

# *Shang-ssu* Festival and Its Myths In China and Japan\*

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Part One: *Shang-ssu* Festival

## I. *Shang-ssu* or *Jōshi*: A Purification Rite

Purification ceremonies performed on the seashore, by the river bank, or ablution in general administered by immersing the body in a medium (water, oil, sand, fire, etc.) were a common practice among ancient peoples.<sup>1</sup> In China one popular form of such ceremonies was observed in the spring season by the river. Confucius was said to have grieved at the passing away of the antiquated rite and lauded Tseng

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\* The idea of seeing the Chinese narratives as myths reflecting the meanings of a purification rite on *shang-ssu* day first appeared in my "Demon Tales in Early Vernacular Chinese: A Folkloristic View" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1971; pp. 346+viii; hereafter, "Demon Tales"). On April 13, 1973 I sent a copy of my dissertation to Professor Wolfram Eberhard of the University of California, Berkeley at his request. On April 24, 1973 Professor Derk Bodde of the University of Pennsylvania informed me that Professor Eberhard "is doing a research on 'Shang-ssu'." As Professor Eberhard's research is not available to me, I wish to put everything on record to avoid any possible misapprehension.

The Japanese section in the present study is an expansion of that original idea. Most of the Japanese materials were collected during the summer of 1974 at the Library of Congress. I wish to thank the Library of Congress for making available to me the Library facilities. My thanks also go to Ms. Notomi Hana for helping me transcribe certain Japanese surnames and geographical names. The completion of the study was made possible by a summer grant from the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

1. For Egyptian and Christian traditions see Gerardus Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (tr. by J. E. Turner; London, 1938), pp. 345-347; for Hindi tradition, see Kenneth W. Morgan, *The Religion of the Hindus* (New York, 1953), pp. 95; 112-114; 327-328. For "bath" in general, see Edward S. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and The History of the Floriate Clear Palace," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76 (1956). 57-82.

Tien, one of his disciples, when the latter wished that he cherished no other ambitions than the cultivation of such observances.<sup>2</sup> Other than the ethical implications over which Confucius grieved, what had been most fascinating about these observances was perhaps their grandificent, numinous style. One service observed by the sovereign of state in early Chou and performed on the occasion for invoking deities for rain blessings boasted of an establishment comprising a head shamaness with an entourage of eight or nine properly attired "pages" and seven or eight ceremoniously capped ritual attendants in the company of music, singing, and dancing.<sup>3</sup> As for the purification ceremony, although its exact form of presentation is not clear to us, bits of information supplied by commentators like Cheng Hsüan point to a picture of its being performed by the river on the "uppermost *ssu* day of the third month,"<sup>4</sup> hence, *shang-ssu* ("uppermost *ssu*"), *ssu* being the sixth in the duodecimal cycle symbolized by the animal "serpent." The observance, so Cheng informed us, involved bathing oneself with fragrant herbs. The purification ceremony was, at least in early Chou, conducted by *nü-wu* ("woman shamans") or *hsi* ("shamans"). The word *wu* or *hsi*, as the ancient Chinese understood it, was the one "who sees the ghosts."<sup>5</sup> In *Sung shu*, the official history of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 420-477) we read:

In *Han shih* it is said, "It had been the customs of the State of Cheng [774-500 B.C. in what is now Honan Province] on the first *ssu* day of the third month, on Rivers Chen and Wei to summon souls and carry [back] the shades, to hold fragrant grass to ward off evils." . . . [The rite may be] held in autumn. . . . Since Wei [A.D. 220-264] onward what had been used was the *third day* (*san-jih*), instead of [the first] *ssu* [day].<sup>6</sup>

It is not clear whether the *wu* and *hsi* still served in conducting the ceremonial bath in Latter Han. Functionally, the purification ceremony was performed with a view to do away with uncleanness or evils attached to a person. There seemed to have been a shift in the role of the ritual service in two directions: from a court-oriented purification rite in Former Han and earlier times toward a popular, folk-patronized custom in Latter Han; and from a practice of a sacred nature to a

2. In *Lun yü*. See Liu Pao-nan, *Lun yü cheng-i* (first pub. in 1867; Shanghai, 1957), pp. 257-258.

3. Cf. Liu Pao-nan, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-260.

4. *Chou li* (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.) 6. 41a.

5. *Kuo yü* ("Ch'u yü"; SPTK ed.) 18b.

6. *Sung shu* 15 (K'ai-ming ed.) II. 1457. 1.

social gathering of a secular nature; the latter development occurred possibly in the Latter Han.<sup>7</sup>

Purification by ablution is known to have existed in ancient Japan. *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matter*, compiled in A.D. 712), for instance, describes how Izanagi, one of Japan's demi-god creation heroes, in the awareness of his having been exposed to the putrefied corpse of his deceased wife in the land of the dead, "arriving at [the plain] Apaki-para by the river-mouth of Tatibana in Pimuka in Tukusi, he purified and exorcised himself."<sup>8</sup> This purification ceremony is not to be confused with the *shang-ssu* observance in China, although the shamanic figure is amply implied by Izanagi, the purification ritual performer, who travels to the land of the dead, sees and talks with his deceased wife. It hardly surprises us, on the other hand, that this early reference to the practice of purification by ablution had made the *shang-ssu* observance an easily admissible custom and belief in Japan. It would be futile to attempt dating the importation of the *shang-ssu* festival into Japan. By the turn of the 11th century, *shang-ssu*, or *jōshi* as the Japanese call it, had become in the court of Japan a ceremonial occasion known as "*mi-no-hi*" or *jō-shi* ("first snake day of the third month"). For in *Genji monogatari* (*Tale of Genji*) Murasaki Shikibu, a brilliant authoress of the Heian period (794–1185) describes a *misogi* ("ceremony of purification") performed on "*mi-no-hi*."<sup>9</sup> The ceremony was conducted by an *on'jōji* ("diviner; shaman") on the third of the third month on the seashore. The ceremony did not require that the participant (Genji) be physically immersed and cleansed in the water, as it had been the case with Izanagi; instead, the ceremony "consisted in the loading of a little boat with a number of doll-like figures and letting it float out to the sea."<sup>10</sup>

Beginning with Wei Dynasty (220–264) the date of the officialized *shang-ssu* began to fall on the third of the third month, probably to avoid the unfixed upcoming of the "uppermost *ssu* day" caused

7. Liu Pao-nan, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

8. Donald L. Philippi (td.) *Kojiki* (Tokyo, 1968), p. 68 and notes 1–2 on p. 68.

9. For "*mi-no-hi*" see Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji monogatari* 5 vols. (Yamagishi Tokubei ed.; Tokyo, 1958–63) II. 52. "*Mi-no-hi*" is also found in *Murasaki shikibu nikki (zenchūshaku)* (Hagitani Boku ed. 2 vols.; Tokyo, 1973) II. 100. Cf. also Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince, Court Life in Ancient Japan* (Oxford, 1964), p. 160 for "Festival of the Snake" on Third Day of the Third Month.

10. Quoted from Arthur Waley (tr.) *The Tale of Genji* (New York, 1960), p. 253.

by the rotation of the *ssu* in the duodecimal cycle. The third day of the third month" was also known as *Ch'ing-ming* chieh or Festival of *Ch'ing-ming*. One official history and at least two vernacular Chinese narratives established the relationship between the "third day of the third month" and the *Ch'ing-ming* Festival. An entry in *Nan Ch'i shu* (*History of the Southern Ch'i Dynasty*) gives, in addition to the link between the third day of the third month and *Ch'ing-ming*, a brief legend about the origin of the purification custom. It reports a certain Kuo Yü of Latter Han whose family "gave birth to two female babes on the uppermost ch'en day of the third month [*ch'en*=the fifth in the duodecimal cycle]; on *shang-ssu* day another female babe was born. Within two days, however, all three babes died. Current custom regarded it inauspicious and every year on that day people would all go to a east [-ward flowing] river, purifying and washing themselves, floating wine-cups on the clear flowing water; hence, [the water site for such a ritual was] known as 'winding water'."<sup>11</sup> The pivot point in the quoted passage hinges on the idea of bodily cleanness after the death of members of the family (note the discriminative attitude toward the birth of females!)—in other words, the idea of observing part of a funeral ritual. At this point we recall Izanagi's purification. Wasn't it part of a funeral ritual observed after the death of his wife? For already in a third century account in the *History of Wei* (*Wei chih*) was recorded the Japanese funeral customs:

When there is death, they mourn for ten days, during which period they do not eat meat. The chief mourners wail and weep, and the others sing, dance, and drank liquor. After the burial, the whole family goes into the water to bathe. . . .<sup>12</sup>

One of the vernacular Chinese narratives, *P'ing-hua San-kuo chih* (*Narratives of the Three Kingdoms*, published during 1321–1323) speaks of a festival gathering sponsored by Emperor Kuang Wu of Latter Han. He invites the people to come to his imperial garden for the celebration: "On the morrow it will be the third day of the third month, the *Ch'ing-ming* Festival. . . . I shall, together with you people, enjoy seeing the blossoms."<sup>13</sup> This brief description gives evidence of what the official history recorded about the relationship between *shang-*

11. *Nan Ch'i shu* 3 vols. (Peking, 1972) I. 149–150.

12. Philippi (tr.), *Kojiki*, p. 68 n. 2.

13. *San-kuo chih p'ing-hua* Vols. I–II (in Ch'en Nai-ch'ien ed., *Ku-i hsiao-shuo*, 4 vols.; Hai-ning, 1929) I. 1a.

*ssu* and *Ch'ing-ming* and the third day of the third month. The other vernacular Chinese narrative, No. 23 in *Ching-shih t'ung yen* (*Tales to Warn the World*; comp. 1624) merely passes "*Ch'ing-ming*, the third month" as one among several traditionally celebrated festivals.<sup>14</sup>

II. *Shang-ssu* Celebrations: Archery, Cock-fight, Feasting, Juice and Soup Made from Herbs, Pastries and Cakes Made with Herbs

Except for the traditional gathering and wine-drinking held by the "winding water," none of the above sources informs us specifically what kind of celebrations there was during the *shang-ssu* festival season. From sources of various nature it can be construed that *shang-ssu* celebrations with variable themes developed considerably beginning with Wei Dynasty. There had been no fixed rules nor unanimously agreed praxes to be complied with. Usually, though not always, a *shang-ssu* celebration originated in the imperial circle and spread to the common people. We should note, among other things, an archery contest celebrated on *shang-ssu*. Emperor Kao-tsu of Northern Wei (386-532), for instance, drove on *shang-ssu* day to a river site and watched his subordinates shooting the "bull's eye."<sup>15</sup> Archery (without contest) was a rite observed by a certain emperor of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty. On *shang-ssu* day the emperor in plain clothing drove to the site for archery. Upon his arrival and after he had mounted on the "dragon-seat," the royal princes and officials seated themselves. Then singing was joined; wine circulated appropriate to the order of ranks of those present. The emperor entered a side-hall to change dresses; meanwhile, the royal steeds, bows and arrows were being arranged. It was only after the emperor had shot and returned to his seat, followed by a momentary suspending of the shooting, that the officials might ensue in shooting.<sup>16</sup> Near Ch'eng-tu in Szechuan, there was a place called "Mountain to Learn Shooting," where the folk of Szechuan gathered at a temple on *shang-ssu* day every year and received esoteric teachings.<sup>17</sup> Shooting on *shang-ssu* day was also known to have been prac-

14. Cf. Feng Meng-lung (ed.), *Ching-shih t'ung-yen* 2 vols. (Taipei, 1958) II. No. 23. 7b. 7-8.

15. *Wei shu* 58 (K'ai-ming ed.) III. 2029. 2. Hereafter unless otherwise specified the volume, the page, and the column numbers in that order refer to the K'ai-ming edition.

16. *Sui shu* 8 (*Chih* 3; "Li-i" 3) III. 2362. 2.

17. In Wen T'ung, *Tan yüan chi*, cited in *Yüeh-ling chi yao* (1715 ed.) 7. 21b.

tised among China's neighboring countries. In the official *History of the Liao Dynasty*, under the section on "Rites"<sup>18</sup> we read:

The third day of the third month is *shang-ssu*. According to the custom of the state, people carve wood in the shape of a rabbit. They divide themselves into parties to shoot the [wooden] rabbits as they gallop their horses. Those who hit the rabbits first are the winners. The defeated party would then dismount from their horses, kneeling in a row to offer wine to the winning party; the winning party drink it on their horses. The national language refers to this day [i.e., *shang-ssu*] as "*t'ao-li hua* [day];" *t'ao-li* means "rabbit;" *hua*, "to shoot."

