the rotten' signifies the anticultural, i.e., antisocial, asocial, decadent or degenerate behaviour.[3]

The purpose of this paper is broadly to take the above approach with one myth cycle about malevolent deities (*araburu kami*) in *Harima no Kuni Fudoki*, in an attempt to identify what the underlying message is—to 'get the whole picture', so to speak. The most well-known and frequently studied myths in Japan are those contained in the earliest extant national chronicles, *Kojiki* (A.D. 712) and *Nihon Shoki* (A.D. 720).[4] Another rich source, that tends to be regarded in a supplementary light, is the *Fudoki*: regional descriptions that were compiled in response to a government order of A.D. 713 which requested among other things the submission of local oral traditions as handed down by the elders.[5] These *Fudoki* are much less well known than they are known *about*: most educated Japanese know of their existence; but actually very few are in any sense familiar with them. It is one myth—or rather two versions of one myth—in *Harima no Kuni Fudoki* ('Topography of Harima Province'), recorded ca. A.D. 714, that will be the starting point for the analysis below. This method of analysis will lead to quite a different interpretation of both it and other related myths from previous

interpretations.

Contributions by scholars of Japanese language, literature, mythology, history, historical geography and archaeology have been made to the analysis of the myths contained in the *Fudoki*. While reserving judgement as to whether structural analysis might fruitfully be applied to all Japanese myths, I should like to demonstrate that it can provide some useful new insights, at least to some. First, I shall identify the myths about *araburu kami* that appear in the various *Fudoki* and review the recent scholarly interpretations of them. Then I shall translate two versions of what are regarded as one myth from *Harima Fudoki* and take them as a starting point for my analysis. If it is true, as Lévi-Strauss repeatedly claims, that every myth (cycle) forms an organised whole of which no element is ever superfluous, then the task is to identify in turn the elements within our basic myth and see what further can be understood about them, both by comparison with other myths in which those elements appear, and by what we know about them from various fields of scholarship including archaeology, (pre-)history and cultural anthropology. Finally, from the combination of the various elements, now clarified, a broader context can be deduced. It is a kind of detective story.

ARABURU KAMI: MALEVOLENT DEITIES

There are references to deities that kill or euphemistically 'detain' passers-by, often described in the original texts as *araburu kami*, in several *Fudoki* entries. In the following table, arranged more or less east to west, the numbers refer to how many passers-by are specified in each as being molested by them.

Suruga no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun [6]	[unspecified]	Appendix [1]
Ise no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun: [7]	50/100 or 20/40	Appendix [2]
Tsu (Settsu) no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun: [8]	5/10	Appendix [3]
Harima no Kuni Fudoki: [9]		
Kako Kōri [10]	half	see below
IFibo Kōri [11]	half, 5/10 or 3/5	see below
Kamusaki Kōri [12]	half	Appendix [4]
Hizen no Kuni Fudoki:		
Kï Kōri [13]	many, half	Appendix [5]
Kamusaki Kōri [14]	many	Appendix [6]
Saka Kōri [15]	half	Appendix [7]
Chikugo no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun:[16]	half	Appendix [8]

As can be seen from the above list, six entries specify that 'half' were killed, while most others employ expressions that indicate half, such as 'five out of ten'. (See

Appendix.) What have scholars said about these deities recently?

Nihon Shinwa Jiten (*Dictionary of Japanese Mythology*) (1997) contains an entry for *araburu kami*. It notes that there are nine references in *Kojiki*, three in *Nihon Shoki*, three in the *Norito*, and six in *Fudoki*. (As we can see from the above table, the dictionary's figures are questionable.) The dictionary interprets the *araburu kami* of *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* essentially as regional deities that must be pacified by the imperial powers and assimilated under Yamato rule. It regards three of the *Fudoki* entries (two from *Hitachi Fudoki* and one from *Hizen Fudoki*) in a similar light, and the rest as retributive deities (*tatari-gami*) of boundaries: 'These are not connected to the process of imperial assimilation.'[17]

Kelsey (1981), referring to *araburu kami* as 'raging deities', examines thirty-five myths from various sources, and classifies them into five categories, ten of which he regards as 'stories of *araburu kami proper*'.[18] These more or less coincide with the myths that form the main object of study for the present paper. Kelsey notes that the 'raging deity' is often female, is often the victorious party in disputes,[19] and 'can be linked to water deities, though this is not true of all of them.'[20] Moreover, with regard to those he calls *araburu kami* proper, he points out that:

> When considering these tales . . . , it is important to remember that they are all from the *fudoki*, which are local accounts of the settlement of various areas and hence present the raging deity as a problem inherent in settling the area in the first place.[21]

Kelsey does not explore what that inherent problem might be.

Takioto (1992), like Kelsey, notes that the *araburu kami* of the *Fudoki* are different in character from those typified by Susanoo in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*.[22] Takioto points out that the *araburu kami* in *Fudoki* are maleficent deities who reside in places such as mountain passes, boundaries, river crossings and the sea. These places are dangerous but they cannot easily be avoided by using other routes. This leads Takioto to regard the deities in question as essentially deities of transportation.[23]

Takehiro (1997) notes also that many are female.[24] He makes the valuable observation that in ancient Japan deities were regarded as having two aspects: *ara-mitama*, 'wild spirit', and *nigi-mitama*, 'gentle spirit'.[25] So when the gentle spirit of the deity prevails, travellers pass by unmolested; when the wild spirit predominates, they are killed. What more can we add?

Let us take as starting point for our analysis two tales from *Harima Fudoki*. The Osi-kaFa passage appears in the entry for Firö-yama *Sato*[26] in IFibo *Kōri*,[27] and the SaFi-woka passage continues on almost directly from it, as in the translation below.[28]

Osi-kaFa [River]:[29] Mikagë-nö-OFo-[mi-]kamï[30] of Idumo was on Kamïwo-yama [Mountain][31] in Firakata *Sato* village during the reign of Fomuda-nö-sumera-mikötö.[32] She[33] always blocked the passage of passers-by, allowing half [of them] to live but killing the other half. Three men, WoFote[34] of FaFaki [Province],[35] Fukuro of Inaba [Province] and Tukiya of Idumo [Province][36] agonized together [over this problem] and petitioned the Court. Nukata-be-nö-murazi-Kutö[tö][37] was despatched to intercede.[38] He built a hall[39] at Yakatata[40] and a brewery at Sasa-yama[41] to enshrine [the malevolent deity]. The *sake* party held in order to enshrine the deity was an exceedingly merry occasion. In due course, they took branches of oak[42] from the oak[43] mountain,[44] and having hung them from their sashes and poked them through their waistbands, they jostled each other[45] down the river. Hence it is called Osi-kaFa.[46]

Firakata *Sato*:[47] the soil is upper second grade.
The reason why it is called Firakata is because the first to settle here were continental immigrants who came from Firakata *Sato* village, Mamuta Kōri[48] in KaFuti Province.[49] Hence it is called Firakata *Sato*.

