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The Deity and Wind of Ise

Abstract

The Deity Wind spread anciently and widely; contrary to our common assumption, it is not unique to Japan. A component in the cosmic bulk of monsoon-deities, the Deity Wind is an analogue of the pneumatic attribute of West Asian storm gods. Thus, like the gales of West Asian god Enlil, the Deity Wind intervenes as a storm to bring its worshippers victory in historical battles. For example, victors in both medieval Japan and fifth-century BC Greece similarly interpreted an assisting meteorological event as divine interposition by their Deity Wind. In the Japanese case, the Wind is attributed to the nominal sun goddess, who likely originated as a monsoon deity. As benign as destructive, the spirit-rich Deity Wind also blows mantling chaff off the grain, cleansing it—and does likewise for the human spirit. Origins of the Japanese Deity Wind can be sought in the ancient Austroasiatic south. But when Wa groups ancestral to the Japanese migrated into the northern archipelago to set up their city-state-like kingdoms, they found the typhoons and the monsoonal flows there significantly different and less imposing than in their continental homeland. Accordingly, the Deity Wind lost its dominance in their lives, especially after a universal empire settled over the archipelago.

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THE JAPANESE GODDESS Ama-terasu seems little more than a personification of the sun. Her contending brother, Susa no Wo, goes without a stated function, although many think of him as a storm deity. But evidence linking both to the broader concept of a monsoon deity does exist.

The monsoon deity concept is clearly illustrated in the Andaman Islands, the archipelago dividing the Sea of Bengal from the Andaman Sea. There, two contending deities, Biliku and Tarai, personify the seasonally opposed monsoon winds residing at opposite ends of the world. The goddess Biliku dominates the god Tarai: her season is one of violent cyclonic storms, storms that she brings forth (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 148–49, 151–52, 354, 364). She is the one who controls the sun, and the one who troubled the world by withholding the sun; she punishes ritual offenses by bringing on wind and storms (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 152, 156, 198, 203, 206, 213–16, 357–60, 372). Yet she brings food abundance (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 371). Yet she is a *heilbringer* (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 371). Above all, she is the principal active (non-otiose) deity of the pantheon.

The first evidence linking Ama-terasu to the monsoon is a certain local wind of the San'in 山陰 region in western Japan. The folklorist Yanagita Kunio reports that this wind was known in dialects of San'in as *Ise chi*, or “wind of Ise” (YANAGITA 1950, s.v. “Kaze no na”). In the various dialects of the region *chi*, *shi*, and their allophone *ji* have the meaning of “wind,” so *Ise chi* literally means “Ise Wind”; but since “wind” also signifies all of “afflation,” “life-essence,” “spirit,” and “divine spirit,” the meaning must be a cosmic one (MATSUMURA 1955, vol. III, 546–47; cf. DEBLIEU 1998, 22, 13–14). The *Ise chi* was said to blow from the southeast quarter, which is very roughly in the direction of Ise, a sub-unit of modern Mie Prefecture. It was opposed by a northwest wind, which in the same dialects was named *tama-kaze* or *an-ji*, suggesting at first that the *Ise chi* was merely the usual southeast monsoon wind occupying blowy Japan during the summer months. On closer scrutiny, however, *Ise chi* takes on a special meaning when we see that,

though widely separated, the two regions San'in and Ise are linked in terms of religious geography.

The archaic Izumo Taisha 出雲大社, or Grand Temples of Izumo Province, historically have presided over the San'in region, with which Susa no Wo is associated. Among all the Shinto temples of Japan they have always been next in importance to the first-ranking Ise Dai-jingū 伊勢大神宮, or Grand Temples of Ise, where the spirits of Ama-terasu are enshrined. These two temple complexes can be considered components in a many-faceted pair of opposites: life versus death; sunny *elysion* across the eastern sea versus western entrance to the gloomy underworld; sun in splendor versus sun in eclipse; sun-shining versus sun-hiding; sunrise versus sunset; sunrise versus cloud-rise; and so forth (see AOKI 1971, 51).

Even the province name Izumo (or Ide-gumo 出雲) suggests the dichotomy. Nowadays Izumo is a sub-unit of Shimane Prefecture, but before the medieval period it was an autonomous province in its own right. An early etymology for the name of the province appears in the *Izumo fudo-ki* 出雲風土記, an eighth century gazetteer, which attributes the name's origin to a line of poetry: "Ya kumo tatsu" (八雲立), meaning "abundant clouds arise"—the inverse symbol of that divine vivifier, the issuant sun (UEHARA 1960, 308; YAKU 1969, 93–98; KATŌ 1974, 1).¹ The name's cultural-geographic implication has already been noted:

Izumo is geographically located on the north side of the present Chūgoku region facing the Japan Sea and is climatically rather damp and cloudy the year round. It is interesting to note that today the north side of the Chūgoku region where Izumo is located is called San'in 山陰, meaning literally "the shadow side of the mountain[s]," and the south side of the Chūgoku region is called San'yō 山陽, literally "the bright side of the mountain[s]." (UEHARA 1960, 309)

A mythic symbol, rising clouds were not exclusively associated with the place; they appear also, for instance, in the dirge poems of the *Koji-ki* 古事記 and *Nihon Sho-ki* 日本書記, where they again connote a mortuary meaning. Still, clouds dominate the western region of San'in, and without doubt they suited the early cultural and religious perspective.

The wind is a different matter. In San'in the wind blowing from the Ise direction has no unusual force or frequency of occurrence. Yet according to Yanagita the San'in tradition implies this to be an uncommonly strong wind that always zips along a flyway leading from Ise. The incongruity between physical reality and cultural emphasis indicates that *Ise chi*, rather than as a term designating a strictly natural phenomenon, should be understood as a

metaphor expressing some symbolic meaning.

So what might this meaning be? Historically the sun temples of Ise have been the most prominent religious feature in the cultural landscape of Ise Province (Ise, too, was long ago an autonomous province); the *Ise chi* of the San'in region, through a series of symbolic associations, ought to refer to those temples. If so, then the *Ise chi* becomes a factor in the religious geography, linking Ise and Izumo, not to mention the various symbols of light and darkness. Insofar as these symbols take their basis in the sun-hiding myth, the Ise Wind, too, locks into that myth as yet another symbol in the multiplex worldview of the early Japanese. It is worth noting that the Ise-Izumo axis, though oriented about ten degrees differently in direction, is nonetheless remindful of the axis running between Eleusis and Delphi in Greece.

EVIDENCE IN THE *JINMU-KI* (CHRONICLES OF EMPEROR JINMU)

The *Ise chi* is but a version of the *Kamu Kaze* 神風.² The name “*Kamu Kaze*” often appears as a *makura kotoba* 枕言葉 (“pillow word,” or stock epithet) by which thoughts of Ise Province and its symbolisms are aroused in early Japanese literature. The usual English translation of the term is “divine wind.” But this translation implies wrongly that the wind is an instrument of the deity rather than the deity herself; I adopt what grammatically is the correct translation: “Deity Wind.”

The earliest known use of the term harks back to a legendary and romantic age. Its first appearance in the *Nihon Sho-ki* dates to the imaginary year *tsuchinoe-uma* 戊午, winter, tenth month, first day. On this day Emperor Jinmu 神武, in a song, likened his warriors to the periwinkles that creep about the great rocks “of the sea of Ise of the *Kamu Kaze*.” In this song, which also appears in the *Koji-ki*, though under somewhat changed circumstances, the Ise Wind associates with the idea of military strength. Jinmu allegedly composed the song while on one of the campaigns of his great Eastern Expedition (the Jinmu Tōsei 神武東征). His warriors (the “periwinkles”) were to vanquish the foe by mustering the strength of the great oceanic (i.e., otherworldly) rocks, which, standing offshore, were spiritually charged by the *Kamu Kaze*.

Now, if we assume the Ise region to be associated via the *Kamu Kaze* with military strength and that it is particularly sacred to Ama-terasu, and if, further, Ama-terasu is to be identified with that Ise Wind, then we might expect the sun goddess herself to exhibit some military qualities. Our expectation is not disappointed: she exhibits such qualities in the “Covenant” (*Ukehi*, [modern reading, *Ukei*]) myth of both universal chronicles, the *Koji-ki* and *Nihon Sho-ki* (PHILIPPI 1969, 76–78; ASTON 1956, vol I, 102–111).

This myth relates that when Ama-terasu's birthright seems threatened by her obstreperous brother, Susa no Wo, she dights herself in the array of the princely warrior, with a bracer and quivers crammed with arrows; the *Nihon Sho-ki* adds swords to her weaponry. Then looking for all the world like the West Asian goddess Ishtar, she rushes out to join issue with her brother, stamping her feet, anchoring them deeply in the heavenly soil, brandishing her bow, and valiantly bellowing her challenge.³ Thus she does indeed have a military aspect, even apart from her role as the Deity Wind.