In Japan, according to Yanagita Kunio's report, shooting on *Jō-shi* day survives in certain parts of Kaga on the coast of Japan Sea (Nihonkai), where people call this day "The Festival of War (or Shooting)" ("ikusa no iwai") and play with bows and arrows on this day; or as in Kesen, south of Kama-ishi, near the Pacific Ocean, there still survives the children's game of shooting.<sup>19</sup>

Also featured on the third day of the third month was cock-fighting. A T'ang romance writer noted the popularity of cock-fights on *Ch'ing-ming* day among the folk and, in particular, at the court of Hsüan-tsung, who set up quarters for the fighting cocks in his palace and put a certain Chia Ch'ang in charge of feeding and training the cocks over one thousand in number. Every year on *Ch'ing-ming* day Ch'ang would dress up in embroidered clothing and a cap adorned with eagle plumes and golden flowers, and herald the cocks into the arena, where the emperor, attended by the courtladies in the company of grand music, was among the spectators to view the cocks which were then ruffling their feathers, spreading their wings, whetting their beaks, sharpening their spurs, and ready to fight. After the fight, the cocks, the defeated preceded by the victorious, would follow Ch'ang to return to the cocks' quarters.<sup>20</sup> In Japan, cock-fighting in the eighth month was attributed by one source to as early as the reign of Yūryaku Tennō in the year 463.<sup>21</sup> As to when was it settled on the third day of the third month, opinions are divided with the most favorable one pointing to the Heian era. At least two sources have it definitely on the third

18. *Liao shih* (53) VII. 5802. 3.

19. Yanagita Kunio, "Sangatsu no sekku ni tsuite," *Minzoku* 1 (1926; No. 3), 165. Cf. also Tateyama Tokuji, "Kaga Nomi-gun Koku-fu mura Yusenji," *Minzoku* 1 (1926), pp. 161-162.

20. *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 5 vols. (Peking, 1961) V. 3992-3993.

21. (*Teihon*) *Nihon shoki* 4 vols. (Maruyama Rinpei ed.; Tokyo, 1966) II. 286-287.

day. *Benno naishi nikki* puts it on the third day of the third month in the third year of Hōji (1249) period. By that year, the *Nikki* says, cocks raised by court-ladies may also compete in the fighting.<sup>22</sup> *Gikeiki*, the legendary account of Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159–1189), describes a custom of watching cock-fights on the third day of the third month, among other things, such as “playing kickball, shooting sparrows with tiny bows, . . . listening to music, drinking . . .”<sup>23</sup>

Of less “militant” nature among the celebration events on this particular day were feasting or wine-drinking by the river or lake site, rambling through the countryside, and climbing mountain, participated by folks of both sexes.<sup>24</sup>

Juice and soup made from boiled plants or herbs, cakes and pastry delicacies made with herbs were prepared on this day. These were usually intended for the physical well-being of the user. In China, for example, on *shang-ssu* day people would boil matrimony-vines (*kou ch'i*), the soup of which is said to be good for bathing with the result of having ever lustrous and youthful-looking skin free from disease.<sup>25</sup> On *shang-ssu* day people also prepare “dragon-tongue-cake” (“lung-she pan”), which consists of andropogon juice, honey sap, and powdered rice.<sup>26</sup> In a medieval Chinese source, the official *History of the Sung Dynasty* (*Sung shih*), one section on “Foreign States” notes that in Korea on *shang-ssu* day cakes are dyed with green aremisia and are regarded as top savoury delicacies.<sup>27</sup> In modern Korea, according to data provided by Sang-su Choe, on the third day of the third month or *samjil* in Korean (<Chinese *shang-ssu*)

22. *Benno naishi nikki* (Tamai Kōsuke ed.; Tokyo, 1966), p. 157.

23. *Gikeiki* (Okami Masao ed.; Tokyo, 1959), p. 337. See also Helen Craig McCullough (tr.) *Yoshitsune, A Fifteenth Century Japanese Chronicle* (Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 260 and n. 17 on p. 260.

24. For Chinese references to feasting and wine-drinking by the water-site see *Yüeh-ling chi-yao* (under “Ch’ien-lung yen”, “Shuang-hsin yen”, “Chang Yüeh . . .” respectively) 7. 21a; 23a; and 25b. For mountain-climbing see *Yüeh-ling chi-yao* (under “Teng Pa-kung-shan”, “Ko-wu kang”) 7. 20b; 23b. For Japanese references to feasting, wine-drinking, and mountain-climbing cf. Yanaga Kuniki, “Sangatsu sekku shūzoku,” *Minzoku* (1926). 159; Yanagita Kunio, op. cit., pp. 165–166; Hashiura Yasuo *Tsuki goto no matsuri* (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 177–178; Wakamori Tarō, *Minzoku saijiki* (Tokyo, 1970), p. 72; also Wakamori, *Nenjū gyōji* (Tokyo, 1957), p. 101; Hōri Miyashizu, *Nihon no minzoku gyōji* (Tokyo, 1972), p. 23.

25. *Yün chi ch’i ch’ien* 32 (SPTK ed.) 14b–15a.

26. Tsung Ling, *Ching Ch’u sui-shih chi* (SPPY ed.) 7b.

27. *Sung shih* (487) VII. 5710. 4.

... people make *hwajeon*, meaning flour cake, in making which the glutinous rice powder and azalea flowers in small round flat shapes are fried in sesame oil. There are other foods of this season called *hwa-myeon* or flower spaghetti soup and *su-myeon* meaning sweet soup spaghetti; in the former the dough of lentils (the green colored peas) is cooked and cut into thin strings and put in a soup of honey and *schizandra chinensis*, and pinenuts are added; in the latter, azalea flowers are used in mixing the lentil flour dough, or it is colored to the same effect and cooked in the same way and put into honey water.<sup>28</sup>

In connection with the "dragon-tongue cake" we should mention an early Japanese account in *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsu roku* [*Verdict Records of Montoku Emperor of Japan*]. In this account it is said:

... in the field there grew grass commonly called *boshi sō* ("cutweed"). It began to grow in the second moon. Its stalks and leaves were white and brittle. On the third day of the third moon women collected it; steamed and pounded it to make cakes. [Such a practice] has become an annual event.<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, preparing cakes on this day in Japan has not only become an annual event, but also a traditional one. Cakes with herbaceous mixture are made; the most common ones are *yomogi mochi* ("mugwort cake")<sup>30</sup> and *hishi mochi* ("water-caltrop cake").<sup>31</sup> Sometimes clams (or bivalves) alone or mixed with rice are also made as offerings.<sup>32</sup>

### III. The Floating Wine-cup and The Floating Boat

The "floating wine-cup on the flowing winding water" marked a past ritual in China and in the course of time became for the literati an occasion of amusement on which to show their poetic talents by composing poems before the floating wine-cup on the winding-water flows to the front of each participant. Eventually this elegant game of high so-

28. See Sang-su Choe, *Annual Customs of Korea* (Seoul, 1960), p. 54 and p. 71 (in Korean).

29. In *Rikkokushi* 9 vols. (Saeki Ariyoshi ed.; Ōsaka, 1928-1931) VII. 13.

30. Yanaga Kuniki (*op. cit.*, 1926), p. 159.

31. Hayashi Kaiichi, "Mino Ka-mo-gun Ōta-machi" and "Sangatsu mikka no suijin matsuri," both in *Minzoku* 1 (1926) 161; 163; 164.

32. Yanaga Kuniki, *op. cit.* (1926), p. 159; Hayakawa Kotarō, "Shinano Shimoina-gun Tankai-mura Niino," *Minzoku* 1 (1926), p. 160; and *Nihon seikatsu saijiki* (Shakai shisōsha ed.; Tokyo, 1969), pp. 92-93.



ciety found its way in the court of Japan.<sup>33</sup> Apart from its being an amusement for the literati, the meaning of the “floating wine-cup” remains largely obscure and it is no surprise that it ceased to enjoy celebrity among such traditional festivals as the Fifth of the Fifth Month (or The Dragon-Boat Festival) and the Mid-Autumn Festival.<sup>34</sup> In contrast to the dead ritual, the “loading and flowing of a little boat with doll-like figures” (in the *Tale of Genji*) is a Japanese counterpart which marks an annual festival still much alive even in contemporary Japan. The celebration of this festival, now called *hinamatsuri*, was associated with the aristocratic class. It gained popularity with the rise of the merchant class. Various factors caused a nation-wide spread of the celebration, but the most basic ones are due to the effect of elementary school textbooks and the propaganda of the merchants selling the festival dolls.<sup>35</sup> Historically, the idea of using the doll had been that with a doll received from an *on'yōji* one would stroke his (or her) body and thus, it is believed, the bodily uncleanness or evil attachment might pass onto the doll; then one would return the “defilement loading” doll to the *on'yōji*, who, after performing an exorcism, let it flow into the river.<sup>36</sup> At a later period when the technique to manufacture dolls advanced to the extent of producing stately quality models, some people were reluctant to let the fine *hitogata* (“dolls”) flow into the river;<sup>37</sup> some people kept them in the temple and there in the temple conducted exorcism or received prayers in such a way as to fulfill the function of warding off evils as it had been in former times. Further, people even decorated their private residence with such settings as a shelf or a tiny shrine and made *shushoku* (“*sake* and food”) as offerings at their own house. Thus, we see the historical development: from the aristocratic to the merchant class; from the original phase of a belief gradually to one of amusement.<sup>38</sup> Generally speaking, it became a custom in Heian era to decorate the

33. For a reference to the literati's composing poems on such occasions see Yen Yen-nien, “San-yüeh-san-jih ch'ü-shui shih hsü i-shou,” in (*Sung-pen Liu-ch'en chu*) *Wen hsüan* 14 vols. (SPTK ed.; reprinted, Taipei, 1964) 11. 7a-14a, especially commentaries on pp. 7a-7b; and another poem of the same title by Wang Yüan-ch'ang on 14a-28a. For a reference in Japanese tradition see, Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, p. 160 and n. 1 on p. 160; pp. 29-30.

34. For references to the “Dragon Boat Festival” and “Mid-Autumn Festival” see Derk Bodde (tr.) *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking* (Hong Kong, 1965; revised ed.), pp. 42-45; 64-65.

35. Hashiura Yasuo, *op. cit.* (1966), p. 175.

36. Iiyama Akio, *Nenjū gyōji* (Tokyo, 1967), p. 61.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 61; see also, Hōri Miyashizu, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

38. Cf. Iiyama Akio, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

dolls as a diversion of the festival. From Muromachi era (ca. 1400) onward, *fūfu* ("husband-wife") dolls were decorated on *jō-shi* day of the third month and for such a event people began to call *hinamatsuri* ("The Dolls Sacrifice" or "the Dolls Festival"). It was during the Edo period, sometime between 1700 and 1800, that *dairibina* ("emperor-empress dolls"), *gosho bina* ("palace dolls"), *gonimbayashi* ("five-musicians") dolls and the like were made to aim at extreme galaxy and thus the dolls being used in present day Japan came into being.<sup>39</sup> The brief sketch of the development of the Dolls Festival should enable us to recognize that, despite speculations on the provenance of the dolls,<sup>40</sup> to the Japanese mind we must attribute the original idea of using the dolls as a "scapegoat" to transmit the bodily uncleanness to the open sea.

#### IV. The Peach-tree Wands and the Peach-blossom Wine

Way back in pre-Ch'in times when a king attended the funeral service of his subordinates, he sent forth shamans (*wu*) to hold peach-wood wands to proceed to the front of the funeral procession to ward off evil spirits. This was so because the peach tree, its branches, fruits, and blossoms were believed to have the power to repel pestilence and evil spirits. In the classical Chinese *Materia Medica* (*Pen ts'ao kang mu*), a collection of treatises on medicinal plants and animals, it is described that the taste of the peach fruit is sour; its smell, disgusting; therefore it can allay the miasmas and subdue hundred kinds of evils; that people use peachwood on the door to repel evil elements.<sup>41</sup> In Japan peach is recognized as a "burning fruit" (*moyumi*). And because the peach-tree has the nature of being a *yōmoku* or "yang plant" it is made as a sacred wood to drive away *inki* or "yin effluvia."<sup>42</sup> Such beliefs in the power of the peach plant naturally led to the utilization of the visually most attractive part, the peach blossoms. People make offerings of peach blossoms so as to drive away miasmas.<sup>43</sup> The peach blossoms combined with wine and other non-organic materials are believed to have the potency of healing various diseases or repelling "demons." It is said that people in China on the third of the third month collected peach blossoms

39. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

40. Based on a legend (its source not given) Wakamori Tarō in *Nenjū gyōji* p. 100 speculates about the possibilities of the "doll figures" being transmitted from China.