SaFi-woka [Hill]:[50] The reason why it is called SaFi is [as follows]. Idumo-nö-OFo-kamï was on Kamïwo-yama [Mountain].[51] This deity detained[52] five out of every ten, and three out of every five Idumo people who [tried to] pass this spot. Therefore the people of Idumo made a spade[53] and dedicated it [to her] on this hill,[54] but she was not to be appeased. The reason for this was that Fiko-gamï [the male deity] had come first and Fime-gamï [the female deity] had come later, but Fiko-gamï having been unable to be enshrined, he had [already] left. Fime-gamï was incensed by this and bore a grudge. Well, later on, Korean immigrants[55] from Firakata village, Mamuta *Kōri*, in KaFuti Province, came along and settled beside this mountain. They reverently worshipped [her] and soon they were able to pacify her.[56] It was called Kamïwo-yama[57] because this deity was here. The site where they had wrought the spade and dedicated it was called SaFi-woka.[58]

The tale is believed to be essentially the same in both cases, only told from the viewpoint of the indigenous people in the first version and from the viewpoint of the immigrants in the SaFi-woka passage.[59] The scenario common to both tales is that there is a maleficent deity on a mountain who kills around half of the travellers who try to pass between the Japan Sea coast (San'in) side to the north of the Chūgoku mountain range and the Inland Sea coast (San'yō) side to the south. In both versions difficulties arise for the travellers who attempt to cross the watershed of the main dividing range. People from the San'in coast try to pacify this deity. In the SaFi-woka entry we are told overtly that they fail. In the Osi-

kaFa entry, the fact that a third party is sent from the Yamato Court to assist implies that they too were unsuccessful in their attempt. In both stories, the malevolent spirit is pacified only by outsiders: in one case by somebody from the Court, in the other by Korean immigrants.

Both tales start by stating that the malevolent deity was on Kamïwo-yama Mountain, so let us examine this point as our first 'element' in the myth cycle. What else can be learnt from some other tales about *araburu kami*? Myths [1], [2], [3], [5], [7] and [8] of the Appendix all refer to the malevolent deity's presence on a *mountain*. If, as Lévi-Strauss contends, myths contain nothing superfluous, then this is significant. Secondly, myths [2], [5] and [7] specifically mention the source of the river in the mountains, and to judge from the reference to crossing the main divide in the entry for Osi-kaFa River, the source of the river is implied in that tale too. Taken together, these two elements—the mountain and the source of a river—confirm that the trouble spots depicted are typically high in the mountains near where the rivers rise, corroborating the inference that crossing the watershed was a risky endeavour.

Although at first sight these *araburu kami* are deities of transportation, as suggested by previous scholarship, a second look suggests that rather they are deities of certain *dangerous places*. Let us follow this line of reasoning and see where it takes us. In early times and even until recently, routes over passes through the mountains, for example, were little more than narrow paths or tracks. Weather in the mountains is unpredictable and changes by the moment. Mist descends with little warning, obscuring the way: it is easy to get lost. There are steep cliffs above and below: to lose one's footing can be fatal. Sudden downpours turn trickling streams to raging torrents and waterfalls, and cause landslides and rock falls. Simple bridges are washed away. Flash floods sweep from dry or trickling riverbeds those who attempt to cross. And with exhaustion and exposure there is a possibility of hypothermia even in summer. Travelling from one side of the mountain range to the other was indeed a dangerous enterprise. The depiction of half the travellers being killed may be less of an exaggeration than it appears at first sight.[60]

If we take a hint from Takehiro's (1997) observation, the maleficent deities in the Osi-kaFa and SaFi-woka myths above and those translated in the Appendix seem to be the dominant *ara-mitama* of deities of *specific* dangerous places; there does not appear to be one (or a small number) of such deities of dangerous places *generically*. In other words, in most of these myths, the deity in question is a local deity specific to a dangerous point in the mountains on a water course en route across mountains.

This hypothesis is corroborated by the following passage, the entry for FunaFiki-Fara Heath, AFaFa *Sato*, Kako *Kōri*, Harima Province, while at the same time it sheds new light on it:

> In this village there is FunaFiki-Fara [Heath].[61] Long ago, there was a malicious deity in the village of Kamusaki-mura. [S]he always sank half of all vessels that passed, so the boats that plied to and fro were all [forced to detour willy-nilly] at OFotu-ye [estuary] in Inami.[62] They had to go up the river, beach their boats at Kaorita valley,[63] drag them [over the hill, and row down the Akashi River] to Fayasi-nö-minato [Harbour][64] in Akasi *Kōri*, whence they set out [to sea again]. Hence it is called FunaFiki-Fara.[65]

Watanabe (1994) suggests that the deity in question here might be either a deity of the sea or of wind,[66] while according to Marumo (1986) it could be Hayaaki-tsu-hime, a female deity of strong currents.[67] Such interpretations hitherto have assumed that the malevolent deity in question must be 'residing' in the river mouth, where travellers are said to encounter difficulties. However, this is to ignore the point that we are specifically told that the deity resides in *Kamusaki*. Akimoto suggests that this probably refers to somewhere in the southeastern part of the *kōri*.[68] However, in the light of the foregoing discussion, I believe it refers to a former name for Kamusaki *Kōri*, an administrative district in the north of Harima Province. It seems astonishing that scholars previously have dismissed the possibility that the Kamusaki-mura of this entry could refer to the contemporary Kamusaki *Kōri*. Several tributaries of the Kako River rise near the watershed that formed the eastern boundary of Kamusaki *Kōri*—this entry may even be connected with that for Iku-no, Fani-woka *Sato*, Kamusaki *Kōri*[69] (see Appendix [4]). S/He is probably a deity of the Kamusaki district in the north of Harima Province: the area bordering the watershed of the main divide, just as we might now expect. In other words, the problems suffered by travellers at the river mouth are caused by flooding *from upstream* when the river is in spate. It is only by this structuralist method of comparing 'incomplete jigsaw puzzles' that such an interpretation becomes not only possible but also obvious and convincing.

HUSBAND-WIFE DEITY DYADS

The SaFi-woka passage goes on to tell us that its maleficent deity is female, and that she has a male counterpart. There are several references to husband-wife deity dyads in *Harima Fudoki*, so this will be our next element for closer scrutiny. One passage in particular, the entry for Idumi *Sato* also in IFibo *Kōri*, is instructive:

> Minasi-gaFa [River]:[71] The reason why it is called Minasi-gaFa is [as follows]. The two deities IFa-tatu-Fiko-nö-mikötö and his wife,[72] IFa-tatu-Fime-nö-

mikötö—children of Iwa-nö-OFo-kamï—quarrelled over the water in the river. The husband wanted to make it flow northwards to Kosibe-mura, but the wife wanted to make it flow southwards to Idumi-mura. So then the male deity trampled down the hilltop and made [the river] flow down [the other side]. Upon seeing this, the female deity thought it appallingly unethical. She [retaliated by] damming the flow of water with her comb,[73] digging a drain [down] from the hilltop, and directing it towards Idumi-mura. Thus the dispute deepened. In return, the male deity came back to the source [of the river at Idumi],[74] diverted the stream channel and tried to make it flow westwards to KuFaFara-mura. But the female deity would on no account let him, and, laying a secret [underground] culvert, she made it flow out into the paddy fields at Idumi-mura. Owing to this, the water of the river ceased to flow. Hence it is called Minasi-gaFa.

This myth has been interpreted in a number of ways. For Akimoto (1958), it is a tale of territorial struggle over access to irrigation water.[77] *Shingū-chō Shi* (1965) takes it to indicate a dispute between the villages of Koshibe and Izumi.[78] Tanaka and Matsushita (1994) likewise believe it to be a dispute over water between the inhabitants of the Nakagaichi (Minashi-gawa) Valley and the inhabitants of the lower reaches of the Yamane River that flows down to Koshibe on the other side. They note that the Yamane River has a steeper gradient and is eroding at a faster pace than the Nakagaichi, and will eventually capture the Ki-no-ike Reservoir that feeds the Nakagaichi. They surmise that people of old were aware of this, and that either the inhabitants of the Nakagaichi valley built a low dike to prevent the water flowing towards Ichinoho, Shingū-chō (former Koshibe), or that some astute resident of Ichinoho tried to speed up the natural process. Where the Nakagaichi spills down on to the valley bottom, it has created an alluvial shingle fan with unstable braided stream channels: sometimes it would have flowed southwest towards Kuwabara. Except during heavy rains, the flow normally sinks into the gravels of the alluvial fan, forming underground channels: the so-called 'culvert' of the myth. This is why it is dubbed the 'Waterless River'. The water flows out at the lower edge of the fan, forming springs, which gave Idumi ('Spring') *Sato* its name (in the vicinity of present-day Shimizu, Issai-chō, Tatsuno-shi).[79]

Yoshino (1969) treats the male in the Minasi-gaFa myth as the deity of the mountain and the female as the deity of water. He stresses the association with *kofun* burial mound culture, arguing that the 'mountain' can be regarded as the hill or mound of a tumulus, and the 'water' as that of the moat that surrounded many such mounds,[80] though this is probably fanciful in this instance. However, it now becomes clear that the mountain is the male deity and the water is the female deity, and it is at least implied vice-versa that the male deity is the moun-

tain itself while the female deity is the river. This is why the festival in which this deity is pacified in the entry for Osi-kaFa includes the participants' jostling each other *down the river*—no doubt in the water itself. It is not surprising that the mountain and its river(s) should be regarded as a couple: apart from the sexual imagery they evoke individually, in Japan rivers almost invariably rise in the mountains—they are thereby linked conceptually.