The data from the *Jinmu-ki*, buttressed by data from the "Covenant" myth, throw into high relief the Deity Wind's military character.

The military character is really a complement of the deity's more benign aspect. For archaic Japanese, as for peoples elsewhere, notions of fertility, abundance, and strength were all bound into a single idolum. The symbolic representation of military strength, apparent both in Ama-terasu's radiant aspect as the sun goddess and in her pneumatic aspect as the Deity Wind, naturally manifests this idolum. Ama-terasu never belonged with the generations of otiose deities; she ranked above all else a deity of immediate soteriological function. That is, she bestowed not only abundance over the field, but also the protecting strength and deliverance of her worshippers, for as anyone knows, it is seldom sufficient just to grow crops: the crops need defending withal.⁴

EVIDENCE IN THE *SUININ-KI* (CHRONICLES OF EMPEROR SUININ)

Further along (Suinin 垂仁 25.3.10), the *Nihon Sho-ki* presents the traditional account of founding the Ise Temples. Though its dating is faulty, the account is straightforward and describes the event as we should expect it to have happened: Ama-terasu gave an oracle to the legendary priestess Yamato Hime 倭姫, specifying a place on the eastern coast of Kii Peninsula, in Ise, for the construction of her permanent sanctuary. In the oracle, the deity used the expression, "This land of Ise of the Kamu Kaze...", which again implies a strong association of the place with the Wind, even though the latter appears only as a stock epithet.

For the present purpose the following facts are relevant: (1) Ama-terasu's sanctuary has always, as far as we can tell, symbolically stood in direct opposition to the main sanctuary of the Izumo complex. (2) Her sanctuary has stood for long in the part of Ise where the beautiful and ragged coast faces northeast. (3) Her sanctuary does not quite overlook the Pacific Ocean, whence arrives the prevailing wind of the summer monsoon season; by contrast, the Izumo Temples do not quite overlook the Japan Sea, whence arrives the prevailing wind of the winter monsoon season. (4) The texts associate the Deity Wind with Ise. (5) A fairly large percentage of the typhoons

reaching Japanese soil do so via Ise Bay, which today is nicknamed “Typhoon Alley.” (6) The Deity Wind associates with Tokoyo, the Japanese *elysion*.

THE DEITY WIND IN THE *JINGŪ-KI* (CHRONICLES OF EMPRESS JINGŪ)

The next mention of the Deity Wind in the *Nihon Sho-ki* comes under the reign of the Dowager Empress, Jingū 神功, first year, and here again it appears as a *makura kotoba*, or stock epithet, referring to the province of Ise.

The emperor had recently died, and the empress, acting herself as a spirit medium, invoked the deities who had guided her husband in the discharge of his duties. She erected an abstinence palace and brought in ritual assistants. The deities were invited with music and offerings, and after seven days and seven nights came the response in a series of divine utterances via the possessed empress. The first of these is as follows.

I am the deity who dwells in the split-belled Isuzu Temples in many-fabled Watarahi District in Deity-Winded Ise Province; my name is Tsuki-sakaki-itsu-no-mitama-ama-sakaru-muka tsu hime no mikoto.

There are several *makura kotoba* in the utterance: “split belled” is the epithet for the Ise Temples, “many-fabled” (which might more freely be rendered as “deep-traditioned” or “[land of] legend”) is the epithet for the sub-provincial unit *watarahi* (modern reading, *watarai*), and “Deity Wind,” as we already know, refers to the province. We have little doubt that the deity in question is Ama-terasu.

Thus again Ama-terasu, Ise, and the Deity Wind conjoin, and a pattern snaps into focus. Wherever there is the Deity Wind there are also Ise and Ama-terasu. So far the Wind has always appeared static, a mere epithet for Ise, reflecting the legendary nature of the passages in which it appears. Now, however, toward the beginning of the Japanese classical era, the conjunction of goddess, Ise, and Wind emerges into history, the Wind becoming a dynamic aspect of the goddess. And now a fourth and a fifth element are added to the pattern: a seasonal meteorological event and a historical battle. The numinous power in nature becomes a formative power in history.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FROM THE JINSHIN PERIOD

The same theophanic Wind blew out of the Ise Temples in the year of Jinshin (672), during the *Jinshin no nairan* 壬申の内乱, or Jinshin War—a war over the right of succession to the throne (KITAYAMA 1978). According to the near-contemporary lyrics of Japan’s first major poet, Hitomaro, it beclouded the sun, assisting the rebel forces of the pretender to the throne, Prince

Ōama-bito 大海人, who went on to ascend the throne and assume the imperial dignity and the posthumous name Tenmu 天武 (r. 673–686).

From Watarai's most hallowed temples
 Blew the Kamu Kaze, confounding [the loyalist warriors]
 By concealing the eye of the sun with heavenly clouds,
 Blanketing the world in utter darkness:
 Thus did the divine will...pacify
 The Land of Ripening Grain....
 (*Man'yōshū* 2, 199; my translation)⁵

Obviously a victor's romanced history, composed by a tendentious poet. In fact, the *Koji-ki* and *Nihon Sho-ki* both were produced at the behest of Tenmu and his successor, the dowager empress Jitō 持統; it is they and their retainers on whom we must rely for most of our knowledge of the war. Even so, could Hitomaro's lines have been composed had not those lines evoked, at least for the poet and his aristocratic audience, a belief that a cloud-wind essence lurked immanent in their solar deity—or that the Wind had some intimate connection with her?

Contrary to what one might expect, this poem does appear to follow folk-religious tradition quite closely. This of course is not to deny its quality as an original composition, but merely to suggest that Hitomaro, himself a product of a tradition-dominated culture, used traditional materials in composing his original poem. With Hitomaro, Kamu Kaze is no longer used as a pillow word, but is now a dynamic entity that openly blots the solar fire and puts foemen to flight like so many wildfowl.

Hitomaro's tradition-inspired poem need not be understood as a limited product of flighty politico-religious imagination; that a typhoon might have struck during the Jinshin War (or close to it in time) is a possibility that recent scholarship has often ignored. On the one hand, the notion that a typhoon struck during the war might at least have been believed fiction in Hitomaro's day. A well-known anthropological report relates that certain American soldiers actually believed a rainbow spread across the sky each time their unit saw action in Europe during World War I, even when natural conditions rendered this impossible (LINTON 1924). This unit was the celebrated Rainbow Division, named by the future general Douglas MacArthur because it was made up of National Guard companies from more than twenty-five states—and thus spanned the nation like a rainbow. The alleged origin of the Turkish flag also comes to mind in this connection. According to tradition, it was inspired when Turkish soldiers saw the crescent Moon and Venus reflected in a river of Greek blood during the Battle of

Sakarya on 26 August 1922. But the conjunction of Venus and the Moon occurred before the battle began, and in any event, Turkish postage stamps bore the same icon in 1863, indicating that it was already in use before the battle (*Sky & Telescope* 1992). Such believed fiction is by no means unusual in the world. History is full of it. I have encountered it myself during field-work in Okinawa. The dispositions and religious consciousness of Tenmu's followers could conceivably have led them, after the fact, to imagine a typhoon had struck.

On the other hand, three reasons might be adduced for suggesting a very real typhoon did strike during or near the time of the historical conflict—certainly for refuting any academic notion that this apparition of the Deity Wind was fabricated deliberately by the poet. First, in their poetry the early Japanese prized personal experience and eschewed fabricated fiction. The *Man'yōshū*, which includes this poem (vol. 2, 199), brims with the personal experiences of its poets. Hitomaro, for his part, had an undeniably personal involvement in the events of his day, which he chronicled in his poems, though as a poet he certainly gave them deep and dramatic expression through “inherited magical-mythic materials” (MILLER 1981, 208).

Of Hitomaro's precise dates we are uncertain. Seemingly he was still a child when Jinshin swords were busy.⁶ This passage would be an exception, however, if it failed to represent either a real event or an event that Hitomaro and those around him—including veterans of the war—apprehended as reasonably real.

Second, a similar dark-clouds-covering-the-sky event is reported, unembellished by mythic nuance, in the generally reliable *Nihon Sho-ki* (Tenmu 1.6.24). The overcast sky could have presaged the onset of a typhoon. At least the event was regarded as of sufficient significance to be chronicled.

