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# *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki*

MARK C. FUNKE

IN the late seventh century the political, social, and religious spheres of Japan were moving toward a new form of culture, closely based on that of T'ang China. These new systems were introduced basically to facilitate the centralization of government and increase the power of the court. But as the introduction of Chinese ways naturally meant the weakening of much of local tradition, this ironically posed a threat to the continuation of the rule of the emperor and aristocracy, whose claim to the right to rule lay in local tradition. Consequently, to reaffirm its right to sovereignty, the court commissioned the compiling of two national chronicles designed to verify that its rule was sanctioned by the deities themselves. These chronicles were *Kojiki* 古事記, 712, and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀, 720, and both dealt with the myths and history of Japan from the creation of the land to recent times.

These works were not compiled solely from a political motive, however, as can be seen from the wealth of artistry they contain. With the influx of new systems and ideas into Japan, its society was prompted into a mood of self-reflection and revitalization of interest in its native culture, just as happened with the introduction of Western culture in the nineteenth century. The chronicles can, at least in part, be regarded as the result of this renewed interest.

As the chronicles dealt only superficially with the culture of the provinces, it became desirable to have the local myths and histories of the provinces compiled. These works became known in later times as *fudoki* 風土記. One of them was *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* 常陸国風土記, which the Government Office of Hitachi Province presented to the court in the early eighth century. The extant versions of this work contain a general introduction to Hitachi province and sections pertaining to nine of the province's eleven districts. The present article offers an annotated translation of the Introduction and of the sections dealing with Namekata and Kashima districts. These particular sections were chosen for translation because of their special literary and historical significance.

Like the genre to which the two chronicles belonged, the genre of *fudoki* was

The present article is partially based on the author's M.A. thesis, 'The Fudoki of Hitachi Province', University of Auckland, 1980. He wishes to thank Dr Toshio Akima for his kind help and comments.

of Chinese rather than Japanese origin. In China the term *fudoki* (Ch. *feng t'u chi*) was used as a common noun referring to local gazetteers. Works containing historical and geographical data about outlying regions were especially popular during the Six Dynasties period, 222–589. Examples are *Hsiang chung chi* 湘中記, *Ching chou chi* 荊州記, and *Hua yang kuo chi* 華陽國記.[1] The term *feng t'u chi* is seen for the first time in China in such works as the section titled *Ching chi chih* 経籍志 in *Sui shu* 隋書, written in the early seventh century, and the anthology *Wen Hsüan* 文選, compiled in the early sixth century.[2] Both of these works were well known in Japan in the eighth century when the *fudoki* were produced.

The first time in Japan that mention is made of works that might be called *fudoki* is in the record of Emperor Richū 履中 in *Nihon Shoki* and refers to the year 403: 'Local recorders were appointed for the first time in various provinces, who noted down statements, and communicated the writings of the four quarters.'[3] But there is no evidence of any such record having been produced at this time, and so this section of *Nihon Shoki* cannot be considered reliable. It seems that the first *fudoki* to be produced in Japan were those of the early eighth century.

Although the term was used in China well before the eighth century, it does not seem to have been in common use in Japan. The word does not appear in any of the five extant *fudoki*[4] or the edict ordering their compilation. In fact, it does not appear that they had specific titles at all, and were simply given names such as *Hizen no Kuni* or *Izumo no Kuni*. *Hitachi Fudoki* has a title of sorts that reads, 'Official Report from the Government Office of Hitachi Province. An account of ancient matters handed down by the elders.' The term translated as 'official report' is *ge* 解, a word used to refer to a report from a lower official to a higher one. *Ge* covered a wide range of official reports and cannot be regarded as a specific title used for the *fudoki*.

The edict for the compilation of the *fudoki* is recorded in *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀, dated Wadō 6 (713).5.2. It may be divided into five points as follows:

1. Good Chinese characters shall be given to the names of the various villages, districts, and provinces of the Home provinces and seven Circuits.[5]

2. Information shall be gathered and a list shall be made of things such as silver, copper, articles of various hues,[6] plants and trees, birds and animals, and fish and insects.

[1] Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki, tr., *Izumo Fudoki*, MN Monograph 44, 1971, p. 25.

[2] Ōkubo Tadashi 大久保正, *Jōdai Nihon Bungaku Gaisetsu* 上代日本文学概説, Shūeisha, 1967, p. 133.

[3] W. G. Aston, tr., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1956, 2, p. 307.

[4] In fact the word *fudoki* does appear at the beginning of the Izumo and Bungo *fudoki*, but was lacking in their original versions.

[5] That is, the five Kinai provinces around the capital and the seven large regions into which the country was divided. Hitachi was in the Tōkai Circuit.

[6] Probably a reference to dyed cloth.

3. The fertility of the soil.
4. The origins of the names of mountains, rivers, plains, and fields.
5. Unusual tales handed down from generation to generation by the elders shall be recorded in annals and presented.

The first article above implies that all place names should have two Chinese characters. This can be seen from *Izumo no Kuni Fudoki* where both the old and new names are often provided. In cases where names consisted of one or three characters, they have invariably been changed to two, even where the original characters seem more fitting. For example, the character for the place name Yashiro, which originally meant 'shrine', has been changed from 社 to 屋代.[7] As it was usual for Chinese place names to be written with two characters, this can be seen as part of the attempt to extend to the provinces the tendency in the capital to admire all things Chinese.

The second and third articles of the edict were important to the newly centralized government because they provided basic information for the efficient administration of the provinces. From the information furnished under Article 2, the central government was able to gain knowledge of the amount and locations of the various natural products in the country and thereby prescribe tribute to the Yamato court. The information from Article 3 would enable the government to fix tax on land according to its productivity, but perhaps more importantly, it would provide basic data for the reclamation of land, migration into under-cultivated areas, and the enforcement of the farmland allotment system (*handen shūjuhō* 班田収授法). Although the amount of land apportioned to individuals throughout the country was theoretically uniform, the size of allotments often differed markedly according to population density and soil fertility.

Articles 4 and 5 are connected in that they required the recording of local history. As the origins of place names were usually explained through myth, Article 4 was often treated as part of Article 5. At this time there were still quite a number of different cultures in Japan and the government correctly saw this as an obstacle to centralization. These two articles can therefore be seen as an attempt to come to understand these cultural groups, enabling their more rapid assimilation. Also, as many myths were common throughout the country, although in differing forms, the gathering of myths and legends from the various provinces tended to reveal a spiritual bond among the groups and, therefore, with the Yamato government. Some scholars believe that these two articles were included in the edict because the *fudoki* were meant to provide information for the compilation of a work to be an accompaniment to *Nihon Shoki*. That is, while *Nihon Shoki* would record the central myths, the second work would record the local myths, providing a comprehensive record of the mythology-cum-history of Japan. This theory is supported to some extent by the similarity between the wording and content of some myths

[7] Aoki, p. 81.

in the *fudoki* and *Nihon Shoki*. Apart from this, however, there is little evidence for this theory, and it is probably safer to regard the two works separately.

*Compilation of the* Fudoki

It is assumed that most provinces presented the *fudoki* to the central government. But today there remains only one *fudoki* in its original form, that of Izumo province. The *fudoki* of Bungo, Hizen, Harima, and Hitachi remain only in incomplete forms. Those of other provinces have been either lost or discarded since their presentation, although parts of some *fudoki* are preserved as quotations in other works, such as *Shoku Nihongi*. In fact, the central government no longer held many of the *fudoki* even by the early tenth century, as in 925 the Great Ministry of State (*Dajōkan* 太政官) issued an edict stating that *fudoki* were being kept in various provinces and that they should be presented to the central government. They were probably required at that time for the compilation of *Engi Shiki* 延喜式 in 927.[8] So although the *fudoki* were regarded as important to the provinces, they tended to be considered as merely secondary reference material in the capital. During the Heian period the popular works were those of poetry, monogatari, and Buddhist literature. As a result, when the *fudoki* were transcribed during this period, many parts of the original works were not considered of sufficient worth to be copied. As the abridged versions began to appear about 1297,[9] the full versions of the *fudoki* became regarded as less important, and it is probable that they were lost soon afterward. No doubt a major reason for *Izumo Fudoki* remaining intact through the centuries is the importance that has always been accorded to the myths and history of that area.[10]

As noted above, there are chronologically two types of *fudoki*: those presented under the edict of 713, which are often referred to as 'the old *fudoki*' (*ko-fudoki* 古風土記), and those sent in under the 925 edict. Many of the latter were presented as copies of 'the old *fudoki*', while others were presumably completely rewritten. Although one scholar holds that it is unlikely that 'the old *fudoki*' were substantially altered on the second presentation,[11] it is reasonable to assume that they were substantially changed and supplemented to suit the altered literary and political tendencies of the tenth century.

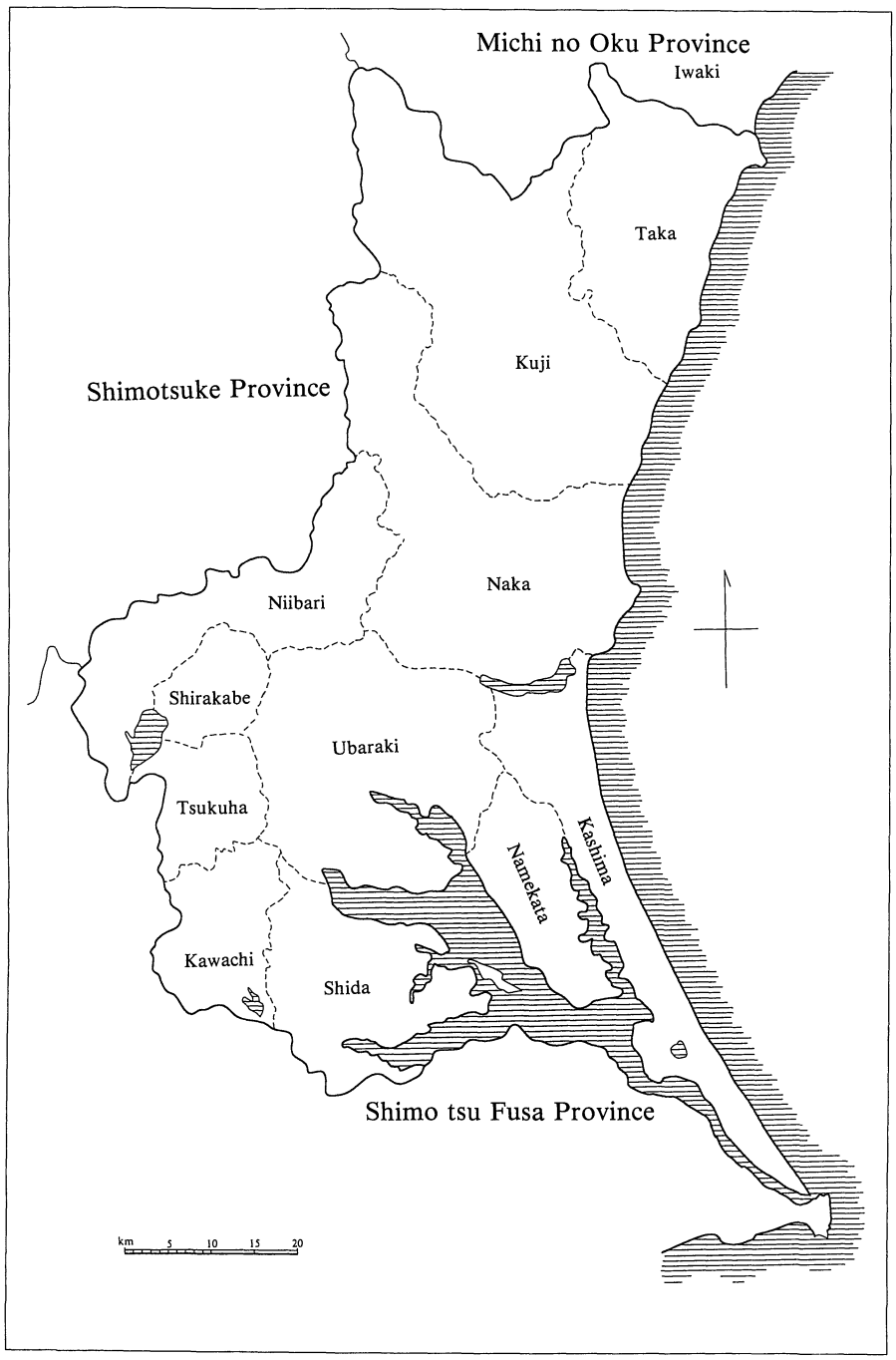
We know that many of the provinces did not present *fudoki* because some of the extant *fudoki* were presented many years after the 713 edict. The first of the extant *fudoki* to be presented was *Harima Fudoki* in 714 or 715. The two Kyushu *fudoki* of Hizen and Bungo were presented in 723, and *Izumo Fudoki* in 733.