When we seek corroboration in the myths presented in the Appendix, we find that [5] and [7] specify that the malevolent deity is female. In [3] it takes on the form of an eagle, gender unspecified; in the rest, the deity's gender is unspecified, but in not one is it specified as being male.

All the above various observations are helpful. In part, both the Osi-kaFa myth and the Minasi-gaFa myth might be said to portray sexual and/or sibling rivalry. But more importantly for the present purposes, the (male) mountain symbolizes nature untamed. While at first the 'wild spirit' of the (female) river water predominates half the time, it represents nature untamed, and then, once dammed and channelled and controlled for irrigation, its 'gentle spirit' predominates and it represents nature under human control: in short, culture. It is noteworthy in this context that the female deity succeeds in the end. Thus the message also relates the difficulties and setbacks encountered by early cultivators, and therefore probably dates from the Yayoi or Kofun Period (approximately 300 B.C.–A.D. 700) consequent upon the introduction of rice cultivation and requisite riparian works for irrigation.[81] As Lévi-Strauss might have predicted, the message is that culture is superior to nature.

Returning to the entries for Osi-kaFa and SaFi-woka, we can now infer that the maleficent deity in both cases is a female river deity on a mountain that is her deity-husband. Attempts by the indigenous people to pacify her, represented by people of the San'in coast, are unsuccessful: in both cases the help of outsiders must be enlisted. In Osi-kaFa it takes the form of a plea to the Yamato Court, i.e., the people in power who were able to gain immediate access to technological innovations. In the case of SaFi-woka, it is not until the arrival of Korean immigrants that the river deity is pacified.

THE SPADE

In addition to these observations, we must note the similarities in the Minasi-gaFa myth to myth [3] of the Appendix, in which an underground drain is dug likewise, and not only that, the drainlaying operation is carried out surreptitiously. Archaeological excavation, for example at the Dazaifu site, has confirmed that culverts large enough for a man to pass through were indeed in use.[82] In myth [3] the drainlayer who is simultaneously successful in pacifying the malevolent spirit

is called Kuwao (Old Japanese *KuFawo*), meaning 'Hoe Man'. The implication is that a hoe or spade (see below) was used for digging the culvert.
It is important to note that a culvert also appears in myth [2], as the *hi* in the name Fujikata-no-Katahi, perhaps meaning something like 'the culvert (one of two) near[er] Fujikata.' Nor is it insignificant that this place name is here associated with Amaterasu and Yamato-hime, who were both deities worshipped by the Yamato Court.

It is now well-known from the archaeological record that it was mainly the Korean immigrants, who started entering Japan from the Yayoi Period on (ca. 400 B.C.), who introduced and stimulated new technologies such as rice cultivation, irrigation, and metal working that produced among other items more effective agricultural implements for land reclamation. The entry for SaFi-woka eloquently portrays this situation. A comment is now called for about the word *saFi* in the entry for SaFi-woka, which is translated above as 'spade'. This is a crucially important element in this myth. It appears in the place name title of the entry, we learn that it is offered to the malevolent deity by people of Izumo, and it is mentioned again at the end of the entry. Uegaki interprets it as a scythe for cutting grass,[83] while Ōhira (1994) cites Mayumi Tsunetada (1978), who believes *saFi* to be a name for metal blades in general and that this one was worshipped by a group of Korean blacksmiths.[84] In Japan metal spade and hoe heads were alike in shape. Like Ohira, however, I believe this *Fudoki* entry refers to a spade. Both spades and hoes appear to have been used for land reclamation, irrigation and riparian projects, and went together as a pair.[85] The ground-breaking portion of iron-tipped hoes and spades introduced into Japan from the Korean peninsula around the fourth or early fifth century were so similar that archaeologists sometimes have difficulty distinguishing them in the absence of their wooden shafts that have often rotted away. The hoe in myth [3] is therefore interchangeable in symbolic terms with the spade of the SaFi-woka entry.

Incidentally, Ōhira, a prefectural archaeologist, notes that excavation of the sixth-century Maruyama Kiln Site at Nabano, Aioi-shi, Hyōgo Prefecture, in 1982 turned up two rare U-shaped miniature pottery spade heads and/or hoe heads, which he believes were used for entirely ceremonial purposes in agricultural rites associated with arable land reclamation. He observes that they were modelled on U-shaped spade and hoe head designs that were transmitted from the Korean peninsula in the early fifth century and which largely replaced the previously rectangular tools for agricultural land reclamation by the late sixth century.[86] While the item offered to the deity in this *Fudoki* entry might have been an actual metal tool, it could equally have been a pottery (or perhaps wooden or stone) miniature replica as a less valuable substitute for the real thing.[87] It is unlikely to be pure coincidence that the kiln site in question is only nine kilometres as the crow flies from Sayo-oka, the putative location of the SaFi-woka site.

Either way, the discovery of this artefact corroborates the evidence about the spade-related ritual in the myth as actual historical practice associated with land reclamation for farming.

It can be surmised that a spade was dedicated to the relevant deity in a religious ceremony of some sort either before, during, or soon after, the engineering project was undertaken, as a means of beseeching a successful outcome. At first sight it is somewhat puzzling that the dedicated spade is ineffective—that is, if one assumes that the spade in question was a metal-tipped one.[88] But the myth tells us that this ineffective spade was dedicated by the indigenous people, as represented by the people of Izumo. This perhaps implies that the spade in question was an early wooden spade that was less efficient and durable than the rounder metal-tipped shovels introduced from the Korean peninsula.[89]

Another possibility is that the spade was indeed an iron-tipped one, but the local people lacked the know-how for using it effectively. It cannot be overlooked that the tale specifies that it was the reclamation works in this village by *Korean immigrants* that resulted in making the flow of the river more even, predictable and therefore safer than ever before. In short, it was they who pacified the 'wild spirit' of the river deity. The Osi-kaFa passage likewise implies that in calling for the assistance of the Court, the authorities with access to the new technologies achieved similar results there. Thus the spade symbolizes not only the agricultural tool itself, but also represents the technological developments that the Korean drainage engineers introduced.

THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION FROM THE KOREAN PENINSULA

The issue of the Korean immigrants is another element worth exploring further. Indeed, we are told that 'the first to settle here were continental immigrants who came from Firakata *Sato* village, Mamuta *Kōri* in KaFuti Province'. It is pertinent to quote here at length from the entry for Nintoku in *Nihon Shoki*,[90] from which we learn that it was immigrants from Silla who diked the lower reaches of the Yodogawa River at Mamuta in the early fifth century.[91] This passage is therefore linked directly with the *Harima Fudoki* account of SaFi-woka.