The third reason for suggesting a typhoon did strike during the Jinshin War is a matter of timing. Prince Ōama seems to have committed himself to arms on the twenty-first day of the sixth lunar month. After some initial defeats, and a major setback on the thirteenth day of the following month, Ōama won a decisive victory in a pitched battle at Seta, on the southernmost coast of Lake Biwa (then known as the Omi Sea). This victory was obtained on the twenty-second day of the seventh month. Finally, the head of the enemy crown prince, Prince Ōtomo, was delivered to Ōama on the twenty-fifth, marking an end to the war. Thus, making adjustments for the intercalary month of that year, it becomes apparent that the war climaxed at the opening of the typhoon season. True, it would have had to be a slightly early one, but the timing was right for a typhoon to slam into Japan and overshadow the land.

Now, it might justly be objected that while the *Nihon Sho-ki* mentions clouds and thunderstorms in its account of the war, it says nothing specific about wind. Then, it is equally plausible that what Ōama and his warriors experienced was just one of those thunderstorms at the end of the rainy season that always introduce the typhoon season. If such be the case, then all the more would Hitomaro have had to apply poetic license to interweave historical and traditional materials. Either way one chooses to interpret the data in the *Nihon Sho-ki*, one cannot escape the conclusion that the religious worldview of those days, still firmly rooted in the sun-hiding mythologem, compelled Hitomaro to associate the clouds and tempestuous weather with the Deity Wind of tradition.

It seems not unlikely that Hitomaro referred to a real natural event even as he referred to a religious one. And given that storms and typhoons carried a cosmic bulk, a typhoon wind—especially an early one—or even a timely thunderstorm covering the sun with clouds at or near the time of victory could scarcely be seen other than as a sign of providential interposition. Romanced histories and tendentious poets notwithstanding, the victors probably had good reason to feel the deity worked on their side of the conflict.

THE DIVINE CLOUD OF DUST

Notions that storms, or thunder and lightning, or strong winds, manifest the destructive anger of a weather deity are found all over the world. In many instances the anger seems the virtual essence of the Deity Wind. The Negritos inhabiting lands north of the Bataan Peninsula in north-central Luzon saw the thunder as the angry voice of Tolandian, their high god, condemning them, the lightning as his means of venting his anger, and the thundercloud as his vehicle of pursuit (STEWART 1975, 32–33, 44–45, 77, 117). Biliku, the chief deity of the Andaman Islands, though dwelling in a celestial cave in the northeast, emerges as the storm wind and strikes from the northeast to punish ritual infractions held to rouse her anger (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 158–60, 359); indeed, the storm is her anger (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 362–63). Among the civilizations, the storm wrath of the storm deity is old (“When the [Sumerian] gods had decided on the overthrow of a city it was Enlil’s word that blew as a storm against it, enveloped and overwhelmed it...”; JACOBSEN 1970, 31). It is also recent (in the Syriac Romance of Alexander, the wind of a thundering heavenly deity, in defense of the Tree of Light, repulsed even the invincible hosts of Alexander; WENSINCK 1921, 29). In an example from Asia Minor, lightning and thunder are the rage of Telepinu, a storm god of the pre-Hittite, Hattian pantheon. Interestingly, though space is unavailable for dealing with it here, in

the myth of Telepinu's disappearance⁷ we can find a complex structural parallel with the Japanese myth of Ama-terasu's disappearance, the Andamanese sun-hiding myth, and the Greek myth of the disappearance of Demeter's daughter, not to mention others. Even if we must skirt this issue of the structural parallels, however, the Greek material deserves closer attention.

One reason it deserves closer attention is that while we can discover one of the clearest accounts of the Deity Wind's theophany in Greece in the fifth century BC, the significance of that theophany has completely eluded modern scholarship. The oversight is curious, because here, too, the military function of the cloud blown upon an enemy cannot be mistaken.

The story is reported second hand to history by history's father, Herodotus (volume viii, 65), who wrote that during the Persian War two Greeks witnessed a great cloud arising from Eleusis, a cloud of dust which seemed as though raised by the marching of a huge but invisible army. Then they heard the Iakchos song of the annual sacred pageant—which would have been nothing unusual had the war not precluded festivities that year. Divined one man to the other,

...it can only be that the [army of Xerxes] will suffer a great defeat. For this is clear: since all Attica has been abandoned by its inhabitants, those sounds must be a divine host that has come from Eleusis to help the Athenians and their allies. If [the dust cloud] makes for the Peloponnese, it will endanger [Xerxes] and his army on the mainland; if it turns toward the fleet at Salamis, [Xerxes] is in danger of losing his fleet.
(KERÉNYI 1967, 8–10)

Themistocles's victory at Salamis is history. The historian of religions, however, finds significance in the divine assistance extended the Greek defenders: our two men observed the Eleusinian dust cloud whisking out toward the isle of Salamis. Plutarch later added in his romantic account that, when the cries of "Iakchos!" sounded, a fulminating light reached across the bay from Demeter's sanctuary.

KERÉNYI notes that the story goes unparalleled in the history of Greek religion (1967, 8–10), though to be sure, Herodotus has a divine miracle forebode ill for the Persians or actually damage them at virtually every critical juncture up to the time of the Battle of Salamis. Noteworthy in Herodotus's account is that several gods wafted tempests against the Persian armada, damaging but not destroying it.

Then the Deity Wind struck at Salamis, or so says Herodotus's informant (who for all we know might have been an initiate in the Eleusinian Mysteries). It would seem to have been just another anti-Persian wind;

Herodotus assigns it no great significance. But unlike the other wind events Herodotus reported, this one would seem clearly ahistorical. That the Demeter Wind represented no empirical event can be inferred not only from its treatment by Herodotus (who was unable to corroborate the testimony, or even to present an idea of the casualties it inflicted), but also because any assumption that it ravished the Persian triremes whilst passing lightly over the Greeks with whom they were closely engaged would sorely tax our credulity. On this matter, unfortunately, Herodotus is silent. Plutarch (*Themistocles* 14) assumed the wind was the normal *sirocco*, which cannot be true since the *sirocco* blows from the opposite direction.

Modern historians believe the Greeks won the battle through courage against overwhelming odds, sea skills honed by experience, superior strategy, and superior speed and maneuverability aided by the technological advantage of the oarsmen's sliding stroke (HALE 1996). It came to pass that the most powerful of the contingents comprising Xerxes's armada deserted him after Salamis. This desertion was the de facto turning point of the war. The decisive operations were conducted the following year, but the battle at Salamis was for the Greeks their finest hour.

Significantly, among Herodotus's assorted accounts of anti-Persian winds, only the Demeter Wind was said to have ushered any dust. It seems at least plausible that an Eleusinian dust cloud could have descended on Salamis during the historical battle. Kerényi, who himself visited Eleusis, assumes that a pall of dust has always hovered over that town owing to the qualities of the local soil. But regardless of the qualities of the local soil, one can well imagine what a cloud of dust was kicked up each year by the throngs of initiates dancing along the Sacred Way when their pageant approached the Eleusinian temple complex. Such a great cloud of dust would be remindful of an army on the march, and this image could have entered the local folk tradition as a simile or a metaphor. While any conclusion in this regard must be withheld in the absence of more satisfactory evidence, the presence of either the perennial dust cloud Kerényi witnessed or the more likely processional one might partly explain why Herodotus should report a cloud of dust. In the event, if a storm wind did indeed assail the Persian fleet at Salamis, it might have borne quantities of Eleusinian dust. If it did, then the Greeks certainly interpreted the meteorological event in a religious way. Such was the nature and strength of the Eleusinian faith that this no doubt was possible.

Nor by any means was such an interpretation unique in cultural history. Archaeologist Seton Lloyd, speaking of the "Stela of the Vultures" from Telloh, says

The scenes, which are carved in horizontal registers on both sides of the stone, commemorate the victory of Eannatum, ruler of Lagash, over the neighbouring state of Umma. The king...leads a phalanx of his spearmen into battle, drives a chariot at the head of his light infantry and afterwards presides over the ceremonial burial of the dead. On the reverse side, the victory is symbolically attributed to his god, Ningirsu, the warrior-god, *son of Enlil*, who gathers his victims in a net, sealed with the image of Imdugud, the lion-headed eagle. *The objective record of a tumultuous event thus culminates in the expression of a religious abstraction.* (LLOYD 1978, 116–17, emphases added)

Generally speaking, belief in divine intervention in human affairs was widely held in the preclassical and classical worlds, and chronicles and histories of West Asia commonly would “record victories and defeats only in theological terms” (OPPENHEIM 1977, 233). Our own interest is drawn by those instances in which the Deity Wind blew victory or defeat.