[8] This is recorded in *Ruijū Fusenshō* 類聚符宣抄. Ōkubo, p. 135.

[9] Akimoto Kichirō 秋本吉郎, ed., *Fudoki* 風土記, NKBT 2, Iwanami, 1976, p. 23.

[10] Another reason is that, unlike other *fudoki* kept among the records in the provincial offices, *Izumo Fudoki* was owned by the family of the High Priest of Izumo Shrine and was used as a canonical text.

[11] Akimoto, p. 22.




Based on the detailed map in Akimoto, *Fudoki*.

Hitachi Province

*Compilation of* Hitachi Fudoki

It is unclear when exactly *Hitachi Fudoki* was presented to the court as the date of presentation does not appear in the work. The date is believed to have been written originally at the very end of the text, as it is in *Izumo Fudoki*. But this part of *Hitachi Fudoki* has been deleted. On the other hand, there are several indications as to the time of completion, although there is no scholarly consensus on this point. For example, *Hitachi Fudoki* generally uses the character 里 for 'village'. According to *Izumo Fudoki*, the character 郷 was used in its place after 715,[12] and so *Hitachi Fudoki* must have been written before this date. But as *Hitachi Fudoki* does not observe the stipulations of Article 1 of the 713 edict, it is clear that the use of characters in the work was not regarded as important, and so the work cannot be dated reliably in this way. Another indication of dating is that Iwaki province was established in 718,[13] but *Hitachi Fudoki* mentions it as merely a district of Michi no Oku Province, thus indicating that at least the first draft must have been written before 718. But although it is true that Iwaki was established as a province in 718, it was abolished again some time between 720 and 728.[14] So the reference to Iwaki District can prove only that the work was not compiled between 718 and 720.

Thus there is no historical evidence for any specific date of compilation. But the date of final compilation is believed to have been some time before 723 for the following reasons. The duty of compilation was carried out within the government office of each province and was directed by the provincial governor himself. The compilation was probably begun under Ishikawa no Asomi Naniwa Maro 石川朝臣難波麿, governor of Hitachi from 714, thus accounting for indications that it was completed before 715.[15] As *Hitachi Fudoki* is extremely artistic and florid in parts and its language heavily influenced by T'ang literary style,[16] it must have been compiled by someone who had an interest in literature and was acquainted with Chinese literary style. This person was most likely Fujiwara Umakai 藤原宇合, governor of Hitachi from about 719 to 723. It is possible that his chief clerk, Takahashi Mushimaro 高橋虫麿, also a well-known writer, had a hand in the compilation. It can therefore be asserted that while Ishikawa began the compilation about 714, parts of it were rewritten in a more artistic style and the work was completed under Umakai by 723, the date of his departure from Hitachi. Not all scholars agree with this hypothesis,[17] but *Hitachi Fudoki* shows a high level of literary competence, rivaled only by

[12] Aoki, p. 81.

[13] Akimoto, p. 27; Okada Shigehiro 岡田茂弘, '*Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki*' 常陸国風土記, in Ueda Masaaki 上田正昭, ed., *Fudoki*, Nihon Kodai Bunka no Tankyū, Shakai Shisōsha, 1975, p. 135.

[14] Uegaki Setsuya 植垣節也, *Fudoki no Kenkyū narabi ni Kanji Sakuin* 風土記の研究並びに漢字索引, Kazama, 1972, p. 13.

[15] Akimoto, p. 27.

[16] An example of this style is found in the description of Tsu Shrine (Kashima district).

[17] Uegaki, p. 15.

the two Kyushu *fudoki*, which were almost certainly written under Umakai's guidance. Umakai thus seems to have played an important role in the compilation of the work.

*Compilers*

Fujiwara Umakai, 694–737, was the third son of Fujiwara Kamatari 藤原鎌足, the founder of the Fujiwara clan. After Umakai returned from his post as vice-envoy to China in 719, he went to Hitachi to assume the post of provincial governor in the same year.[18] One of his duties was inspector of the governors of the neighboring provinces of Kazusa, Awa, and Shimo tsu Fusa. No doubt the strong Chinese literary quality of *Hitachi Fudoki* is mainly due to the years of exposure to Chinese literature during his stay in China. Even apart from his knowledge of Chinese literary style, he was a talented author and six of his poems are included in *Man'yōshū* 万葉集. The warmth of feeling shown toward the local people in *Hitachi Fudoki* may reflect Umakai's own feelings, built up through his constant contact with them on his tours of inspection and in his role as enforcer of law and order.

Little is known of Takahashi Mushimaro. He was also a literary man of significant competence and he too has several poems in *Man'yōshū*. As most of his poems are concerned with ancient legends, it is possible that he recorded many of the legends in *Hitachi Fudoki*, such as the tale of Unai in the section on Kashima district.

*Contents*

*Hitachi Fudoki* is divided into ten sections. The first consists of an introduction to the province in general, while the following nine sections deal with each district in turn. Extant versions are only incomplete versions of the original. The only section recorded in full is Namekata District, and the sections on Shirakabe and Kawachi districts are not included at all.[19] As a result it is difficult to know exactly to what extent the text complied with the 713 edict. But the general features of the work may be indicated as follows. As regards the edict, the first article (requiring the adoption of good Chinese characters in place names) is completely ignored. The edict is somewhat ambiguous about whether this article is meant to be included in the *fudoki*, and it is perhaps for this reason that *Hitachi Fudoki* ignores it. But the first article does not seem to have been strictly observed in any case because, although most place names in *Hitachi Fudoki* consist of two characters, there are several consisting of only one, such as Ta 田 and Hama 浜 villages.

The second and third articles (concerning natural products and soil fertility)

[18] Takagi Ichinosuke 高木市之助 & Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, ed., *Nihon Bungaku no Rekishi* 日本文学の歴史, Kadokawa, 1967, p. 215.

[19] Perhaps the text was abridged in this way because the extant manuscripts of *Hitachi Fudoki* may be copies of a version originally held in the Namekata District Office.

are observed to some degree, but by no means consistently. While *Izumo Fudoki* records long lists of fauna and flora, *Hitachi Fudoki* tends to include these only as part of general descriptions of places and in a highly literary style.

Although the edict places as much importance on articles 2 and 3, the fourth and fifth articles (concerning the recording of origins of place names and local legends) are the most highly emphasized in all the *fudoki* and are a noted feature of *Hitachi Fudoki*. This is indicated even in its title, 'Official Report from the Government Office of Hitachi Province. An account of ancient matters handed down by the elders', a clear indication that the paucity of accounts related to articles 2 and 3 is not simply due to their being deleted during later transcriptions, but that articles 4 and 5 were emphasized from the beginning. Generally these two articles are connected in *Hitachi Fudoki* in that the origins of place names are usually explained through myth so that Article 4 is usually treated as part of Article 5. An example of this is Afuka 相鹿 in Namekata District. The name means 'meeting place', which *Hitachi Fudoki* says is so named because Yamato Takeru no Mikoto 日本武尊 met his consort there. Not all myths in this work, however, are concerned with supplying the origins of place names, such as the myth of the visit of the 'ancestor deity' to Mt Fuji and Mt Tsukuha.

In addition to material related to the above five articles, *Hitachi Fudoki* also contains matters completely unrelated, for example, the record of excursions to Mt Tsukuha and the account of the trip to Takamatsu Beach. *Izumo Fudoki* also includes much material not required by the edict, mostly pertaining to military affairs, such as the location of beacon fires and the lengths of roads. But it follows the edict fairly closely and is designed to be a practical document. On the other hand, despite the fact that the edict required the *fudoki* to contain mainly practical material, *Hitachi Fudoki* was written mainly as a work of literature.

*Language*

*Hitachi Fudoki* is recorded mostly in 'pure Chinese-writing form' (*jun-kambuntai* 純漢文体), an unadulterated form of the classical Chinese language as used in *Nihon Shoki*. This differs from the form used in *Kojiki*, called 'standard Chinese-writing form' (*jun-kambuntai* 準漢文体), a hybrid form of Chinese and Japanese. In addition, the literary style of *Hitachi Fudoki* is much influenced by that of China. It is written under the strong influence of the Chinese *shiroku-benreitai* 四六駢儷体, in which phrases are arranged into groups of four and six characters. It quotes one poem neatly rhymed in Chinese. It also contains instances of the style of using balanced phrases, such as 'There are mountains to the left and the sea to the right. . . . There are plains to the fore and fields to the rear.' This style was not native to Japan and it imbues the work with a distinctly non-Japanese flavor, in many respects comparable to *Wen Hsüan* and the novels of the Six Dynasties period.[20]

[20] Ōkubo, p. 145.

*Local Myths*

Constricted by Chinese language and style, the myths of *Hitachi Fudoki* have lost much of their original form. This may be seen by comparing them with the myths of *Izumo Fudoki*, which tend to be fairly simple and repetitive as they were originally handed down orally. Still, the compilers of *Hitachi Fudoki* were not insensitive to the local myths and, although the work is mainly in Chinese, there are many examples of Japanese written using characters phonetically; there are also several tanka poems recorded in Japanese. There are many instances of the phrase 'The local people say. . . .' (*kunihito no ieraku* 俗曰) preceding local expressions and phrases in Japanese that cannot be adequately rendered in Chinese. Readers are also constantly reminded that the myths in *Hitachi Fudoki* have been handed down since ancient times, as many are prefixed with the words 'The elders say. . . .' (*furuokina no ieraku* 古老曰). Although people from the capital composed *Hitachi Fudoki* for the Chinese-oriented upper classes, the use of language can be seen as an attempt at a compromise between the more elegant Chinese style and the original Japanese form of the myths, and in general this allows the original forms of the myths to reveal themselves to some extent.