> 11th year, Summer, 4th month, 16th day. The Emperor commanded his ministers, saying:—"Viewing this land, the moors and marshes extend far and wide, and the cultivated fields are few and rare. Moreover, the river waters spread out to each side, so that the lower streams flow sluggishly. Should there happen to be continuous rains, the tide from the sea flows up against them so that one may ride in boats through the villages: and the highways, too, are covered with mud. Therefore do ye our ministers examine this

together, and having ascertained the source of the divergence, make a channel for them to the sea, and staying the contrary flow (of the tide), preserve the fields and houses."

Winter, 10th month. The plain north of the Palace was excavated, and the water from the south diverted into the Western Sea. Therefore that water was called by the name Hori-ye.

Moreover, in order to prevent the overflowing of the Northern river the Mamuta embankment was constructed. At this time there were two parts of the construction which gave way and could not be stopped up. Then the Emperor had a dream in which he was admonished by a God, saying:—"There is a man of Musashi named Koha-kubi and a man of Kahachi named Koromo no ko, the Muraji of Mamuta. Let these two men be sacrificed to the River-God, and thou wilt surely be enabled to close those gaps." So he sought for these two men, and having found them, sacrificed them to the River-God. Hereupon Koha-kubi wept and lamented, and plunging into the water, died. So that embankment was completed. Koromo no ko, however, took two whole calabashes, and standing over the water which could not be dammed, plunged the two calabashes into the mid-stream and prayed, saying:—"O thou River-God, who hast sent the curse (to remove which) I have now come hither as a sacrifice. If thou dost persist in thy desire to have me, sink these calabashes and let them not rise to the surface. Then shall I know that thou art a true God, and will enter the water of my own accord. But if thou canst not sink the calabashes, I shall, of course, know that thou art a false God, for whom, why should I spend my life in vain?" Hereupon a whirlwind rose suddenly which drew with it the calabashes and tried to submerge them in the water. But the calabashes, dancing on the waves, would not sink, and floated far away over the wide waters. In this way that embankment was completed, although Koromo no ko did not die. Accordingly Koromo no ko's cleverness saved his life. Therefore the men of that time gave a name to these two places, calling them "Koha-kubi's Gap" and "Koromo no ko's Gap."

This year men of Silla came to the Court with tribute, and were made to labour at this public work . . . .

Winter, 10th month. The Great Canal was dug in the district of Kurikuma in Yamashiro for the irrigation of the rice-fields. By this means the peasants of that district had always years of abundance.

13th year, Autumn, 9th month. Now for the first time official granaries were established at Mamuta. The Usu-me Be was accordingly instituted.

Winter, 10th month. The Pond of Wani was made. In the same month the Yokono Embankment was constructed.

> 14th year, Winter, 11th month. A bridge was made at the Wikahi ferry. It was this place which was called Wo-bashi. In this year a highway was constructed and laid down within the capital from the South Gate extending in a straight line as far as the village of Tajihi. Moreover, a great canal was dug in Konku by which the water of the Ishikaha River was brought to irrigate the four waste plains of Upper Suzuka and Lower Suzuka, Upper Toyora and Lower Toyora. By bringing these under cultivation there were gained more than 40,000 K'iüng of rice-land. Therefore the peasants of those places enjoyed abundance, and there was no longer the plague of bad years.[92]

Once work on the Yodogawa was complete, the immigrants are presumed to have been dispersed to supervise riparian works in other parts of the country, including Harima.

The above excerpt is suggestive in many ways pertinent to the *Harima Fudoki* accounts in question. First, we confirm the main motive for riparian works: land reclamation for rice cultivation, combined with obviating the problems attendant upon flooding of residential land and roads. We learn how that was achieved: by the digging of canals and irrigation ditches to divert and control flood waters and the construction of dikes and stopbanks to contain tidal backflow and flooding. We are told that those involved in the works here were immigrants from the Korean kingdom of Silla. There is explicit reference to the *deity of the river* who must be placated—in this case by human sacrifice—in order to complete the project. And finally we learn that these river control works brought more reliable harvests.

The present paper refers to a total of eleven *Fudoki* myths that specify *araburu kami*, in addition to one in which an *araburu kami* is implied and the *Nihon Shoki* entry presented above. Of the twelve *Fudoki* entries, in only two cases are the *araburu kami* not pacified (FunaFiki-Fara and Appendix [1]). Of the remaining ten, the parties successful in placating the deities' wild spirits are specified either overtly or implicitly in four cases as being either the Emperor or people connected with the Court (Osi-kaFA, [2], [4], [6]); in two cases they are pacified by local rulers ([7], [8]), who might also be included in the same category, as part of the élite; in two cases they are identifiably of Korean descent (SaFi-woka, Ise-no), and might be so in one other ([5]); in one by the digging of a culvert, and for reasons argued above, the 'Hoe Man' who dug the culvert was likely of Korean provenance too [3]. The *Nihon Shoki* entry implies that Korean civil engineers were key players in the flood control works. As noted above, the Court at the very least had the power to mobilise Korean engineers; the royal line probably even had Korean blood, though the extent of this is a matter for ongoing debate.[93] Thus we can group together the references to the Court with those to people of Korean descent, in which case no fewer than nine out of the thirteen

myths fall into that category (excluding local rulers). The message conveyed by these extracts suggests that Korean immigrants or their descendants were largely instrumental in simultaneously controlling erratic rivers and placating *araburu kami*.

ARABURU KAMI: FEMALE DEITIES OF RIVER WATER

The above analysis suggests that the *araburu kami* of the *Fudoki* are predominantly either explicitly or putatively female deities of dangerous waters prior to being controlled to make them safer for human purposes.

Clearly, those purposes include transportation, as observed by previous scholars, but are not exclusively that, as the *Nihon Shoki* entry above and the *Harima Fudoki* entry for Ise-no, Fayasita *Sato* in IFibo *Kōri* below suggest:

> [Ise-no]:[94] It is called Ise-no [Moor] because whenever anybody built a house on this grassland, things started to go badly for them.[95] Then when the ancestors of KinunuFi-nö-Wite, AyaFitö-nö-Tora and others[96] were about to settle here, they reverently built a shrine[97] at the foot of the mountain and worshipped the deities who reside on the mountain top,[98] Ise-tu-Fiko-nömikötö and Ise-tu-Fime-nö-mikötö,[99] offspring of Iwa-nö-OFo-kamï.[100] Thereafter, families lived here untroubled and were eventually able to form a settlement. Hence it is called Ise.

In this case, the *araburu kami* seems to have been preventing permanent settlement; it can be surmised that the unreclaimed natural grassland was poorly drained, boggy and prone to flooding. Again it is noteworthy that (a) the deities are a male-female dyad, (b) they resided on the mountain top—at the source of the rivers, (c) it is well established that Iwa-no-Ōkami was a local indigenous deity, and (d) judging by their names, it was again Korean immigrant families (with superior drainage technology) who managed at last to pacify the troublesome deity.

It could be reasoned that since (as noted earlier) rivers rise on the mountains and that since mountains-and-rivers together are inextricably linked both geographically and symbolically, *araburu kami* must represent that dyad in its 'untamed' state, unmodified by human activity, i.e., that *araburu kami* might represent both rivers *and* mountains. However, the myths themselves state that the *araburu kami* reside on a mountain: not that they are the mountain.[101] Furthermore, the myths inherently indicate that it is the control of the *rivers*—not the mountains—which is the key to 'pacifying' the malevolent deities.

Finally, in only one of the *araburu kami* myths in *Fudoki* is the deity identifi-

able as something other than an indigenous deity of water: in Appendix [5] the deity in question is a female deity of weaving that is *Korean* in origin, an inversion of the pattern established above.[102] However, as noted in the Appendix, there appears to be some explicable mythological connection between the two that requires further attention.