The troublesome question remains of whether in Herodotus we are dealing with historical fact interpreted in a religious way or with a religious idea perceived as fact. From a practical standpoint, the story of the Eleusinian dust cloud, much as the one of the Americans and their rainbow, does seem to bear the suspicious ring of the “war story,” a story exaggerated or one depicting feats that never really happened. Herodotus garnered his data thirty to forty years after the war; time enough had passed that even bizarre “war stories” would likely meet with credulity—especially with national pride soaring after the victory. And “war stories” there certainly were. One story had the ghostly figure of a woman (Demeter herself?) appearing at the opening of the battle to rebuke the Greeks for falling back. Another, told by Athenians, alleged that a ghostly boat appeared on which someone was rebuking the Corinthians for fleeing the battle (which rings somehow untrue).

One suspects, ultimately, that regardless of whether dust-laden winds historically wrecked the Persian fleets at Salamis, the idea behind the Demetrian dust cloud might very well have streamed from the matrix of an older and perhaps widespread tradition.⁸ Though probably basing himself on the event at Salamis, the idea of such a tradition occurring in Greece itself seems to lie behind Kerényi’s words:

[The winds of the cardinal directions] bring great benefits to mortals. There are, however, also the gales, children of Typhoeus, which descend upon the sea to the great hurt of mankind. They blow in turn from several directions, wrecking ships, destroying sailors, whilst others of them

lay waste the blossoming earth, the lovely works of men, and *cover everything with dust and confusion.*

(KERÉNYI 1951, 205, emphasis added)

But we are more concerned with identifying an extended tradition beyond Greece relating wind with dust. This will show that the Greek account was not isolated, that likely we are dealing with a common motif.

Any Asiatic tradition relating the Deity Wind to dust clouds could easily have had an autopsis factor in its development, following from observation of the natural environment, for more than most of us realize, colossal clouds of sand or dust driven by storm winds do arise commonly on our planet⁹—in the Sahara and Arabian deserts, in Sudan (where dust storms are called by the Arabic *haboob*, lit., “violent wind”), in northwest India (where dust storms are termed *andhis*), and on the Coromandel coast to name but a few areas. The Sahara is currently our world’s greatest source of dust. The khamsin, a hot, violent seasonal wind that blows up to 145 kph out of the Sahara during the dog days, is so laden with sand particles that it can actually blot out the Egyptian sun; during the North African Campaign of World War II it actually forced cessations of hostilities in mid-battle! The khamsin also blows over the Arabian Peninsula. The *touse* brings very fine sand from Syria at high altitudes to darken the Arabian landscape even in daytime (these sandstorms are pathogenic, being the cause of lung diseases). Dust plumes lofted by winds in Arabia and Mesopotamia during spring and summer provide nearly all the lithic sediments in the western Arabian Sea. Although today weather stations worldwide routinely report dust storms, the world’s record is held by a station in the central Iranian desert, which has reported one out of every four or five days of the year darkened by dust; other areas of high frequency in the modern Middle East include Jordan, southeast Syria, and the Mesopotamian Plain (PYE 1989, 80). On the steppes of Russia the buran, a violent windstorm, is accompanied by dust in summer, snow in winter. A “dust-storm belt” can be identified right across the Silk Road regions, into the Takla Makan and the Kansu Corridor, and over much of northern China (PYE 1989, 82–83). Also, in the monsoon belt typhoons can throw up enormous clouds of dust when they strike across land masses. What turns the sky red on the perimeter of a typhoon, in fact, though ancient transmitters of myths could not have known this, is the Rayleigh scattering of sunlight by windborne dust aerosols.

Dust storms have seasonality, and are worst during cold, dry periods and during droughts. Let us heed what a modern witness says in order to help us gain an experiential sense of the phenomenon. Khushwant Singh, an honored member of India’s Parliament, describes the summer monsoon:

...the trees lose their flowers as well as their leaves. Their bare branches stretch up to the sky as if begging for water, but there is no water. The sun comes up earlier than before and...sears the grass and thorny scrub until they catch fire. The fires spread and dry jungles burn like matchwood.... The earth cracks....

The sun makes an ally of the breeze. It heats the air until it becomes the loo (India's khamsin) and sends it on its errand. Even in the intense heat, the loo's warm caresses are sensuous and pleasant. It brings up prickly heat. It produces a numbness that makes the head nod and the eyes heavy with sleep. It brings on a stroke which takes its victim as gently as the breeze bears a fluff of thistledown.

Then comes a period of false hope. The temperature drops. The air becomes still. From the southern horizon a black wall begins to advance. Hundreds of kites and crows fly ahead. Can it be...? No, it is a dust storm. A fine powder begins to fall. A solid mass of locusts covers the sun. They devour what is left on the trees and in the fields. Then comes the storm itself. In furious sweeps it smacks open doors and windows, banging them forward and backward, smashing their glass panes. Thatched roofs and corrugated iron sheets are borne aloft like bits of paper. Trees are torn up by the roots and fall across power lines. The tangled wires electrocute people and set houses afire. The storm carries the flames to other houses till there is a conflagration. All this happens in a few seconds. Before you can say Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the gale is gone. The dust hanging in the air settles on books, furniture, and food; it gets in the eyes and ears, throat and nose. (SINGH 1987, 35–36)

A similar situation is of no less consequence in northern China:

In the north, through spring and summer, peasants watched the sky, praying that a timely rain would bring a bumper harvest and life itself. They stared reverently at the black dragonlike clouds gathering on the horizon. To their disappointment, they often found arid winds covering their towns in a blinding yellow haze [of calcareous dust], sifting under every door and into every window. This meant the fields of wheat and millet would wither again, the cows and oxen that grazed the pastures would die of hunger, and once again the people would starve.

(ZHAO 1989, 236)

Dust storms can be such daily fare as to daunt even a weather-hardened archaeologist on the Arabian Peninsula:

We had planned to spend a fortnight at Jabrin, but we cut it down to ten days, days of fierce heat, with a dust-storm which blew up regularly at noon each day, scourging our faces, clogging our nostrils, and threatening to tear the tents out of the ground. We learned to start work at six, as soon as it was light, and began the long drive back to camp as soon as the yellow clouds appeared on the southern horizon soon after eleven. (BIBBY 1984, 395)

Or desert-inured troops of wartime Libya:

Sandstorms were, I should say, the worst aspect of desert life, apart from battling the enemy [Rommel's Afrika Korps]. The slightest wind was laden with stinging grit. As we squatted for meals...sand encrusted all we ate. It was impossible to chew the bully beef on breezy days. It had to be swallowed whole, with stomach cramps for dessert. By the end of a three-day storm, men became dizzy with hunger, unable to stomach a sand diet. (JONES 1990)

Dust storms *are* an impressive yet common phenomenon—and became increasingly so as historical desertification overtook much of western Asia and its neighboring regions during the tenure of the early civilizations.

Desertification brought with it seasonal dust storms. However, it is not just during the summer monsoon that the storms bring death and destruction. Hence naturally-occurring dust clouds in eastern, central, southern, and western Asia plausibly might have provided material for, or supported, a widespread mythic tradition, an oral one that went unrecorded at Eleusis until after the Persian War.¹⁰

In West Asian mythic tradition, as suspected, the mythical dust cloud indeed is of venerable antiquity. In the more archaic Akkadian Hymn to Inanna, “Nin-me-šár-ra,” composed by the great priestess Enheduanna, the priestess mentions a sandstorm or duststorm that blots out the light of day and her happiness.

They approach the light of day, the light is obscured about me,
The shadows approach the light of day, it is covered with a (sand)storm.
My mellifluous mouth is cast into confusion.
My choicest features are turned to dust.

.

Like a swallow he made me fly from the window, my life is consumed.
(HALLO and VAN DIJK 1968, 25, 29)

Here, Enheduanna disappointedly refers to her banishment from Ur with an allegory. The banishment very likely followed a military defeat (HALLO and VAN DIJK 1968, 9); her hymn is, essentially, a plea for restoration to her former priestly roles. Even earlier in Mesopotamia, in one of our very oldest myths, the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninhursag (PRITCHARD 1955, 40), the grief-stricken Anunnaki (council of deities) sit in dust when the goddess Ninhursag (Mother Earth) departs their company. In the Hattian myth, clouds of dust (augmented by smoke) come over the scene when Telepinu disappears; and they hang around until he reappears. And we must not forget that the Indian Viṣṇu, a manifestation of the solar energy, could cut across the cosmos in three strides and envelop all things with dust. In a late tradition, Allah would seem to have similar powers (DAWOOD 1968, 252).

The tradition is also visible in ritual behavior, as any Bible scholar or student of West Asian civilizations is sure to know. In the following example, throwing dust into the air might be taken as a symbolic substitute for a dust-laden wind.