Although the use of the Chinese language and literary style is not so detrimental to the original myths as it may seem, the problem remains to what extent the myths are really those of the local people, as it is clear that, for example, those of *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* were altered to a large extent at the time of compilation according to political expediency. Many of the myths in *Hitachi Fudoki* are obviously influenced by the central myths. One example is the myth of Futsu no Ohokami 普都大神,[21] the Fujiwara tutelary deity. The myths concerning him in *Hitachi Fudoki* (Shida and Kashima districts) are similar in language and content to related myths of *Nihon Shoki*, and it is obvious that this deity, who tended to symbolize the dominion of the Yamato court, is an introduction from the central government. But on examining one of these myths in *Hitachi Fudoki* (Kashima District), it becomes reasonably clear that before this deity was enshrined in Kashima Shrine, the original god of the shrine was worshipped as a sea deity, and that he was later adopted by the Fujiwara clan as Futsu no Ohokami.

There are also many interesting myths recorded in *Hitachi Fudoki* that concern matters such as the discovery of water and the suppression of 'rebel barbarians', both of which activities played vital roles in the early frontier land of Hitachi. It would therefore be expected that these were local myths. But in nearly all cases where these heroic deeds are recorded in *Hitachi Fudoki*, they are said to have been performed by envoys dispatched from the central government, especially by the mythical hero of the central myths, Yamato Takeru no Mikoto. Although these myths may therefore appear to have been artificially introduced by the central government to bolster its prestige, such a wide varie-

[21] *Nihon Shoki* refers to him as Futsu Nushi no Kami 経津主神.

ty of myths could not have been quickly accepted by the local people, whose own regional culture still remained strong even in the eighth century. It is more realistic to believe that the myths concerning central figures in Hitachi were introduced from Yamato several centuries before the compilation of *Hitachi Fudoki* and that, owing to the prestige to be gained by being historically associated with the central government, the myths were slowly incorporated into those of Hitachi.

This theory is supported by the fact that Yamato Takeru, for example, is portrayed rather differently in *Hitachi Fudoki* than in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, where he appears as a tragic and heroic figure. *Hitachi Fudoki* depicts him as a rather flat character, not particularly heroic, suggesting that, although originally introduced from Yamato, the myths in this work basically take the form of local myths. Another point indicating that Yamato culture had not made great inroads into Hitachi myths and customs is that, although Buddhism had been introduced into Japan a century or so earlier, there is only one reference to anything Buddhist—in Taka District there is a Buddhist image carved on a rock.

Although there are various myths influenced by Yamato culture, and although *Hitachi Fudoki* is certainly more influenced by the central myths than *Izumo Fudoki*, the work contains many myths and religious beliefs that were developed in the provinces independently of Yamato society. It tells of rituals such as *kunimi* 国見 (land viewing) and *utagaki* 歌垣 (song and dance meetings), and legends such as the *tennin nyōbō* 天人女房, or celestial maiden, story. These local customs and myths, which reflect the agriculture-based origins of Japanese society, are an important source of information on the lives and attitudes of early Japanese society.

*Conclusion*

Contrary to the requirement of the 713 edict, *Hitachi Fudoki* is basically a work of literature that undertakes the difficult task of recording the local myths and beliefs of Hitachi province in elegant classical Chinese. As one of the few extant records of local tradition before the influx of Yamato culture into the area, it holds an important place in early Japanese literature.

The following translation of the Introduction and the sections on Namekata and Kashima districts is based on the annotated text in Akimoto Kichirō 秋本吉郎, ed., *Fudoki* 風土記, NKBT 2, Iwanami, 1976.

# *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki*

## Official Report from the Government Office of Hitachi Province. An account of ancient matters handed down by the elders.[22]

When asked about the ancient matters of the provinces and districts, the elders reply that in olden times the various dominions[23] east of Mt Ashigara Pass 足柄岳坂 in Sagamu Province 相模国[24] were all referred to as the land of Azuma.[25] At this time there was no name for Hitachi Province, and it was simply called the Lands of Niibari 新治, Tsukuha 筑波, Ubaraki 茨城, Naka 那賀, Kuji 久慈, and Taka 多珂.[26] Magistrates and princes were dispatched to each of these places to govern.[27] Subsequently, during the reign of the emperor who ruled

[22] This paragraph may be regarded as the title to *Hitachi Fudoki*. The name *fudoki* was given to works of this genre at a later date. 'Official report' is *ge* 解, a term used at the time for reports sent from lower officials to higher. In this case this was either the Great Ministry of State (*Dajōkan* 太政官) or the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*Mimbushō* 民部省).

The last of the five conditions recorded in the imperial edict of Empress Gemmei 元明, r. 708–714, concerning the compilation of *fudoki* was that the legends of the elders should be recorded. That the elders are specifically mentioned here indicates the importance that the compiler places on this part of the edict. Akimoto, p. 34.

[23] *Agata* 県. Before the Taika Reforms, commenced in 645, these were areas administered directly by the imperial court. During the reforms the term *agata* was abolished and the country was divided into provinces (*kuni* 国) and districts (*kohori* 郡). Six of the *agata*, however, all in Yamato province, retained their original characteristics even after the Taika Reforms.

[24] Mt Ashigara is on the border of the old provinces of Sagamu and Suruga 駿河. In ancient times the borders of villages, districts, provinces, etc, were regarded as possessing magical properties, where offerings to local deities were made. Mt Ashigara Pass was one of the most famous passes in the country, probably because it bordered on the Azuma region. Several poems in *Man'yōshū* refer to it.

[25] A political unit until the Taika Reforms, consisting of present-day eastern and northern prefectures of Honshū. According to *Kojiki*, the name of the area was derived from the time when Yamato Takeru no Mikoto (81–113, according to *Nihon Shoki*), climbed to the top of Mt Ashigara and grieved over his wife, exclaiming, '*Azuma wa ya*' ('My wife, alas!'). Donald L. Philippi, tr., *Kojiki*, University of Tokyo Press, 1977, p. 242.

[26] These areas later became the districts constituting Hitachi province, along with Shirakabe District 白壁郡, Kawachi District 河内郡, Shida District 信太郡, Namekata District 行方郡, and Kashima District 香島郡. These five districts were created out of the others after the Taika Reforms.

[27] Magistrates (*kuni no miyatsuko* 国造) were local chieftains who had achieved power independently of the central government. Those who were submissive to the imperial government received this title. After the Taika Reforms the system was in theory abolished and the provinces were administered by governors (*kuni no tsukasa* 国司). Many of the former magistrates were made district governors as a concession to these powerful local magnates.

Princes (*wake* 別) here were descendants of emperors between the reigns of Emperor Keikō 景行, r. 71–130, and Emperor Ōjin 応神, r. 270–310. The reign dates of emperors given here are those traditionally ascribed to them in *Nihon Shoki*. Such dates cannot be regarded as historically accurate until the time of Emperor Kimmei 欽明, r. 539–571.

under Heaven at the Great Palace of Toyosaki 豊前 at Nagara 長柄 in Naniwa 難波,[28] Takamuko no Omi 高向臣 and Nakatomi no Hatorida no Muraji 中臣幡織田連[29] were dispatched, and they ruled from [Mt Ashigara] Pass to the lands in the east. At this time the Azuma region was divided into eight provinces,[30] one of which was Hitachi Province.

This name was given to the province because roads used for traveling back and forth are unobstructed by lakes and seas, while the borders of districts and villages continue on to mountain peaks and river valleys. The name, therefore, came about with the meaning of 'direct passage'.[31] It is also said that when Emperor Yamato Takeru 倭武天皇[32] went to inspect the land of the Emishi[33] in the east he traveled through the Dominion of Niibari 新治県. He sent the magistrate Hinarasu no Mikoto 毘那良珠命[34] to dig a new well, and the spring that flowed forth was pure and clear and a thing of beauty. He then stopped his palanquin, and as he washed his hands, delighting at the water, the sleeve of his robe hung down and became wet. The province was therefore named with the meaning of 'soaking one's sleeve'.[35] This is referred to in the local expression, 'The land where black clouds gather at Mt Tsukuha[36] and sleeves are soaked.'

[28] Emperor Kōtoku 孝徳, r. 645–654. It was during this reign that the Taika Reforms were begun and the emperor-centered form of government was consolidated. The present-day city of Osaka occupies about the center of the ancient district of Naniwa.

[29] Akimoto, p. 34, suggests that Takamuko no Omi may have belonged to the same family as Takamuko no Omi Maro 高向臣麿 recorded in *Nihon Shoki* under Temmu 10 (683), and that Nakatomi no Hatorida no Muraji may have been a member of the Nakatomi family.

The terms *omi* 臣 and *muraji* 連 were titles of high rank during the reign of Emperor Kōtoku. But in 682, during the reign of Temmu 天武, these ranks were lowered and eight ranks in all were created, which were collectively called *kabane* 姓. These were in descending order of rank: *mahito* 真人, *asomi* 朝臣, *sukune* 宿祢, *imiki* 忌寸, *michi no shi* 道師, *omi* 臣, *muraji* 連, and *inaki* 稲置.

[30] The eight provinces were Sagamu 相模, Musashi 武蔵, Kazusa 上総, Shimo tsu Fusa 下総, Kamitsuke 上野, Shimotsuke 下野, Hitachi, and Michi no Oku 陸奥. Izu 伊豆, Awa 安房, Iwaki 磐城, and Iwashiro 岩代 were added later.

[31] *Hitamichi* 直通, 'direct passage', sounds similar to *hitachi*. But it seems more likely that the name is derived from *hitachi* 日立, meaning 'rising sun'. In ancient time Hitachi was regarded as one of the easternmost parts of Japan, and thus the place where the sun rose.