CONCLUSIONS

The above study has looked in detail at several elements that commonly appear in the myths about *araburu kami*, malevolent deities. The first is that they that kill half the passers-by. They reside on mountains, at the upper reaches of rivers. They disrupt transport, habitation and cultivation. Local people are unable to pacify them. They frequently appear as a husband–wife/male–female dyad, in which the male represents the mountain and the female represents the river on that mountain. The rites associated with pacification of *araburu kami* include oblations of *sake*, merry-making in the river to entertain the deity, dedication of agricultural ground-breaking tools (spades/hoes, perhaps as miniature replicas), perhaps even human sacrifice to the river deity, and construction of a shrine to the deity, usually at the foot of the mountain. Those who succeed in placating the deity's 'wild spirit' are either representatives of the ruling élite or are of Korean provenance. (There is some evidence that people of Korean provenance were the ruling élite.) They use spades and hoes, dig culverts and ditches for drainage and irrigation, and build dikes and embankments. As a result of their efforts, the capricious malevolence of the deity towards humans is placated. It is surely beyond coincidence that these elements recur so frequently and so consistently in this myth cycle. The pieces of this puzzle, thus juxtaposed, portray the arrival of immigrants bringing advanced continental technology for flood control and land reclamation. Formerly treacherous river crossings and flood-prone lands become much safer for natives and newcomers alike. The wild spirit of the river is thereby appeased.

In this paper, by applying the method of structural analysis propounded by Lévi-Strauss, I have demonstrated that *araburu kami* represent the *ara-mitama*, or 'wild spirit', of female deities of river waters, that is to say, of rivers 'untamed'. This 'wild spirit' disrupts not only transportation, but also settlement and agricultural production. The message is that only by carrying out land reclamation, irrigation improvement and riparian works is this 'wild spirit' pacified until the *nigi-mitama*, or 'gentle spirit', prevails. We find here, again, as did Lévi-Strauss in *The Raw and the Cooked*, that the underlying message informs of the triumph of *culture* over *nature*.

Moreover, the agents of these land reclamation and water control works, as

portrayed in these *Fudoki* myths, are either of Korean origin or are attached to the ruling élite. There is ongoing lively debate as to whether the emergent Yamato Court was formed of an indigenous Japanese élite who had the power to mobilise immigrant groups possessing superior technology, or whether it was actually formed of Korean immigrants and/or their descendants. Either way, the failure of the indigenous Japanese to pacify the malevolent deity (= control the river water) in these myths clearly represents 'nature' (= lack of culture), while Korean success in these matters just as clearly represents 'culture'. The underlying message conveys the superiority of *Korean* 'culture' over *indigenous* Japanese 'nature'.

The foregoing analysis was in part an attempt to apply Lévi-Strauss's structural approach to one cycle of Japanese myths and see whether the result might endorse in practice the universality that Lévi-Strauss claimed for his theory. It was also an attempt to discover something new about *araburu kami* in particular and/or Japanese myth in general. This it has done—at least with regard to the myths examined in this paper. But before any claim could be made that structural analysis would benefit our understanding of Japanese myth more widely, a similar approach would have to be adopted towards a convincing variety of Japanese myth cycles. If this structural approach is to have any validity or plausibility, then *theoretically* we would find [a] similar message[s] embedded in other Japanese myths. The present author has made a start on this research by structurally analysing the Hanioka myth in *Harima Fudoki*, and has found that although the 'medium' is different—in the present case water control and land reclamation, in the Hanioka case, pottery manufacture—the same 'message' emerges: of autochthonous Japanese 'nature' and of Korean immigrants' 'culture'.[103]

APPENDIX: TRANSLATIONS

Suruga no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun

(1) Teko-no-Yobi Saka [Hill]
According to the above [*Suruga no Kuni*] *Fudoki*, there was a deity who left his wife on the beach at Konumi in Ihohara *Kōri* and went to and fro [inland]. He always came over Iwaki Mountain,[104] but there was a malevolent deity on this mountain who obstructed the path to passers-by, blocked their way and did not let them pass through. So he awaited an opportunity to pass when the aforesaid deity was not there. Thus it was hard for him to get back [to his wife]. His wife waited impatiently for him to come, and came [herself] to this side of Iwaki Mountain.

She pined for him night after night until she could bear it no longer, and cried out the name of the male deity. Thus it was called Teko-no-Yobi Saka ['Maiden's Calling Hill']. In the dialect of the eastern provinces, they call a maiden *teko*.[105]

Ise no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun

(2) Asaka Shrine[106]
Ise no *Fudoki*. Amaterasu Ō-mi-kami came from the province of Mino and reached the shrine of Fujikata-no-Katahi[107] in Ano and was enshrined [there]. At that time there was a malevolent deity on Asaka Mountain. It killed fifty out of a hundred and twenty out of forty passers-by. Owing to this, Yamato-hime-no-mikoto was unable to enter [and serve as a shamaness in] the shrine in [the upper reaches of] the Isuzu River in Uji-mura, Watarai *Kōri*,[108] and she served at the shrine of Fujikata-no-Katahi. Then Yamato-hime-no-mikoto sent Nakatomi-no-Ōkasima-no-mikoto, Ise-no-Ōwakago-no-mikoto and Imube-no-Tamakushi-no-mikoto to inform the Emperor[109] of the misdeeds of the malevolent deity of Asaka. The Emperor said, 'That mountain was pacified by Ame-no-Hiwake, ancestor of Ōwakago-no-mikoto. Ōwakago-no-mikoto, worship and appease that deity and allow Yamato-hime-no-mikoto to enter Isuzu Shrine.' Then he furnished them with various offerings [for the malevolent deity] and sent them back. Ōwakago-no-mikoto [duly] worshipped that deity, completely pacified [it this time], and erected a shrine to it at Asaka.[110]

Settsu no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun

(3) Sitabi-nö-yama.[111] Once upon a time there was a great deity, called Ama-tu-wani. It took the form of an eagle and stayed on this mountain. If ten people passed by, it let five go and detained the other five. There was a man called KuFawo ('Hoe Man'). He came to this mountain, laid a culvert leading to this deity and he enshrined the deity by using this drain as an underground passage [to reach him/her]. Hence it is said to be called Sitabi-nö-yama ('Culvert Mountain').[112]

Harima no Kuni Fudoki

(4) Iku-no [Moor][113] is so called because long ago there was a malevolent deity here, who used to kill half of those who passed. Thus it was called Sini-no.[114] Later, Fomuda-nö-sumera-mikötö[115] said,
'This is [too] bad [a] name!'

Hence it was renamed Iku-no.[116]

Hizen no Kuni Fudoki

(5) Fimekoso *Sato*:[117] There is a river in this village called the Yamadi-kaFA [River]. Its source rises on the mountain to the north of the *kōri*, and it flows southwards to join the big[ger] river of Miwi. Long ago there was a maleficent deity on the west of this river, and many passers-by were killed. It spared half but killed the other half. Once, when it was divined why the deity was wreaking revenge, it said, 'Have Kazeko, a man of Munakata *Kōri*[118] in the province of Tukusi no Miti no Kuti no Kuni [Chikuzen], erect a shrine to me. If he fulfils my request, my wild spirit will no longer arise.' So they sought Kazeko and had him enshrine the deity in a shrine. Kazeko raised a banner and prayed, saying, 'If you truly want me to enshrine you, may this banner fly away on the wind and land at the deity who makes this request of me.' Thereupon he lifted up high the banner and let it blow away on the breeze. The banner flew away and landed at Fimekoso Shrine in MiFara *Kōri*. Then it flew up and back again and landed in the village of Ta[nö]mura beside the Yamadi River. By this means Kazeko intuited the whereabouts of this malevolent deity. In a dream that night a warp-controller cord and a niddy-noddy appeared before him, dancing, and he watched them press into his body and amaze him. Thereupon he realised that this malevolent deity was a female deity of weaving, and he immediately built a shrine and enshrined her. From then on the passers-by were no longer killed. For that reason, the shrine was called Fimekoso ('Maiden Shrine') and it has now become the name of the village [too].[119]