The second-century Greek, Lucian of Samosata wrote that in Byblos, during the Adonis festival, the people wail and lament, then “they perform funeral rites to Adonis as if he were dead, but afterward upon another day they say he lives, and they cast dust in the air and shave their heads as Egyptians do when Apis dies.” (PRITCHARD 1958, 125)

Ultimately, the symbolism of dust joins the mortuary symbolism of smoke, ash, soot, chaff, sand, dirt, mud, dung, rot, stone, and a variety of other substances in traditions around the world. Medusa’s head kills by turning people to stone. In certain cosmogonies, the earth-diver dies while bringing up from the bed of the Deep a little mud in some part of its body. In certain myths of the dimming of the hyperthermal moon, the luminary is daubed with dung, causing it to lose radiance and so symbolically to die. In some cultures people apply ashes to themselves as a sign of bereavement. The soul exiting a recently dead body is sometimes represented as a puff of smoke. And the Old Testament—the same Old Testament that describes a Shekinah—cloud (i.e., Glory-cloud) descending on the Egyptians, bringing darkness and confusion on them whilst the Israelites make good their getaway across the Red Sea, tells us that people return to dust upon death. Verily, when, charged with clouds of dust, the raging Deity Wind descends upon a tragic hero or a legendary figure or an enemy battalion, it has no intention of promoting the target’s physical health.

THE WINNOWING WIND

Although the religious nuance of the windfall victory at Salamis suggests matters associated with Demeter enjoyed the protection of her Wind, seemingly there is little to ground further interpretation of the meaning of that Wind. Religious symbolisms, however, are not easily exhausted. Indeed, they are usually reticulated in the fabric of social and spiritual life, and are forever popping up in new places. The following Homeric passage, quoted by Frazer, might provide some further inkling of the Demeter Wind's function in more usual circumstances.

And even as the wind carries the chaff about the sacred threshing floors, when men are winnowing, what time yellow Demeter sifts the corn from the chaff on the hurrying blast, so that the heaps of chaff grow white below, so were the Achaeans whitened above by the cloud of dust which the horses spurned to the brazen heaven.

(Iliad V: 499–504. Quoted in FRAZER 1959, 427)

The key words for our purpose are “wind,” “hurrying blast,” “winnowing,” “corn,” “chaff,” and of course “cloud of dust.” Here we have another battle scene, so perhaps the evidence is meager for reconstructing a relationship between the Demeter Wind and agricultural practice, even though many consider Demeter herself a corn mother. But the inkling makes sense. And certainly, as Kerényi noticed, a plicate winnowing fan, the *liknon*, was held in reverse in Eleusinian rites as a sacred appliance to purify and to restore the supplicant with its dual wind-grain symbolism, as in the rite to assoil Herakles after his homicidal expeditions.¹¹ Apparently in Greece the Deity Wind, in addition to providing divine protection, has to do with alimentary reserves.

But there was nothing really new or unique in this aspect of the Demeter Wind, either. The even more archaic Enlil, “Lord Wind” (or “Lord Storm”) of the Sumerian pantheon, who was the raging, destructive Storm at the battlefield, who was the reviving, greening Wind of the spring, was in addition the cleansing Wind that flew over the copper winnowing pan at harvest time. His wife, Ninlil, the “varicolored barley ear” and the “Princess of the Copper Pan,” was daughter to Ninshebagunu, “Lady Varicolored Barley” (the goddess of ripening barley as opposed to the seed corn) and to Haia, the god of stores. Enlil, interestingly, was enthroned among the assembly of gods on the storage pile (JACOBSEN 1970, 31–32).

...it was Enlil...who “caused the good day to come forth”; who set his mind to “bring forth seed from the earth” and to establish the *hegal*, that

is, plenty, abundance, and prosperity in the land. It was this same Enlil who fashioned the pickax and probably the plow as prototypes of the agricultural implements to be used by man; who appointed Enten, the farmer god, as his steadfast and trustworthy field-worker.... And it is both Enlil and Enki...who send Lahar, the cattle god, and Ashan, the grain goddess, from heaven to earth in order to make abundant its cattle and grain. (KRAMER 1972, 42)

All this, of course, brings us back to the Anodos of the Kore and the Apostle of Triptolemos, and to Demeter herself. Demeter's own connections with grain are known well enough from the studies of Mannhardt, Frazer, Harrison, Cornford, Nilsson, and others; the connections require no discussion here.

Broadly seen, the winnowing function of the Deity Wind may afford a useful new insight into the widespread fan symbolisms in East and Southeast Asian religion and art, especially orchestric and histrionic art and flabellate design motifs. One relevant example is the functional resemblance of the *liknon* to an artefact of Shinto worship, the *nusa* 幣, which, though little resembling a fan, is used to purify supplicants somewhat as we might expect the *liknon* to have been used at Eleusis. Another example is the *shaku* 尺, a spatula-shaped wand that is held ithyphallically by Shinto priests in the course of rituals. It might justly be called a flabellum; the *shaku* was originally a folding fan. Generally, when the priest holds the *shaku* in this manner during a ceremony, he is ritually affirming that he has been invested with the power to transmit the deity's blessings and to purify.

Another example is the use of the winnowing fan in Japanese folk rituals. These rituals have to do mostly with the pollution received at funerals, with birth, or with New Year celebrations. For instance, in some parts of Japan, upon returning home from a funeral one takes fried beans from a winnowing fan before re-entering one's house. Again, in some parts of Japan children were made to stand in a winnowing fan on their birthdays, carrying pounded rice cakes on their backs. Though the source of his inspiration remains unclear, Yanagita Kunio speculated that the winnowing fan, with all its magic powers, may have been used to appease or pacify restless spirits (YANAGITA 1950 s.v. "Mi" 箕).

The winnowing fan, in Europe as in Japan, is associated with grain (and by extension is a symbol of other fruits), with fertility, and with prosperity—a sort of cornucopia symbol. But it is more. KERÉNYI says

[The winnowing fan was] an instrument with which the grain was ordinarily cleansed and in which the accessories of the Dionysian rites

were kept and carried about: the phallus or the mask. Infants, divine as well as human, were placed in such baskets. They were looked upon as the grain, as the seeds of what was to come. In viewing the *liknon*, the winnowing fan, one thought of both: purification and the state of infancy to which the initiand was restored. (1967, 57)

What we are really getting at here is the restoration of the flesh-polluted human spirit to a greater vitality. “And now men see not the bright light which is in the clouds: but the wind passeth, and cleanseth them” (Job 37.21); “the sun of righteousness with healing in his wings’ shall ‘arise’ on the Day of the Lord” (Malachi 4.2, quoted in TUAN 1977, 96); “come like the wind and cleanse” (Episcopal prayer). The Wind drives away evil. To be washed in the numinous Wind, or to partake of its fruit, meant to receive its protection and a new lease on life. It meant, in essence, to be victorious.

Still today, victorious sumo wrestlers receive their prize money from the referee on a ceremonial *uchiwa*-style (i.e., paddle-shaped) fan 団扇 like those used by medieval generals. Called *gunbai* 軍配, or “war fan,” it is not a winnowing fan. It is a mere symbol, used as an official scepter to point to the victor’s side of the mound when declaring the decision, and as a sort of tray when delivering the prize. But perhaps one should say it *no longer* is a winnowing fan. Sumo is truly an antique sport, and it has always been attired in religious symbolisms.¹² And would one dare speculate that it once spanned the Asian continent? Evidence is still scarce on the subject, but a terra cotta image unearthed in Mesopotamia suggests that a sporting game similar to sumo was part of Sumerian religious culture as far back as Early Dynastic times! (PRITCHARD 1954, Fig. 219).¹³

THE DEITY WIND’S MOST REMEMBERED THEOPHANY

Comparative evidence clearly indicates that the notion of a deity (often a chief deity) raising a windstorm and/or concealing the sun with banks of clouds to assist in a military operation—a notion inspiring Jinmu’s song as well as Hitomaro’s poem—spread widely and anciently outside the boundaries of Japan, always in areas where the sun was worshiped. In Japan this military function stood, alongside the agricultural function, precisely at the heart of the Kamu Kaze idea.

Centuries after Hitomaro composed his poem, Ama-terasu’s wind nature seems, at least from our modern perspective, to have atrophied somewhat. Nevertheless, the Kamu Kaze and its swarming clouds survived on the pages of the eighth-century literary works, in the hieratic tradition of the Ise Temples, and possibly also in some demotic traditions. Eventually, history afforded the Kamu Kaze’s military virtue an opportunity to resurge.

