Emperor Jinmu in the Kojiki

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As an outcome of the Meiji Restoration, Shinto was established as national ritual system and the rule of the emperor was emphasized as absolutely sacred. Imperial authority was linked to the world of deities, starting from Amaterasu, and attention fell on the first Emperor Jinmu in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

Emperor Jinmu, third-generation descendant of Hononinigi, and grandson of Amaterasu who descended from Takama no Hara to rule the land, moved east from Hyūga to find a most suitable place to rule in Yamato. According to historical research, Emperor Jinmu was a mythological figure and did not exist. Historians identify the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as sources to research classical history, rather than discuss the significance of their myths.

In contrast, Saigō Nobutsuna views the myths in the *Kojiki* as structurally universal, and he thus defines imperial sovereignty as universal. According to Saigō, Yamato, conquered by Emperor Jinmu, represents a sacred center, while the remote regions of Kumano, Izumo and Kumaso are peripheral regions placed under the sovereign's order by virtue of being conquered.

However, from the point of view of the shamanic experience of Emperor Jinmu, Yamato cannot be seen as a sacred center. Emperor Jinmu himself does not conquer Yamato; rather he confronts Yamato as a shaman. This paper focuses on reinterpreting the myth of Emperor Jinmu in the *Kojiki* from the point of view of shamanism

Keywords: *Kojiki*, Yamato, Jinmu, shamanism, Shinto, Ōmononushi, savage, River Sawi

Introduction¹

Emperor Jinmu, the great-grandson of Hononinigi, who was in turn grandson of Amaterasu, descended to earth from the Plain of Heaven (Takama no hara 高天原). The emperor moved

¹ Note: I wrote this article as a researcher at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto. I would like to extend my thanks to the Center for this important opportunity. I would also like to thank Giorgio Premoselli, currently a researcher at Bukkyo University in Kyoto, for translating this article from Japanese into English.

away from Hyūga 日向 and entered Yamato in search of a suitable place from which to rule. Emperor Jinmu was of course a mythical figure, who has no basis in historical fact.

Emperor Jinmu has been studied both by historians and literature scholars. However, there are differences in their methodology. Historians identify the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as sources with which to explore classical history, rather than discuss the significance of their myths. At the same time, Japanese scholars of literature explore the peculiarities of narrative in both texts. For a long time, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were understood as identical to each other. Indeed, they are known by the generic term *kiki shinwa* 記紀神話.

One of the pioneer explorers of the individual cosmology of the *Kojiki* was Saigō Nobutsuna 西鄉信網.² Saigō focused on to the "internal structure" (*naiteki kōzō* 内的構造) of the *Kojiki* narrative, which he divided into two main parts, center and periphery. For example, there are several worlds featured in the *Kojiki*, and he saw them not as worlds which have meanings outside the text but as worlds within the text, which have an opposing relationship to one another. One outcome of Saigō's method was a reinterpretation of the Central Land of the Reed Plains (*Ashihara no nakatsu kuni* 葦原中国). Saigō denied the common assumption that this was a referent for Japan; he understood it rather uniquely as a mythological world within the *Kojiki* narrative. For him the Plain of Heaven and Yamato represented a sacred center, while the Central Land of the Reed Plains and Izumo 出雲 represented the periphery. The narrative of the whole text is formed by the contrast between the sacred center and the outskirts. The legacy of Saigō's research lies here in his interpretation that these worlds have meaning uniquely within the narrative context.

Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光 inherited Saigō's approach, similarly focusing on the *Kojiki*'s internal structure, but he also noted differences between the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*.³ Kōnoshi's analysis demonstrated that the *Nihon shoki* was based on Chinese yinyang theory, while the *Kojiki* was formed around the cosmology of *musuhi* 産巣日. Kōnoshi highlighted distinct features of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, criticizing the established generic *kiki shinwa* approach that took them as indistinguishable. His method, "text theory" or *sakuhinron* 作品論, made it possible to explore the peculiarities of mythology in each text.

This paper inherits Kōnoshi's approach, and interprets the narratives of Emperor Jinmu within the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* as separate myths. My purpose here is to compare the two in order to highlight the peculiarities of the Jinmu narrative in the *Kojiki*. The *Kojiki* depicts Emperor Jinmu's expedition from Hyūga to Yamato, and his accession to the throne there as emperor. As stated above, Saigō interpreted Yamato as sacred center; Izumo and Kumaso 熊襲 for him constitute the periphery conquered by Yamato. Kōnoshi followed suit to show that Jinmu entered Yamato, conquered it, and established it as center before proceeding to take Izumo and Kumaso.