Note: Lévi-Strauss stresses that nothing in myths is superfluous and that they form an organised totality. It is perhaps pertinent therefore that the entry immediately preceding that for Osi-kaFa, the starting point of my analysis above, is an enigmatic passage explaining the toponymy of the place name Asauti-yama, related to flax for the weaving of linen. In the myth in question, two young female weavers die. The inference is that they are killed by an *araburu kami*. Apparently, then, there is some connection between maleficent female deities of river water and maleficent female deities of weaving which requires further consideration. For our present purposes it is sufficient to note that the weaver-deity is regarded as of Korean origin.[120]

(6) Kamusaki *Kōri*.[121]
. . . In olden times there was a malevolent deity in this village which killed many of the passers-by. When Emperor Keikō visited on a progress, this deity was appeased. From then on the people were no longer troubled. Thus it was called Kamusaki *Kōri*.[122]

(7) Saka *Kōri*.[123]
. . . According to one version [of the toponymy], there is a river in the west of the *kōri*, called the Saka-gawa [River]. You can catch *ayu* (sweetfish) there. Its source rises on the mountain to the north of the *kōri*, whence it flows southwards out to the sea. There was a malevolent deity in the upper reaches of this river, which allowed half the passers-by to live but killed the other half. Thereupon OFo-arata, the ancestor of the *agatanusi* (local sacerdotal chief) enquired the will of the deity through divination. At that time there were two Tutigumo[124] women called OFo-yamada-me and Sa-yamada-me, and they both said, 'If you worship this deity by taking clay from the village of Simoda and making effigies of humans and horses as offerings to this deity, it will surely be appeased.' OFo-arata duly followed these instructions and worshipped the deity thus. The deity responded to his propitiation and immediately calmed down. Thereupon OFo-arata said, 'These women are thus truly astute women. So I name this land after the astute women (*sakasi Fime*)'. Thus it was called Sakasime *Kōri*. That it is now called Saka *Kōri* is a corruption of that.[125]

Chikugo no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun

(8) Long ago, up [on the mountain][126] at the border [of this province] there was a malevolent deity that let half the passers-by live but killed the other half. There were a great many [who died], so it was called 'the life-taking deity'.[127] Once, the Lord of Tsukushi [Province], the Lord of Hi [Province] and others practised divination and had Mikayori-hime, ancestor of the Lords of Tsukushi, [act as their shamaness and] appease the deity. Travellers along this route were no longer harmed by the deity from then on. That is why it was called the deity of Tsukushi.[128]

Acknowledgements

This paper was prepared during the period of opportunity for research afforded

me on Study Leave by the University of Canterbury as Visiting Professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyōto: I am grateful to both institutions. I am also indebted to Professor SENDA Minoru (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyōto) and Professor Eric Pawson (Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, New Zealand) for their valuable comments on an early draft of this paper, though they might not necessarily agree with all my findings.

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1. Lévi-Strauss, 1969, 111.
2. Lévi-Strauss defines 'message' as 'the subject matter of an individual myth' (1970, 199).
3. Lévi-Strauss, 1970, 142ff.
4. Chamberlain, 1882; Aston, 1896; Philippi, 1968.
5. Akimoto, 1958, 9.
6. Akimoto, 1958, 447.
7. Akimoto, 1958, 437.
8. Akimoto, 1958, 428.
9. Japanese in the translation of *Fudoki* extracts has been transcribed where necessary for place names, personal names and poem-songs on the basis of the eight-vowel system for Old Japanese (OJ) outlined in *Jidai Betsu Kokugo Dai Jiten Jōdai Hen* (1967), *Gaisetsu* section, 28–30, adapted by Christopher Seeley. This form of romanization is used consistently throughout this paper for *Fudoki* extracts, but not for *Fudoki Itsubun* extracts, which may be of a later date.
10. Akimoto, 1958, 263.
11. Akimoto, 1958, 293, 294.
12. Akimoto, 1958, 327.
13. Akimoto, 1958, 383.
14. Akimoto, 1958, 389.
15. Akimoto, 1958, 393.
16. Akimoto, 1958, 509; Marumo, 1986, 117.
17. Ohbayashi and Yoshida, 1997, 39–40. The present paper will go on to expose the inadequacy of this analysis.
18. Kelsey, 1981, 214. Kelsey's emphasis. His other categories are: stories of deities' revenge, stories of mortals' revenge, stories of sexual violence, and stories of competition between deities.
19. Kelsey, 1981, 217.
20. Kelsey, 1981, 223.
21. Kelsey, 1981, 218.
22. Kelsey, 1981, 218; Takioto, 1992, 27.
23. Takioto, 1992, 27–33. Arai (1997, 74) and Takehiro (1997, 90) agree with Takioto (1992, 27–33).
24. Takehiro, 1997, 94.
25. Takehiro, 1997, 90.
26. Administrative 'village'.
27. 'County', administrative division of a ***kuni*** 'province'.
28. Akimoto, 1958, 292–295.
29. *Oshi-kawa*: The contemporary name for the Hayashida River in the vicinity of Hiroyama (Akimoto, 1958, 293, n. 20).
30. *Mikage-no-Ō[mi]kami*: the same deity appears in a different tale in the entry for Hirakata village (see following entry) as Izumo-no-Ōkami. While she is obviously a

deity from Izumo, it is not clear precisely which deity she is (Akimoto, 1958, 293, n. 21). Yoshino treats her as a deity of water jugs (1969, 109, n. 88), and water deities are generally accorded female attributes. I agree that this is a deity of water, but of the river, not jugs. Since most rivers rise in the mountains in Japan, there is a close association between mountains and rivers; hence the deity is said to be 'on a mountain'.

31. Location unidentified (Akimoto, 1958, 295, n. 7).
32. Putatively Emperor Ojin.
33. From the following version in the entry for SaFi-woka, it is evident that this is a female deity.
34. Alternatively glossed as KoFote (Akimoto, 1958, 293).
35. Hōki Province, in present-day Tottori Prefecture.
36. The three are representatives of three of the districts of the San'in region on the Japan Sea coast which would have been affected by disruptions to overland routes to Yamato and the Inland Sea (Akimoto, 1958, 293, n. 24).
37. The *kanji* may be read as *to*, *do*, or *ra*, and may be interpreted as either an integral part of the person's given name (Akimoto, 1958, 293; Mizuno, 1987, 103; Uegaki, 1990a, 78) or as 'Kudo and others' (Yoshino, 1969, 65).
38. The *kanji* means 'to call out loud to the gods and ask for happiness'.
39. *Yakata*: 'house-shaped building,' constructed rapidly (Uegaki, 1990a, 86).
40. *Yakata-ta*: 'Shrine paddy fields'.
41. Possibly present-day Sasayama in Fukuda, to the east of Hiroyama. *Sake* was also called *sasa* (Akimoto, 1958, 293, n. 31; Yoshino, 1969, 109, n. 89; Uegaki, 1990a, 86).
42. *Kashiwa*: Possibly *Quercus dentata* Thunb. Here it is a sacred plant, probably being used as a *yorishiro* for calling down the deity. Oak is common on the Japan Sea coast side of Hyōgo Prefecture, where it grows in damp patches and on open spaces left after forest fires. Its leaves are used nowadays for wrapping *kashiwa-mochi* rice cakes, but the leaves of various trees were used thus in ancient times, which were all called *kashiwa*. The oak mentioned here is probably either *naragashiwa* or *akamegashiwa* (Tanaka and Matsushita, 1994, 39).
43. *ItiFi: ichiigashi*, probably *Quercus gilva* Blume.
44. It is unclear whether this means a mountain where these trees grow or whether it is the name of a mountain. Possibly the stream flowed down from this mountain before passing through Hiroyama (Uegaki, 1990a, 88).
45. *Ai-oshi*: 'push each other', 'jostle', as magic to pacify the deity (Uegaki, 1990a, 91).
46. *Oshi-kawa*: 'Pushing River'.
47. Present-day Hirakata in Sayooka, Taishi-chō (Akimoto, 1958, 294, n. 1). It contained two *kofun* clusters (Yamashita, 1994, 263).
48. Present-day Hirakata, Hirakata-shi, Ōsaka Prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, 294, n. 12).
49. Kawachi Province.
50. It is not clear exactly which hill is referred to, but it is presumably Sayo-oka, Taishi-chō.

