

PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION

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Only significant errors of English in the translation have been corrected—the content will be checked against the original Japanese for accuracy at a later date.

The Legend of a Noble Adrift: A Legend from the Kumano Region and the Structure of Its Mentality

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Many legends and folk tales have been passed down to this day in the Kumano region of southern Mie prefecture. Upon request of the Institute of Shinto Studies of Kogakkan University, the author conducted research on the legends and folk tales of the Kumano region from 2005 to 2006. Its research result was organized as the index of legends and folk tales and was published in *Kōgakkan ronsō*. As a result, it was understood that most of the legends and folk tales passed down in Kumano fall into a general narrative type of legends and folk tales.¹

Many legends from Kumano have been handed down by all generations such as *hana no iwaya* of Izanami included in the *Nihonshoki*, a legend of Emperor Jinmu included in both the *Nihonshoki* and *Kojiki* (when these two texts are mentioned together, they are referred to as the *Kiki*), and a legend of the medieval era, Oguri Hangan. Why have so many legends remained in Kumano? This research was a consideration of this question, especially two compelling legends: Jofuku and Emperor Jinmu found in Hadasu-machi and Kijima-machi of Kumano city. These two are very popular legends with long histories. Why have these legends been mainly handed down in Kumano? The time interval between the ancient mythologies or legends and those passed down to the present is very large. Therefore, due to the limit of methodology, we should be very careful to interpret myths and legends of the past through the current tradition. And yet, comparison between the myths and legends kept in the classical literature and what have been passed down from generation to generation in Kumano to this day suggests a certain common thread in both. However, such commonality is fundamentally different from factuality of events such as Jofuku's visit and Emperor Jinmu's expedition to the east. The factuality of those events cannot be proved by the legends that have remained. What kind of commonality recognized in these legends is? This essays examines the resemblance of the structure of deep consciousness that shapes the legends and systemizes them.

The author thinks that such structure of consciousness is embedded in legends. It has influenced legends throughout ages and has been expressed in the form of the legends of Jofuku and Emperor Jinmu. With this idea in mind, this article explores the structure of consciousness through analyzing the legends of Jofuku and Emperor Jinmu mainly passed down to Sudasu and Kijima of Kumano city. The result of this analysis and exploration will be meaningful for examining the legend of Emperor Jinmu documented in the *Kiki*. Considering such study of the *Kiki*, this article presents the author's tentative theory, which develops based on the structure of consciousness embedded in the legends of Kumano.

First, the contents of the legends of Emperor Jinmu and Jofuku documented in the classics are

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overviewed, from which some basic questions to examine in this essay are clarified.

Emperor Jinmu A (the *Kojiki* vol.2, *Shinchō Nihon kotenshūsei*)

When Kamiyamatoiwahiko no mikoto [Emperor Jinmu] arrived at the village of Kumano, a large bear appeared. So, he immediately pretended to be dead. Also, his army did the same and put their body down on the earth.

Emperor Jinmu B (the *Nihonshoki*, vol.3, *Shōgakukan shinpen nihon koten bungakuzenshū*)

The Emperor arrived at the village of Kami of Kumano. Here he embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and leading his army, proceeded onwards by slow degree. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind, and the Imperial vessel was tossed about. Then Ina-hi no Mikoto exclaimed and said:-“Alas! my ancestors were Heavenly Deities, and my mother was a Goddess of the Sea. Why do they harass me by land, and why moreover do they harass by sea?” When he had said this, he drew his sword and plunged into the sea, where he became changed into the God Sabi-mochi. Mike Irino no Mikoto, also indignant at this, said:-“My mother and my aunt are both Sea-Goddesses: why do they raise great billows to overwhelm us?” So treading upon the waves, he went to the Eternal Land. The Emperor was now alone with the Imperial Prince Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto. Leading his army forward, he arrived at Port Arazaka [Arasakatsu] in Kumano, where he put to death the Tohe of Nishiki. At this time the Gods belched up a poisonous vapor, from which everyone suffered. For this reason the Imperial army was again unable to exert itself. (One year prior to the imperial enthronement, June) [English citation: *Nihongi* vol.1, W. G. Aston: 114-115]