However, a rereading of the *Kojiki* narrative reveals that it does not portray Jinmu as conquering Yamato at all. Rather, it takes Yamato as the abode of unruly (*araburu* 荒ぶる) deities, and a place where the emperor communicates with these deities. Yamato is not an unshakable sacred center. This paper will explore the peculiarities of the Jinmu narrative in the *Kojiki* and analyze the significance of Yamato. It does so, partly at least, through a comparison with the Jinmu legend as recounted in the *Nihon shoki*.

² Saigō 1967, pp. 15-29.

³ Konoshi 1986, pp. 36-37.

1) Iwarebiko Moving East⁴

Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko no Mikoto 神倭伊波礼毘古の命 (hereafter Iwarebiko) set off east from the palace of Takachiho in Hyūga in search of a suitable place to rule the realm (*ame no shita* 天の下).⁵ After leaving Hyūga, Iwarebiko, his elder brother, and his forces arrived in Usa 宇沙 in the land of Toyo 豊国. Iwarebiko then spent one year at the palace of Okada 岡田 in Tsukushi 筑紫, seven years at the palace of Takeri 多祁理 in Aki 阿岐, and eight years at the palace of Takashima 高嶋 in Kibi 吉備. Upon entering "the straits of Payasupi," Iwarebiko encountered "a person riding on a tortoise's back, fishing and flapping his wings as he came."⁶

While the arrival of the turtle and the fishing represent a messenger from the deities of the sea, the flapping of wings signifies the fluttering of a bird.⁷ Birds were believed to come and go between the spirit and human worlds, and it is safe to assume that this figure, riding on the carapace of a turtle, is indeed an approaching deity. ⁸ Next, Iwarebiko holds a dialogue with this deity.

Calling him closer, he asked: "Who are you?" He answered: "I am an earthly deity." Again he asked: "Do you know the sea lanes?" He answered: "I know them well." Again he asked: "Will you serve as my attendant?" He answered: "I will serve."

Then he stretched out a pole and drew him into the boat. He bestowed [upon him] the name Sawo-ne-tu-piko. This is the ancestor of the Kuni-no-miyatuko of Yamato. ⁹

The figure replies to Iwarebiko's "Who are you?" with, "I am an earthly deity." He then confirms he knows the sea lanes well. Iwarebiko invites the deity onto the boat and, giving him a pole, names him Saonetsuhiko 棹根津日子. It is worth noting that Iwarebiko is here conferring a designation on a nameless deity from another world. The action of name-conferring implies the exercise of magical control. By naming him and handing him a pole, Iwarebiko has the deity follow him. The figure that approaches riding on a turtle flapping his wings then transforms into a guardian deity, charged with guiding Iwarebiko to Yamato. This is thus a narrative of Iwarebiko's spiritual power. Upon overcoming the straits of Hayasui 速吸門, the forces of Iwarebiko reach Shirakata 白肩, where they do battle with Tomi no Nagasunebiko of Tomi 登美能那賀須泥毘古. There, Iwarebiko's brother, Itsuse no Mikoto 五瀬の命, is wounded, his penalty for daring to fight facing the sun, since he is "himself a descendant of the Sun Deity." The forces of Iwarebiko are forced to take a detour

⁴ Throughout I use Donald L. Philippi's translation of the *Kojiki* in preference to that of Heldt, whose approach is to translate deity names and proper nouns into English. For a review of Heldt's translation, see Andassova 2017, pp. 195–97.

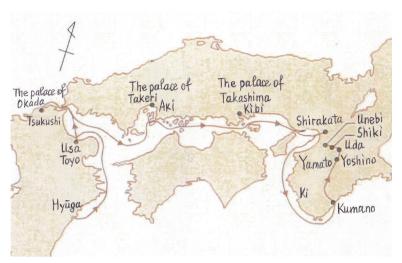
⁵ From his departure from Hyūga to his enthronement at the palace of Kashiwara, Emperor Jinmu is referred to in the *Kojiki* as Kamu-Yamato-Iwarebiko. Kamu-Yamato-Iwarebiko is another name for Jinmu.

⁶ Kojiki, Book Two, Chapter 47, p. 164; Heldt 2014, p. 61.

⁷ Saigō 2005, pp. 30-32.