41. Li Shih-chen, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* (Wei-ku-chai ed.; *ts'e* 20) 29a.

42. Iiyama Akio, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

which, after being sundried, pounded into powder and mixed with water, would cure abdominal pains. Also on the third of the third month people would gather 1.1 *tou* (about 348 cubic inches in volume) of peach blossoms, mix them with 2 *tou* (about 3.26 gal.) of well-water, 0.6 *tou* of rice, cook and ferment them as if preparing wine. The mixture, taken in the amount of 0.16 gal. three times a day, would release one from lumbago or vertebral pains.<sup>44</sup> If one has scabies, one should pluck the not-yet-bloomed peach blossoms; let them dry in the shade; pound the blossoms together with purple mulberry fruits into powder and blend the two with pork fat. Rinse the scabbed area first with lima-water mixture; then apply the blended ointment.<sup>45</sup> In Japan, on *hinamatsuri* day, peaches and white *sake* (*shirozake*) among other things (such as clams) are offered. The "white sake" in particular is used in contrast to the pink color of the peaches, symbolizing a sacrifice in red and white made to the sun and the moon.<sup>46</sup> Most commonly the white *sake* will do in serving the partakers of this festival, but it is the peach wine or peach blossom wine drunken on the third of the third month that is believed to have the power of expelling demons. The peach-blossom wine (*momo no sake*) of the third month together with the iris wine (*shōbu no sake*) of the fifth month and the chrysanthemum wine (*kiku no sake*) of the ninth month is known as the "demon-repelling-liquor."<sup>47</sup>

The foregoing documentation on the Festival events provides information about the meaning of *shang-ssu* or *jō-shi*: A traditional purification rite performed by shamans (in China *wu*; in Japan *on'yōji*) on the "uppermost *ssu* day" or the first "serpent day" of the third month. In China, beginning with Wei Dynasty, *shang-ssu* became associated with *Ch'ing-ming*; *shang-ssu* and *Ch'ing-ming* are identical and both fall on the third day of the third month, which with its singular rime ("san-yüeh-san" in Chinese or "sangatsu mikka" in Japanese) seemed to be more apt to remember and enjoy greater popularity than *shang-ssu* and for that reason, perhaps, *shang-ssu* tended to be forgotten.

#### Part Two: The Myths

I have presented a preliminary background account on *shang-ssu* or *jō-shi* with a view to understand better the following myths. There are basically three narratives: two from China, one from Japan. There

44. *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* (20) 25a.

45. *Ibid.*, 25a.

46. Iiyama Akio, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

47. Takagi Toshio, "Ma yoke no sake," *Kiodo kenkyu* 8 (Tokyo, 1913; no. 8), 473.

are also variants of these narratives in both countries. Summaries and discussions of the narratives (and of the variants as well whenever the occasion calls for them) will follow.

### I. Chinese Narratives

The first is included as a prologue in *P'ing-hua San-kuo chih* (published during 1321--1323); the second, in a collection of narratives (*hua-pen*) published (ca. 1550) by Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang. To the latter is a variant also found in the *hua-pen* collection. The stories in summary are given below.

#### i. *P'ing-hua San-kuo chih* (abbreviated as Skc)

It was the fifth year in the reign of Emperor Kuang-wu. One day the emperor was sauntering about in the imperial garden. He marvelled at the sight of the strange flowers and plants. When he learned that these were the work of forced labor he immediately sent out imperial orders, saying, "Tomorrow will be the third day of the third month, the *Ch'ing-ming* Festival. . . I shall together with you people enjoy seeing the blossoms." Next day people were crowded everywhere in the imperial garden viewing the flowers. Suddenly there appeared a scholar wearing a cone-shaped hat and black boots. He was carrying in his left hand a pot of wine; in his right hand an earthen bowl; on his back a lute, a sword, and a book-case. He came to the garden for sight-seeing. Being a little late, he found all pavilions occupied. About several ten feet away lay a row of cypresses. He walked to that green fluffy grassy spot. He put down the wine pot and the bowl; untied his lute, sword, and book-case. He sat down comfortably and poured the wine into the earthen bowl. He finished it at a drought and continuously drank three bowls. In a twinkling, indeed, he was already half-soused. . . .

His name was Ssu-ma Chung-hsiang. Sitting there, bored, he played the lute for a while. Then he took out a book from the book-case. As he read about the ruin of Ch'in and the First Emperor's tyranny he was so furious that he cursed the First Emperor, saying, had he himself been the emperor, he would have enjoyed happiness with the people. He complained that the Lord of Heaven must have been blind to have let such a ruler reign with the people suffering. While he was thus complaining, unexpectedly there appeared from behind the hedge-rows of climbing plants fifty men in broidery suits and fine caps. In front of them were eight persons in purple gowns with golden belts. They presented six items as gifts for Chung-hsiang from "Jade Emperor." The six items were spread on a phoenix-shaped gold tray. They were: a king's cap, a robe with dragon designs, a pair of "Sorrowless" shoes, a white gem-token, a jade girdle, and a king's sword. Chung-hsiang accepted the gifts. He put them on, holding in his hand the white gem-token. . . . The fifty men in fine caps carried a "dragon-phoenix" sedan-chair to where Chung-hsiang was. After Chung-hsiang had seated himself in the sedan-chair, they carried him to a palace of lapis lazuli. . . . High up in the front of the palace on a red-paint board were written four huge golden characters: "The Hall For Com-

plaints." Chung-hsiang was puzzled as to the meaning of these characters when the eight persons told him that this place was not the living world but the underworld; that while he was cursing the First Emperor, he had offended the Lord of Heaven by misunderstanding His compassionate design that tyrannical rulers are met with the retributions of their people; and that since Chung-hsiang had offended the Lord, the latter had him summoned to The Hall For Complaints to act as ruler of the underworld and judge the complaints of the plaintiffs. As Chung-hsiang betook himself to the seat of the judge, the first to submit his complaint was Han Hsin. He complained that he, who had rendered service to Emperor Kao-tsu in founding the Han Dynasty, became a victim in a conspiracy involving Emperess Lü, who had summoned him to her inner palace, where he was beheaded. Chung-hsiang was diffident as to what he should do when another one voiced his grievance. He was P'eng Yüeh, who, he said, together with Han Hsin had founded the Han Dynasty, was not asked to serve the state; rather, his body was chopped into minced meat, which was partaken by the feudal lords.<sup>48</sup> Another man, Ying Pu, complained that he, who had also helped Emperor Kao-tsu establish Han, was not employed but killed by Kao-tsu. The judge, greatly enraged, summoned Kao-tsu to the Hall. Kao-tsu claimed his ignorance of the conspiracy. But Emperess Lü and K'uai T'ung (a former adviser to Han Hsin), who were also summoned to the Hall, provided positive evidence that Kao-tsu had been at fault. Now each one put down his or her confessions on paper which were brought to the attention of the Lord of Heaven. The Jade Emperor decreed that since Kao-tsu owed gratitude to his three meritorious officials, let the three persons divide the kingdom he had founded. Let Han Hsin be [reborn in the person of] Ts'ao Ts'ao and divide the kingdom from central China; let P'eng Yüeh be [reborn in the person of] Liu Pei and occupy Shu Ch'uan [i.e., Szechuan]; let Ying Pu be [reborn in the person of] Sun Ch'üan and divide the kingdom from south of Yangtze; let Kao-tsu be [reborn in the person of] Emperor Hsien, and Emperess Lü, [in the person of] Emperess Fu [married to Emperor Hsien]. Let Ts'ao Ts'ao imprison Emperor Hsien and kill Emperess Fu for revenge. . . . Let K'uai T'ung be [reborn in the person of] Chu-ko Liang to help Liu Pei establish his kingdom in western [Shu] Ch'uan. Let Ssu-ma Chung-hsiang be [reborn in the person of] Ssu-ma Chung-ta to conquer the three kingdoms and unify the entire land. That was the end of the decree of Jade Emperor. The narrative forks here. . . .<sup>49</sup>

ii. "Hsi-hu San-t'a chi" ("Story of the Western Lake Three Pagodas;" abbreviated as CP3)

Hsi Hsüan-tsan, 20, was the son of a military official. Throughout his life he was neither fond of wine nor of women. On a *Ch'ing-mind* day he went out sight-seeing. He walked through Ch'ien-t'ang Gate and across the Broken Bridge till he reached Temple of the Four Holy Ones. In the crowd there was a young girl who had lost her way, trying to find her grandmother. Hsi took her to his home so that her grandmother could pick her up, because the girl had told him that her house was quite close to his. About half a month later her grandmother did come. She said to the girl, "Since this gentleman saved your life, why don't you invite him home for a dinner as a

48. This is not true according to the official histories.

49. Ch'en Nai-ch'ien (ed.) *Ku-i hsiao-shuo* I. 1a-4a.

token of your gratitude " With that she mounted a sedan-chair with the girl, while Hsi followed behind till finally they reached the Temple. The old woman let him in through a sidedoor by the Temple. And inside all was superb like a palace designed for the dwelling of a fairy god. Then a lady of unusual charms, dressed in white, greeted them. In a moment a feast was set up for the reunion. Wine was served to the third cup. As Hsi Hsüan-tsan stared at the lady, who was as lovely as a blossom or a piece of jade, dissolute waves overflowed in his mind. And he asked the lady's name. While they were in high spirits, a man approached the lady, saying, 'Lady, since this bridegroom is available today, I wonder if you would like him to replace your old acquaintance?'

"That's the idea! Have it done right away so as to serve as an appetizer for Hsüan-tsan!" Lo! over there, two strong men held a young man, tied him up on a pillar, and cut open his belly to take out the heart and liver which they offered to the lady. She poured out a glass of hot wine to invite Hsüan-tsan to taste the appetizer. Hsüan-tsan excused himself, so the lady and the grandmother ate it. The lady said, "You have been so kind as to have saved my daughter's life. Since I have no husband now, I am yours, my body and all." That night they made love to each other. Hsi stayed with the lady for about half a month when he began to feel homesick. He begged leave to go home for a few days only to come back again. Before he could finish his speech a man came in with the following report, "Lady, there is a new bridegroom available now. I wonder if you would like him to replace your old acquaintance?"

"Bring him in please!" said the lady. Soon a feast was spread out for the lady and the newcomer. The lady sent people to get Hsüan-tsan's heart and liver. A strong man put him under an iron coop which was as heavy as a mountain pressing on him. Hsüan-tsan urged the girl, Mao-nu, to save his life. The girl said, "Shut our eyes!" She took him on her back. Hsüan-tsan could hear the sounds of the wind and the rain passing by his ears. As he held her around the neck, he could feel something hairy-like. After a little while, the girl shouted, "Landing!" As he opened his eyes the girl had disappeared; he was sitting on the city walls of his home town. When he came home, his mother saw that he had a thin and sickly look. He told his mother his adventure in full detail.