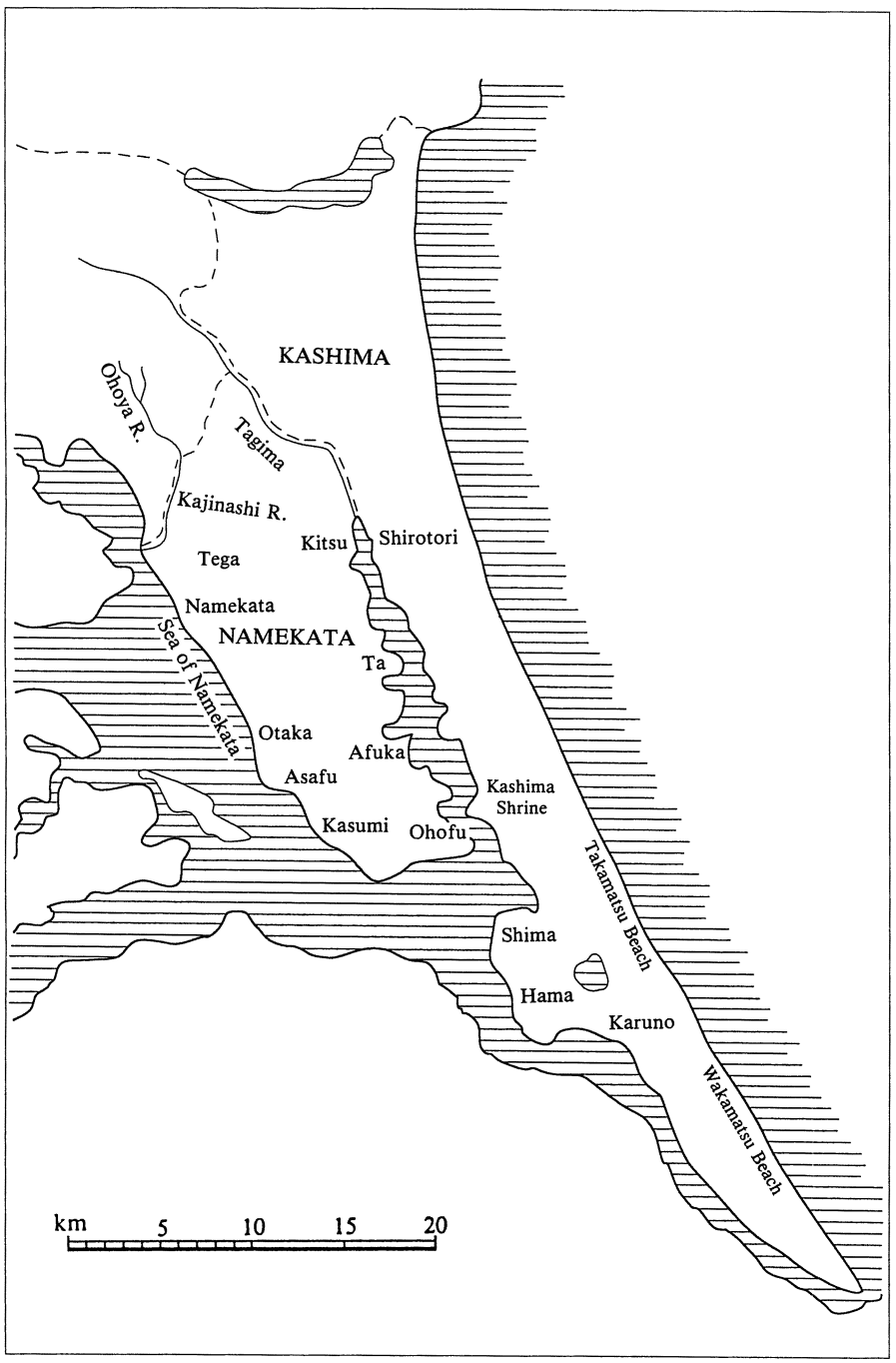
[32] 81–113, a son of Emperor Keikō, r. 71–130, and a legendary hero famous for his campaigns against rebel tribes, especially in eastern Japan. Although his brother, Emperor Seimu 成務, r. 131–190, became official emperor after Keikō's death, Yamato Takeru's name is affixed with the title of *tennō* 天皇 in both *Kojiki* and *Hitachi Fudoki*. According to Akimoto, p. 35, the title was affixed to prospective emperors' names before the final decision on succession was made in *Nihon Shoki*. Philippi, p. 253, notes that some scholars propose that the country was ruled concurrently by Seimu and Yamato Takeru.

[33] The Emishi 夷 are often believed to have been a separate race, perhaps the Ainu. But it is also possible that they were local tribes that refused to submit to the central government and thus the term could possibly be translated as 'barbarians'.

[34] According to *Kokuzō Hongi* 国造本紀, he was sent to govern Niibari District during the reign of Emperor Seimu. *Kojiki* states that he was a descendant of Ame no Hohi no Mikoto 天穂日命, one of the gods sent to subjugate Oho Kuni Nushi no Kami 大国主神, but who stayed and became his vassal. Akimoto, p. 35; Philippi, p. 122.

[35] *Hitasu* 漬 (to soak). This is another theory regarding the origin of the province's name.

[36] Mt Tsukuha, 876m in height, was on the border of Tsukuha, Ubaraki, and Shirakabe districts.




Based on the detailed map in Akimoto, *Fudoki*.

Namekata and Kashima Districts in Hitachi Province

The borders of Hitachi Province are vast and the land stretches far into the distance. The fields are fruitful, the plains are fertile, and it is a well-cultivated place. The seas and mountains are bountiful, the people live comfortably, and households lack nothing. Those who are diligent in working the land soon gain wealth, and those who apply themselves to silk spinning can escape poverty with ease. Also, for those who seek the delicacies of salt and fish, there are of course the mountains to the left and the sea to the right. For planting mulberry trees and sowing hemp seed there are plains to the fore and fields to the rear. It is like a treasure-house of the land and the sea, and it is a place rich in produce. We are inclined to believe that this is the Land of Eternal Life[37] that the ancients mentioned. But in some places there are few rice fields of high quality and many of medium quality. The people therefore grieve when the rice seedlings do not mature during years of much rain and rejoice at bountiful rice harvests during the years when it is sunny.

(Not abridged.)[38]

## Namekata District 行方郡

The gulf lies to the south, east, and west. To the north is Ubaraki District 茨城郡.

The elders say that in the year of the Water-Junior-Ox[39] [653] during the reign of the emperor who ruled under Heaven at the Great Palace of Toyosaki at Nagara in Naniwa,[40] the Magistrate of Ubaraki, Mibu no Muraji Maro 壬生連麿,[41] who was of the twenty-fourth rank,[42] and the Magistrate of Naka, Mibu no Atai O no Ko 壬生直夫子,[43] who was of the twenty-fifth rank,[44] both petitioned the Governors General [of Azuma], Takamuko no Maetsugimi 高

[37] Tokoyo no Kuni 常世国, an ideal land where there is neither old age nor death. It bears some relation to Ne no Kuni 根国, a subterranean land of both death and renewal of strength. It is probable that this concept arose because plants draw their strength from the soil and that things return to the soil after death.

[38] This note was added to the text when it was transcribed in the Kamakura period. Most sections of *Hitachi Fudoki* have been partly abridged.

[39] *Mizu no to ushi* 癸丑

[40] Emperor Kōtoku

[41] According to the section on Ubaraki District, the ancestor of the Kuni no Miyatsuko of Ubaraki was Takekoro no Mikoto 多祁許呂命, who was, according to *Kojiki*, a descendant of Amaterasu Oho Mi Kami 天照大神 and Susa no O no Mikoto 須佐之男命. Mibu no Muraji is the name of the clan. Philippi, p. 78.

[42] *Shō otsu no shimotsushina* 小乙下, the 24th among 26 *kan'i* 冠位 (cap ranks) assigned to court ministers and other officials in Tenji 3 (665). Rank was shown by prescribed pattern or color of head-dress. Akimoto, p. 50.

[43] Described below as a descendant of Take Kashima no Mikoto 建借間命. According to *Kojiki*, the Kuni no Miyatsuko of Naka was descended from Emperor Jimmu 神武, 660–585 B.C. Mibu no Atai is the clan name. Philippi, p. 185.

[44] *Daikemu* 大建

向大夫 and Nakatomi no Hatorida no Maetsugimi 中臣幡織田大夫.[45] They then established a separate District Government Office with a total of more than 700 households by taking eight villages[46] from the Land of Ubaraki and seven from the Land of Naka.

The reason why the area is called Namekata District is that Emperor Yamato Takeru went to inspect the land under Heaven and subjugated the area north of the sea.[47] At that time he passed through this land and went to the clear spring of Tsukino 槻野. He stood by the water, holding his beads, and washed his hands, admiring the well. The well is still in Namekata Village and is called Tama no Shimizu 玉清井 [Clear Well of Beads]. Taking his palanquin further, he went to the Arahara Hills 現原丘 and made an offering of food. Then the emperor looked to the four quarters and, turning to his attendants, said, 'Stopping my palanquin, I wandered about and lifted my eyes to see the mountains stretching high and deep, and the curves of the seashore meandering in and out like serpents. The clouds floating at the mountain peaks, the mist embraced by the valleys, and the colors of things are beautiful to behold. The landscape is adorable. I shall therefore name this the Land of Namekuwashi 行細国.'[48] In commemoration of this in later generations the place has still been called Namekata. The local people have an expression, 'Namekata, the land of sudden rain.'[49]

The hills there are high and flat-topped, and are named Arahara [Plateau]. [Emperor Yamato Takeru] came down from these hills and went to the Ohoya River 大益河, and when he boarded his boat its pole and rudder broke. The river is therefore called Kajinashi River 無梶河 [Rudderless River]. It is on the border of the two districts of Ubaraki and Namekata. The many varieties of river carp are too numerous for all to be recorded here.

When he went from Kajinashi River to the district border, a flock of wild ducks flew by. He shot at them and they soon responded to his bow, falling to the ground. This place is called Kamono 鴨野 [Wild Duck Plain]. The soil is barren and arid, and vegetation does not grow here. In the north of the plains there are scattered growths of oak, brushwood, maples, and cypress, and these

[45] Both are mentioned above as having been sent by Emperor Kōtoku to govern the whole of the Azuma region, hence the term 'Governors General', rather than simply 'Governors'. In this case their given names and family names are written, but their titles are not.

[46] Under the Taihō Code, 701, the smallest local administrative unit was the village (*sato* 里), consisting of exactly fifty households. The fifteen villages of Namekata District therefore contained 750 households. As an average household consisted of twenty-five people, the population of the district would have been about 18,750. Units that did not have fifty households could not make up a village, and were called *amaribe* 余戸, or surplus households. Aoki, pp. 11 & 80.

[47] This seems to refer to the area north of the gulf, that is, Hitachi province. But *Nihon Shoki* records a notice sent to the Emperor of Sung, which contains the phrase 'subdue the [area] north of the sea'. This may refer to the whole of northeast Japan, and perhaps the same meaning is intended here. Yoshino Yutaka 吉野裕, *Fudoki*, Tōyō Bunko 145, Heibonsha, 1977, p. 40.

[48] Derived from *narabe kuwashiki kuni* 並べ詳しき国, meaning 'the land where nature is subtly and artistically arranged'. This speech is an example of *kunibome* 国讃 (praise of the land). Akimoto, p. 51.

[49] *Tachisame furi, Namekata no kohori* 立雨零行方郡. Smaller print is used in the translation for parts of the original text that are written in smaller letters.

form natural mountain groves. In this area is a pond called Masu no Ike 桝池, which was constructed in the time of Takamuko no Maetsugimi.[50] To the north there is a shrine of a child of the God of Katori 香取.[51] The hills and plains in the vicinity of the shrine are rich and fertile, and densely covered in vegetation.