⁸ Saigō 2005, p. 30.

⁹ Kojiki, Book Two, Chapter 47, p. 164; Heldt 2014, pp. 61-62



Map 1. Jinmu's route to Yamato. (I have recreated this map from Kōnoshi 2017, p. 141.)

south through the river mouth of Wo (O no Suimon 男の水門) in the country of Ki (Ki no Kuni 紀国, where Itsuse no Mikoto dies from his wounds.

Yamato does not easily accept the authority of Iwarebiko. Yamato is indeed depicted as an extremely dangerous place where a simple mistake can lead to death. It represents for Iwarebiko a world filled with uncontrollable spiritual power. Iwarebiko fails to enter Yamato, and is forced to take a detour south, through Kumano 熊野.

2) Jinmu's Kumano Experience

The Kojiki depicts Iwarebiko's passage through Kumano as follows:

When Kamu-yamato-ipare-biko-no-mikoto journeyed around from that place and arrived in the village of Kumano, a large bear [could be seen] faintly moving around; then it disappeared. Then Kamu-yamato-ipare-biko-no-mikoto suddenly felt faint; his troops also felt faint and lay down.

At this time [a person called] Taka-kurazi of Kumano came bringing a sword to the place where the child of the heavenly deities was lying.

As he presented it, the child of the heavenly deities woke up and rose, saying: "Ah, what a long time I have slept!"

At the very time that he received that sword, all of the unruly deities in the Kumano mountains were of themselves cut down; and the troops, who had been lying in a faint, all woke up and rose.¹⁰

When Iwarebiko enters the village of Kumano, then, a large bear emerges from the mountains only to disappear immediately. This causes Iwarebiko to faint. Saigō Nobutsuna

¹⁰ Kojiki, Book Two, Chapter 49, p. 167; Heldt 2014, p. 63.

argued that Iwarebiko was hit by the malice of the bear, the deity of Kumano. That he lost consciousness further identified Kumano as a remote region populated by unruly deities in contrast with what Saigō identifies as "civilized" Yamato.¹¹ I would like to focus here on the meaning of unruly or *araburu* 荒ぶる.¹² The adjective refers to a being in possession of, and wielding, supernatural powers, and does not always refer to one that needs to be suppressed in order to be controlled.¹³ Iwarebiko encounters not an unruly being that needs to be controlled, but a deity wielding awe-inspiring supernatural powers. Of interest is the fact that the appearance and disappearance of this deity causes Iwarebiko to faint. Fainting refers to the loss of health.¹⁴ This is confirmed in the dream of Takakuraji 高倉下, where Amaterasu 天照 and Takaki no Kami 高木の神 refer to Iwarebiko as sick (*yakusamu* 不平む). Iwarebiko feels the power of the deity of Kumano but, unable to counter it, he becomes sick, lies down, and his army lie down also. This is a strikingly different scenario to Iwarebiko's encounter with Saonetsuhiko in the Hayasui Straits.

Iwarebiko's sickness and defeat before the supernatural power of the deity testifies both to a weakness in the lineage of Amaterasu, and also to Iwarebiko's spiritual immaturity. To the prostrate Iwarebiko, Takakuraji brings a sword, and tells him how he received the sword in his dream. In the dream, Amaterasu, Takaki no Kami, and Takemi-kazuchi 建御雷 appeared, dropping the sword from the roof into Takakuraji's storehouse. This sword was thus also known as the sword that subjugates. After narrating his dream, Takakuraji presents the magical sword to Iwarebiko, who comes to his senses along with his army. Iwarebiko recovers on receipt of the magical sword passed down to him from Amaterasu and Takaki no Kami.

It is also worth mentioning here that Iwarebiko, upon coming to his senses, is named Amatsukami Miko 天神御子 or Child of the Heavenly Deities. Iwarebiko assumes and retains this name until he enters Yamato. Amaterasu and Takaki no Kami function as Iwarebiko's guardians as he travels to Yamato. Under the guidance of the Giant Crow, a messenger from the Plain of Heaven, Iwarebiko proceeds to Yoshino 吉野. After defeating Naga-sune-biko, Iwarebiko finally enters Yamato, where he ascends to the throne at the palace of Kashiwara 白檮原. Only after his enthronement is Iwarebiko called Emperor (*tenno* 天皇) Jinmu.