As time sped away, it was another year. Again it was on *Ch'ing-ming* that Hsi went out, this time to the back of his house to shoot some birds. He shot a crow. It fell down and after several hops transformed itself into the old grandmother whom he had met the previous year. "Ghost! Help!" he shouted and tried to flee. The old woman beckoned to the air. A cart with demon coachmen descended and drove them to the Temple again. The lady in white entertained him as a lover. About half a month later, Hsi made an excuse for leaving. The lady in anger called out her demon servants to get Hsüan-tsan's heart and liver. Again, Mao-nu saved Hsi and flew him home. Several days later, Hsi's uncle, a Taoist priest, claimed to have seen a blast of demoniac air in the direction of Hsi's home. That was why he had come. Hsi's mother told the priest all that had happened. The priest bade them to come to the Temple to watch him exorcise the demons. On the following day, in the evening, when they were all in the Temple, the priest first let Hsüan-tsan drink some water (over which a spell had been cast) and spit out the demoniac sputum inside him. Then he lit the candles and burned the incense on an altar. He recited some incantations, wrote spells on a piece

of paper and burned it. A gust of wind arose after which a divine warrior appeared to wait upon the priest. The priest sent the divine warrior to catch three demons which after being caught, were no other persons than the old woman, Mao-nu, and the lady in white. The priest bade the divine warrior give them a beating, at which the three demons were reduced to animal forms: the girl being a black chicken, the grandmother, an otter, and the lady, a white snake. The priest put them into an iron jar, sealed the mouth of the jar with amulets, and placed it in the center of the Western Lake.<sup>50</sup>

iii. "Lo-yang San-kuai chi" ("Story of the Three Demons of Lo-yang;" abbreviated as CP8)

It was on a *Ch'ing-ming* Festival day in Lo-yang. P'an Sung, son of a jewelry owner, went to a garden outside the city to join the crowd for viewing the flowers. He enjoyed seeing the scenery for a while. As he walked away from the crowd on a lonely path, he was stopped by an old woman who claimed to be his aunt and invited him home for some tea. They followed a hill path, crossed a shaky single-plank bridge, and reached a place surrounded by a forlorn garden. The old woman went in first. In a moment two blue-dressed maids invited him in. One of the maids, Wang Ch'un-ch'un, P'an's old neighbor who had died a few days ago, was surprised to see P'an there. "This is no men's world!" she said and urged P'an to run for his life. P'an fled. He went to a tavern where he met an old friend of his, Taoist Hsu Shou-chen. After they had drunk their fill, they went out. While walking, P'an pointed to a low wall. "Look! Two white wrens are preening each other on the tiles. One slips inside the tiles. Watch! I'll catch this one!" Just as he raised his hand he was lifted and pulled by someone into the other side of the wall—the same place where he had met the old woman earlier. The old woman complained about him (he had fled). She covered him up with a huge chicken-coop. She tied three knots of her clothing, breathed upon the chicken-coop, and left. In a moment the old woman came back. She untied the knots and lifted the chicken-coop. She led P'an to a place designed like one for a fairy god. A lady of superb beauty dressed in white entertained P'an with a feast. P'an finished one cup of drink and was about to ask the lady's name when suddenly came in a ferocious-looking stranger. He furiously grumbled about the lady's entertaining her guest. After drinking for a while he left. P'an learned from the lady that he was Regent of the Red Dust. The lady said, "Since the old woman took trouble to invite you here, let's us enjoy ourselves in love." After mid-night the lady left her bed and went out. Wang Ch'un-ch'un, who had been waiting upon them, warned P'an again. She led P'an to a spot where a man was tied up to a pillar. The old woman was cutting open his chest and taking out the man's heart and liver. Ch'un-ch'un told P'an that this man, like him kidnapped by the old woman, had become the lady's lover for several days only to lose his life when another man was available to the lady. Soon the lady came in again, followed by the old woman. P'an feigned to be asleep. The two women drank and ate the heart and liver. After that the old woman left; the lady went to sleep. Ch'un-ch'un beckoned P'an to rise. She told P'an that the lady in white was the

50. Hung P'ien, *Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang hua-pen* (T'an Cheng-pi ed.; Shanghai, 1957), pp. 22-32.

Lady of Jade Stamen; the ferocious-looking man, Regent of the Red Dust; and the old woman, the White Holy Mother; that these three had ruined many people's lives. Ch'un-ch'un showed him how to flee through a hole inside the room near the bed. P'an stepped into the hole and walked for about half a *li* when he could see a path leading out. It was dawning outside. In the distance stood a temple with lights on and crowds bustling around. He learned that the people there were celebrating the *Ch'ing-ming* Festival. He saw that in the shrine behind the yellow curtains were three golden images with colorful decors: the Regent of the Red Dust, sitting in the center, the Lady of Jade Stamen, on his left, and the White Holy Mother, sitting on the platform to his right.

P'an returned home, telling his parents the previous night adventure. P'an and his parents visited Taoist Hsu at his temple. After performing the ceremonies during which a gust of wind arose, Hsu learned from a divine messenger that P'an was destined to suffer from trials for a period of 49 days. To avoid misfortune, P'an took shelter in Hsu's temple. P'an stayed in the temple for one month and several days. One day he walked to a fish pond. As he dipped the fishing hook into the water, an old woman emerged and took the bait on the hook. Seized by a panic, P'an swooned. P'an was brought home by his parents. One day while standing by a door, P'an saw the old woman again, who said to him, "The lady sent me to fetch you!" She disappeared at the shouting of Taoist priest Chiang, Hsu's master, who was invited to exorcise the demons. Around mid-night of that same day, Chiang performed magic. After some incantations, two divine warriors came, dragging White Holy Mother behind. Chiang had her covered under a chicken-coop surrounding which were piled up firewoods. Chiang shouted: "Set fire! Burn it!" In a short time the old woman disappeared; in her place was a dry chicken inside the coop. Next day Chiang performed ceremonies in the forlorn garden. A gust of wind arose after which four divine warriors appeared to wait upon Chiang. With orders from Chiang, the divine warriors arrested the other two demons, driving them to the front of an altar. The demons, when beaten by the divine warriors, were transformed into animals: the Lady of Jade Stamen into a white cat; the Regent of the Red Dust, a spotted red snake.<sup>51</sup>

The three narratives, Skc, CP3 and CP8, belong to one and the same group in the sense that they all share a similar story-pattern. By "story-pattern" I mean the essential elements or themes of a narrative that can be formulated in a sequence by "headline" words to represent the basic and over-all scheme of the entire narrative.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the story-patterns for Skc, CP3, and CP8 in that order are:

i. Skc

*Ch'ing-ming*:  
 Outgoing : Wine-Drinking : Encounter with Men from :

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-77.

52. For the idea of "story-patterns" (or "thematic patterns") see Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 94-123; 159-185; Alsace Yen, "Thematic-Patterns in Japanese Folktales: A Search For Meanings," *Asian Folklore Studies* 33-2 (Nagoya, 1974), 2-19.



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(to imperial garden for sightseeing) : (Ssu-ma drinks by himself) : Underworld (50 men + 8 persons)  
 Otherworld Journey : Knowledge Obtained : [Return]  
 (a. through a dream; (a. plaintiffs' complaints;  
 b. Ssu-ma carried by 50 men to a palace) : b. assignments of future missions)

ii. CP3

*Ch'ing-ming*:  
 Outgoing<sup>1</sup> : Encounter with Demon : Demon's Visit<sup>1</sup> :  
 (to Temple for sightseeing) (Hsi meets Mao-nu) (a. Mao-nu is brought home;  
 b. old woman comes)  
 Otherworld Journey<sup>1</sup> : Knowledge Obtained<sup>1</sup> : Return<sup>1</sup> :  
 (to palace; (a. Hsi sees someone (Mao-nu flies Hsi back) :  
 a. Hsi received by lady; die;  
 b. Hsi's turn to die)  
 b. Feast+sexual merriment)  
 Devastation<sup>1</sup> : *Ch'ing-ming*<sup>2</sup> : Outgoing<sup>2</sup> : Demon's Visit<sup>2</sup> :  
 (Hsi's sickly look) (to the back of Hsi's house) (old woman in crow form comes)  
 Otherworld Journey<sup>2</sup> : Knowledge Obtained<sup>2</sup> : Return<sup>2</sup> : Devastation<sup>2</sup> :  
 (same as OWJ<sup>1</sup>) (Hsi's turn to die) (same as Return<sup>1</sup>) (demonic air in Hsi's house)  
 Consulting : Removal of Evil : Restoration of Order :  
 (uncle Taoist consulted) (a. uncle exorcises demons;  
 b. demons' identities revealed)

iii. CP8

*Ch'ing-ming*:  
 Outgoing : Encounter with Demon<sup>1</sup> :  
 (to garden for sight-seeing) (old woman pretends to be P'an's aunt and invites him for tea)  
 Otherworld Journey<sup>1</sup> : Knowledge Obtained<sup>1</sup> :  
 (incomplete) (Wang: "This is no men's world")  
 (P'an enters forlorn garden)  
 Return<sup>1</sup> : Wine-drinkig : Outgoing<sup>2</sup> : Encounter with :  
 (temporary) (P'an+Hsu (out to low Demon<sup>2</sup>  
 (P'an escapes drink) wall) (P'an meets old woman near low wall)  
 garden)  
 Otherworld Journey<sup>2</sup> : Knowledge Obtained<sup>2</sup> : Return<sup>2</sup> : Consulting<sup>1</sup> :  
 (to palace; lady (P'an sees (P'an escapes thro' a hole) (Hsu consulted)

receives P'an; feast+sexual merriment)	somone die; P'an's turn to die)		
Demon's Visit (old woman haunts Hsu's temple)	: Devastation (P'an repeatedly haunted by demon)	: Consulting <sup>2</sup> (Taoist Chiang consulted)	:
Removal of Evil (Chiang exorcises demons; demons' identities revealed)		: Restoration of Order (implied)	:

In Skc the Return is absent. Its absence is apparently caused by what we call a "Homeric nod" or oral inconsistency. The Return is provisionally supplied (with brackets) as a necessity in the logic of narrative-making of this particular group of narratives in Chinese tradition.<sup>53</sup> This illogical ending or oral inconsistency was eliminated by an editor in No. 31 of *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* (*Stories Old and New*; published in the early 1620's). In this collection, under a different title as a single story, the dream ends as the hero "awoke to find his wife weeping by the side of his bed."<sup>54</sup> What the pattern of Skc lacks, as compared with those of CP3 and CP8, are mainly (1) the repetition of a pattern: Otherworld Journey: Knowledge Obtained: Return; and (2) the narrative matter after the Return, namely, Devastation, Consulting, Demon's Visit (optional), Removal of Evil.

"Repetition"<sup>55</sup> is a characteristic feature in oral narrative composition to signal the presence or anticipation of an important event or theme. A good example of repetition is shown by CP3. In this story the hero, Hsi Hsüan-tsan, after going to the underworld palace on a *Ch'ing-ming* day, visits the palace again on *Ch'ing-ming* of the following year. Therefore, part of the CP3 structure can be represented by a repeated pattern:

*Ch'ing-ming*<sup>1</sup>: Outgoing<sup>1</sup>: Demon's Visit<sup>1</sup>: Otherworld Journey<sup>1</sup>: Knowledge Obtained<sup>1</sup>: Return<sup>1</sup>: Devastation<sup>1</sup>/*Ch'ing-ming*<sup>2</sup>: Outgoing<sup>2</sup>: Demon's Visit<sup>2</sup>: Otherworld Journey<sup>2</sup>: Knowledge Obtained<sup>2</sup>: Return<sup>2</sup>: Devastation<sup>2</sup>

If repetition signifies an important event and, as a matter of fact, CP3 stresses the point that twice the hero goes to the underworld on a *Ch'ing-ming* day and twice returns alive, and witnesses an exorcization,

53. Cf. Alsace Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 115-118; 163-170; 177-178.

54. Feng Meng-lung (ed.) *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo* 2 vols. (Taipei, 1958) II. 31. 20b.

55. "Repetitions" can be found on three main levels: (1) formulary language, (2) thematic, and (3) thematic-pattern. For an example see Alsace Yen, *op. cit.* (1974), pp. 6-7.

what does narrative CP3 reflect? It reflects, in my interpretation, the weight of a traditional notion of having *wu* or shamans perform a rite on *shang-ssu* or *Ch'ing-ming* day to do away with evils. My interpretation on the surface appears to be an over-simplification, but actually involves the groundwork of several intriguing studies.<sup>56</sup> (1) First of all, a brief note on the beliefs in shamanism, the attributes of shamans (or shamanesses), the shamans' functions in society. The manifestations accorded to the shamanistic creeds include beliefs in and sanction of

... the existence of spiritual beings in the forms of "souls," ancestral spirits, demons, animals, and spirits in the physical world... Their professionals, known as "shaman" ("the one who knows"), claim to have the ability to "cure"... "cure"... in its broadest sense: from the commonest things such as to "cure" the sick, to "cure" the lost soul of the dead (either to restore it to life or conduct it to where souls belong), to "cure" the predicament of lost cattle, to "cure" the sorry plight of poverty, etc. In a "therapy" the shaman communicates with the spirits of the non-human world so as to gain insight into the causes of his clients' troubles, to acquire the needed "prescriptions" for the sick or to bring back the soul of the deceased from the "otherworld." The realization of the "therapy" relies on the success of the shaman's "ecstatic journey to the otherworld," which may take place in a dream, during a trance-like "sleep," in what Mircea Eliade calls a "temperal death," through drunkenness, dance and music, or simply by *yogis* or meditation... Once in an ecstatic state, the shaman has at his disposal "tutelary spirits" of various kinds (animals, demons, spirits of plants, souls of ancestral shamans). The tutelary spirits communicate with the shaman in a "secret or spirit language" and enable the shaman to foresee the causes of sickness, of misfortunes, and of other mysteries. They serve as guides to conduct the shaman's "Journey to the Other-world." They may help the shaman pass certain "perilous passages" (a dangerous bridge, a narrow mountain pass, a river, a well-guarded gate or fortress, a tree reaching heaven; the "perilous passage" symbolizes connection and establishment between the living and the dead). Oftentimes the tutelary animals are able to make the shaman transform himself into animal form, or, according to other sources, the shamanic medicine men are able to change into hens and falcons to effect a "magical flight" either to fly over the "perilous passage" or simply to experience an ecstasy. In his ecstatic realm, the shaman may experience a sexual merriment with a celestial lover or enjoy a meal or a feast prepared by his celestial wife...<sup>57</sup>

(2) The shaman's "therapeutic process" including the client's

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56. Albert B. Lord's concept of "thematic pattern" and Mircea Eliade's *Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton, 1964) have led me to three studies, namely, "Demon Tales" (1971), "Thematic-Patterns in Japanese Folktales" (1974), and "The Parry-Lord Theory Applied to Vernacular Chinese Stories," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95. 3 (1975). 403-416.