In 1274 and again in 1281, Mongol expeditionary forces irrupted into waters off the western coast of Kyushu. On both occasions blustering winds (a violent north gale in 1274 and a typhoon in 1281) drove the enemy fleets to perdition and so preserved the Japanese people from the brutalities of invasion and the indignities of foreign occupation—a striking enough parallel with the events reported by Hitomaro and Herodotus. Even more striking, the Greeks and Japanese interpreted the historical events in a similar religious way.

YAMADA Nakaba has produced a vivid, if imaginative, account of the Deity Wind's role in the second Mongol defeat:

...it was about the middle of the second day of battle on the Chikuzen coast that the sacred envoy of the Kioto court arrived at the [Ise Temples] and offered up the prayer. Towards evening on the day on which thousands of the dauntless Japanese had won such glory, a streak of cloud appeared in the sky, and the disk of the sun became almost totally obscured by clouds which spread over the Ghenkai Sea. An early and lurid shade of darkness blotted out the serene twilight of the summer evening, before the sun had altogether sunk below the horizon. The wind began next to rise, its wild and moaning sound being heard for some time, and its effect becoming visible on the bosom of the sea, before the gale was felt on shore. The mass of foaming waters, now dark and threatening, began to lift in larger ridges and sink in deeper furrows, and waves rushed up even to the foot of the long walls [of the coastal fortifications] with a sound like thunder.

This sudden change of weather was caused by one of those cyclones, called by the Japanese "Taifu," or "Okaze" of appalling velocity and resistless force, which swirl along the coasts of Japan and China during the late summer and early fall of every year. It, however, miraculously burst very much earlier than usual, and it fell upon the Mongol fleet, whose surveying party had never dreamt that a storm would rise at such a time. Nothing can withstand these maelstroms of the air.

(1916, 192–93)

Note that Yamada made an oversight, thinking the seventh intercalary month of the lunar calendar identical with July of the Gregorian calendar. Actually, this typhoon paid its respects to the Mongols about the first of September by our calendar, a time when typhoons frequent Japan. Yamada's imaginative description is interesting and instructive because at the time he penned it the Kamu Kaze, by then known as "kamikaze" owing to evolution of the language, still participated in the Japanese cultural reality. Even

allowing for his exuberant style, and despite his effort to couch the event in modern terms (a practice common among internationally oriented Shinto scholars of his day), his description betrays a little of the reverence Japanese felt toward the Deity Wind until the end of World War II.

It should be hardly surprising that the thirteenth-century Japanese, much in the manner of the classical Greeks, attributed the happy turns of fortune to their tutelary sun goddess, holding that twice she had gone out as the Deity Wind to punish the Mongols and their allies. They had prayed sincerely, fervidly, copiously, and after all, had their prayers not been answered twice in a row?

After the stunning defeat of the Mongols in their first amphibious attack, the idea and the hope of intervention by the Deity Wind seems to have really taken hold of the Japanese. Their enthusiasm for this Wind was stimulated in no small part by the *deus ex machina* working in their first victory: no common wind ruined the Mongols, but an unseasonal one (it struck in the tenth lunar month, or November by our calendar). Such an abnormal event occurring just when they needed it could only be a theophany. Hence when the peril of a second and more lavish essay at subjugating Japan loomed, the cloistered ex-emperor sent a *kuge* (messenger) to the Ise Temples to beseech the deity for a second success against the foreigners (*Shintō dai-jiten* s.v. “Kazahi-nomi no Miya” 風日祈宮). This act was unusual, no doubt inspired and stimulated by the 1274 wind’s sociohistorical impact.

Nor were enterprising priests of the Ise Temples slow to press for advantage of the situation once they had the attention of the imperial court. The following passage from the *Taihei-ki* [Chronicles of the Grand Pacification] (Book 39) can probably be taken as a statement of fact, even though the work as a whole is considered more literary than historical.

In the fourth year of Koan, seventh month, seventh day, twelve priests (*negi*) led by Arakita no Hisa—of the Inner Temples and Watarai no Sadahisa of the Outer Temples addressed the following chirographic memorial to the emperor.

“The thesauri of both annexed wind temples rumbled awhile. At day-break on the sixth day, a single mass of red cloud rose from the sanctuaries of the wind temples, illuminating the sky and earth and lighting up the mountains and rivers. From the midst of this light emerged a blue demon resembling a Yaksa or vaisravans. At its side a demon held open a large bag. A fiery wind spouted from the bag’s opening, heaving sand and fish skyward and uprooting giant trees. Considering this wonder, we anticipate that on this day the foreign barbarians met with

immediate destruction. If this indeed be the case and the auspicious omen augurs accurately, then by the imperial good grace grant the long-standing petition for our temples' advance in rank."

(*Shintō dai-jiten* s.v. "Kazahi-nomi no Miya"; my translation)

Remember that a fierce wind was in progress at the time the memorial allegedly was brushed onto paper. At that time there was every reason to believe the enemy fleet should be destroyed. Under the circumstances, the modern reader might be tempted to consider the claims of the zealous priests a bit fanciful. One need not be overly disturbed by the apparently fanciful elements in the story, however. Actually, these elements are less contrived than traditionally—and piously—transmitted. Ultimately, in 1293, the sluggish government granted the petition, and these wind temples began receiving regular and substantial offerings. Also, their official designation was changed from *kaze no yashiro* to *kaze no miya*, *miya* 宮 being a more lofty term than *yashiro* 社. Support continued until the Ashikaga period (1392–1573).

The wind temples of Ise were scarcely the only temples to claim a hand in the Mongol defeat, nor were they the only ones rewarded—an indication of the strength of contemporary religious institutions generally. HORI Kyotsu, who studied the after effects of the Mongol Wars, makes the following observation.

This simple and crude faith of Japan's medieval warriors seems to have been cultivated by Buddhist and Shinto officials, who rushed to claim that it had been their prayers and ceremonies that had produced the kamikaze. Merely to exact better rewards, priests and monks made up highly imaginative stories giving full credit for the destruction of the Mongol armada to the intervention of their own deities. While many of these efforts demonstrably failed in their purpose, it is nonetheless most noteworthy that [the government in] Kamakura should have arranged its priorities during the 1280s to accommodate religion first. Reference was just made to the case of Usa Hachiman Shrine in 1284. On the very same day the Hachiman Shrine of Kyushu's Ōsumi Province was awarded a *jitō shiki*, and toward the end of that year the Niu Shrine on Mount Kōya was given a stewardship in nearby Izumi Province. As was noted earlier, it was not until 1286 that the first grants to warriors were made.

(1974, 186–87)

Special feats for other Shinto deities indeed were claimed (everyone wanted to jump on the gravy train), but no Shinto temple could claim for itself the

seat of the Kamu Kaze with the same force or credibility as the wind temples of Ise. According to the classical texts, the Ise Temples are pre-eminently the home of the Kamu Kaze. It is not unreasonable to suspect that the winds that consigned the Mongol armadas to the Deep mustered from the wind temples of the Ise complex. As for Buddhist temples, many were quick to take credit for the deliverance to be sure; but in reality all they could do was offer up a babble of esoteric incantations and sūtra readings. None claimed to be the home of the Kamu Kaze.

A further link between Ama-terasu and the monsoon wind is suggested by the very presence in the Ise complex of the wind temples mentioned above. They are extant today, one sited in the Naikū 内宮 (Inner Temples) and one in the Gekū 外宮 (Outer Temples). They are referred to generically as *kaze-matsuri no miya* 風祭りの宮 (temple of wind-honoring) or simply *kaze no miya* 風の宮 (wind temple). But the one at Naikū, ever since the Mongol defeats, has borne the proper name Kazahi-nomi no Miya. The spirits of the same two deities lurk in the sanctuaries of both wind temples. These deities are Shina-tsu-hiko no Mikoto 級長津彦命 and Shina-tobe no Mikoto 級長戸邊命 (*Shintō dai-jiten* s.v. “Kazahi-nomi no Miya”; *Nihon rekishi dai-jiten* s.v. “Kazahi-nomi no Miya”).

Information on these two deities is sparse. In Variant Six of the “Kami-umi” (Birth of the Gods) myth in the *Nihon Sho-ki*, their names are given as allonyms of a single wind deity, who, in this variant, was the first deity created after the birth of the land and clearly was distinct from the solar deity (ASTON 1956, vol. I, 22). The *Koji-ki*, on the other hand, mentions only Shina-tsu-hiko and grants this wind deity no special position in the Kami-umi episode (PHILIPPI 1969, 56). *Hi-ko* means “prince” and implies masculinity, whereas *tobe* is “an element found in the names of women chieftains or noble women...” (PHILIPPI 1969, 479 s.v. “Ishi-kori-dome no Mikoto”); hence, on etymological grounds the two deities Shina-tsu-hiko and Shina-tobe would appear a male-female pair.