To the west of the District Office there is a ford. This is the so-called Namekata Sea 行方之海. Thick-haired codia and seaweed burned to produce salt grow here. There are too many varies of seafish for all to be recorded here, although whales have been neither seen nor heard of.

To the east of the District Office there is a terrestrial shrine[52] and the deity here is called the God of the Dominion 県祇.[53] There is a clear spring at the shrine and it is called Ohoi 大井. The men and women from around the District Office gather here to draw and drink water from it.

At the southern gate of the District Office there is a large zelkova tree. The branches on its northern side droop down naturally to touch the ground and turn up again in the air.[54] In ancient times there was a swamp in that area, and even nowadays water gathers in the garden of the District Office during long periods of rain. Mandarin orange trees grow in the hamlets about the District Office.

Northwest of the District Office is Tega Village 提賀里. In ancient times there were rebels[55] called Tega 手鹿, and in later times their name was given to the village because they had lived there. To the north of the village there is a shrine of a child of the God of Kashima 香島. The hills and fields around the shrine are fertile, and brushwood, chinquapin trees, chestnut trees, bamboo, and cogon grass grow in abundance. To the north of this place is Sone Village 曾尼里. In ancient times there was a rebel called Sonebiko 疏祢毘古, after whom this village was named. There is now a post-station there called Sone Post-Station 曾尼之駅.

The elders say that during the reign of the emperor[56] who ruled over Oho Yashima 大八州[57] at Tamaho Palace 玉穂宮 in Iware Village 石村, there was a

[50] Mentioned above as one of the Governors General of Azuma.

[51] This can be regarded as a kind of sub-shrine to the Katori Shrine.

[52] *Kuni tsu yashiro* 国社. Deities were classified into two types: (1) *Ama tsu kami* 天神 (celestial deities), who were worshipped at *ama tsu yashiro* 天社; they were regarded as the ancestors or tutelary deities of the imperial family and nobility; (2) *kuni tsu kami* 国神, who were worshipped at *kuni tsu yashiro*; they had no direct connections with the imperial family and nobility.

[53] Probably a local deity worshipped by the people of Namekata District as the tutelary or ancestor deity of the magistrate of the district.

[54] This seemingly superfluous piece of information was perhaps included because the tree was believed to harbor some supernatural spirit. Many natural features out of the ordinary as regards shape, size, or beauty were believed to be deities or to harbor them.

[55] *Saeki* 佐伯, another term for the aborigines, along with *emishi* 夷, *kuzu* 国巣, etc. *Saeki* could be derived from *saegiru* 遮る, 'to obstruct', referring to those who rebelled against the central government. Akimoto, p. 46.

[56] Emperor Keitai 継体, r. 507–531.

[57] That is, Japan.

person called Yahazu no Uji no Matachi 箭括氏麻多智[58] who cultivated new rice-fields by reclaiming and opening up swamp land in a valley west of the District Office. At this time Yatsu no Kami 夜刀神[59] would gather together and come to obstruct and hinder things in one way or another, not allowing the fields to be cultivated. The local people say that these are snakes called Yatsu no Kami. They have bodies of snakes and horns on their heads. If anyone should look at them when escaping to avoid disaster, his household will be ruined and he will have no heirs.[60] There are many of them in the fields around the District Office. And so Matachi became greatly enraged and put on armor, took his halberd, and killed them or drove them away. He went to the mountain entrance and erected marker-stakes in the trenches at the boundary.[61] He addressed the Yatsu no Kami, saying, 'The Gods shall be granted the land above this point and men shall make rice-fields below it. Henceforth I shall become a priest[62] and you will be venerated and worshipped for ever. I beseech you not to bring a curse upon me or bear a grudge against me.' He built a shrine and conducted the first service of veneration. He then opened up more than ten hectares of rice-fields. The descendants of Matachi succeeded generation after generation in their veneration, and this has continued to this day.

At a later time, during the reign of the emperor[63] who ruled under Heaven at the Great Palace of Toyosaki at Nagara in Naniwa, Mibu no Muraji Maro 壬生連麿[64] occupied the valley for the first time and had an embankment constructed for a pond. At this time the Yatsu no Kami gathered and climbed into a chinquapin tree on the bank of the pond and, although time passed, they did not leave. At this, Maro raised his voice and declared, 'This pond is maintained to provide for the people. What heavenly or earthly deities are you to disobey imperial authority?' Then he commanded his laborers,[65] saying, 'Exterminate everything you lay eyes on, all fish and insects, without fear or hesitation.' As soon as he had said this, the divine serpents took to flight and hid themselves. This pond is now called Shii Pond 椎井池 [Chinquapin Pond] and is surrounded by chinquapin trees. The pond is called a well because clear water gushes out of it. It is located on the post-road leading to Kashima on land.

[58] A name not found elsewhere. He could have been a local chieftain.

[59] The characters are sometimes read as Yato no Kami. The literal meaning could be 'deities of the valley', referring to snakes believed to have mystical powers. Akimoto, p. 55.

[60] There are similar stories in Chinese literature, for example, one about a two-headed snake written by Shin Shiuh 新序, in which a man is afraid he will die after seeing a snake. Y. C. Liu, ed., *Fifty Chinese Stories*, Lund Humphries, London, 1967, p. 56.

[61] These marker-stakes had the mystical property of delineating a boundary between the spiritual and temporal worlds. Starting points for the ascent of mountains often have shrines, the area above which is the dwelling of deities and not inhabited by people. Akimoto, p. 55.

[62] *Hafuri* 祝, a performer of Shinto ceremonies.

[63] Emperor Kōtoku. This was during the Taika Reforms, when much new land was being opened up for cultivation under the *handen* system.

[64] Mentioned above as one of the two men who established Namekata District.

[65] Commoners paid tax to the government in the form of food or labor, or both.

Four kilometers[66] south of the District Office is Otaka Village 男高里. In ancient times rebels called Otaka 小高 lived there and the place was named after them. The pond constructed during the time of Governor[67] Tagima no Maetsugimi 当麻大夫[68] is still located to the east of the road. In the mountains west of this pond there live many wild boars and monkeys, and vegetation grows thickly. To the south of the pond is Kujira Hill 鯨岡 [Whale Hill]. In ancient times a whale came here to lie on its belly and sleep. Kuriya Pond 栗家池 [Chestnut Pond] is in this area; its name is derived from the large chestnut trees here. To the north there is a shrine of a child of the God of Katori.

Asafu Village 麻生里: in ancient times hemp plants grew on the edges of the swamps here. They had the girth of large bamboo trees and were more than three meters tall.[69] In the mountains around the village there are growths of chinquapins, chestnut trees, zelkova trees, and oaks, and wild boars and monkeys live there. In the fields horses are bred for riding. During the reign of the emperor[70] who ruled under Heaven at the Great Palace of Kiyomihara 浄御原 in Asuka 飛鳥,[71] Takeru-be no Okoro no Mikoto 建部袁許呂命[72] of Ohofu Village 大生里 in the same district obtained a horse from these fields and presented it to the imperial court. It is called the Horse of Namekata. Some mistakenly say that it is the Horse of Ubaraki Village 茨城里.

Ten kilometers south of the District Office is Kasumi Village 香澄里. Legend has it that Emperor Ohotarashi Hiko 大足曰子天皇[73] climbed Tomi Hill 鳥見丘 at Inami 印波 in Shimo tsu Fusa Province 下総国. He walked about surveying the landscape and, turning to the east, he addressed his attendants, saying, 'The azure waves are tossed about in the sea and the vermilion mist hangs faintly over the ground. I descry this land from amidst them.' The people of this village therefore named this Kasumi Village 霞郷 [Mist Village]. In the mountains to the east there is a shrine where, in some places, there are dense growths of Chinese nettle trees, zelkova trees, camellias, chinquapin trees, common bamboo, arrow bamboo, and mountain sedge. In the sea to the west of this village there is a sand-bar called Niibari Sand Bar 新治洲. It is thus called because

[66] One *ri* 里 equalled 534.5m. Akimoto, p. 37.

[67] *Kuni no mikotomochi* 国宰, the governor of all Hitachi Province.

[68] According to Yoshino, p.41, he may have lived during the reigns of Emperor Tenji 天智, r. 662–671, and Emperor Temmu, r. 673–686. This clan name originated during the Yōmei era, 586–587.

[69] *Ichijō* 一丈. During the T'ang period, one *jō* equalled 3.11m.

[70] Emperor Temmu, r. 673–686.

[71] A town near Nara city.

[72] The Takeru-be clan served at the imperial court as soldiers, guarding the palace gates. The *be* were divided into three types: (1) hereditary corporations of professional artisans and craftsmen under the charge of the imperial family; (2) groups of commoners belonging to the imperial family and used as a source of revenue; and (3) groups of commoners belonging to noble families and used as a source of income and conscript labor. Philippi, pp. 468–469. The Takeru-be belonged to the second type and was named after Yamato Takeru no Mikoto.

[73] Emperor Keikō, r. 71–130.

anyone standing on the sand-bar and looking toward the distant north may see Mt Otsukuha 小筑波之岳[74] in Niibari District 新治郡. This name was given accordingly.

Five kilometers south of here [Kasumi Village] is Itaku Hamlet 板来村. It is located near the beach and there is a post-station here called Itaku Post-Station 板来駅. To the west there is a grove of nettle trees. It is the place to which Omi no Ohogimi 麻績王[75] was banished during the reign of the emperor of Kiyomihara 淨見原 in Asuka.[76] In the sea there is a plentiful supply of seaweed burned to produce salt, thick-haired codia, surf clams, spiral shellfish, and common clams. The elders say that during the reign of the emperor[77] who ruled over Oho Yashima 大八島 at Mizugaki Palace 瑞垣 in Shiki 斯貴,[78] Takekashima no Mikoto 建借間命 was dispatched to the frontier lands in the east to pacify the fierce rebels there. This was an ancestor of the Magistrate of Naka.[79] He led his troops on and subdued the rebels as he advanced. Stopping at Aba Island 安婆之島, he looked far to the east at the shore across the sea. On seeing smoke, his troops suspected that there were people there. Takekashima no Mikoto raised his eyes to Heaven and uttered an oath,[80] saying, 'If the smoke be from a celestial being,[81] may it come and spread over me. If the smoke be from an unruly rebel, may it go and scatter into the sea.'

When he had said this, the smoke drifted toward the sea, and so he knew that these were rebels. He commanded his attendants accordingly, and they had an early meal and crossed over. There were two aborigines here named Yasakashi 夜尺斯 and Yatsukushi 夜筑斯, who had made themselves leaders and had dug out caves and made strongholds in which they always dwelt. They were ever watching for government troops and would hide to protect themselves. When Takekashima no Mikoto sent his troops to rout the rebels, they all fled back to their strongholds, closing them off and defending themselves vigorously. Takekashima no Mikoto immediately devised a great plan. He selected warriors fearless of death and hid them in a gorge in the mountains. Weapons were prepared to destroy the rebels and displayed impressively on the beach. His boats were ranged and rafts were constructed. Silken canopies were

[74] That is, Mt Tsukuha.