57. Alsace Yen, *op. cit.* (1974), pp. 20-22. In citing this passage I omitted the original footnotes to avoid confusion.

miserable situation, invitation of a shaman and the latter's "therapeutic treatment" can be seen in a series of "happenings" as:

Client's Situation (sickness, death, loss of animal, etc.)	: Inviting/or Consult- ing a Shaman	: Wine-Drinking (or other means to effect a trance)	:
Tutelary Spirits (as the shaman's guides, helpers, etc.)	: "Therapeutic Treatment"	(by the shaman's going through an ecstatic state to seek remedy)	:
Cause of Client's Trouble Learned: Return of Shaman (to Consciousness): Remedy Served to the Client (the shaman "cures"): Client's Normal Con- dition Restored.			

(3) Contents of narratives indicative of the shamanistic "therapy" including "Otherworld Journey" and "Return" (a must!) can be detected by reducing the contents of narratives into story-patterns consisting of essential thematic elements and by comparing these patterns with the professional shaman's "therapeutic process" given above.

With the foregoing groundwork in mind we can say with certainty that the contents of CP3 (in fact CP8/Skc as well) reveals that the hero on *Ch'ing-ming* has gone through a journey to the otherworld—the kind of otherworld journey a professional shaman professed to have experienced upon his coming back into consciousness from a trance. In fact, the very story-pattern, *Ch'ing-ming*: Wine-Drinking: Otherworld Journey: Return, completes the recycling or restoring of life by the very act of the hero's "return" from the otherworld. This "return," the restoring of life on the third of the third month, corresponds to the traditional ceremony as recorded in *Sung shu*: "It had been the custom . . . on the first *ssu* day of the third month . . . to summon the souls and carry [back] the shades. . . ."

Let us now return to Skc. Apart from the Devastation, Consulting, and the Removal of Evil which Skc lacks, Skc is pattern-wise identical to CP3/CP8. Its pattern is concerned with a hero's going to the otherworld on *Ch'ing-ming*. As I have noted, the episode of Ssu-ma Chung-hsiang's otherworld journey is a prologue to *P'ing-hua San-kuo chih*, which should be translated as *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms Told in Narratives*. *P'ing-hua San-kuo chih* as a whole is a narrative of historical nature. To a narrative of historical nature is attached a grisly narrated prologue, what does this phenomenon mean? For one thing it could mean the kind of technique developed at a certain stage of narrative-making. In a 1589 edition of *Shui hu*, better known in the West as *All Men Are Brothers* translated by Pearl S. Buck, there is also a pro-

logue which clearly states that on the third day of the third month a pestilence spreads out in the capital area. The court sends Hung Hsin, an imperial commissioner, to a Taoist temple to invite a Taoist to the capital to perform magic and stop the pestilence. In the temple Hung purifies himself and burns incense. After that, he walks alone to Dragon-Tiger Mountain, where the Taoist dwells. On his pilgrimage he meets a tiger, a python, and finally a Taoist boy whose warnings of dangers in the hills caused Hung to turn his way back to the temple. In the temple Hung learns that the boy is in fact the Taoist sought by his pilgrimage. To celebrate the fulfilment of his mission, the head Taoist of the temple gives Hung a feast at which wine is served. On the next day, in the company of the head Taoist and others, Hung visits the temple halls. He is warned not to open a stone cover over a dungeon. But, contrary to advice, he opens it. Sure enough, a strange sound comes from the dungeon. It sounds like "the skies have fallen down; the earth, floundered; the mountains, toppled; the hills collapsed. . . . A gust of wind snaps off a thousand bamboo canes; a clap of mid-night thunder resounds amidst a hundred-thousand armies." Hung Hsin quietly returns to the capital, forbidding his followers to mention of this incident. In the capital Hung learns that the Taoist has already come, performed magic, and stopped the pestilence.<sup>58</sup> That, too, is a grisly narrated prologue. That, however, does not settle the issue of the "mystic otherworld journey" motif. The answer has to be spotted in the light of the "mystic otherworld journey" being an archetypal concern of the "shaman-narrator" in some part of early Chinese literature. *The Nine Songs (Chiu ko)* are good examples in which the narrator identifies him- or herself as wandering in a mysterious aerial or underworld, seeking or meeting a goddess or a god (depending on the sex of the narrator). The shaman-narrator in the song of "The River God (*Ho po*)" sings:

With you I wandered down the Nine Rivers;  
 A whirlwind rose and the waters barred us with their waves.  
 We rode in a water-chariot with awning of lotus-leaf  
 Drawn by two dragons, with griffins to pull at the sides.  
 I climb K'un-lun and look in all direction;  
 My heart rises all a-flutter, I am agitated and distraught.  
 Dusk is coming, but I am too sad to think of return.  
 Of the far shore only are my thoughts; I lie awake and yearn.

.... ....  
 .... ....

58. *Shui-hu ch'üan-chuan* 3 vols. (Peking, 1954; reprinted in Hong Kong, 1965) I. i. 1-10; and ii. 15.

.... ....  
 .... ....

With you I wandered in the islands of the River.  
 The ice is on the move; soon the floods will be down.  
 You salute me with raised hands, then go towards the East.  
 I go with my lovely one as far as the southern shore.  
 The waves surge on surge come to meet him,  
 Fishes shoal after shoal escort me on my homeward way.<sup>59</sup>

In the "Rhapsody on Kao-t'ang (*Kao-t'ang fu*)" and the "Rhapsody on Divine Woman (*Shen-nü fu*)", both attributed to Sung Yü, the narrator relates in a *prologue* the encounter of a woman by a king (in his dream) at the land of "Dream of Clouds." In the first "Rhapsody" the narrator describes:

... a former king strolled at Kao-t'ang... [He] disposed himself lazily for a daytime rest and, in a dream or vision, has seen a woman who addressed him thus: "Your handmaiden is the Woman of Shamanka Mountain, now a visitor at Kao-t'ang. Hearing that you, milord, were strolling at Kao-t'ang I wished to offer myself to your pillow and mat." The king therefore gave his favor. She left him with these words: "On the sunlit slope of Shamanka Mountain, at the steep places of the high hill—your handmaiden is 'Down Cloud' in the morning, 'Moving Rain' in the evening..." In the morning the king looked for her in vain. Later he raised a temple and styled it Down Cloud.<sup>60</sup>

After the *prologue* comes the "Rhapsody" proper in which the narrator depicts the beauty of the goddess. In the second "Rhapsody," a sequel to the first rhapsody, the narrator again in a prologue describes that a king in his dream encounters a goddess. As the king awakes he reports the encounter to Sung Yü, the narrator, who at the request of the king composes the main part of the second "Rhapsody." In both *prologues* the king who strolls to the otherworld of "Dream of Clouds" and encounters the goddess of Shamanka Mountain suggests a shaman figure. Professor Edward Schafer goes so far as to say "the divine kings of early antiquity in China were themselves shamans."<sup>61</sup> Be as it may, the fact is: on *Ch'ing-ming* the otherworld journey takes place, *Ch'ing-ming* being a custom traditionally involved with a shaman whose function it had been to perform a rite on this day to do away with evils. In that connection CP3 and CP8 are more informative.

59. Arthur Waley, *The Nine Songs. A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China* (London, 1955), p. 47.

60. Edward S. Schafer, *The Divine Woman. Dragon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 35-36.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

More informative in that CP3 and CP8 not only contain an other-world journey on *Ch'ing-ming* including a Return (repeated twice in CP3), but also involve an Exorcization, which in effect does away with the evil force represented by the snake-Lady or snake-Regent symbolic of the ophidian animal associated with the duodecimal *ssu* day. Other elements reminiscent of the events traditionally associated with *shang-ssu* or *Ch'ing-ming* are the "outgoing" and "viewing flowers." "Cock-fight" is not literally presented but is symbolically implied in the chicken's (Mao-nu in CP3; old woman in CP8) being beaten by "heavenly warrior(s)" (an "aerial creature"). But I am inclined to taking the "chicken" as a shamanistic element on three accounts: (1) its ability to transform from human to animal form and vice versa; (2) its ability to travel between the living world and the otherworld; and (3) its capacity to serve as a "helpful animal" to the shaman hero journeying in the otherworld either by (Mao-nu) flying the hero back or by the very act of (old woman) guiding the hero to the otherworld. (Of course, in CP8 it is the spirit of Wang Ch'un-ch'un that helps P'an escape.) Equally allusive are the elements of the "feast" and the "sexual merriment" as part of the shaman-hero's ecstatic experience. The interlude of the feast and the sexual merriment reminds us of "the well-known mythical theme of the meal that the feminine spirits of the beyond offer to every mortal who reaches their domain, in order that he shall forget his earthly life and remain forever in their power."<sup>62</sup> The idea of the "celestial wife" and/or the sexual overture appears to be a secondary element in shamanism, as Mircea Eliade points out.<sup>63</sup> The inclusion of such an interlude could have been out of an intention "to interest the audience during a séance that sometimes tends to become monotonous."<sup>64</sup> These elements as well as the story-patterns of CP3 and CP8 discussed offer a firm ground for arguing that the contents of CP3 and CP8 reflect myths related with shamanism; that the myths associated with *Ch'ing-ming* are a phenomenon peculiar to Chinese shamanistic tradition, to be precise, the tradition of having shamans or shamanesses perform a rite on *shang-ssu* to do away with evils.

A clarification on several points is urgently needed. (1) The meanings of the Chinese character *wu*; and the number of persons involved in a "wu" performance. (2) The Wine-drinking element. (3) The problem of "Oral Inconsistency."

62. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 77.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 80.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

(1) In the *Shuo wen* dictionary Hsü Shen gives *wu* in the form of X<sup>1</sup> (see in the Appendix for the appearances of this and other symbols marked by "X's") as meaning "Readers (*chu*) [at a ritual ceremony]. Women can [serve]. The performance [involved] has no [definite] form. By dancing [the *wu*] invokes the spirits to descend. [The symbol X<sup>2</sup>] resembles the appearance of persons' sleeves [during the] dancing."<sup>65</sup> An old form for *wu* is given as X<sup>3</sup>, in which the two "mouths" suggest *wu* uttering incantations; the two "grass" radicals below suggest "grasses" (or mugwort for this kind of grass was collected on the third of the third month and was used during the performance of the purification rite on *shang-ssu* day<sup>66</sup>). The character *wu* was also associated with the character *i* (X<sup>4</sup> in the Appendix), another form for *i* (X<sup>5</sup> in the Appendix), both (X<sup>4</sup> and X<sup>5</sup>) meaning "medical doctors."<sup>67</sup> Hence, the complex meanings of *wu*: persons involved in a rite which requires dancing (probably in the company of music), persons who use mugwort during the rite; persons who serve in the capacity of medical doctors and use wine. The Wine-drinking element in Skc and CP8 and the fact that the hero in Skc, CP3 and CP8 is always accompanied, assisted and guided by some mystical persons are in character with the meanings of the character *wu* gleaned from Chinese classical sources.