3) Jinmu's Marriage Proposal to Isukeyori-hime

Emperor Jinmu married Aira-hime 阿比良比売 in Hyūga and Aira-hime gave birth to Tagisi-mimi and Kisu-mimi, Jinmu's children. But when Jinmu came to Yamato, he sought a new wife for himself. Ōkume no Mikoto 大久米の命 informed the emperor of the existence of Isukeyori-hime 伊須気余理比売, the child of a deity (*kami no miko* 神の 御子) born from Miwa no Ōmononushi 美和の大物主 and Seyatatara-hime 勢夜陀多良 比売. Ōmononushi was the deity (*jinushi no kami* 地主神) of Yamato, where Miwa mountain was located. For Jinmu, marriage to Ōmononushi's daughter meant the opportunity to communicate with the power of Yamato.

¹¹ Saigō 2005, pp. 47-48.

¹² The original version uses araburu, which Chamberlain translates as "savage." Chamberlain 1982, p. 165.

¹³ Nakamura 1995, pp. 66-70.

¹⁴ Kurano 1994, p. 203.

Ōmononushi represents the ultimate uncontrollable spirit (mono モノ).¹⁵ As Orikuchi Shinobu points out, deities (kami 神) and spirits (seirei 精霊) had different ranks. A deity was a being with a name and whose power was controlled. In contrast, mono, which was one of the spirits, referred to a being that had no name and could not be controlled. Since it could not be controlled, mono brought misfortune and harm upon humans. Ōmononushi appeared in the section of Kojiki on Emperor Sujin, issuing a curse on the emperor's realm which caused a plague. In order to stop this plague Ōmononushi asked the emperor to look for Ōtataneko. The emperor then found Ōtataneko and ordered him to worship Ōmononushi. What was the significance, then, of the marriage of Emperor Jinmu to the daughter of the plague-inducing Ōmononushi?

At this time there were seven maidens playing on [the plain] of Taka-sazi-no, Isukeyori-pime was among them.

Opo-kume-no-mikoto, seeing Isuke-yori-pime, said to the emperor in a song:

"Seven maidens Walking along The plain Taka-sazi-no In Yamato Which of them will [you] wed?"

At the time Isuke-yori-pime was standing out in front of those maidens. Then the emperor, looking upon the maidens, knew in his heart that it was Isuke-yoripime standing out in front, and replied in a song:

"The eldest maiden Standing slightly out in front Her will I wed."¹⁶

Seven maidens are playing on the field of Takasaji and Isukeyori-hime is among them. Upon seeing her, Ōkume sings to the emperor, "Seven maidens, walking along the plain Taka-sazi-no in Yamato. Which of them will [you] wed?" In other words, Ōkume asks the emperor which one he shall marry. Isukeyori-hime stands at the front of the group. Glancing at her, the emperor understands that she is to become his wife, and replies with a song: "The eldest maiden standing slightly out in front. Her will I wed."

I would like to stress that the *Kojiki* describes here the process by which the emperor recognizes the daughter of Ōmononushi from the group of maidens. We can conclude that Ōkume's question was meant to test the emperor's ability to distinguish the daughter of Ōmononushi. Had the emperor failed the test, it would have meant he was unable to communicate with his soon-to-be wife, and thus he did not merit her hand in marriage. By succeeding, he gains the right to marry her.

¹⁵ Orikuchi 2017, pp. 5-15.

¹⁶ Kojiki, Book Two, Chapter 54, p. 180; Heldt 2014, pp. 69-70.

It is also interesting to reflect on the fact that the emperor never addresses Isukeyorihime directly. Ōkume conveys the emperor's song to Isukeyori-hime, and then brings back her answer to the emperor. This is indicative of Yamato's highly dangerous potential. As we have previously observed, Itsuse no Mikoto died after badly misjudging Yamato. Yamato belonged to Ōmononushi, the leader of unnamed and demonic spirits. When dealing with these unruly spirits, the utmost caution was required. For the emperor, Yamato represents a matter of life and death, and a place of extreme danger.