[75] *Nihon Shoki* relates that in the Fourth Month, 675, 'Prince Womi [Omi] . . . was banished to Inaba. One of his children was banished to . . .Idzu [Izu], and another to . . . Chika.' Possibly Omi no Ohogimi was one of the above and was banished to Itaku again at a later time, or perhaps he was a relative of the above and was banished to Itaku owing to Prince Omi's crime. Aston, 2, p. 392.

[76] Emperor Temmu, r. 673–686.

[77] Emperor Sujin 崇神, r. 97–30 B.C.

[78] A part of the later Kawachi province near Nara.

[79] According to *Kojiki*, the Magistrate of Naka District was a descendant of Kamu Ya I Mimi no Mikoto 神八井耳命, who was a son of Emperor Jimmu. Philippi, p. 185.

[80] *Ukehi* 誓. A form of divination for discovering the Divine Will. In the presence of a group of people or a deity, the diviner specifies in advance what sign will reveal the deity's will.

[81] *Amehito* 天人, a person who has pledged allegiance to the imperial court, in contrast to the rebel clans. The term was also used to refer to descendants of the Sun Goddess. Akimoto, p. 59.

set flying like clouds and flags fluttered like rainbows. The Heavenly Bird-Harp and the Heavenly Bird-Flute[82] followed the approach of the waves and ran with the tide. For seven days and seven nights they played the melody of *Kishima no Utaburi* 杵嶋唱曲[83] and made merry, singing and dancing.

When the rebels heard the lively music, everyone, both men and women, came out and crowded onto the beach, laughing with joy. Takekashima no Mikoto sent his horsemen to close the strongholds, attacking them from behind, and the whole band was captured and burned to death together. The place where they are said to have met such a painful death at that time is now called Itaku Village 伊多久之郷 [Painful Village]; the place where they are said to have been slaughtered is now called Futsuna Hamlet 布都奈之村 [Slaughter Hamlet]; the place where they are said to have been cut down with ease is now called Yasukiri Village 安伐之里 [Easy-Kill Village]; the place where they are said to have been killed skillfully is now called Esaki Village 吉前之邑 [Skillfully-Kill Village].[84]

In the sea to the north of Itaku there is a sand-bar, about one or two kilometers in circumference. In spring the men and women of Kashima and Namekata all come here and gather common clams, surf clams, and other kinds of shellfish of various flavors.

Eight kilometers northeast of the District Office is the village of Tagima 当麻. The elders says that Emperor Yamato Takeru went on an expedition and as he passed through this village, a rebel named Torihiko 鳥曰子, who had revolted against the emperor, was put to death. When the emperor proceeded to his temporary palace[85] at Yakatano 屋形野, the road was too narrow for his carriage and the ground was rough. The name Tagima was given as it means 'bad road'. The vernacular term is *tagitagishi* 多支多支斯 [bumpy]. The soil of the fields is barren, but gromwells grow there. There are two shrines of the children of the gods [of Kashima and Katori]. The surrounding mountains and fields are thickly wooded with oaks, *hahaso* 柞,[86] chestnut trees, and brushwood. Many wild boars, monkeys, and wolves live here.

South of here is Kitsu Village 芸都里. In ancient times there were two aborigines here called Kitsuhiko 寸津毘古 and Kitsuhime 寸津毘売.[87] When Emperor Yamato Takeru visited this place, Kitsuhiko was disobedient, rebellious,

[82] *Ame no torigoto* 天之鳥琴 and *ame no toribue* 天之鳥笛. Akimoto, p. 60, suggests that 'Heavenly' may refer to the central clans, as in the term *ame tsu yashiro* 天社. 'Bird' may be derived from words such as *ame no toribune* 天鳥船, a bird-vehicle that conveyed Heavenly deities to earth. More plausibly, Yoshino, p. 41, suggests that while 'Heavenly Bird *koto*' and 'Heavenly Bird *fue*' indicate instruments that sound as beautiful as the bird of Heaven, here the source is the Izumo *utagaki* festival called *torinasohi* 鳥遊, or bird play.

[83] There is an example of this type of song in the section on Mt Kishima in the stray parts of *Hizen no Kuni Fudoki* 肥前国風土記: 'On Mt Kishima where hail falls, / Its sides so steep to climb, / I cannot hold the grass / But take my lover's hand.' Akimoto, pp. 60 & 515.

[84] The use of the characters 郷, 村, 里, and 邑 for 'village' and 'hamlet' is a device of the Chinese literary style here, and all should be regarded as having the same meaning.

[85] *Tobari no miya* 帳宮, literally, 'curtained palace'. This would probably be a kind of tent.

[86] *Quercus serrata*, a type of oak.

and disrespectful toward him. Thereupon the emperor drew his sword and promptly cut him down. Kitsuhime was overcome with fear and distress. Holding a white flag, she went to the road to meet him and made obeisance. The emperor took pity on her and in his good grace allowed her to remain living there. Then, when his palanquin was taken to the temporary palace in Onukino 小抜野, Kitsuhime brought her sisters, and in spite of wind and rain they faithfully served him with all their ability from morning to night. The emperor appreciated their courtesy and felt affection for them. This field was therefore named Uruhashi no Ono 宇流波斯之小野 [Small Field of Affection].

To the south of Kitsu Village is Ta Village 田里 [Rice-field Village]. During the time of Empress Dowager Okinaga Tarashi Hime 息長足日売皇后[88] there was a person here called Kotsu Hiko 古都比古 who had been three times to Korea,[89] and rice-fields were conferred upon him for his meritorious deeds.[90] This is how the name of Ta Village came about. There is also the field of Hazumu 波須武 [Bow-Tip]. When Emperor Yamato Takeru camped at this field he repaired the ends of his bow. This is how the name of the field came about. At the seashore north of this field there is a shrine of a child of the God of Kashima. The soil here is poor, and oaks, *hahaso*, elms, and bamboo grow in one or two places.

To the south are the villages of Afuka 相鹿里 [Meeting Place] and Ohofu 大生里 [Large Growth]. The elders say that Emperor Yamato Takeru stayed at Okazaki Palace 丘前宮 in Afuka. At this time an august kitchen was constructed on the shore, and a bridge was made by tying barges together for communication to and from the imperial residence. The hamlet of Ohofu was named with the meaning of 'august cooking' [*ohohi* 大炊].[91] Also the hamlet of Afuka was so named because the Imperial Consort Oho Tachibana Hime 大橘比売命,[92] came down from Yamato 倭 to this place to meet the emperor.

(The section on Namekata District is not abridged.)

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[87] The former is a man, the latter a woman. Villages were often headed by both a man and a woman, the woman being a shamaness who carried out the most important religious functions, and the man, often one of her relatives, performed the civil functions. This system was called *himehiko-sei* 姫彦政.

[88] Empress Dowager Jingū 神功皇后, r. 200–269. According to *Nihon Shoki*, she ruled as regent for sixty-nine years after the death of her husband, Emperor Chūai 仲哀, r. 192–200. It was during her reign that the campaigns against the kingdoms of Korea were waged.

[89] 韓国. *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* record only one expedition in the war against the Korean kingdoms. *Hitachi Fudoki* implies that in fact the war lasted much longer. Perhaps this is because the versions in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* have been changed into a more mythical form in which concrete details have been omitted. Akimoto, p. 63.

[90] Rice-fields were leased to certain people as a reward for services rendered to the country. This was the so-called *kōden* 功田 system.

[91] That is, the name of the hamlet is derived from the cooking-house of Yamato Takeru.

[92] In *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, she is referred to as Oto Tachibana Hime no Mikoto 弟橘比売命 and is said to die before Yamato Takeru reaches Hitachi. She may in fact be the sister of Oto Tachibana Hime no Mikoto, but there is no reason why *Hitachi Fudoki* should be in agreement with *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*.

## Kashima District 香島郡

To the east is the ocean, to the south is the river outlet of Aze 安是, which is on the border of Shimo tsu Fusa and Hitachi, to the west is the gulf, and to the north lies the river outlet of Atakana 阿多可奈, which is on the border of Naka and Kashima.

The elders say that in the year of the Wood-Junior-Cock[93] [649], during the reign of the emperor who ruled under Heaven at the Great Palace of Toyosaki at Nagara in Naniwa,[94] Nakatomi no ( ) Ko 中臣( )子,[95] who was of the nineteenth rank,[96] and Nakatomi Be no Unoko 中臣部兎子,[97] who was of the twenty-first rank,[98] both petitioned Takamuko no Maetsugimi,[99] one of the two Goverors General [of Azuma]. They then established the separate district of the god [of Kashima][100] by taking one village from the south of Karuno 軽野 in the domain of the Magistrate of Unakami 海上[101] in Shimo tsu Fusa Province, and five villages from north of Samuta 寒田 in the domain of the Magistrate of Naka. The shrines situated there are Ame no Ohokami Shrine 天之大神社,[102] Sakato Shrine 坂戸社, and Numao Shrine 沼尾社, and all three are collectively referred to as the shrines of the Great God of Kashima. The district was named accordingly. The local people say, 'Kashima—the land where it hails.'[103]

[93] *Ki no to tori* 乙酉.

[94] Emperor Kōtoku.

[95] The first character of his given name has been obliterated. Nakatomi no Kamako 中臣鎌子 (Fujiwara Kamatari), 614–669, founder of the Fujiwara clan, has been suggested, but this is surely impossible as he was much higher than the nineteenth rank and, besides, he was certainly not stationed in Hitachi at the time.

[96] *Dai otsu no kamitsushina* 大乙上.

[97] A member of a *be* of the third type, as explained in n. 72, above. This *be* was originally in the service of the Nakatomi clan.

[98] *Dai otsu no shimotsushina* 大乙下.

[99] In the Introduction, he and Nakatomi no Hatorida no Maetsugimi are referred to as Governors General of Azuma.

[100] That is, the district containing the *kamube* 神戸 (shrine households) attached to Kashima Shrine.

[101] According to *Kojiki*, the Magistrate of Unakami was descended from Ame no Hohi no Mikoto 天菩日命, as was the Magistrate of Izumo. After the Taika Reforms the domain of Upper Unakami became a district. Philippi, p. 78.

[102] Literally, the shrine of the Great Heavenly Deity. This is the shrine of the God of Kashima, while the following two are branch shrines. The name of the deity is not mentioned here, but he is known as Take Mikazuchi no Kami 建御雷神, tutelary deity of the Fujiwara clan. Futsu Nushi no Kami, who is closely associated with him, is mentioned in the section on Shida District, and it is likely that the two deities were originally regarded as one. As a tutelary shrine of the Fujiwara clan, Kashima Shrine was quite important, and it is not surprising that Fujiwara Umakai, one of the authors, should make considerable reference to it.

[103] *Arare furu Kashima no kuni* 霰零香島之国. *Arare furu* is an epithetic prefix suggestive of the name Kashima, perhaps because the name has a similar sound to *kashimashi* 喧し (noisy, clamorous), which is the sound of hail. But more likely it is an adaptation of the epithet for the place name Kishima 杵島, which is *arare furu Kishima ga take* (Mt Kishima, where it hails). Akimoto, pp. 65 & 515.