(2) The wine-drinking is basically an element in shamanism to effect a trance during a shaman performance and, like a "dream" or "sleeping sickness," is just one form of device to fulfill the "mission in an ecstatic journey." The presence of Wine-drinking in Skc, CP8, and at least five other Chinese narratives (3 on *Ch'ing-ming*; 1 in early spring; 1 in autumn) all in the pattern of *Ch'ing-ming* (spring/autumn): Outgoing: Wine-drinking: Otherworld: Knowledge Obtained: Return,<sup>68</sup>

65. Hsü Shen, *Shuo wen chieh tzu* (Ch'en Ch'ang-chih ed., 1873; reprinted in Peking, 1963), p. 100a.

66. Ts'ui Shih in *Ssu-min yüeh-ling* (Shih Han-sheng ed., Peking, 1965, p. 25) notes that "mugwort is collected on the third day of the third month." Both the commentary by Cheng Hsüan (in *Chou li* 6. 41a) and *Sung shu* (see note 6 above) mention the use of fragrant grass in the purifying bath on *shang-ssu*. For the contention that the two identical radicals in the lower position represent "grasses" rather than "two hands in a position showing reverence to the gods," see Yen, "Demon Tales," p. 184.

67. Cf. Yang Hsiung, *T'ai hsüan ching* (SPTK ed.) 8. 7b and Ting Tu, *Chi yüan* (SPPY ed.) 1. 25a.

68. These five narratives are Nos. 19, 28, 30, and 39 in *Ching-shih t'ung yen*; and "K'ung Shu-fang shuang-yü shan-chui chuan" in *Hsiung Lung-feng ssu-chung hsiao-shuo* (Wang Ku-lu ed., Shanghai, 1958, pp. 63-71). For a discussion of the "Return" in these narratives cf. Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 115-118; and 163-170.



makes it imperative that the Wine-drinking absent from CP3 is due to an "oral inconsistency." For in the very beginning of CP3 it is said our hero "throughout his life . . . was neither fond of wine nor of women," but then in the demon-lady's palace he becomes inconsistent by drinking wine to, and having sexual affairs with a mere stranger lady.

(3) Oral inconsistency is a characteristics in oral narrative composition. The hero's "inconsistency" in CP3 is one example. The otherworld journey without Return in Skc is another example. Oral inconsistency may remain uncorrected (e.g., the absence of the Return in Skc, which was corrected by the effort of an editor in KC31) or corrected during the course of narration. One excellent example of the latter is shown by the partial pattern in CP8: Outgoing<sup>1</sup>: Otherworld Journey<sup>1</sup> (to the forlorn garden): Knowledge Obtained<sup>1</sup>: Return<sup>1</sup>. Wine-drinking being an important element and as it is absent from CP8 due to an error on the narrator's part, the hero, therefore, *cannot* enter the otherworld completely. In conformity with tradition, the narrator must correct the error by "*pulling*" the hero temporarily back to the living world and *having* him drink wine with Taoist Hsu in a tavern (symbolic of an entrance to the otherworld), and only after the Wine-drinking is the hero definitely and completely ushered into the heart of the otherworld, the demon-lady's palace.

If indeed CP3 and CP8 represent accounts of shamans' journeys to the otherworld, what does the hero represent? What about the Taoist priest? Or, What is the relationship between the hero and the Taoist: the former, the least informed of the knowledge necessary for travelling in the otherworld, is the one who travels; the latter, well-versed in magic matter, is the one who remains behind? I suggest we approach myths of this kind through understanding the shaman's role as a medium to transmit human anxieties for things wanted or unwanted (for physical or spiritual reasons) to a "world" unrelated to human beings for a settlement. Being a medium the shaman has access to areas where the mortal is denied. From that regard it is plausible to see that it is the hero who, *after* being possessed by or attaching his innate spirit to a medium, travels in the otherworld; in other words, it is the medium who has direction to and control of the "traffics" in the otherworld, it is the medium who travels. The persons with the closest identity to being a medium are Hsi's uncle, the Taoist in CP3, and Taoist Hsu (and possibly Taoist Chiang) in CP8. The question arises as to precisely at what juncture the hero or his innate spirit is being attached to or possessed by the medium. There is no easy and direct answer. Two other narratives

might shed light on our understanding. The first one is in *T'ai-p'ing kuang chi*, a collection of anecdotes and fiction in classical Chinese edited by Li Fang in 978 A.D.; the second, in Seki Keigo's *Folktales of Japan* translated by Robert J. Adams. Summaries of the two stories follow.

a. "Li Hsing-hsiu" (abbreviated as TPKC)

Li Hsing-hsiu took in marriage Lady Wang. Li loved his wife as well as her younger sister. During the years of Yüan-ho (806-820) Li was invited one day to a matrimonial banquet at which he dreamed that he had married again, this time to his sister-in-law. He returned home to find his wife weeping, for an old retainer of his had told Mrs. Li that the retainer had dreamed that his master Li had married again, this time with Mrs. Li's younger sister. Soon Lady Wang died. But his devotion to his wife was such that Li did not remarry. One year, an official mission took Li to a postal relay at Ch'ou-sang. It was at dusk. Among the crowds of passengers there was an old man passing along the street. The crowds pulling at his clothing tried to detain him to stay, for he, Elder Wang, was revered by the folk for his power to communicate oracles. Li secretly sent for him to come in and related to him his wishes to see his deceased wife. The old man said, "If you wish to see your wife, it would be tonight." Thereupon, having sent away the attendants and having Li slip on his shoes, he led Li to a path by which they went to a small hill. They ascended to a slope several tens of feet high. On the flank of the slope was dimly visible a forest. The old man stopped at the road-side and said to Li, "If you would but call out 'Miao-tzu' near the forest, someone would respond to you. Then you should say, 'Please bring word to Chiu-niang-tzu that tonight I would go, with the attendance of Miao-tzu, to see my deceased wife.'" As instructed, Li called out near the forest. Accordingly, someone responded. Li transmitted the message according to what the old man had said. In a moment a girl of about fifteen came out, saying, "Chiu-niang-tzu sent me to accompany you to the destination." She snapped a bamboo wand [from a bush] and rode on it. As Li watched, she galloped swiftly as a horse. After a short while she snapped another bamboo wand for Li and told him to ride on it. Thereupon, he rode abreast with the girl toward the southwest for several tens of miles. Suddenly they reached a place with fortified walls and gorgeous towers. They rode toward a huge palace which had gates. The girl said, "You follow the western corridor and make straight for the north. From hence the second quarter from the south is your honorable wife's abode..." Following the girl's instructions Li made straight for the north. As he arrived at the said quarter, a maid of Li's, who had passed away more than ten years ago, came out to greet him and invited him to sit on a mat. Li was then suffering from tuberculosis. Formerly Lady Wang had been used to preparing a soup cooked with the seeds of a kind of honey-locust for curing his disease. Since Lady Wang's death he rarely had this soup. And the maid served the soup, asking Li to drink it. Before he could make a remark, the lady suddenly came out. They greeted each other in tears. Li was about to reiterate his grief at losing her, when she stopped him. She soothed him by suggesting that he marry her younger sister... so she finished her word. But the girl outside was already calling, "Mr. Li! come out at once!" Her voice was so urgent that Li hastened to come out. The girl was enraged and reprimanded him, saying, "You poor dabbler with

a muddled head! We should be back promptly!" As before, they rode on their bamboo wands, proceeding on their way together. In a short time, they arrived at the place where they had set out. The old man pillowing his head on a stone, was asleep. Having perceived Li's arrival, he rose, asking, "I wonder if everything went well as you wished?" Li said, "Yes!" The old man said, "You should give thanks to Chiu-niang-tzu for sending a partner to accompany you on the journey." Li did as the old man suggested. The old man went ahead, leading Li back to the postal relay. The lamps hanging on the wall glowed brightly [as usual]; the horses in the stable were feeding themselves with fodder as usual. The servants and drivers were in sound sleep. The old man bade leave to go and left. Li felt nauseated and spat out the soup he had drunk. Later, Lady Wang's father died; Li moved to a station at Kiangsi. It was then that he married Lady Wang's sister.<sup>69</sup>

b. "The *Oni*'s Laughter"<sup>70</sup> (abbreviated as SK16)

Long ago a wealthy man had a daughter. He decided to marry her to a young man in a distant village. On the day for marriage, the daughter was in a palanquin proceeding toward her bridegroom's house when suddenly a black cloud enveloped the palanquin, snatched her and flew away with her. Her mother made up her mind to find the daughter. She crossed fields and mountains until she came to a temple and was let in to stay overnight by a priestess. Since the mother was so tired, "she soon lay down to sleep. The priestess took off her own robe and spread it over the woman. Then she said, "Your daughter for whom you are searching is being held in the *oni* [malevolent ogre]'s mansion over across the river. There is a big dog and a little dog guarding there, so you cannot get across. Still, during the middle of the day, they sometimes take a nap, so you might be able to get across then. However, the bridge is an abacus bridge, and since there are many beads on it, you must be very careful how you step on it. . . ."<sup>71</sup> The next morning the mother woke up to find herself on a plain, pillowing her head on a stone monument. She set out for the river bank as instructed. Taking the chance that the big and the small dogs were taking a nap, she carefully walked over the abacus bridge, crossed the river, and found her daughter weaving on a loom. The girl cooked for her mother some supper; and for her mother's safety, she hid her in a stone chest. Soon the *oni* came home and smelt the presence of a new human-being. The girl said she was pregnant. Upon hearing that the *oni* was so overjoyed that he gave retainers orders to bring *sake* (rice wine) and kill the big dog and the small dog. Later, all the ogres became the victims of the *sake*. The girl helped the *oni* retire (in a wooden box). She got her mother from the hiding place and fled from the *oni*'s mansion. Just then the priestess appeared, instructing them to board a swift ship. The mother and her daughter cruised on the river, but already the *oni* and his retainers were on the pursuit. The *oni* commanded his ogres to drink up all the water in the

69. *T'ai-p'ing kuang chi* (Peking, 1959) II. 1149-1151. The English summary (with a slight modification) first appeared in "Demon Tales" pp. 173-175.

70. Keigo Seki, *Folktales of Japan* (tr. Robert J. Adams, Chicago, 1963), pp. 36-40. The summary (except the passage marked by note 71) is from Alsace Yen, *op. cit.* (1974), pp. 28-29.

71. Keigo Seki, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

river. As the water in the river began to fall, the ship carrying the mother and her daughter floated back toward the ogres. In no time the priestess reappeared, imploring them, "Hurry, show to the *oni* your *daiji-na tokoro!* ["most important places," a pun for "female sex organs"]." So saying, the priestess, joining them, began rolling up their *kimonos*. When the ogres saw that they burst into laughters. The water they had drunk all came out again and enabled the ship to sail off. The mother and her daughter succeeded in escaping the *oni*. The priestess told them that she was a stone monument.

The old man in TPKC is apparently the medium who has all information about the otherworld and has Miao-tzu at his disposal as an attendant. Likewise, the priestess in SK16 must be the medium who possesses knowledge about the *oni*'s world and how to get there. We should direct our attention to the junctures in a. when Li returns, the old man awakes, and in b. when the old woman falls into sleep, the priestess puts her own robe over the old woman. These are the junctures at which the transaction of the medium must have taken place, especially in b, where the very act of the priestess' spreading her robe over the woman while the latter falls asleep indicates that the heroine is being possessed by the medium, who has the directions to and power over the journey including a Return from the otherworld.<sup>72</sup>

## II. Japanese Narratives

Japanese narratives with specific reference to "the third day of the third month" ("sangatsu mikka") are those reported by Ureshino Hideaki, Sugano Kikumatsu, and Yanagita Kunio. The first one, more detailed and complete than the other two, serves as the basis for our discussion.

i. "The Origin of the Festival of *Jō-shi* (a legend)" ("*Jō-shi no sekku no yurai (mukashibanashi)*")<sup>73</sup> (abbreviated as UH)

Once upon a time in a certain place there was an old man who lived

72. Such "junctures" as these are not clearly indicated in CP3 and CP8. The slightest hint we can draw from CP8 is at the juncture when Taoist Hsü was separated from P'an as the latter was trying to catch a wren but was "pulled" inside the low wall by the old demon woman.

73. In *Minzoku* 3 (1928), 167. An editorial note on pp. 168-172 of the same volume argues that UH was developed over one thousand years from three separate episodes: (1) the drinking of the wines; (2) "the needle and the sewing thread"; and (3) "the eagle-snake fight." Granted that UH was formulated from three isolated episodes, the fact that UH results in a story-pattern remarkably similar to those of the narratives discussed (including TPKC) should become something valuable for us to learn: The myth-making tendency of the Japanese people.

with his very nice daughter. One day while he was attending the bed for the rice sprouts, he saw a snake chasing a little frog and undoing the rice bed.