51. *Kamio-yama*: Location unidentified (Akimoto, 1958, 295, n. 7).
52. 'Stop', 'delay', 'detain'. The implication is that the unfortunates were killed (Yoshino, 1969, 66; Uegaki, 1990a, 92, 95; Takehiro, 1997, 89).
53. *Sai*: 'spade', 'plough', 'ploughshare'.
54. This is reminiscent of the *Ōtono-hogai Norito* prayers, in which it is recorded that the deities of mountains were to be served by sacred hoes and sacred posts (Marumo, 1986, 117). The foot of the mountain formed the boundary between the realm of the deities and cultivable land, i.e., the realm of humans (Senda, 1992, 131–2), and was thus the most propitious site for enshrining the deity.
55. *Aya-Fitö*: probably a generic term for continental immigrants, most of whom were Korean.
56. So that she no longer troubled them.
57. *Kamio-yama*: 'Deity Peak Mountain'.
58. *Sai-oka*: 'Spade Hill'.
59. Akimoto, 1958, 294, n. 6; Yoshino, 1969, 109, n. 91; Uegaki, 1990a, 99.
60. New Zealand, a volcanic Pacific rim archipelago like Japan, was in many ways comparable to Jōmon Japan until the arrival of European colonists in the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1860s the greatest cause (47 per cent) of accidental deaths was death by drowning, mostly in attempts to cross swollen rivers (May, 1967, 279; Binney, Bassett and Olssen, 1990, 110). This statistic is astonishingly close to the 'half' of passers-by who are killed in these myths about *araburu kami*.
61. Present-day Rokubuichi, Inami-chō, Kako-gun (Iwami, cited by Uegaki, 1985, 155; KNCDJ, 1988, 1994).
62. Probably the estuary of the Kakogawa River (Akimoto, 1958, 263, n. 22), somewhere near present-day Kakogawa-chō Inaya (Uegaki, 1985, 157; KNCDJ, 1988, 192).
63. Probably the Kumori-gawa, a tributary of the Kakogawa River (Ochiai, 1981, cited by Uegaki, 1985, 155).
64. *Hayashi-no-minato*: present-day Hayashi, Akashi-shi, at the mouth of the Akashi River (Akimoto, 1958, 263, n. 26; KNCDJ, 1988, 1210).
65. *Funahiki-hara*: 'Boat-pulling field'. Boat-pulling myths are common world-wide, since boats were often pulled or dragged overland to avoid dangerous stretches of rivers or coasts. Some boat-pulling myths in Japan are believed to refer to funeral rites, because wooden and stone coffins in Old Japanese were called *fune*, synonymous with 'boat' (Yoshino, 1969, 97, n. 20). In this case, however, the tale can probably be taken literally.
66. Watanabe, 1994, 63.
67. Marumo, 1986, 114.
68. Akimoto, 1958, 263, n. 19.
69. See below.
70. Present-day Nakagaichi Stream, Tatsuno-shi. It rises in the hills that formed the boundary between the *sato* of Koshibe and Kuwahara (Akimoto, 1958, 306, n. 10).
71. The *kanji* used to refer to these two deities, *se* and *imo*, can be interpreted as either

'brother and sister', or as 'husband and wife'. In this case, it might mean either or both: tales involving incest between siblings are relatively frequent in Japanese mythology (Murakami, 1988; Ebersole, 1989, 150). Akimoto (1958, 307) makes no comment; Yoshino (1969, 114, n. 115) and Uegaki (1990b, 93) treat them as husband and wife; and SCS (1965, 6) treats them as elder brother and younger sister. However, '. . . ancient Japanese texts, by limiting the definition of incest to marriage with the younger sister, would seem to legitimize marriage with the older sister' (Levi-Strauss, 1969, 50), so if they were a *married* brother and sister, they were more likely a *younger* brother and older sister. ' . . . [T]hrough "incestuous" relations certain women had the ability to transfer power to a male relative' (Ebersole, 1989, 152). This observation rests on the assumption that females have greater inherent divine power than their male counterparts. In this entry it might explain in part the female deity's victory in the dispute. In general, '[r]oyalty's proclivity toward brother-sister marriage is particularly to be noted, for it has been observed that this incestuous union is an expression of the wholeness of the center' (Perry, 1966, 32).

72. A local indigenous deity based at Iwa Shrine, Ichinomiya-chō, Shisō-gun, Hyōgo Prefecture. The name almost certainly means 'Great God of Stone', and probably dates from the Jōmon Period (pre-400 B.C.).
73. *Kushi*: Comb for pinning up the hair (Uegaki, 1990b, 96). Combs were sometimes attributed with magical powers (Akimoto, 1958, 307, n. 17). Being homonymous with 'skewer', *kushi* meaning 'comb' served as a substitute, because skewers, shaped like digging sticks, staffs and marker posts, were associated with territorial markers (Yoshino, 1969, 114, n. 116; Marumo, 1986, 131).
74. I follow Uegaki in taking *izumi* here to mean the spring itself rather than the name of the village (Uegaki, 1990b, 98). This makes better sense of the tale. It also accords with the analysis above—that *araburu kami* were predominantly active near the sources of rivers.
75. Literally: 'unseen', 'by stealth'.
76. *Minashi-gawa*: 'Waterless River'.
77. Akimoto, 1958, 306–307, nn. 11–13.
78. SCS, 1965, 17.
79. Tanaka and Matsushita, 1994, 44–46.
80. Yoshino, 1969, 114, n. 115.
81. Kelsey suggests this possibility, but with reference to myths that he does not regard as stories of *araburu kami* proper but as part of the same myth complex. He cites Mitani Eiichi, who interprets one of the myths concerned as 'symbolizing man's conflict with and domination over the forces of nature' (Kelsey, 1981, 226, citing Mitani, 1974, 29–30).
82. Uegaki, 1997, 434.
83. Uegaki, 1990a, 94.
84. Ōhira, 1994, 70.