The description about Emperor Jinmu’s arrival in Kumano in the *Kojiki* is simple; thus, the useful information about this essay is little. However, one noteworthy thing is that the large bear appeared and the Emperor did “oe.” “Oe” means that he was in the condition of suspended animation. In other words, Emperor Jinmu was in a temporal state of apparent death. This is noted here. On the other hand, the *Nihonshoki* contains detailed information, which is summed as follows:

- (1) The Emperor arrived at the village of Kami of Kumano, embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and lead his army onwards.
- (2) In the sea, they met with a violent wind, and the Imperial vessel was tossed about.
- (3) In the storm, Ina-hi no Mikoto plunged into the sea, where he became changed into the God Sabi-mochi. Mike Irino no Mikoto treaded upon the waves and went to the Eternal Land.
- (4) After this, Emperor Jinmu led his army forward with the Imperial Prince Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto and arrived at Arasakatsu (Nishiki no ura) in Kumano.
- (5) There the Emperor put to death the Tohe of Nishiki, but due the Gods’s poisonous vapour, the Emperor and his army ended up dong “oe.”

What we should pay attention to here is that before arriving at Arazakatsu (Nishiki no ura), the Emperor and his party encountered a wind storm and drifted. From the viewpoint of the context of the story, this episode can be understood as one of the trials to overcome for Emperor Jinmu in order to be enthroned as the first emperor. However, from the viewpoint of the legend of Kumano,

there seems to be a different meaning. This will be examined in detail later. Next, the author would like to pay attention to the fact that both Ina-hi no Mikoto and Mike Irino no Mikoto plunged into the sea. Lastly, we should not miss that the Emperor and his party did “oe.” The fact that the two of *Kiki* narrate a state of suspended animation would be because this has much to do with the following narrative about the sword brought by Takakuraji; however, like the narrative about drift on the sea, from the viewpoint of the legend of Kumano, this seems to have another meaning.

The contents of the legend of Jofuku is overviewed. This legend was already documented as old as in the *Taiheiki* vol. 26 “a slander of a monk and servant of the shogun Naoyoshi Ashikakaga and a matter of the first Qin emperor,” a Buddhist text *Sangokudenki*, vol.1 “the first Qin emperor sought the elixir of life.” However, in those texts, the legend of the arrival in Kumano is not found. The appearance of the legend of Kumano began to be found after the Edo period. Jofuku A “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō,” *Kumano hayatama Taisha komonjo kokiroku* (Osaka: Seibundō, 1971):

According to the *Goreigenhongī* about Jofuku, in November of the 72nd year of the emperor Kōrei’s era, the ship from Qin arrived in Chikushi. When the ship encountered the violent wind on the sea, it arrived in Kumano.

As for “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō,” according to a commentary of *Kumano hayatama Taisha komonjo kokiroku*, it is the compilation of old documents on the origin of Kumano Sanzan (three major shrines of Kumano) by someone named Takano and was completed in July 1721 (year 6 of the Kyouhou era). The legend of Jofuku found in this text is a citation from the *Goreigenhongī* written prior to “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō.” It can be thought that the legend that Jofuku landed on Kumano was formed already at least around the Kyōhō era. Also, “Saiyūki” of Nankei Tachibana’s *Tōzaiyūki* (Zokuhen vol.3, Yūhōdōbunko), which was completed during 1795-1798 (7-10 years of the Kansei era) states:

The place where Jofuku left his boat and landed on for the first time is the village called Hadasuas far as 67 ri from Shinguu. According to elders of this village, Jofuku arrived by his boat at Yaganoiso of Hadasu on the last day of the year and lived around there for a while. Then, he moved to somewhere near Three Shrines of Kumano to live.

This tells us that the legend that Jofuku had landed on Hadasu existed during the Kansei era. Although these texts do not provide much information about the legend of Jofuku, according to “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō,” saying, “after drifting on the sea, we arrived at the beach of Kumano,” it can be thought that after they drifted on the sea, they must have arrived at Kumano. Also, “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō” states that Jofuku “always respects the deities,” while the *Tōzaiyūki* states that “the offspring of Jofuku became leading figures of Kumano and continued to flourish. These show that Jofuku was quite respected in Kumano. One further point of the *Tōzaiyūki* that elderly people passes down the story that Jofuku arrived on the last day of the year is very suggestive when we think about how Jofuku was respected in that place.