4) Jinmu's Marriage with Isukeyori-hime

Emperor Jinmu now heads to Isukeyori-hime's house to marry her:

The home of Isuke-yori-pime was by the River Sawi. The emperor journeyed to Isukeyori-pime's home and slept there one night. ¹⁷

Emperor Jinmu spends one night with Isukeyori-hime at her house by the River Sawi 狭井河. Even though he has already arranged for the marriage to take place at Kashiwara Palace, he takes the trouble to go to her house by the river. The River Sawi flows north of Sawi Shrine, a branch of Ōmiwa Shrine.¹⁸ Sawi Shrine, also known as Sawi-Ni-Imasu-Ōmiwa-Aramitama Jinja 狭井坐大神荒魂神社, worships Ōmononushi's *aramitama* 荒魂, his unruly, curse-uttering manifestation.¹⁹ The marriage between Emperor Jinmu and Isukeyori-hime is thus narrated around the Sawi River, where the unruly spirit of Ōmononushi is worshipped.

Nishimiya Kazutami states that the naming of the Sawi River can be traced to *sawi* \mathbb{R} , the character for "loud," or "noisy," and most likely refers to the Sawi River's powerful current.²⁰ Moreover, Tsuchihashi Yutaka claims that the word *saya* ($^{++}\tau$) not only means the sound of a river but also expresses the presence and activities of spiritual powers.²¹ We cannot overlook the significance of the fact that Isukeyori-hime's house is located by a river, for rivers link the world of the living to the spiritual world, or the fact that the emperor and Isukeyori-hime share a bed on the border of the two worlds.²² This border, overflowing with the sound of the river, is also where the *aramitama* of Ōmononushi manifests itself. It is here, by the river, that Emperor Jinmu faces the unruly spirit of Yamato. After spending one night with Isukeyori-hime, Emperor Jinmu sings a song:

"In a humble little house Nestling in a reed-plain, Spreading out the clean Rustling sedge mats The two of us slept"

¹⁷ Kojiki, Book Two, Chapter 54, p. 181; Heldt 2014, p. 70.

¹⁸ Nishimiya 2005, pp. 121–22.

¹⁹ Shintōshi Daijiten 2004, p. 154.

²⁰ Nishimiya 1993, p. 419.

²¹ Tsuchihashi 1965, pp. 166-68

²² Sekai shinboru daijiten 1996, pp. 265-66.

Thus the children born were named Piko-ya-wi-no-mikoto; next, Kamu-ya-wi-mimino-mikoto, next, Kamu-nunakapa-mimi-no-mikoto. (Three children)²³

"Reed-plain" (*ashihara* 華原) here refers to the reed plain, filled with the sound of the reed leaves, mentioned in the first part of the *Kojiki* as the Central Land of the Reed Plains, the world full of the voices of unruly deities. "Humble," Philippi's translation of *shikeshiki* U/U, implies dirty and neglected.²⁴ The emperor sings of his marriage to Isukeyori-hime inside an abandoned hut surrounded by reeds. The act of spreading layer upon layer of mats is conveyed by the sound of sedge rubbing against sedge. In connection with the background noise from the reed-plain, the sound of the sedge mats creates an eerie cacophony.²⁵ It is in a place such as this that the emperor's marriage takes place. The emperor spends the night with Isukeyori-hime at the Sawi River, a borderland between the world of the living and the world of the spirits. That noise not only emanates from the river's powerful current but also from the manifestation of the *aramitama* of Ōmononushi. As though possessed by a spirit, the emperor expresses this noise in a song, and, by doing so, also sings of the *aramitama* of Ōmononushi.

Ōmononushi is the deity of Miwa, the mountain in Yamato where Jinmu established the Miwa dynasty. Wada Atsumu argues that the emperor worshiped Ōmononushi by himself before making the entire Miwa clan worship the deity. The *Kojiki* depicts Jinmu getting closer to the fierce power of Yamato, the place he had strived to reach ever since his departure from Hyūga. The description of the emperor singing and expressing the sound of the Sawi River portrays him stepping into the world of Ōmononushi. The communication between the emperor and Ōmononushi can be understood as the emperor worshiping Ōmononushi.²⁶ The emperor does not conquer Ōmononushi by force; rather, he worships him and marries his daughter. It is his marriage that enables him to establish his base in Yamato and create his dynasty there. Isukeyori-hime subsequently gives birth to three children named Hikoyai, Kamu-yamimi, and Kamu-nunakahamimi respectively. Their third son Kamu-nunakahamimi becomes the next emperor.