85. Kawano, 1991, 124. These two agricultural implements are so closely linked conceptually that the Chinese characters for them are the opposite in Japan from in China (ibid.)
86. Ōhira, 1994, 71–75.
87. Cf. the effigies of humans and horses in Appendix [7].
88. The present author even explored the possibility that a copyist might have transposed this phrase in the sole extant *Harima Fudoki* manuscript. My colleague Dr. Wu Xiaoming confirms that transposition is indeed a possibility from the point of view of the sense of the classical Chinese-style text, but I was—probably quite rightly—deterred from pursuing this line of thought by Professor Senda. One should exercise extreme caution in dealing with myth and work from the premise that however odd there is some reason for the tale to convey what it does in the way that it does.
89. Kawano, 1991.
90. I am indebted to Professor Senda for pointing out the relevance of this passage; personal communication, 1998.
91. Kanasaka, 1995, 80. These earthworks are nowadays known as Manda no Tsutsumi (the Manda Embankment), between Hirakata-shi and Moriguchi-shi in Ōsaka Prefecture.
92. Aston, 1886, I, 280–83.
93. For example:
'. . . there is much evidence to show that the line of emperors originated in Korea . . . and various features of emperorship as an institution lead back to China' (Ivy 1995, 24).
94. This heading is missing from the MS. The catchment of the Ise River, which flows through a valley to the east of the Hayashida River. Present-day Kami-Ise and Shimo-Ise in Hayashi-chō, Himeji-shi (Akimoto, 1958, 290, n. 3).
95. Literally, 'they were no longer able to live with peace of mind,' i.e., because they were being haunted by a maleficent spirit (Akimoto, 1958, 290, n. 4).
96. Both are the names of immigrants from Paekche (Akimoto, 1958, 290, n. 6; Yoshino, 1969, 108, n. 80). KinunuFi means 'silk sewing', i.e., of the *be* which was charged with sewing silk clothes (Uegaki, 1989, 109).
97. Present-day Nagi Shrine in Shimo-Ise (Akimoto, 1958, 290, n. 8).
98. The mountain southeast of Shimo-Ise (Akimoto, 1958, 290, n. 10). In Japanese mountain worship it is not uncommon for there to be a village shrine near the foot of the mountain, the mountain itself being the deity worshipped.
99. *Isetsuhiko-no-mikoto* is recorded in *Ise no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun* as being the offspring of a deity of Izumo, and allegedly constructed a rampart of stone (Akimoto, 1958, 433ff). *Ise* might be a variant of *iso*, meaning 'stone' (Marumo, 1986, 50), and the deity could therefore be a deification of a megalith of some sort (Yoshino, 1969, 108, 81). The names themselves suggest reference to the chief and chieftainess whose territory was based in Ise, before the encroachment of the Yamato hegemony. Another theory is that Iwa-no-Ōkami was originally from Izumo, and the Ise deities here are identified as his

offspring—likewise of Izumo. Possibly, therefore, this is part of the vestiges of a folk memory of a migration long before, first from Izumo to Harima, then from Harima to Anashi in Iga Province and finally to Ise (Mizuno, 1987, 127).

100. A local indigenous deity based at Iwa Shrine, Ichinomiya-chō, Shisō-gun, Hyōgo Prefecture. The name almost certainly means 'Great God of Stone', and probably dates from the Jōmon Period (pre-400 B.C.). Cf. entry for Minasi-gaFa above.
101. See the entries for Osi-kaFa and SaFi-woka and myths [1], [2], [3], [5] and [7] of the Appendix.
102. Lévi-Strauss's analysis establishes that such inversion is intrinsic to the formulaic structure of myth (See for example 1970, 216–239).
103. Palmer, Edwina (2001), In the Poo with Japanese Mythology: The Fani-woka entry in *Harima Fudoki*, In: Starrs, Roy (ed). *Asian Nationalism in an Age of Globalization*, Curzon Press. This paper explores in greater depth the tension between *nature* symbolised by deities and technology that appear to have been regarded contemporaneously as 'native' Japanese on the one hand, and those on the other which are traceable to Korean provenance and which symbolise *culture*.
104. Present-day Satta-tōge Pass between Okitsu and Yui, Ihara-gun, Shizuoka Prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, 447, n. 15).
105. Akimoto, 1958, 447–48; Yoshino, 1969, 295; Uegaki, 1997, 576.
106. Present-day Mt. Asaka, Matsuzaka-shi, Mie prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, 437, n. 23).
107. It is noteworthy that the *hi* of Katahi means 'conduit', 'drain' or 'culvert'.
108. Location of the Inner Shrine at the Grand Shrine of Ise (Akimoto, 1958, 437, n. 25).
109. Putatively Emperor Suinin (Akimoto, 1958, 437, n. 29).
110. Akimoto, 1958, 437; Yoshino, 1969, 287; Uegaki, 1997, 573.
111. Present-day Shitami-dani, Ōzato, Nose-chō, Toyono-gun, Ōsaka Prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, 428, n. 11).
112. Akimoto, 1958, 428; Yoshino, 1969, 281; Uegaki, 1997, 434.
113. According to most exponents, this refers to present-day Ikuno, Ikuno-chō, Asago-gun. The watershed forming the natural boundary between the Ichikawa River in Harima and the Maruyama River in Tajima is to the north of Ikuno; this was an important north-south route over the Chūgoku Mountain Range. By the Muromachi period (fifteenth century) Ikuno was incorporated into Tajima Province, but at this time (early eighth century) it was regarded as part of Harima Province (Akimoto, 1958, 326, n. 7; KNCDJ, 1988, 139–40). However, Ochiai argues that the Ikuno referred to both in this entry and that for Inadane-yama, Fayasita *Sato*, IFibo *Kōri*, is more likely an unnamed mountain (696m.) west of Hie Shrine, Hie, Ōkawachi-chō, Kanzaki-gun, about twenty kilometres away (Ochiai, 1981, 19).
114. *Shini-no*: 'Death Moor'. The area was early exploited for seventy kinds of metal ores, including gold, silver, copper, lead, cadmium and tin, the mining of which caused poisoning of local flora and fauna; little could grow here (KNCDJ, 1988, 139). The mines were not closed until 1973.
115. Putatively Emperor Ōjin.

116. *Iku-no*: 'Living Moor'. This is similar to calling 'pears' (*nashi no mi*: homonymous with 'fruit of not-being') *ari no mi* (homonymous with 'fruit of being'), and 'reeds' (*ashi*: homonymous with 'bad') *yoshi* (homonymous with 'good') (Inoue, 1931, 389). It is rooted in the belief in *kotodama*, the divine power of words to cause the outcome of what they or their homonyms mean. A similar renaming appears in the entry for Ihitoyo-yama in *Michi no Oku no Kuni Fudoki Itsubun* (Akimoto, 1958, 463–64).
117. Kisan, near Himekata, Kizato-chō, Tosu-shi, Saga Prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, 383, n. 18).
118. Munakata was an extremely important ritual centre and route to the Korean Peninsula via Tsushima Island. This is suggestive of some Korean connection.
119. Akimoto, 1958, 383; Yoshino, 1969, 249; Uegaki, 1997, 315–17.
120. Uegaki, 1997, 316, n. 9.
121. Present-day Kanzaki-gun, Saga Prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, 338, n. 3).
122. Akimoto, 1958, 389; Yoshino, 1969, 252; Uegaki, 1997, 321.
123. Present-day Saga-gun, Saga-shi, Saga Prefecture, adjacent to the west of Kanzaki-gun (see above) (Akimoto, 1958, 391, n. 11).
124. An apparently pejorative term for people of certain communities that were regarded as having different customs and lifestyle from the majority.
125. Akimoto, 1958, 393; Yoshino, 1969, 254; Uegaki, 1997, 325–27.
126. Present-day Kisan, Kiyama-chō, Miyaki-gun, Saga Prefecture (Akimoto, 1958, n. 17).
127. *Inochi-zukushi no kami. Inochi-zuku* meant 'to stake one's life on'.
128. Akimoto, 1958, 509; Yoshino, 1969, 340; Uegaki, 1997, 545–46.

要 旨

荒ぶる神

エドウィーナ・パーマー

古風土記や風土記逸文などの神話・説話にあらわれるいわゆる「荒ぶる神」というのは先学により単なる交通妨害神として解釈されてきているけれども、本書では、フランスの有名な人類学者クロード・レビストロース氏の構造論的分析方法をとることによって、「荒ぶる神」の意義を前より深く探ることができた。

要するに「荒ぶる神」というものは、本来、河川を流れる水の「女神」の荒御魂であることが分かってくる。そして、その「荒ぶる神」を鎮める者は必ず治水・開墾したりする者になっている。まさにレビストロース氏に指摘された「自然」対「文化」の話であるこ

とが見えてくる。その上に、鎮める者は渡来人、あるいは渡来人を支配する大和朝廷の代表者がその殆どである。

つまり、こういう「荒ぶる神」についての神話の隠れたメッセージ（意義）は、「荒ぶる神」＝日本＝自然に対して、鎮める（治水・開墾する）者＝（朝鮮半島からの）渡来人＝文化、ということにほかならない。