They seem to have lost importance in the pantheon by the time the two chronicles were set to writing. Or perhaps only their names had lost prominence in the chronicles, owing to the exigencies of editing. Or, more likely, these were esoteric deities whose details ought not be disclosed to unauthorized readers. The component *shina* in their names seems to mean “long breathed,” or “long winded.” The *shi-* is cognate to the *chi* of *Ise chi*. The longness indicated by the *-na* component would appear a divine attribute, for, as in other parts of the world, Japanese deities were thought to be bigger, stronger, generally grander than mortal men.

Could these paired deities have been avatars of the solar deity? Their two wind temples at Ise might or might not have been where the wind

nature of the solar deity was honored. Wind temples and wind festivals (usually held during the rainy season) are common in Japan, after all. Further, the same two wind deities seem to be enshrined elsewhere also (see e.g., OKADA 1977, 139; *Shintō dai-jiten* s.v. “Kaze no kami matsuri,” 風の神祭 “Tatsuta Jinsha”; KURANO and TAKEDA 1958, 400–405). But in the final analysis the very presence of special wind temples on precincts dedicated to the solar deity suggests an association, possibly a subordinate one, of wind to sun. The *kaza-hi* 風口 component in the name of the Naikū wind temple contains both the ideographs and the phonemic values for “wind” in apposition with those for “sun.” Though assigned late in time, the name might indicate the continuance of an older tradition. The direction of worship at this temple is, interestingly, toward the northeast, ninety degrees out of phase with the prevailing winds of the Japanese monsoons.

The matter of the northeast as a sacred direction forms the topic of a separate study. That study might be anticipated, however, by mentioning an observation of archaeologist Torigoe Kenzaburō. He calls attention to the fact that nearly half the earliest Japanese emperors were interred northeast of their capitals, a fact that seems to correspond, he feels, though others disagree, to the orientation of certain coffins of the previous, pre-imperial Yayoi period (TORIGOE 1975).

Jinmu, the first fully-human Japanese emperor, was allegedly interred at the foot of Mount Unebi, which Torigoe correctly interprets as “the mountain of the afterlife,” a representation of the otherworld (mountains often represent the *elysion* in East Asian folklore). This would mean, of course, that his descendants worshiped Jinmu’s departed spirit in the direction of this mountain. His widow is said to have composed the following poem shortly after his death as a warning of danger to their son.

<i>Unebi yama</i>	From Mount Unebi
<i>Hiru wa kumo toi</i>	Clouds gather even by day;
<i>Yuu sareba</i>	And with the arrival of cloud-brought night,
<i>Kaze fuکان to zo</i>	Wind will blow!
<i>Ko no ha sayageru.</i>	Already leaves are rustling in the trees.

(NISHIMIYA 1973, 100; my translation)

This poem brings a number of symbolic elements into a common relationship:

- Mount Unebi symbolizes the otherworld.
- Mount Unebi associates with clouds and wind.
- Since the mountain stands northeast of Jinmu’s capital, it might not

be far-fetched to consider the wind as blowing from the northeast.

- The darkness of night seems associated with the clouds as in Hitomaro’s poem, and, like in Hitomaro’s poem, the association seems to draw its inspiration from the sun-hiding episode.
- Examining the social context of the poem’s composition, one finds a martial-soteriological significance to it.

There we have it: the Japanese edition of the Deity Wind.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE DEITY WIND

We have seen meteorological and solar themes mutually interacting—and interacting antagonistically—within the scope of powers attributed to the Japanese sun goddess. The meteorological aspect is focused in the Deity Wind under her control.

On the model of the Demeter Wind, the Japanese edition of the Deity Wind might have been involved in an aristocratic esoteric cultus in its original formulation. Both goddesses sequestered themselves behind the walls of a remote national temple complex where secret rites were conducted.¹⁵ But unlike the classical Greek goddess, Ama-terasu did not become involved in a popular cult until very late, after the Deity Wind’s position in the cosmology had weakened.

On the model of the Biliku Wind, the Japanese edition of the Deity Wind surely, in its original form on the continent, was the dominant (and periodically rough typhoonal) component in a binary, seasonally opposed monsoon wind. Both goddesses, Biliku and Ama-terasu, were principal deities who controlled the antagonistic forces of sun and wind (or cloud-wind). But when the Wa peoples ancestral to the Japanese migrated away from southern regions of the continent to put down roots in the northern archipelago, they experienced significant differences in climate and prevailing directions of the monsoonal flows. Typhoons, moreover, are somewhat fewer and typically less intense in the north.

As already alluded, the matter of the northeast as a sacred direction will not be detailed in the present paper, but the direction of worship found at the physical remains (*viz.*, the wind temple at Ise, and Jinmu’s capital) might perhaps indicate ancient cultural roots for the Japanese Deity Wind (not necessarily for the Wa peoples) in the torrid regions of Asia below the horse latitudes. There the monsoon wind actually does blow steadily from the northeast for half the year.

The Deity Wind surely adapted to its new island environment, but since the monsoonal flows and typhoons command less of people’s attention

in the northern archipelago, the Deity Wind likely lost some of its cultural force after the migrations. Hundreds of years later, between AD 100 and AD 300, Wa political units (originally organized something like hieratic city-states) swelled in size until finally one of them, the recently formulated Yamato Empire, succeeded in uniting the archipelago and began stepping out onto the Korean Peninsula. All this was accompanied by enormous cultural change, much of it from the top down. The Deity Wind cultus, which had been distributed among the assorted groups of Wa peoples, now became monopolized by a few in the new empire as the emperorship asserted its patriarchal right to act as the paramount sacerdotal conduit between all subjects and their deities (in fact, the same word, *matsurigoto*, served for both governance and worship; ceremonial statecraft and the sacerdotal pageantry of the state remained powerful tools of rulership throughout much of Japanese history). Over the next half millennium of political centralization, rulership and martial affairs gradually became more technically advanced and more pragmatic, leaving less latitude for the military Deity Wind to operate.

In any event, the Deity Wind's esoteric nature would have restricted the number of people having access to intimate knowledge of it. Because its guardians were few, it became more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of time. De facto political power then passed from the classical imperial court to a succession of post-classical military dictatorships. The long periods of medieval warfare must have caused attrition, if perhaps not in the numbers or quality of the guardians of the cultus, then certainly in financial and social support for them and their sacerdotal duties. Those in power focused on the more pressing and pragmatic concerns of self-preservation and aggrandizing land and power and wealth. With the Ise Temples falling under neglect, distracted priests had to abandon their duties to make a living. And of course there were epidemics and other possible agents of attrition for the priesthood. When men depart prematurely, they tend to carry knowledge with them to the grave.

However it happened, the Deity Wind came to be remembered mostly for smashing the Mongols, and as a functioning part of the living tradition, effectively it diminished into a ghost of its former glory.

AFTERWORD

D. C. Holtom, following Edmund Buckley, Karl Adolf Florenz, and William George Aston, has suggested that Ama-terasu's cloister in her Celestial Rock-grotto was associated with the typhoon (HOLTOM 1956, 44–56; HOLTOM 1938, 145–49). But not even he suspected the goddess's complexity. In his 1956 article in *Sociologus*, he attributed the “storm nature”

solely to her brother, Susa no Wo, and this after discounting the thematic strands of eclipse, winter solstice renewal, and death-and-resurrection (in his earlier 1938 work, *The National Faith of Japan*, he admitted the possibility of eclipse; he offered no reason for changing his opinion). Holtom perceived neither the multivalence and multiplexing of symbolisms in the sun-hiding episode, nor the monsoonal qualities of the nominal sun goddess. But these are venial errors in view that he marshaled good evidence for seeing the “typhoon clouds hide the sun” as a theme important in the sun-hiding episode. His observation aids our understanding of Ama-terasu perhaps more than our understanding of her brother.

This about exhausts the useful English literature on our subject. Virtually nowhere do Japanologist historians working in the English-language carry the Japanese Deity Wind’s history back beyond the Mongol Wars, though certainly they all have had between their thumbs the Japanese classical texts—at least English translations of those texts. Nor do they bother that the Deity Wind was often invoked against the foreign ships infesting Japanese waters in the Bakumatsu period, as events plummeted on toward the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (for examples of Bakumatsu invocations, see HACKETT 1971, 19; *Nihon itsuwa dai-jiten*, 1978, s.v. “Perii raikō to kokusai Ōtsu ebushi”).