Thus, the contents of the legends of Emperor Jinmu and Jofuku, which are recorded in the written texts including the *Kiki*, “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō,” and *Tōzaiyūki*, have been examined. These are very different legends but there is resemblance or common thread in terms of key events of the story line.

(A) Emperor Jinmu, Jofuku, and their parties came beyond the sea. (This is commonly found in the *Kiki* and “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō.”)

- (B) These parties encountered a violent wind on the sea and after drifting, they landed on Kumano. Commonly found in the *Nihonshoki* and “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō.”)
- (C) The main characters either die or get in a state of suspended animation at a place where they landed. (Commonly found in the *Kiki*. Note that although this is not included in “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō,” but “Kumano sōsō yurai zōshūshō” has a premise that Jofuku passed away in Kumano.)

These features are also found more less in the legends of Emperor Jinmu and Jofuku which have been passed down in present day Kumano. In short, these are the main core of the two legends which have been handed down by all generations. With this in mind, let us examine further the contents of these two legends existent today that the author conducted research on. The object to examine here are five different kinds of the legends which the author selected from *Kūi Kumano-shi no minzoku* vol.12 in order to investigate the legends and folk tales of Kumano.

Hadasu chou, Kumano city

- I Hadasu, the story about the place name (the legend of Jofuku)
- II Jofuku no miya, the story about the place name (the legend of Jofuku)
- III Kamadokoro, the story about the place name (the legend of Jofuku)

Nikijimachō, Kumano city

- IV Tōjinzuka, the origin of tsuka (the legend of Chen Yun)
- V Okagmibama, the origin of the place name (the legend of Emperor Jinmu)

These four among five fall into the legend about the origin of a place name; however, from a different perspective, these four are also about the legend that both Jofuku and Emperor Jinmu arrived in Kumano. Also, for IV, the legend of Tōjinzuka can be understood as a variation of the legend of Jofuku in terms of the contents. The author would like to point out that whether it is the legend of Jofuku or Emperor Jinmu, these are basically the legends about a stranger who came to Kumano from somewhere outside Kumano. In this respect, these legends are fundamentally identical. Moreover, those strangers are the retainer of the first Qin emperor and the Japanese first emperor. In short, the main characters of these legends are all strangers as well as nobles. This is the most important commonality of these legends when we think about the structure of consciousness deeply embedded in those legends. (These main characters are called “nobles” when they are referred to as a whole.) In my view, this commonality specifies the framework of the entire legend. In other words, these legends, despite different main characters, have been shaped by the support of the similar structure of consciousness in essential. While being aware of the commonality between the legends of Jofuku and Emperor Jinmu, let us further examine each of the five legends and clarify some considerations.

Jofuku I

Because Jofuku from Qin came to Hadasu and lived here, it is called “hata-sumi (Qin-live),” which later changed to Hadasu and remained as it is to this day. (*Kūi Kumano-shi no minzoku sōgō minzoku chōsa hōkokusho* 12, March 1981).

According to this, the place name of Hadasu is the variation of the word “hatasumi,” which means

that Jofuku came to this place and settled down. In Hadasu, a stone monument regarded as Jofuku's tomb and a small shrine where Jofuku is enshrined remain to this day. A component to be extracted from this legend is only that "Jofuku came to Hadasu and lived here;" however, the fact that "Jofuku's tomb" has been preserved in this place implicitly means that Jofuku passed away in this place.

Jofuku II

In old times, a man named Jofuku from Qin was ordered by the first Qin emperor to search for an elixir of life, and a dozen of ships set sail; however, they encountered a violent wind and had a tough time. Soon, only Jofuku's ship drifted to Yaga. At that time, there were only three houses in Hadasu, and three figures Yohachi, Fumikichi, and Saburobei ran to help them. However, a crew was foreigners and did not understand Japanese. They built a temporary house nearby and took care of them by taking turn. Jofuku began to making potteries and to teach pottery to those three. Thus, this place came to be called *kamadokoro* or *kamayashiki* (Ibid.).