Before the separation of the heavens and the earth, when pure and impure things were massed together,[104] the Heavenly Ancestor Deities The vernacular words are Kamirumi 賀味留弥 and Kamirugi 賀味留岐[105] convened a meeting of the eight million deities[106] in Takama no Hara 高天之原.[107] The Heavenly Ancestor Deities addressed them, saying, 'Toyo Ashiwara no Mizuho no Kuni 豊葦原水穂之国,[108] where our august descendants[109] shall reign.' The name of the great deity who descended from Takama no Hara is Kashima no Ame no Ohokami 香島天之大神. In Heaven his shrines are called Hi no Kashima no Miya 日香島之宮, and on earth they are called Toyo Kashima no Miya 豊香島之宮.[110] The local people say that when at first Toyo Ashiwara no Mizuho no Kuni was entrusted,[111] the unruly deities as well as the rocks on the ground, the standing trees, and even the single blades of grass uttered words, during the day making clamorous noise like flies in summer, and at night making the land bright as flames. For this reason the great deity was sent down from Heaven to subjugate the land.[112]

At a later time, during the reign of Emperor Mimaki 美麻貴天皇,[113] the first to rule the land, the offerings presented to the deity were ten large swords, two halberds, two iron bows, two iron arrows, four quivers, one sheet of iron, one

[104] A similar passage is found in *Nihon Shoki* referring to the beginnings of heaven and earth: 'The purer and clearer parts were thinly drawn out and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became earth.' Aston, 1, p. 2.

[105] Literally meaning 'female deity' and 'male deity' (*ru* is the possessive particle). The term is found in *norito* prayers and the two deities are probably Taka Mi Musubi no Kami 高皇彦霊神 and Amaterasu Oho Mi Kami, as *Kojiki* states that it was they who convened the assembly. According to *Nihon Shoki*, on the other hand, only the former deity convened the assembly. Aston, 1, p. 64; Philippi, pp. 120–21.

[106] The number eight was considered auspicious and should not be taken literally. Here the meaning may be translated more loosely as 'many millions of deities'.

[107] The High Plain of Heaven, a term found in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*.

[108] Philippi, p. 614, translates this as Land of the Plentiful Reed Plains and of the Fresh Rice-ears, that is, Japan.

[109] These descendants were firstly Ninigi no Mikoto 瓊々杵尊 and his godly descendants, and then the imperial clan beginning with Jimmu, his descendant in the fourth generation.

[110] Akimoto, p. 66, suggests that these are the names at the court and in the local regions respectively. Perhaps *hi* (sun) is suggestive of Amaterasu Oho Mi Kami, and therefore of the ancestors of the imperial line; also *toyo* may be meant to suggest the fertility of the land.

[111] Entrusted to Masa Katsu A Katsu Kachi Haya Hi Ame no Oshi Ho Mimi no Mikoto 正勝吾勝々速日天忍穂耳命. According to Philippi, pp. 137 & 513, this name probably means Correct Victory I Am Victorious Victory Rapid Sun Vigorous Force Heavenly Great Rice Ears Ruler Deity. This was the son of Amaterasu and Susa no O. In both *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* he is the deity chosen to descend to land to rule, although he later appoints his son Ninigi no Mikoto as his substitute.

[112] There is a similar passage in *Nihon Shoki*: 'But in that land there were numerous deities which shone with a lustre like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which buzzed like flies. There were also trees and herbs all of which could speak. . . .' Aston, 1, p. 64. There is no similar passage in *Kojiki*, which gives further reason to believe that the various *fudoki* and *Nihon Shoki* are related.

[113] Emperor Sujin, r. 97–30 B.C. Many modern scholars believe him to have been the first emperor, rather than Jimmu, r. 660–585 B.C. *Kojiki* refers to Sujin, rather than Jimmu, as 'the emperor who first ruled the land'. On the other hand, *Nihon Shoki* refers to them both in this way. Perhaps the compilers of *Nihon Shoki* tried to boost the prestige of the imperial line and thus gave more force to the myth of Jimmu. There are many accounts of Sujin initiating various social and political systems, but little about the eight previous emperors. Sujin is believed to have ruled in the late third or early fourth century A.D.

piece of tempered iron, one horse, one saddle, two *yata* 八絲 mirrors,[114] and one set of rough silk cloth of five colors. The local people say that during the reign of Emperor Mimaki there was a deity[115] on the top of Mt Ohosaka 大坂山[116] who, dressed in a finely woven white garment and carrying a halberd as a staff, pronounced in revelation, 'If you worship me, I shall grant you lands to rule over, be they large or small.' Then the emperor summoned eighty tribal chiefs and had them inquire into this matter. Oho Nakatomi no Kamu Kikikatsu no Mikoto 大中臣神聞勝命[117] replied, saying, 'This is the revelation of the great heavenly deity residing in Kashima who has subjugated the land of Oho Yashima[118] so that you may rule over it.' When the emperor heard this he was struck with awe and wonder, and made the above-mentioned offerings to the shrine of the deity.

There are sixty-five shrine households [for this shrine].[119] Originally there were eight, but fifty households were added during the reign of the emperor of Naniwa,[120] and nine more were added during the reign of the emperor of Kiyomihara 清見原 in Asuka 飛鳥,[121] making a total of sixty-seven households. In the year of the Metal-Senior-Tiger[122] [690], the number of households was decreased by two and established at sixty-five. During the reign of the emperor of Ohotsu 大津 in Afumi 淡海,[123] an official was dispatched [to Hitachi] for the first time to build a shrine to the deity. Since that time it has been reconstructed continually.[124]

In the Seventh Month of every year a ship is built and offered to Tsu Shrine

[114] Philippi, p. 63, translates this as 'large-dimensioned'; others translate it as 'eight-sided'.

[115] *Mikoto* 命, a title of extreme dignity applied to some important human figures, such as Kamu Yamato Iwarehiko no Mikoto (Emperor Jimmu), and to some deities, such as Ninigi no Mikoto. The title is derived from *mikoto-mochi* 御言持ち (Holder of the Word), meaning 'one who understands the words of the deities'. The early emperors not only held the highest political position, but they or their female partners were also the supreme shamans.

[116] A mountain between Yamato and Kawachi provinces. According to *Kojiki*, the court of Emperor Sujin made offerings to the deities of this mountain. Philippi, p. 202.

[117] The ancestor of the Oho Nakatomi clan. His name means 'one who is adept at interpreting the meaning of the deities'.

[118] That is, Japan.

[119] *Kamube* 神戸. In the eighth century important shrines received rice-fields from the government and these were called *shinden* 神田. The households that worked this land were called *kamube*, and the tax they paid on the land was used to maintain the shrine. The number of households assigned to Kashima Shrine seems inordinately large, for *Izumo Fudoki* records that Izumo Shrine had only seven *kamube*. But as the number of households was increased from eight to fifty during the Taika Reforms of Emperor Kōtoku, r. 645–654, this may have been an attempt to increase the prestige of the central government, as Kashima Shrine was an *ama tsu yashiro* 天社 (celestial shrine), while Izumo Shrine was only a *kuni tsu yashiro* 国社 (terrestrial shrine). Aoki, p. 80.

[120] Emperor Kōtoku.

[121] Emperor Temmu, 673–686.

[122] *Ka no e tora* 庚寅.

[123] Emperor Tenji, r. 662–671.

[124] According to *Engi Shiki*: 'Whenever there is damage to a provincial shrine it must be repaired, except for the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Settsu, the Katori Shrine in Shimōsa and Kashima Shrine in Hitachi, whose main sanctuaries are to be rebuilt once every 20 years. . . .' Felicia Bock, tr., *Engi-Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era, Books I-V*, MN Monograph 36, 1970 , p. 117.

津宮.[125] The elders say that during the reign of Emperor Yamato Takeru the Great Heavenly Deity addressed Nakatomi no Ohosayama no Mikoto 中臣巨狭山命,[126] saying, 'Now you shall prepare a ship and offer it to me.' Ohosayama no Mikoto replied, 'I humbly accept your gracious command. I would never presume to disobey you.' On the following morning the Great Heavenly Deity addressed him again, saying, 'Your ship is at sea.' The owner of the ship then searched for it and it was on a hill. Again, the deity said, 'Your ship is lying on a hill.' The owner of the ship searched for it and it was again put to sea. After this had happened two or three times he became apprehensive and built three new ships, each one of more than six meters in length, and offered them to the deity for the first time.

Also, on the 10th day of the Fourth Month of every year a festival is held and *sake* is drunk. The men and women of the Urabe clan 卜氏[127] gather together and make merry with drinking, singing, and dancing all through the day and all through the night. They sing:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Arasaka no* | Our great and glorious god |
| *kami no misake o* | His wine they bid me drink— |
| *tage to* | Is this the reason why |
| *ihikeba kamo yo* | I am overcome |
| *wa ga wehi ni kemu* | With drunkenness? |

The shrine of the deity is surrounded by the homes of the Urabe clan. The area is high and rugged, and it faces the sea both to the east and west. The peaks and valleys are like the fangs of a dog, thrusting their way into villages and hamlets. The trees of the mountains and the grasses of the fields stand like a natural fence around an inner garden, and the rivers flowing through the valleys and the springs on the bluffs both morning and night provide water for drawing. When a building is raised on a mountain the pines and bamboos protect the area around its fence, and when a well is dug in the heart of a valley the cliffs are coverd with ivies and vines. On passing through the hamlets in spring a person finds gay and brilliant flowers blooming upon the hundreds of grasses. When he passes along the roads in autumn the thousands of

[125] Akimoto, p. 69, says that this is a subshrine of Kashima Shrine. Here the god seems to be a sea deity. It would seem that, as Yoshino, p. 42, suggests, the god of Kashima Shrine was originally worshipped as such, but when he became the tutelary god of the Nakatomi clan he came to be worshipped as a god of war, representing the spread of Yamato culture. So it is possible that the Tsu Shrine maintained its former characteristics owing to its being less important than Kashima Shrine.

[126] The ancestor of the Nakatomi-Kashima clan 中臣香島氏. In some records 巨 is recorded as *omi* 臣, but according to *Shōji Roku* 姓氏録 and *Arakida Keizu* 荒木田系図, the character should be 巨 or 大. Akimoto, p. 69.

[127] The diviners' corporation. Here it is a clan whose members served at the shrine as officials, playing a complementary role to that of the Nakatomi clan. Eventually the Urabe clan became regarded as a sub-clan of the Nakatomi with a common ancestor, Ame no Koyane no Mikoto 天児屋命.

trees are adorned with a mosaic of colored leaves. We may say that this is a secluded world of supernatural beings[128] and a place where powerful spirits are born. Beauty is in such great abundance here that it cannot all be recorded in detail.