5) The Kojiki and Nihon shoki Compared

How is Emperor Jinmu portrayed in the *Nihon shoki*? What are the crucial differences between his *Nihon shoki* portrayal, and that we have seen in the *Kojiki*? The *Nihon shoki* narrative certainly resembles that of the *Kojiki*. Emperor Jinmu leaves Hyūga and heads for Yamato.²⁷Upon trying to enter Yamato, the emperor and his forces fight against Naga-sune-biko and the emperor's brother is injured. The emperor is unable to enter Yamato, and thus takes the long way round, through Kumano. In Kumano, he loses consciousness, and receives a sword from Takakuraji, regaining his senses. The story to this point is very close

²³ Kojiki, Book Two, Chapter 54, pp. 181-82; Heldt 2014, p. 71.

²⁴ Yamaji 1978, p. 41. Heldt's translation of shikeshiki しけしき is "dirty." Heldt 2014, p. 71.

²⁵ Tetsuno 1989, pp. 94–95.

²⁶ This is according to the theory of Wada Atsumu which says that the emperor worshiped the Miwa deity by himself. Wada 1985, pp. 323–338.

²⁷ In the *Nihon shoki* the emperor is nowhere referred to as Iwarebiko. He is called Jinmu from his departure from Hyūga to the time of his enthronement.

to the one in the *Kojiki*. However, what differs is the section regarding Emperor Jinmu's wedding. This part is represented as follows.

Year Kanoye Saru, Autumn, 8th month, 16th day. The emperor, intending to appoint a wife, sought afresh children of noble families. Now there was a man who made representation to him, saying: "There is a child who was born to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami by his union with Tamakushi-hime, daughter of Mizo-kuni-ni no Kami of Mishima. Her name is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto. She is a woman of remarkable beauty." The emperor was rejoiced and on the 24th day of the 9th month he received Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto and made her his wife.²⁸

From this we can infer a number of things. Whereas in the *Kojiki*, Emperor Jinmu's wife is the daughter of Ōmononushi, in the *Nihon shoki* she is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami's name signifies that he is a deity who speaks on behalf of other deities. He plays an active part in the scene of the transfer of the Land of Reed Plains. The transfer scene is described in the *Nihon shoki* as follows. Susanowo's descendant, Ōho-na-mochi, creates the Land of Reed Plains and becomes its ruler. However, Amaterasu, deity of the Plain of Heaven, declares that her own descendant should rule over Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni, and dispatches a messenger to Ōho-na-mochi to request he hand over the realm. Ōho-na-mochi does not answer, but has his own son, Koto-shiro-nushi, speak on his behalf. It is important to note that Kotoshiro-nushi makes an appearance in order to declare his obedience to Amaterasu, Emperor Jinmu's ancestor. The marriage between Emperor Jinmu and Koto-shiro-nushi's daughter thus signifies that the emperor has chosen a deity obedient to his own ancestor. The *Nihon shoki* portrays Yamato as a place where deities obedient to Emperor Jinmu reside.

By contrast, in the *Kojiki* narrative, Emperor Jinmu marries the daughter of Ōmononushi. As we have already seen, the *Kojiki* narrative has Emperor Jinmu tested on whether he can recognize his future wife, the "divine child" Isukeyori-hime. Upon successfully proving his ability, the emperor goes on to marry her. In the *Nihon shoki*, however, the future bride is recommended to the emperor and only then does he make her his wife. There is no description of exactly how his ability is tested. The *Kojiki* portrayal of Emperor Jinmu's ordeal and his marriage to the daughter of the deity of that land, Ōmononushi, signify that Yamato is not a place fit to be conquered by Jinmu. In the *Nihon shoki*, by contrast, Emperor Jinmu marries the daughter of an obedient deity, and thus he is never tested.

In conclusion, we can see that in the *Kojiki*, Emperor Jinmu experiences the fierce power of Ōmononushi and marries his daughter. Due to the marriage, the unruly power of Yamato is transformed into a sacred power. Yamato becomes a place where a new state is born. We can speculate that this happened not because of a battle, but by a gradual process of communication between Jinmu and the deities, whereby he earns their support. This process is fundamentally different from that in the *Nihon shoki*, where Yamato is portrayed as a place where a deity obedient to the emperor's ancestor resides.

²⁸ Aston 1972, p. 132.

Conclusion

From the analysis presented here, it is clear that the *Kojiki* narrative does not portray Yamato as a land of absolute order, but rather a place filled with unruly and uncontrollable power. The imperial authority, as represented in the *Kojiki*, is not something stable and absolute, but rather something precarious and fluctuating. The *Kojiki* narrative I have analyzed in this paper can be seen as portraying the dynamic process through which the emperor deals with the land of Yamato and begins worshipping its unruly deities, eventually asserting control.

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