It is Jofuku III that contains almost the same content with this latter half.

Jofuku III

A fishing village of Hadasu, Kumano is a port to which Jofuku from Qin drifted seeking the elixir of life. Because Jofuku set up a pottery furnace 2 chō far toward east from there and began to teach pottery to villagers, this place came to be called *kamadokoro* or *kamayashiki* (Ibid.).

In this version, the names of three villagers Yohachi, Fumikichi, and Saburobei appearing in "Jofuku no miya" are not found but recorded just as villagers. Yet the point that Jofuku drifted ashore on Hadasu is common. These is the legend of Jofuku passed down to Hadasu, while "IV Toujinzuka" contains the content which can be thought to be a variation of the legend of Jofuku.

4th legend: *Tōjinzuka*, the origin of *tsuka* (the legend of Chen Yun) IV

In old times, by the order of the Qin first emperor, the ship of Chen Yun who set sail to search for the elixir of life which was believed to exist in Japan, drifted ashore on Nigishima. It is said that he passed away on this land and that what is called *tōjinzuka* is the tomb which was built for the repose of his soul.
(Ibid.)

This narrative has no name of Jofuku and is about Chen Yun. About a man called Chen Yun, it is not recorded in the Shiki which contains the legend of Jofuku; thus, it is uncertain how the name of Chen Yun has been passed down. However, the main structure of this legend is that the figure drifted to Japan seeking the elixir of life during the period of the Qin first emperor. This can be regarded as a variation of the legend of Jofuku. Therefore, this legend is included in the group of the legend of Jofuku.

The important common elements of these four versions of the legend are summed up:

- (i) Nobles from abroad (Jofuku and Chen Yun) came to Japan over the sea.
- (ii) The ship which the nobles were on board encountered a violent wind, was adrift, and went ashore at Kumano.
- (iii) A noble passed away at that place and was buried there.

Versions 1 and 2 lack the information of (iii); however, from the presence of the tomb and the shrine, it can be thought that both versions implicitly contain the content of burying. Next, the legend V which has been passed down to Nigishima, “Ogamibama” about the legend of Emperor Jinmu.

5th legend: Jinmu V

In old times, when Emperor Jinmu headed to Yamato, he went ashore at Nigishimasato. At that time, all villagers came to the beach and worshiped Emperor Jinmu; thus, this beach began to be called *ogamibama* (worship-beach). (Ibid.)

From this source, further information other than Emperor Jinmu’s arrival in Kumano and the villagers’ respect for him is not available. In terms of the quantity of information, it is as little as the *Kojiki*. There is another source of information which shows the existence of the legend which contains more details about the same episode. It is about the origin of the Muroko shrine which exists in Nigishima to this day, and (*Mie ken jinja shi* vol. 4, Mie ken shinshokukai, October 1926) contains the detailed description about it. Upon reading it, we understand that the origin of the shrine itself is one legend about Emperor Jinmu:

Origin 1

During Emperor Jinmu’s expedition to the east, his ship was sailing in the sea of Kumano. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind, and both Ina-hi no Mikoto and Mike Irino no Mikoto plunged into the sea and passed away. The wind and waves became calm, and the ship kept sailing in order to search for the two deities. Local villagers mistook the ship for a prey and approached to the ship. They found out that it was a warship. They were afraid and tried to get back, but the Emperor called the villagers back and said that the two deities plunged into the sea during the wind storm and that they could not find their bodies. The villagers were commanded to look for the bodies together and did their best to find them. After the villagers got the bodies and loaded on the ship, they went ashore with the imperial ship at the beach and buried the bodies on the land. The imperial ship left to the east. Since then, the villagers worshiped the imperial mausoleum as their guardian deity and fixed the dates of a festival (May 5 and November 2) (snip) Although there is no written source about this, this story has been passed down since the old times.

This Muroko shrine is located in Murozaki, the western side of Nigishima bay and enshrines Emperor Jinmu’s elder brother Inahi no mikoto who became the deity Sabimochikami after jumping into the sea to commit suicide. Also, in Agosaki, the opposite side of the bay, Akoshi shrine is located where Mike iri no mikoto is enshrined, who is believed to tread upon the waves and go to the Eternal Land.