"Stop it, snake!" said he, "I'll give you my only daughter if you stop chasing it." At which the snake stopped and went away. From that evening onward a man kept visiting the daughter, coming late at night and leaving early in the morning. The old man, wondering who he was, had his daughter prepare a long thread, stick it with a sewing needle to the hem of the man's clothing, and let him go. On the next day the old man found that the thread going through a rent of a sliding door led to the hole of a big tree about half a *ri* away. He leaned his ear against the tree and overheard the man talking to another person.

"I'm soon to die . . . because the iron [needle] got into my body. However, I have laid an egg in her. . . ." The old man, back to his house, was quite worried. He called in a fortuneteller who was just then passing by the gate of his house and asked him to make a divination. The fortuneteller said, "Your daughter will die soon. But if you had the man who comes nightly climb up a big tree in the mountain behind the house, bring back three eggs [laid by] an eagle, and feed them to your daughter, she would be saved."

Accordingly, as the man came again that night (he had not died) and the old man made the request, he agreed to get the eagle's eggs and went out. The old man watched the man as he climbed up the tree and took the form of a snake. The snake had brought down two eggs and was climbing up to get the third one when the eagle pecked it to death. As the old man returned, the fortuneteller had come. [The old man told the fortuneteller what he had seen.]

"In that case your daughter has been saved. You had better let her drink wine mingled with peach blossoms on the third day of the third month." While thus remarking, the fortuneteller changed himself into a little frog and said, "I do this out of gratitude [because previously you had saved my life]" So saying, the little frog hopped away. As instructed, the daughter drank the peach blossom wine and became completely well [again]. From that time onward, it is said, it has become a custom to celebrate the [occasion by drinking] peach [-blossom] wine on the third day of the third month.

ii. ["The Snake Son-in-law" ("Hebi no muko")]<sup>74</sup> (abbreviated as Skm)

Once upon a time there was an old man who had one daughter. One day while walking in the field he saw a huge snake chasing a frog. "You bad snake!" said the old man. He picked up the snake with the tip of a cane and threw it far away. The frog happily fled; the old man returned home cheerfully. One day a young man came and asked for a lodging. The old man let him in and noticed that he was a handsome man who had the looks of a reincarnated Narihira. As a result the daughter became intimated with the man and the old man was aware of this. Since he was a man who worked hard, the old man finally made him son-in-law. This man was the snake that had been cast away by the old man. It had come in the disguise of a man

74. The title is suggested by myself, based on Sasaki Kizen's "Hebi no muko" in his *Shiwa-gun mukashibanashi* (Tokyo, 1926), pp. 174-175. Sasaki's version is not included here as it does not refer to the third day of the third month.

to take its revenge. Before long the daughter became ill. As the old man was extraordinarily worried, the frog, which had transformed itself into a fortuneteller (*ekisha*), came and made a divination on [the cause of] her illness. He advised the old man to cure the daughter's illness by letting her eat egg(s) of an eagle which had built a nest on top of a Judastree at the back [of the house]. The fortuneteller informed him that since the old man was advanced in years, it was good to ask his son-in-law to climb the tree without any difficulty at all. The son-in-law was asked to climb the tree. Because he couldn't climb up easily, he showed his snake form and climbed up the tree. As the snake inserted its head into the eagle's nest [to get the egg(s)], the mother eagle saw it and pecked the snake's head. The snake couldn't bear it; it fell from the tree of several thousand feet in height, and was dead. At that time many frogs assembled, coming and crying: "Go to hell! Go to hell!" Before its last breath the snake said in pains that he had gotten [the daughter of] this family pregnant with three thousand offsprings; that even though he died, the offsprings to be born would swallow the frogs and destroy their enemies. After saying that the snake died. As the old man was worried, the fortuneteller of the previous time reappeared and made a divination, saying that if she drank the peach blossom wine on the festival of the third day of the third month, it would mellow down one thousand sinew tissue; if she drank the iris wine on the festival of the fifth day of the fifth month, it would mellow down [another] one thousand sinew tissues; and if she drank the chrysanthemum wine on the festival of the ninth day of the ninth month, it would mellow down [still another] thousand sinew tissues. In all, the wines would mellow down the three thousand offsprings and she would become well [again]. As for himself, the fortuneteller said, he was the frog that the old man had saved. As instructed [the daughter drank the wines] and cured her illness as was expected.

iii. "The Eagle's Eggs"<sup>75</sup> ["Washi no tamago"] (abbreviated as YK)

Long ago there lived in a village a farmer with an only daughter who was very beautiful. At the time to transplant rice he was looking over his bed of rice sprouts. He saw a snake chasing a little frog and crushing the young plants.

"Stop, Snake. Don't chase it," he called. "I will give you my only daughter if you'll stop."

The snake stopped chasing the frog and went away quietly.

From that night a handsome young bridegroom began coming to the daughter, arriving late each night and leaving early in the morning. Not knowing what kind of man he was, the father was uneasy. He called to an unknown soothsayer who was passing one day and had him tell a fortune.

The stranger said, "Your daughter has taken a bridegroom who is not a real human being and she is bearing a child which is not really human. It may be that she will die very soon. There is only one way to save her. An eagle has built a nest in the top of the great tree on the mountain back of

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75. From Fanny Hagin Mayer's (tr.) *Japanese Folk Tales: A Revised Selection* (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 35-36. Mayer's translation was apparently based on Yanagita Kunio's "Washi no tamago," in *Nihon no mukashibanashi* (Tokyo, 1941), pp. 29-30, rather than Ureshino's in *Minzoku* 3 (no. 3 1928, p. 167), which I translated above as UH.

here and is laying three eggs in it. I advise you to ask your son-in-law to go and get the eggs and try feeding them to your daughter."

That night when the young man came, the daughter said to him that she wanted to eat the eagle's eggs. He gladly agreed to climb up to get them for her, but while he was doing it, he unmistakably changed into the shape of a real snake. After he had brought two eggs down in his mouth and as he went up for the third, the mother eagle pecked the big snake to death.

When the old man came home to see, the fortuneteller of the day before was there again. After he heard what had happened, the fortuneteller said, "Then your daughter has been saved. The next thing to do is to give her wine sprinkled with peach blossoms on the coming festival of the third of March [The third day of the third month—Yen]. She will gradually grow stronger. I am the little frog whose life you saved. I want to repay your kindness." Saying this, he went away with a hoppity-hop.

People began drinking peach-blossom wine at the festival of the third of March [the third of the third month—Yen] from that time.

The Skm version appears to be a bit "jumpy." It is not clear whether the old man was with the snake-man and watched him climbing and falling from the tree. If he wasn't on the scene, one may ask: (1) Toward the end, why the old man "shinpei shite iru" ("was worried")? (The *ekisha* never told him about his son-in-law's identity.) (2) To whom was the snake's final speech addressed? The *ekisha*'s advice to get rid of the 3000 descendents speaks positively of the old man's worries being the 3000 descendents his *daughter* will bear. This may answer the first question: the old man should be there to have heard the snake's final speech. In Yanagita Kunio's version it is not clear either whether or not the old man went together with the snake-man. But we are positive that he did go because the old man "ie ni kaette" ("returned to his home") and the *ekisha* "kono hanashi o kiite" ("heard this report (or story) [of what the old man had seen]").

Despite the unclarities in Skm and YK, both narratives present positive aspects toward a better understanding of the myth. In Skm the daughter's illness acquired after the intrusion of the snake-man into her life establishes a logical sequence of events, namely, the daughter's miserable situation that requires a fortuneteller's mediation, the latter's mediation, and, after the mediation, the restoration of order in the daughter's life (her health recovered). In that connection we see, firstly, in UH the "detective device," the long thread, that led to the discovery of the daughter's ill fate is intended for a justification of calling in the fortuneteller. Secondly, in both Skm and YK the fact that the snake-man goes to the mountain or up to a tree during the night (he comes at night only) and approaches the eagle's domain suggests that the setting, "night + eagle's domain," is beyond the human world. The "night mis-

sion” and the “eagle’s domain” establish an element of “otherworld journey.” When the old man (in YK/UH) goes to the mountain in the company of the snake-man and approaches the eagle’s domain he is no less than the hero in CP3/CP8 who goes to the otherworld in the company of the old demon-woman, who is an otter (CP3) or a chicken (CP8) in disguise. Thirdly, both Skm and YK confirm the point that when illness or death threatens the daughter, the immediate step the old man takes is to consult an *ekisha* (“soothsayer”) who must be familiar with the secrets of the *yin* and the *yang* worlds. With the preliminary information we turn to UH.

The UH version, circulated in a farm village of Kishima County in the Prefecture of Saga, is supposedly about the origin of the festival of the third day of the third month. At first sight this legend does not seem to be related to the group of “journey to the otherworld” narratives. An analysis of its thematic structure indicates, however, that it is just another “shaman-mission” oriented narrative as shown by the pattern:

Outgoing (old man to the field)	: Encounter with demon (presence of the snake)	: Demon’s Visit (snake-man frequents the house)	: Otherworld Journey (old man nears the big tree in which lives the snake-man)
Knowledge Obtained (snake “laid an egg in her”)	: Devastation (daughter in- flicted by snake-man)	: Consulting (a fortune- teller)	: Otherworld Journey (Night: old man+snake- man in moun- tain near eagle’s nest)
Knowledge Obtained (i. old man sees the man’s identity; ii. he witnesses snake-man’s death)	: Return: Removal of Evil (i. death of snake; ii. wine to be drunk)	: Restoration of Health (daughter recovers)	

#### Wine-Drinking on Third Day of the Third Month

Let us remark several interesting elements. (1) The frog as fortuneteller. The frog, an amphibious creature which lives on the land and in the water, is symbolically identified with the fortuneteller who is familiar with the secrets of the *yin* and the *yang* worlds. (2) The deadly situation of the inflicted daughter that requires a mediator and the mediation of the fortuneteller whose knowledge of affairs in the other-



world, the kingdom of animals, leads to the removal of the evil. (3) The fortuneteller's ability to transform into animal form and vice versa. The ability to transform is a shamanistic attribute as our documentation has indicated. (4) The attacking eagle reminiscent of the fighting cock in tradition. (5) The drinking of the peach blossom wine on the third day of the third month.

The weight of this myth rests on the scheme that when a person is infested with an evil snake (symbolically associated with *jō-shi* or *shang-ssu*, the Ophidian day), the immediate step is to consult a mediator to discharge the evil. It makes sense therefore to see that the old man (presumably possessed or shamanized by the fortuneteller as a medium) does go with the snake so that the evil force associated with the daughter is transmitted onto the body of the "journey hero" and is eliminated in the wilderness. Of course the question arises again: At what point the fortuneteller who has knowledge about the animal world (and yet remains behind) took possession of the old man and was travelling to the otherworld in the old man's stead? This is not clear from our stories. But suffice it that the old man has contact with the fortuneteller who makes the removal of evil a reality.

#### Concluding Remarks

We have observed some inconsistencies among the story-patterns discussed. In these patterns some thematic elements take place earlier and some other ones, later, where certain elements are absent from certain patterns. The "disunified" arrangement of the elements is inevitable if we take these narratives as accounts given by different shamans and consider the various circumstance under which each narrative came into existence. If we omit certain minor elements and put down in a chart the essential elements, we may expect to have simpler, but quite unique patterns (see Chart on page 78).

We recall the ancient practice of the purification ceremony. The observance of the purification rite was performed on *shang-ssu*, the third day of the third month, or in the spring. The necessity for the ceremony presupposed the existence of uncleanness or evils associated with human body. The ceremony involved participations of shaman(s) and the unpurified individual. The shaman's function was to do away with the uncleanness or the evils. (The shamans themselves were also those "who see the ghosts.") After the purification ceremony the uncleanness (or the evils) was believed to have been removed. The entire purifying process can be summarized in a sequence like (continued on p. 79):

	Ch'ing- ming 3rd of 3rd month	Wine- Drinking	Otherworld Journey	Knowledge Obtained	Return	Devastation	Consult- ing	Removal of Evil	Restoration of Order
Skc	v	v	"palace"	complaints about Kaotsu's wrong-doings	abs/oi	o	o	judge rights the wrongs	three main plaintiffs bal- ance powers and divide kingdom
CP3	a. v b. R	abs/oi	"palace" R	a. hero sees one die; b. hero's turn to die/R	v/R	a. sickly look; b. R demoniac air	Toist	demons eliminated by exorcization (fight: divine war- riors versus demons)	(pacification of demons leads to peace implied)
CP8	v	v	"palace"	a. hero sees one die; b. hero's turn to die	v	repeatedly haunted by demon	Taoist	demons eliminated by exorcization (fight: divine war- riors versus demons)	(pacification of demons leads to peace implied)
UH	v (at the end)	v (at the end)	a. by the big-tree hole; b. to moun- tain at night	a. snake "laid an egg in her;" b. snake's identity and its death	v	daughter inflicted by snakeman	<i>ekisha</i>	snake eliminated by eagle (fight: eagle versus snake)	daughte's health restored

Symbols and Abbreviation: abs=absence of an element    o=non-existent element    oi=oral inconsistency  
R=repetition of an element    v=presence of an element

*Ch'ing-ming*/3rd day of the 3rd month: Uncleaness/Evils: Summon of a shaman: Shaman/Client in Ceremony: Shaman Removes Uncleaness/Evils (by bathing the client, using fragrant grass and usually magical skills): Client's Uncleaness/Evils Removed.