Generally speaking, modern American academics—and many modern Japanese as well!—understand the Deity Wind in no more than two of its apparitions: in its destructive assault on the Mongols and their allies, and in its factitious association with the Tokkō-tai 特攻隊 (Special [Aerial] Attack Corps) of the Pacific War. With respect to the latter, there remains in America today a remarkable residue of wartime prejudice against the very word *kamikaze*. Examining the matter soberly, however, one sees that the Tokkō-tai only appropriated the name—the name only—in a desperate, pleading effort to procure divine intervention in a series of thumping defeats in the Pacific. In fact, the airman who first proposed attaching the name to the Tokkō-tai had no special knowledge of the Kami Kaze beyond what he picked up from militarist propaganda. And at that, the name was formally pronounced *shin-pū* according to the Chinese-style reading of the graphs, not *kamikaze* in the native Japanese fashion.

In thus appropriating the name *shin-pū*, man attempted more than to enlist the aid of the deity. He attempted more even than to coerce the deity to act according to his desperate needs. He attempted, of all things, to become himself the Deity Wind and act for the deity.

Man cannot become himself the Deity Wind. It came to pass that the Tokkō-tai, too, fell to the realities of modern pragmatic warfare, and indeed, toward the end of the war Admiral Nimitz suffered more abuse from natu-

ral typhoons than from the Tokkō-tai.

In the final analysis, the Deity Wind should be seen not thus in modern political terms, but through the eyes of the historian of religion, for infallible was the Deity Wind, through long ages, and throughout the world, the succor of beleaguered, soon-to-be victors.

NOTES

1. The *Izumo fudoki* does not actually give the poem (see KATŌ 1974, 1). The poem, however, might have looked very much like the one that appears in the *Koji-ki* (NISHIMIYA 1973, 50) and *Nihon Sho-ki* (SAKAMOTO et al. 1967, I: 123). KEENE gives the following translation:

<i>Yakumo tatsu</i>	Eight-fold rising clouds
<i>Izumo yaegaki</i>	Build an eight-fold fence
<i>Tsumagomi ni</i>	An eight-fold Izumo fence
<i>Yaegaki tsukuru</i>	Wherein to keep my bride—
<i>Sono yaegaki wo</i>	[O], splendid eight-fold fence!

(1983, 114)

For other translations, see MINER 1968, 58; PHILIPPI 1969, 91; ASTON 1956, vol. I, 53. Note that Aston's translation is in error: "all sides" on the second line should read "Izumo." The error is absent from Aston's 1872 translation of the poem, which appears in his *Grammar of the Japanese Written Language* and is quoted by Basil Hall Chamberlain in a footnote to the latter's own translation of the poem in CHAMBERLAIN 1973, 76–77.

The element of clouds enfolding the nuptial couple, which is central to the poem, bears comparison with the cloud sheath around the hieros gamos of Hera and Zeus in the *Iliad* (xiv, 346–51). They probably belong to the same motif.

For other commentary and modern interpretations of the poem, see Yamaji Heishirō, "Ya kumo tatsu Izumo yae gaki' uta kō," [Thoughts on the lay "Ya kumo tatsu Izumo yae gaki"] *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 12, 33: 5–7. Note that "Ya kumo tatsu" is a pillow word, or stock epithet, indicating Izumo Province (KATŌ 1974, 1, footnote 16). Various interpretations of the etymology of "Izumo" are mentioned in OGIHARA and KŌNOSU 1973, 90 headnote 2; and by KATŌ and TANIGAWA 1979, 170–72.

2. During the Nara period (710–784) the final *u* of the word *kamu* appears to have assimilated with the noun-ending *i* to form *kami*, which developed into the present-day *kami*. The combining form *kamu-* lasted longer, to appear as *furigana* in the classical texts (ŌNO 1974, 191–94). See *Nihon kokugo dai-jiten* 1973, vol. V, 296 s.v. "Kan 神"; and ARISAKA 1957. The only reliable English discussion of the etymology of *kami* appears in VANCE 1983. Vance's article gives further bibliographical references.

3. The comparison with Ishtar is not entirely idle. Ama-terasu's garbs of arrows seem to have projected from her shoulders and sides (see NISHIMIYA 1973, 41, headnote 3). The plethora of arrows in this arrangement would throw an aureole around Ama-terasu's figure in a way remindful of the Babylonian/Assyrian Ishtar, goddess of war and love, as the latter appears in cylinder seals (see PRITCHARD 1954, illustrations 524, 525, 533). Ishtar, too, sometimes sports a sword. How far beyond this the resemblance goes is yet uncertain to me.

It would be in keeping with the fertility function of the goddess if her feathered shafts were considered homologous with ears of grain on their stalks. But this might not be so easy to do. A Sumerian cylinder seal depicts differently the stalks of grain radiating from the

shoulders of one deity and the feathered shafts radiating from the shoulders of an adjacent deity. See KRAMER 1972, Plate XII, facing p. 50, 3rd design (Reproduced from Henri Frankfort's *Cylinder Seals*).

An important article in this connection is ŌBAYASHI's "Weapons and Gods in Japanese Myth" (1983).

4. The need to defend crops and grain stores from marauders is testified very early in the history of agriculture. A need of organized defense institutions probably even stimulated the origination of cities (ADAMS 1960, 6). Such defense institutions are likely to have had religious dimensions, for nothing on earth can defend better than transcendent powers.

5. Complete side-by-side translations of this poem are available in MINER 1968, 40–44, and LEVY 1984, 140–41, 143.

6. Kitayama Shigeo discusses Hitomaro's plausible connection with, or participation in, the Jinshin War in an excursus to his *Jinshin no nairan*, titled "Jinshin no nairan to Hitomaro" [The Jinshin Civil War and Hitomaro] (KITAYAMA 1978, 182–210).

7. The myth is given in BEYERLIN 1978, 159–65.

8. KERÉNYI (1967, 8–10) speculates that the cloud was a product of a hallucination. But then, Kerényi is a psychologist. Another writer, Carl A. P. Ruck, applies the same data to support his own predilection. He believes the cloud was a "vision" induced by a psychotropic drug. Ruck, along with his co-authors, argues convincingly that such drugs were used at Eleusis, but the evidence in Herodotus is insufficient to fully justify the conclusion that the cloud was a drug-induced "vision." Even if it were, however, the origin of the vision still must be sought in the tradition (C. A. P. Ruck in WASSON et al. 1978, 80).

9. PYE (1989, 63–73, 80–85, 92–117) gives the areal extent, sources, frequencies, concentrations, and transport (wind) systems of dust on our planet. See esp. the map on his p. 63.

10. Japan has its natural dust cloud, too. Major windstorms in the loessland of northwestern China kick up fine, powdery dust and transport it at high altitude to Japan in a vast, even stupendous cloud that often continues on until it reaches the Hawaiian Islands. The dust, rich in calcareous substance, turns the Japanese skies a yellowish hue sometimes in the springtime, between March and May. The dust cloud is especially thick in western Japan, where it has the potential of dimming the sun—as it does on the continent. Japanese call this seasonal phenomenon the *kōsa* 黄砂 or the *bai* 霾. Unfortunately, the present study could gain no information relating the *kōsa* to the Deity Wind; such a relationship might never have been obtained in the Japanese archipelago. But the possibility does remain open, especially since the word *bai* can also refer generally to dust clouds raised by typhoons. The Japanese tradition of the Deity Wind appears, after all, to have been just as cryptic as the Eleusinian.

11. Kerényi observes that the *liknon* was used in the purification of Herakles to remove the pollution he had taken on himself through his homicides (KERÉNYI 1967, 57, 184, 56 Fig. 12b; cf. idem 54 Fig. 11). For further information on the purification of Herakles, see H. LLOYD-JONES 1967; N. J. RICHARDSON 1974, 22, 211–13; RUCK 1976; Ruck in WASSON et al. 1978, 104–106.

Mythical heroes aside, salvation is also indicated for unsung people. Prior to the climax of the Eleusinian initiation rite in the Telestērion, the hierophant raised "his kernos aloft like the person who carries the *liknon*...." (Ruck in WASSON et al. 1978, 83–84).

12. A brief summary of sumo's religious symbolisms is presented in LONG 1989, 61–65.

13. In addition to the terra cotta image shown in Fig. 219, Pritchard cites the following source: C. H. Gordon, "Belt-Wrestling in the Bible World," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23, 1 (1950-1951), 131–36.

14. An earthbag, probably made of rice straw, normally used in earthworks like the modern sandbag.

15. I must mention that the Andamanese monsoon deity Biliku, too, seems to have had esoteric rites performed in her honor (RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1964, 164–66).

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