Nigishimasato-chō, which is narrated that Emperor Jinmu came ashore at in the legend of *ogamibama* of Jinmu V, is situated deep within Nigishima bay.

Also, there are rocky areas called Tategasaki and Senjōjiki at the tip of Agosaki cape where Akoshi shrine is located, and another legend narrates that Senjoujiki is the place of Emperor Jinmu's landing. In other words, the legends about Emperor Jinmu are found in the entire area.

The origin of the Muroko shrine provides some interesting matters. First, main events of the origin are summarized as follows:

- (1) During Emperor Jinmu's expedition to the east, in the midst of the sea of Kumano, they suddenly met with a violent wind.
- (2) After both Inahi no Mikoto and Mike Irino no Mikoto's suicide by jumping into the sea, the wind became calm, and the imperial ship kept sailing.
- (3) Local villagers, who saw it, mistook the ship for a prey, but found out it a warship and tried to get back.
- (4) Emperor Jinmu called them back and commanded them to look for the bodies of Inahi no Mikoto and Mike Irino no Mikoto.
- (5) The villagers worked hard and found the bodies. They went ashore with the imperial ship at the beach and buried the bodies on the land.
- (6) The imperial ship left to the east.
- (7) Since then, the villagers worshiped the imperial mausoleum as their guardian deity and fixed May 5 and November 2 as the dates of a festival.
- (8) Although there is no written source about it, the story has been passed down since the old times.

Many elements here are not included in the *Kiki*, and it is apparent that these elements were newly added to the original story in later ages. This should be noted, but it is possible to extract the meaningful information to this article, which can be organized as follows:

- (a) The imperial ship encountered the violent wind.
- (b) Emperor Jinmu landed with local villagers.
- (c) Both Inahi no Mikoto and Mike Irino no Mikoto were buried on this land and received respect from local villagers.

Among these, (c) is not found in the *Nihonshoki*, and in this respect, it is not impossible to say that this is a fabrication. The question is why such legend was newly produced. A noteworthy thing is that a similar legend to this has been passed down, in the form of the origin of the *Jirōmyōjin* shrine, to Mikiura-chou of Owase city separated by only a bay from Nigishima. The first part of the legend is an adaptation of the *Nihonshoki* and has no value as the primary source. However, the second half of it should be noted:

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When the ship was about to pass Shingū, the sea suddenly raged, and the ship was about to sink. The second son Miki irinu and the third son Inabi lamented, "Our mother and aunt are both Sea-Goddesses. Yet, why do they make us suffer?" (snip) They jumped into the furious sea one after another. It is said that the second son Miki irinu's body was washed ashore on the beach of Mikiura while the third son Inabi's body was washed ashore on the beach of Mikisato. Since then, Miki irinu was enshrined in Mikiura while Inabi was enshrined in Mikisato as the guardian deity of either village. The shrine in Mikiura began to be called Jiroumyoujin shrine as the second son Miki irinu was enshrined there. (*Mie higashi kishū no minwa*, Masahiro Konishi, May 1999).

These narratives indicate that although it is not known when, but something like that might have been actually happened that two princes, who jumped into the sea to commit suicide, were buried in a proper way and became the object of worship. If that is the case, the legend regarding the two princes should contain something meaningful to be narrated. While bearing this in mind, when we look at the points of importance of the legends, which have been examined, there seems to a common feature.

The points of importance are organized in the form of a chart, based on which the basic structure of the aforementioned legends and its essence are further investigated. (In the chart, ○ signifies inclusion; × signifies exclusion; Δ signifies that it is not narrated as the content, but implicitly included.) Based on this chart, the features of these legends are examined for each classification item.