To the south of Kashima Shrine is the District Office, and to the north is Numao Pond 沼尾池. The elders say that during the Age of the Gods[129] water flowed down from Heaven and formed a pond here. The lotus roots growing in it have a unique taste, far surpassing in flavor those of other places. If an ailing person eats the lotus of this pond, there is always a speedy recovery. The pond abounds in roach and carp. It was formerly the site of the District Office. Many mandarin orange trees are planted and their fruit tastes delicious.

One or two kilometers south of the District Office is Takamatsu Beach 高松浜. Sand and shells brought up from the ocean have piled up to form high hills on which pine trees grow naturally and are interspersed with chinquapin trees and oak trees, looking like a mountain woodland. To the southeast there is a spring under the pines. It is about fourteen or fifteen meters in circumference, and its superb water flows forth clear and abundant.

In Kyōumu 1 [704] Provincial Governor Uneme no Asomi 采女朝臣[130] took the blacksmith Sabi no Ohomaro 佐備大麻呂[131] and others to Wakamatsu Beach 若松浜 to obtain iron[-sand] and make swords from it. South of here for more than sixteen kilometers between Karuno Village 経野里 and Wakamatsu Beach the entire area is pine-covered mountains, where *matsuhodo* 伏苓[132] and *nearu-matsuhodo* 伏神[133] are dug out every year. Wakamatsu Bay is at Aze River-mouth 安是湖, which is the border between the two provinces of Hitachi and Shimo tsu Fusa. The iron-sand it produces is extremely good for making swords. But because of the sacred mountains of Kashima, it is not easy to enter in order to fell the trees and dig the iron-sand.

Ten kilometers south of the District Office is Hama Village 浜里. Among the pine-covered mountains to its east there is a large lake called Samuta 寒田. It is about two or three kilometers in circumference and has carp and roach living in it; its water provides a little irrigation for some rice-fields of the two villages

[128] *Shinsen* 神仙, a being neither godly nor human, such as a fairy or goblin.

[129] *Kamiyo* 神世, the period preceding the reign of the first emperor, Jimmu, r. 660–585 B.C.

[130] According to *Shoku Nihongi*, a man of this name was promoted in the First Month, 704, from Lower Inferior Fifth Rank to Upper Inferior Fifth. If he is the man mentioned here, then he probably took up his post in this year. This system of court ranks (*ikaisei* 位階制), was inaugurated in 702 and is not found in *Hitachi Fudoki*, where the earlier *kan'i* system is used extensively.

[131] *Sabi* is a small sword or plow. Here it is probably a clan name, although it is not found elsewhere. It may appear unusual that an unimportant person's name should be recorded here, but as he was probably still living when *Hitachi Fudoki* was compiled, he was likely considered a sufficiently important local person to be recorded.

[132] Pachyma hoelen, or *bukuryō* 茯苓 in modern Japanese, is a fungus growing on the roots of pine trees and is used in Chinese medicine. In *Engi Shiki*, it is among the various medicines sent annually as tribute from Hitachi Province to the court. Akimoto, p. 71.

[133] The *matsuhodo* plant with its roots.

of Shima 之万 and Karuno. To the east of Karuno there is a large ship that was washed ashore on the ocean beach. It is more than forty-seven meters long and three meters wide. Although it is rotten and disintegrating and buried in the sand, it still remains to this day. It is said that during the reign of the emperor of Afumi,[134] a shipbuilder of Iwaki 石城[135] in Michi no Oku Province 陸奥国 was commanded to build a large ship for an expedition to explore the land, but when the ship reached here it ran aground on the shore and broke up.

To the south is the plain of pine trees called Unawi 童子女.[136] In ancient times there were young people with long, flowing hair.[137] The vernacular words are *kami no otoko* 加味乃乎止古 and *kami no otome* 加味乃乎止売.[138] The boy was called Naka no Samuta no Iratsuko 那賀寒田之郎子[139] and the girl was called Unakami no Aze no Iratsume 海上安是之嬬子.[140] They were both attractive in appearance and the pride of the towns and villages. When they heard of each other they lost all prudence in their desire to meet. The days and the months passed by and then by chance they met at a gathering for dancing and singing. The vernacular words are *utagaki* 宇太我岐[141] or *kagahi* 加我毘.[142] Iratsuko sang:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iyazeru no* | On the small pine |
| *aze no komatsu ni* | Of remarkable[143] Aze |
| *yufushi dete* | They hang the cotton cloth.[144] |
| *wa o furi miyu mo* | I see waving to me |
| *aze koshima wamo* | The small isle of Aze.[145] |

[134] Emperor Tenji, r. 662–671.

[135] At this time a district in the large Michi no Oku Province, consisting of present-day Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefectures. It later became a province (written 磐城国) consisting of about the eastern half of Fukushima Prefecture.

[136] According to Akimoto, p. 72, this is a corruption of *unahe*, beach.

[137] 年少僮子. At this time it was usual for priests and priestesses to have unbraided long hair in a style called *unawigami* 髫髪.

[138] 'Man of the deity and woman of the deity'. It was common to employ young people as priests and priestesses at shrines, as they were regarded as pure in both mind and body. *Engi Shiki* records: 'At all times, to fill the position of Sacred Maidens of Igazuri, they take female children of age 7 or over from the *uji* of Local Chieftains outside the Capital. . . . At all times, for diviner's assistants they take male children of age 7 or over who do divining. . . .' Bock, p. 116.

[139] As seen above, Samuta was originally in Naka District.

[140] As seen above, Aze was originally in Unakami District.

[141] A festival where men and women make merry, dancing and singing. It is a time when marriage partners are chosen and betrothals declared. In the section on Tsukuha District in *Hitachi Fudoki*, we read: 'When the flowers are blossoming in spring and the autumn leaves are turning gold, the men and women of the various provinces east of [Mt Ashigara] Pass flock to the mountain with food and drink. They climb up . . . and they make merry, singing and dancing. . . . The local people say that if a girl receives no gift as a wedding proposal at this gathering on Mt Tsukuha she will not be accepted as a woman.' Akimoto, pp. 41–43.

[142] The term is found in *Man'yōshū*, #1759: 'On Mt Tsukuha where eagles dwell . . . / Maidens and men, in troops assembling, / Hold a *kagai*, vying in poetry; / I will seek company with others' wives, / Let others woo my own. . . .' Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, tr., *The Manyōshū*, Columbia U.P., 1965, p. 3.

[143] *Iyazeru* 伊夜是留, an epithet prefixed to Aze, meaning unclear. According to Akimoto, p.

In reply Iratsume sang:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ushio ni wa* | You said to stand there |
| *tatamu to iedo* | At the approach of the tide. |
| *nase no ko ga* | Though eighty isles may hide me, |
| *yaso shima gakuri* | When you espy me |
| *wa o mi sabashiri* | You will come running.[146] |

They longed to speak together but, being afraid of people knowing of this, they avoided the place of the *utagaki* 遊 and hid under the pines; there, holding hands and sitting knee to knee, they spoke of their affection and gave vent to their sad indignation.[147] The affliction of their long yearning was now cast aside and their blissful joy blossomed anew. It was the season when the dew-drops settle on the tree-tops and when the golden breezes blow.[148] The cries of cranes are heard on the western isles where the Judas-moon[149] shines resplendently, and the migrating wild geese pass over the eastern mountains where the wind blows murmuring through the pines. In the silent mountains ancient springs flow from rocks, and a lonely, whispy mist appears anew at night. In the nearby mountains are seen the shades of the haply falling golden leaves in the forests, and from the distant sea is heard only the sound of azure waves breaking on the shore. Here there was no greater joy possible than was theirs this evening. Surrendering themselves to the taste of sweet converse, they quite forgot the breaking of dawn. Suddenly a cock crowed, a dog barked, the sky brightened, and the day dawned. The young couple knew not what to do and, feeling shame at their discovery, turned into pine trees. Iratsuko was called the Namimatsu 奈美松[150] and Iratsume was called the Kotsumatsu 古津松.[151] These names were given long ago and they remain unchanged to this day.

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73, possibly a corruption of *iyashiruku*, 'bright', often found as an epithet with *aku*, 'to dawn'. *Iyazeru* has been affixed to Aze because of their similarity in sound.

[144] Probably *gohei* 御幣, paper or cloth strips used in Shinto shrines to indicate that an area is sanctified.

[145] The general meaning of the poem is: 'You are like the white cloth on a pine from Aze, seeming to beckon to me, my love of Aze.'

[146] The general meaning: 'You asked me to wait for you on the beach at high tide. Although many people may conceal me from your view, I know you will come running to greet me when you see me.'

[147] As the *utagaki* were a time of general sexual licence, it seems out of place that the two wish to conceal their love. Perhaps the myth could be a combination of two myths. The two, being in the service of a deity, were breaking a taboo against sexual contact, and also they were pine-tree spirits visiting the scene of the *utagaki*. Yoshino, p. 44.

[148] Here, 'golden' refers to autumn.

[149] It was believed that a judas tree grew on the moon.

[150] According to Akimoto, p. 75, *nami* means 'do not look', being perhaps the name of the tree under taboo, and that looking at or touching it was to be avoided. Yoshino, p. 44, explains that *nami* means 並み (in a row). It is possible that these two pines standing together were the center of the area where the *utagaki* was held.

[151] According to Akimoto, p. 75, *kotsu* means 'rubbish' and that this was because the tree could not be used owing to its being under the same taboo as above. Yoshino, p. 44, explains that Kotsumatsu means *kotsumatsu* 児つ松 (child pine).

Fifteen kilometers north of the District Office is Shirotori Village 白鳥里. The elders say that during the reign of Emperor Ikume 伊久米[152] white birds flew down from Heaven and turned into maidens. In the evening they would ascend to Heaven, and in the morning they would descend again. They gathered stones to build a pond, but they spent days and months in vain to construct the embankment as it collapsed every time it was built. The maidens sang:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Shirotori no* | The white birds' wings |
| *ha ga tsutsumi o* | Build the embankment, |
| *tsutsumu to mo* | But their spotted wings |
| *arafu mashiroki* | So pure and white |
| *ha koe*[153] | Are broken and crushed. |

Singing this, they ascended to Heaven, never to return, and so the place is called Shirotori Village.

(The rest is omitted.)

To the south is a plain called Tsuno-ore Beach 角折浜 [Broken-Horn Beach]. It is said that in ancient times there was a large snake that, wishing to gain passage to the sea in the east, made a hole by digging in the beach. The snake broke its horns[154] and they fell off. This name was therefore given to the place. Some say that Emperor Yamato Takeru camped at this beach and there was no water available during his meal. So they produced a deer's horn and dug the ground with it, but it broke. This is how the place got its name.

(The rest is omitted.)

[152] Emperor Suinin 垂仁, r. 29 B.C.-A.D. 70.

[153] Meaning unclear because some characters of this *tanka* have been obliterated. The translation follows Akimoto's interpretation. Oyamada Tomokiyo has tentatively provided the extra syllables to make this poem: 'The white birds' rocks / Build the embankment, / But when washed with water / It sadly crumbles. / The white birds.' Akimoto, p. 77.

[154] Another myth concerning snakes with horns is that of Yatsu no Kami in the section on Namekata District, p. 17, above.