If the contents of our narratives should be seen as reflecting the ancient purifying custom, their reduced structure in the form of story-patterns should correspond to the sequence summarized above. A logical pattern representing the four narratives can be arrived at by placing the columns "Devastation" and "Consulting" (in the Chart) to an *a priori* position before the Otherworld-Journey (the shaman's "ecstasy") commences, as shown by the following pattern:

*Ch'ing-ming*/3rd of 3rd month: Devastation (the inflicted individual): Consulting: Wine-drinking: Otherworld Journey: Knowledge Obtained: Return: Removal of Uncleaness/Evil: Restoration of Order.

This pattern resembles a "model" pattern reduced from a Manchurian shaman narrative. It is about a professional shamaness called Nishan Shaman who has been invited by a certain Baldu to his house to restore to life the lost soul of his younger son Sergudai. Nishan drinks, goes to the otherworld where she obtains the lost soul, returns with the soul, and restores the soul to life.<sup>76</sup> The model pattern is established as follows:

Death (of Sergudai): Consulting (Nishan Shaman is consulted and invited): Wine-drinking (wine served to Nishan Shaman twice): Journey to the Otherworld (a city guarded by devils): Object Obtained (Sergudai's soul): Return (to Baldu's yard): Restoration of Soul to Life.

This shaman narrative *par excellence* with its pattern defies any challenge in so far as it remains a shaman account of the professionalist's activities in a "therapeutic treatment." Incidentally, the Wine-drinking element, a device to effect a trance, takes care of the absence of it in CP3 as being due to an oral inconsistency as I attempted to prove earlier. It also explains the belated presence of it in UH (although in this case some people would tend to take the final position of Wine-drinking in UH as a "sanction" observed by a society and therefore would hesitate to regard it as a means to effect a trance).

I have attempted to present facts, the historical development and customs about the *shang-ssu* Festival and its relation to the narratives

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76. For an English summary of this narrative see Alsace Yen, *op. cit.* (1974), pp. 22-24.

with a specific reference to *Ch'ing-ming* or third of the third month. The narratives are treated in terms of story-pattern analysis which helps us identify contents-wise seemingly unrelated matters as an intelligible, coherent body to unlock the hidden meanings behind the myths. My conclusion is: the *shang-ssu* purification rite and its related narratives are reflections of the time-honored primordial idea of using shamans or shamanesses as a medium or a scapegoat to transmit uncleanness or evils associated with human body to a "never-never-land."

## List of Characters

## I Chinese Characters

- Chang Yt'eh  
 張說  
 Chen (River)  
 溱  
 ch'en  
 辰  
 Ch'en Ch'ang-chih  
 陳昌治  
 Ch'en Nai-ch'ien  
 陳乃乾  
 Cheng (State)  
 鄭  
 Cheng Hstian  
 鄭玄  
 Chi ytn  
 集韻  
 Ch'ien lung yen  
 錢龍宴  
 Ch'in (State)  
 秦  
 Ching Ch'u sui shih chi  
 荆楚歲時記  
 Ch'ing-ming chieh  
 清明節  
 Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-t'ang  
 清平山堂  
 Ch'ing-p'ing-shan-  
 t'ang hua-pen  
 清平山堂話本  
 Ching-shih t'ung-yen  
 警世通言  
 Chiu ko  
 九歌  
 Chou li  
 周禮  
 Ch'ou-sang  
 周桑  
 chu  
 祝
- Chu-ko Liang  
 諸葛亮  
 Ch'u yti  
 楚語  
 Feng Meng-lung  
 馮夢龍  
 Fu (hou)  
 伏(后)  
 Hai-ning  
 海寧  
 Han Hsin  
 韓信  
 Han shih (wai chuan)  
 韓詩(外傳)  
 Ho po  
 河伯  
 hsi  
 巫見  
 Hsi Hstian-tsan  
 奚宣贊  
 Hsi hu san t'a chi  
 西湖三塔記  
 Hsien (ti)  
 獻(帝)  
 Hsiung Lung-feng ssu-  
 chung hsiao-shuo  
 熊龍峯四種小說  
 Hst Shen  
 許慎  
 hua-pen  
 話本  
 Hung P'ien  
 洪梗  
 i  
 巫  
 K'ai-ming  
 開明  
 Kao-t'ang fu  
 高唐賦

Kao tsu  
 高祖  
Ko-wu kang  
 歌舞岡  
 kou ch'i  
 枸杞  
Ku chin hsiao shuo  
 古今小說  
Ku i hsiao shuo  
 古今小說  
 K'uai T'ung  
 蒯通  
 Kuang wu  
 光武  
K'ung Shu-fang shuang-yü  
shan-chui chuan 孔淑傳  
 著雅魚扇陸傳  
Kuo yü  
 國語  
 Kuo yü  
 郭虞  
 Li Fang  
 李昉  
 Li Hsing-hsiu  
 李行脩  
 Li Shih-chen  
 李時珍  
Liao shih  
 遼史  
 Liu Pao-nan  
 劉寶楠  
 Liu Pei  
 劉備  
Lo-yang san kuai chi  
 洛陽三怪記  
 Lü (hou)  
 呂(后)  
Lun yü cheng i  
 論語正義  
 lung-she pan  
 龍舌餅  
 Mao-nu  
 卯奴  
Nan Ch'i shu  
 南齊書  
 nü-wu  
 女巫

P'an Sung  
 潘松  
Pen ts'ao kang-mu  
 本草綱目  
 P'eng Yüeh  
 彭越  
P'ing-hua San-kuo chih  
 平話三國志  
San-kuo chih p'ing-hua  
 三國志平話  
San-yüeh san-jih ch'u-shui  
shih hsü i-shou 三月三日曲水詩序一首  
 shang-ssu 上巳  
Shen-nü fu  
 神女賦  
 Shih Han-sheng  
 石漢聲  
 Shu Ch'uan  
 蜀川  
Shuang-hsin yen  
 爽心宴  
Shui hu (ch'üan chuan)  
 水滸(全傳)  
Shuo wen chieh tzu  
 說文解字  
 SPPY  
 四部備要  
 SPTK  
 四部叢刊  
 Ssu-ma Chung-hsiang  
 司馬仲相  
 Ssu-ma Chung-ta  
 司馬仲達  
Ssu-min yüeh-ling  
 四民月令  
Sui shu  
 隋書  
 Sun Ch'üan  
 孫權  
 (Sung-pen Liu-ch'en-chu)  
Wen hsüan  
 (宋本六臣注)文選  
Sung shih  
 宋史

T'ai hstlan ching

太 玄 經

T'ai-p'ing kuang chi

太 平 廣 記

Tan ylan chi

丹 淵 集

t'ao-li hua

陶 里 華

Teng-pa-kung-shan

登 八 公 山

Ting Tu

丁 度

tou

斗

Ts'ao Ts'ao

曹 操

ts'ie

冊

Tseng Tien

曾 點

Ts'ui Shih

崔 寔

Tsung Ling

宗 慄

Wang Ch'un-ch'un

王 春 春

Wang Ku-lu

王 古 魯

Wang Yuan-ch'ang

王 元 長

Wei (River)

洧

Wei (Dynasty)

魏

Wei chih

魏 志

Wei-ku-chai

味 古 齋

Wei shu

魏 書

Wen T'ung

文 同

Yang Hsiung

揚 雄

Yen Yen-nien

顏 延 年

Ying Pu

英 布

Yuan-ho

元 和

Yüeh-ling chi yao

月 令 輯 要

Yün chi ch'i ch'ien

雲 笈 七 籤

II Japanese kanji and hiragana

Benno naishi nikki (shin-

chū zoteihan) 辨内侍日記

(新注增訂版)

boshi sō

母子草

dairibina

内裏雛

ekisha

易者

fūfu

夫婦

Genji monogatari

源氏物語

Gikeiki

義經記

gonimbayashi

五人囃子

gosho bina

御所雛

Hagitani Boku

萩谷朴

Hashiura Yasuo

橋浦泰雄

Hayakawa Kotarō

早川孝太郎

Hayashi Kaiichi

林 魁 一

Hebi no muko

蛇の 婿

hinamatsuri

雛 祭

hishi mochi

菱 餅

hitogata

人 形

Hōji

宝 治

Hōri Miyashizu

祝 宮 静

Iiyama Akio

飯 山 章 夫

ikusa no iwai

戦 の 祝

inki

陰 気

jōshi

上 巳

Jōshi no sekku no yurai

上巳の 節 供 の 由 來

Kaga

加 賀

Kaga Nomi-gun kokufu mura

Yusenji 加 賀 能 美 郡 國 府

村 游 泉 寺

Kamaishi

釜 石

Kesen

氣 仙

kiku no sake

菊 の 酒

Kiudo kenkyu

郷 土 研 究

Kojiki

古 事 記

Maruyama Rinpei

凡 山 林 平

mayoke no sake

魔 除 の 酒

Minamoto Yoshitsune

源 義 經

mi no hi

巳 の 日

Mino Kamo-gun Ōta-machi

美 濃 加 茂 郡 太 田 町

Minzoku

民 族

Minzoku saijiki

民 俗 歳 時 記

misogi

御 禊

momo no sake

桃 の 酒

Montoku tennō jitsu roku

文 德 天 皇 實 録

moyumi

燃 実

mukashibanashi

昔 話

Murasaki Shikibu

紫 式 部

Murasaki Shikibu nikki

(zenchū shaku)

紫 式 部 日 記 (全 注 釈)

Nenjū gyōji

年 中 行 事

Nihonkai

日 本 海

Nihon no minzoku gyōji

日 本 の 民 俗 行 事

Nihon no mukashibanashi

日 本 の 昔 話

Nihon seikatsu saijiki

日 本 生 活 歳 時 記

Nihon shoki

日 本 書 紀

Okami Masao

岡 見 正 雄

oni

鬼

on'yōji

陰 陽 師

Rikkokushi

六 國 史



Saeki Ariyoshi  
 佐伯有義  
 sangatsu mikka  
 三月三日  
Sangatsu mikka no sui-jin  
matsuri 三月三日の  
 水神祭  
Sangatsu no sekku ni tsu-  
ite  
 三月の節供について  
Sangatsu sekku shūzoku  
 三月節供習俗  
 Sasaki Kizen  
 佐佐木喜善  
 Seki Keigo  
 関敬吾  
 Shakai shisō sha  
 社会思想社  
Shiwa-gun mukashibanashi  
 紫波郡昔話  
Sinano Shimoina-gun Tan-  
kai-mura Niino 信濃下  
 伊郡旦間村新野  
 shirozake  
 白酒  
 shōbu no sake  
 菖蒲の酒  
 shushoku  
 酒食  
 Sugano Kikumatsu  
 菅野菊松

Takagi Toshio  
 高木敏雄  
 Tamai Kōsuke  
 玉井幸助  
 Tateyama Tokuji  
 立山徳治  
  
 (Teihon) Nihon shoki  
 (定本) 日本書紀  
  
Tsuki goto no matsuri  
 月ごとの祭  
 Ureshino Hideaki  
 嬉野英秋  
 Wakamori Tarō  
 和歌森太郎  
Washi no tamago  
 鷄の卵  
 Yamagishi Tokuhei  
 山岸徳平  
 Yanaga Kuniki  
 谷中国樹  
  
 Yanagita Kunio  
 柳田國男  
 yomogi mochi  
 蓬餅  
 yōmoku  
 陽木  
 Yūryaku tennō  
 雄略天皇

Appendix

x<sup>1</sup> 𠄎 x<sup>2</sup> 𠄎 x<sup>3</sup> 𠄎 x<sup>4</sup> 𠄎 x<sup>5</sup> 𠄎