	JofukuII	Jofuku III	Chen Yun● IV	JinmuV	Origin ①
1 Main character	Jofuku	Jofuku	Chen Yun●	Jinmu	Jinmu
2 shipwreck	○	×	○	×	○
3 Arrival at Kumano	○	○	○	○	○
4 Arriver's death (suspended animation)	Δ	Δ	○	×	○
5 worship/burial	○	Δ	○	○	○

Regarding a main character as the classification item 1, if a proper noun is discarded, all main characters are commonly noble strangers who came from outside. From a viewpoint of the study on mythologies and legends, all of these legends hold a same structure. Next, the classification item 2 is not narrated in Version A: The legend of Emperor Jinmu of the *Kojiki*, Jofuku II, Jofuku III, and Jinmu V. This should be kept in mind; however, Jofuku A contains the phrase suggesting that he and his party experienced the furious sea. Therefore, it can be thought that this legend implicitly includes the event of shipwreck or drifting. Also, Jinmu B of the *Nihonshoki*, Jofuku II, Chen Yun IV, origin 1 explicitly narrate the drifting due to the violent wind. Considering these, the classification item 2 is also an important element. Needless to say, as these legends are centered in Kumano, the arrival in Kumano as the classification 3 is common in all of the legends.

Thus, despite a small issue of the item 2, contents of the items 1 through 3 almost completely correspond to each other. This has been pointed out in the case of each legend in this essay, but its commonality is apparent upon taking an overview of the entire legends. A basic feature of the legend of Jofuku and Emperor Jinmu can be summarized as follows:

Basic structure 1: The essential feature of these legends is that nobles of foreign countries encounter a violent wind on the sea and arrived in Kumano.

The next question is how we should understand the classification items four and five, which are the arriver's death (or apparent death) and worship/burial. As there are some differences in terms of the contents of these items, it is important how to interpret them. We would like to carefully examine them. Let us begin with the item 4. Each legend corresponds to each other in terms of the fact that death or apparent death is narrated; however, the concrete content of each greatly differs from that of each legend. First, in legends of Jinmu A and B, it is Emperor Jinmu and his party that are in a state of apparent death. On the other hand, in the case of the legend Jinmu V, the Emperor's death or suspended animation is not found at all. Similarly, whereas origin 1 includes an incident that both Inahi no mikoto and Mikeiri no mikoto were drowned, Emperor Jinmu himself did not confront death. Similarly, Inahi no mikoto and Mikeiri no mikoto are not narrated relating to Kumano in Jinmu A and B. Such difference is also recognized in terms of worship/burial, the classification item five. While the ancient legend of Emperor Jinmu does not narrate the burial of the dead and worship after that, new legends rather explicitly narrate it. Thus, regarding the legend of Emperor Jinmu, there is a huge gap between the ancient legend of the *Kiki* and the new ones. Let us explore this issue by examining the legend of Jofuku.

When we regard the legends of Jofuku A, I, II, III, and Jofuku's variation Chen YunIV as one group, if implicit element is included, the awareness about the arriver's death, worship toward the dead, and prayer for their repose is clearly recognized in the entire group. Specifically, Chen YunIV contains the elements of all classification items, which possibly indicates the most basic structure of the legend of Jofuku. If this is relevant, the legend of Jofuku basically consists of the following structure:

- (I) A noble from oversea
- (II) Encountered a violent wind and reached ashore in Kumano
- (III) A noble passed away in Kumano
- (IV) Local villagers of Kumano buried a noble and had a memorial service for the repose

The features of the legend of Jofuku emerge from the combination of this structure and the aforementioned basic structure one. Apparently, the essence of the legend of Jofuku is the narrative of a noble's wreck and the repose of his soul.

As for the prior scholarly opinion, Masao Shimada pointed out that a view that a tomb called Jofuku' in Shingū city is regarded as a tomb of a foreigner, who had arrived in Kumano, due to the drift or something else has long existed in the Kumano region. He strictly criticized such a view. Furthermore, Shimada examined the route of transmission of the legend of Jofuku from his own unique viewpoint and discussed a possibility that the nobilities, who accompanied an emperor's visit to Kumano, tried to identify Kumano as the Enchanted Land by their knowledge of concepts of Taoist immortality. However, his argument is very subjective lacking validity: "There is a worldly element typical to Japanese folk tales in respect of adding a human-like tomb to the story. To characterize Jofuku as a superhuman indicates the feeling of the nobilities of the Heian period." I cannot help but say that his argument is not at all persuasive. At present, the legend of Jofuku cannot trace back any further than the early modern times in terms of literal sources; thus, there is no proof that the nobles accompanying the emperor's visit to Kumano brought the legend of Jofuku to Kumano. Similarly, the legends of Jofuku, which have remained in Hadasu and Nigishima, do not indicate any trace of the concepts of Taoist immortality.

In the first place, in the case of examining the formation and development of this kind of legend whose literal sources are scarce, nonetheless, it should be carefully investigated. Therefore, a useful method for this type of study is to do research on similar legends extensively, to extract the common structure embedded in them, and to explore such consciousness that shapes and supports those legends. This essay adapts this method and attempts to examine the common structure in question. Considering the result, the very view that Shimada criticized as a popular version of Kumano contains the certain truth. In short, it can be imagined that the legend of Jofuku found in Kumano is the story, which symbolically achieved a legendary status, of many foreigners' death due to wreck. If that is the case, the link between this type of legend from Kumano and the concepts of Taoist immortality is in fact secondary.

Outside the bay of Hadasu and Nigishima, there is Kumano-nada Sea where the Black current washes ashore. Agozaki cape, which Emperor Jinmu is believed to have landed at, is the place where a chain of desolate mountains called three thousand six hundred ridges stretches to cliffs of Kumano-nada Sea. It is easily imagined that there must have been many victims of a shipwreck not only during a season of typhoon but also throughout four seasons. Some victims who were drowned in the sea were washed ashore while some were narrowly saved. However, those who had a narrow escape from death could not return to their home and must have lived their life here. Local people of Kumano must have been witnessing these victims more than a thousand years. In the deep layer of memory extracted from the legend of Jofuku, an afterimage of the scene, which local people kept seeing, exists. The formation of this legend needs to be overviewed from the side of Kumano again. We should understand that many incidents of shipwreck, which were witnessed by local people of Kumano, have been passed down as the afterimage of the people's memory, and that such afterimage shaped a conciseness to produce the legend.

From this viewpoint, we can understand the difference between the ancient and new versions of the legend of Emperor Jinmu, which is the topic to be examined next. Moreover, the author thinks that the aforementioned memory of shipwreck was not enough to produce the legends. In order for the memory to achieve a legendary status, there must be another factor which triggered the formation of legendary. Such factor should be linked to certain faith practiced in Kumano. This essay ends with this exploration.

Let us begin with the legend of Emperor Jinmu. In reference to the organization of Jofuku I-IV, the differences between the ancient and new versions are organized as follows:

	Jinmu A	Jinmu B	Jinmu V	Origin ①
I	○	○	○	○
II	×	○	×	○
III	○ (Jinmu's suspended animation)	○ (Jinmu's suspended animation)	×	○ (two princes were drowned)
IV	×	×	×	○

A way in which the legend of Emperor Jinmu of the *Kiki* was formed is a theme to be examined in future; however, no description about what happened after the death of Inahi no mikoto and Mike iri no mikoto can be understood as lack of the legend. In other words, the legend of the *Kiki* without development of a story that a noble's body was buried and prayed for the repose of his soul seems to go nowhere as the legend from the viewpoint of the side of Kumano. It can be viewed that such a legend is incomplete without a conclusion. In a word, would not it be the case that such a sense of going nowhere produced a new development such as the origin of the Muroko shrine?

Recently, Sakurai Haruo made an interesting study on a relationship between “Nigishima festival” held by the Muroko and Akoshi shrines and the legend of Emperor Jinmu. He discusses the process of the rediscovery of the legend of Jinmu in the festival of Nigishima from the standpoint of the festival and points out:

It can be understood that such an origin that is orally transmitted and narrated in particular was not formed as a forced or casual explanation but was formed as an explanation after selection of important matters in relation to the structure and symbolic nature of the festival. Tradition of the festival of Nigishima was introduced as the historical proof for Emperor Jinmu's expedition to the East; however, the narrated content is something deep embedded in the festival, and the question is how to explore this narrative.

This approach to grasp the meaning of selection of the legend of Jinmu in the context of the Nigishima festival in relation to the structure and symbolic nature of the festival is useful to this essay. If we examine the issue of selecting tradition from the viewpoint of this essay, i.e., the study of mythologies and folk tales, cannot a new development in the form of the origin of the Muroko shrine be understood as so-called rebound or swinging back in response to the sense of being incomplete found in the legend of the *Kiki*? The reason why such a new development took place is because the structure of consciousness about the legend of shipwreck of Kumano effects on the legend. The author presents this as a hypothesis to continue to be explored. A question of why repeated events such as foreigners' shipwreck and arrival were incorporated into the consciousness that produced the legend is explored here.

It can be thought that in the depth of consciousness from which a legend, not a mere event, is established, a factor to integrate the event into the legend exists in both sides of fact and legend. What is the factor of the side of legend in order for the accident of shipwreck to achieve a legendary status? Its clue is embedded in the legend. Let us pay attention again to Nankei Tachibana's *Tōzaiyūki*:

The place where Jofuku left his boat and landed on for the first time is the village called Hadasu as far as 67 *ri* from Shingū. According to elders of this village, Jofuku arrived by his boat at Yaganoiso of Hadasu on the last day of the year and lived around there for a while. Then, he moved to somewhere near Three Shrines of Kumano to live.

We should not overlook a description that Jofuku arrived by his boat on the last day of December. The story of a stranger's visit on the last day of December, i.e., the last day of the year is, needless to say, a motif found in the theme of “*Ōtoshi no kyaku* (a visitor of *Ōtoshi*)” of folktales. Regarding “*Ōtoshi no kyaku*,” one folktale was collected in a mountain village Ikuseichō of Kumano city. This motif that to welcome a guest who visits on the last day of the year brings wealth to a host is often found in similar legends in one form or another. The legend of *Kōbōdaishi* is one such

As mentioned before, while exploring this structure, we should also consider the issue of *fudaraku-tokai* as the matter of faith in Kumano. When the entire features of the view of the next world on the sea including *fudaraku-tokai*, the structure of consciousness in relation to the legend and faith in Kumano will be clarified further.

If the hypothetical approach of this essay is valid, it is potentially influential upon the study on Emperor Jinmu's expedition to the east in the *Kiki*. At least, from the viewpoint of Kumano, the legend that the Emperor landed at Kumano suggests greatly different aspects from what the prior scholarly works on the *Kiki* have revealed. There would be many aspects to be explored. The author, who has experienced the depth of Kumano through this research, thinks that it is necessary to examine again the legend of Emperor Jinmu from the perspective of Kumano.

Notes

1. Hashimoto Masayuki, "Kumano chihō no densetsu minwa kenkyū josetsu oyobi sakuin," *Kōgakkan ronsō* 40, no.4 (August 2007).
2. Regarding the identification of "arasakatsu," there are the following theories, and there is no commonly accepted one.
 - (a) The theory of Nigishima (*Nishikiurakō* by Moto'ori Uchito'o)
 - (b) The theory of Taikichō (*Kojikiden* by Moto'ori Norinaga)
 - (c) The theory of Hamano miya, Shingū city (*Nihonshoki tsūshō* by Tanikawa Kotosuga)This essay does not investigate these theories to identify relevant one. What this essay attempts to explore is a question of why such legend has been formed, namely, the consciousness of the side of Kumano.
3. The cited source titled *Ki'i kumano shi no minzoku* is the compiled research result of fieldwork conducted between 1979 and 1981 by a society for the folklore study of Ōtani University under the guidance of Shigeru Gorai. This essay owes much to the result of this report.
4. Shimada Masao, "Jofuku denshō seiritsu no kiban," in *Kumano* (Tenri: Tenrijihōsha, 1957). Reprint (Tokyo: Geirinsha, 1974).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Sakurai Haruo, "Katarareru saishi no yurai to shinwa denshō," *Shinwa shōchō bunka* (Tokyo: Rakurōshoin, 2005).
8. Ibid.
9. Hashimoto, "Kumano chihō no densetsu minwa kenkyū josetsu oyobi sakuin."
10. Hashimoto, "Kumano chihō no densetsu minwa kenkyū josetsu oyobi sakuin."
11. Gorai Shigeru, *Kumano mōde* (Tokyo: Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko, 2003). The first edition (Kyoto: Tankōshinsha, 1967).

Additional remarks

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