Thematic-Patterns in Japanese Folktales: A Search For Meanings*

By

ALSACE YEN

I. Introduction

Readers and specialists alike are indebted to the fruitful results of folklore collecting activities represented by Yanagita Kunio's *Zenkoku mukashibanashi kiroku*[1] (*Nation-wide Records of Folktales*) and Seki Keigo's *Nippon mukashibanashi shûsei* (*A Compilation of Japanese Folktales*)[2]. Selected pieces covering different regions of Japan have been admirably translated into English. Robert Adams' translation, *Folktales of Japan*, for example, is based on Seki's *Nihon no mukashibanashi*[3]; and Fanny Hagin Mayer's translation, *Japanese Folk Tales. A Revised Selection*[4], on Yanagita's *Nippon no mukashibanashi*. The contents in both translations are well-balanced and, to quote Mayer's phrase, all-Japan in scope. These English translations will undoubtedly serve as standard readers in the field of Japanese folklore and mythology.

Speaking of Japanese folklore research Professor Richard M. Dorson, Director of the Folklore Institute at Indiana University, divides it into

---

* This study grew partly from my lecture series on Oral Literature in East Asian Traditional delivered in the spring term of 1974 at the University of Wisconsin (Madison) and partly from Alsace Yen's "Demon Tales in Early Vernacular Chinese: A Folkloristic View," (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1971; hereafter abbreviated as "Demon Tales"). I wish to thank the Library of Congress for the research facilities made available to me during the summer of 1974.

1. Not available to me. Cited in Richard M. Dorson's "Foreword" to Keigo Seki's *Folktales of Japan* (tr. Robert J. Adams; University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. viii; cf. also Fanny Hagin Mayer (tr.), *Japanese Folk Tales: A Revised Selection* (Tokyo, 1966), p. 14.

2. Cited by Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 10; see also Seki, *op. cit.*, pp. ix–x.

3. Not available to me; see Seki, *op. cit.*, p. x.

4. First translated by Fanny Hagin Mayer in 1954 as *Japanese Folk Tales* (Tokyo, 1954). For the Japanese original see Yanagita Kunio, *Nippon no mukashibanashi* (Tokyo, 1941). For Mayer's revised translation see note 1 above.

three stages: those of collecting, classifying, and theorizing.[5] Dorson remarked (1963)? that current research is not "ready for theoretical and comparative analyses."[6] Truly, very few single works of substantial value in the field of Japanese Folklore and Mythology have come into view.[7] It is with a serious response to Dorson's calling for theoretical and comparative analyses that I attempt to conduct a study of thematic patterns in certain Japanese folktales and present interpretations that should provide theoretical and comparative grounds for Japanese tradition and hopefully for traditions beyond Japan (see the Appendix).

II. Methodology

An explanation would account for the method of analysis I shall employ in this study. The methodology I referred to elsewhere[8] is known as "story-pattern" or "thematic-pattern" analysis. A story- or thematic-pattern abstracts a group of essential and frequently recurring elements from an narrative and formulates them in a meaningful sequence of configuration. A familiar classical example could be drawn from Homer's *Odyssey*. The *Odyssey* was one of the return stories told in the time of Homer.[9] Its chief character Odysseus on his return voyage was detained by the sea nymph Kalypso in Ogygia. During his long stay in Ogygia his household and his wife Penelope in Ithaca suffered havoc caused by the graceless and unbecoming suitors who ate and drank at the expenses of the household; and Penelope became the coveted prey among the suitors. It was the Olympos gods and goddesses who decided that Odysseus should be sent home from Ogygia. Accordingly, Zeus dispatched Hermes to Ogygia to ask for the release of Odysseus, which Kalypso was obliged to consent. Odysseus, given green-light, was sailing

---

5. Cf. Seki, *op. cit.*, p. xi.
6. *Ibid.*, p. xi.
7. Attention is called to Kenneth Dean Bulter's works on "The *Heike Monogatari* and Theories of Oral Epic Literature," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters*, Seikei University, Vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1966) pp. 37–54; and "The *Heike Monogatari* and the Japanese Warrior Ethic," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 29 (1969), pp. 93–108.
8. The idea on *thematic-pattern* is Professor Albert B. Lord's. See Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1960), pp. 94–123; 159–185. Cf. also Alsace Yen, "The Parry-Lord Theory Applied to Vernacular Chinese Stories," (to appear in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 1976?); cf. also Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 39–170.
9. Cf. Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

to Ithaca.[10] After he had landed his homeland goddess Athene transformed him into a shabby old beggar. Following this disguise there were a series of "recognition" scenes, to name a few, the recognition of Odysseus by Telemachos, by Argos (the dog), by Eurynome (the wet nurse). The next important motifs to conclude the "return" story are: the contest to string Odysseus' great bow, the slaughter of the suitors, and the reunion of Penelope and Odysseus (the last mentioned item also contains a "recognition" between the couple). Let us now abstract from the summary some of the essential elements and designate them with meaningful catching words. For Odysseus' long stay in Ogygia we may write down *Absence*. During his long absence from home his wife suffered; we relate this miserable situation as *Devastation*, which is followed by the Olympos plans of Odysseus' *Return*. The *Return* combines several elements: the *Disguise*, the *Recognition(s)*, the *Contest*, the *Punishment* (of the suitors), and the *Reunion*. The *Recognition* repeats itself a number of times; we may simply assign the Recognitions with numerals 1, 2, 3, etc. We may now arrange the designated elements in a sequence:

Absence: Devastation: Return (Disguise: Recognitions^{1,2,3}: Contest: Punishment): Reunion.[11]

The *Odyssey* story has found its way into Japanese tradition, as Dorson notes under "The Tale of Yuriwaka" in the *Folk Legends of Japan*.[12] Here the hero Yuriwaka, Governor of Bungo, was returning from a campaign against the Mongols. On the voyage to his homeland he took an unusually long nap on an island during which two of his warriors, Beppu Taro and Beppu Jiro, left him on the island and sailed the warships to the province of Bungo, where they made deceptive stories that Yuriwaka had been killed. They usurped Yuriwaka's sovereignty; and Taro, in particular, desired the hero's wife. Yuriwaka, however, disguised as a servant arrived in time to attend an archery contest in

---

10. Odysseus' actural return, like those of the other Achaeans, started much earlier. Prior to his landing on Ogygia where he was detained by Kalypso, Odysseus had suffered many hardships and gone through numerous adventures. One of these adventures led him and his companions to the land of the Cyclops. There he wounded Polyphemos, son of the Earth-Shaker Posedien. Because of this smart act of his', Posedien punished him and had his ship wrecked near the land of the Phaiakians. At the court of the king of the Praiakians, after he had recounted the stories of his adventures and taken provisions of food from the king, Odysseus was definitely setting on his return voyage.

11. Cf. Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Lord sees in *Iliad* a similar thematic-pattern; see Lord, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–197.

12. Richard M. Dorson, *Folk Legends of Japan* (Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland: Vermont and Tokyo, Japan), pp. 154–156.

which he won, revealed his true identity, and shot the Beppu suitors to death. This Japanese legend, if subjected to story-pattern analysis, will produce a pattern as follows:

Absence: (Yuriwaka's long nap)
Devastation: (the hero's wife was persecuted by Beppu Taro the suitor)
Return Disguise: (hero served as a servant)
Contest: (hero as a servant attended the contest)
Recognition: (the servant revealed his identity; hence, recognized by his foe)
Punishment: (hero shot Beppu to death)
Restoration (of his position): (hero was reappointed as Governor of Bungo)

III. Summary of Stories And Analyses

The texts for analysis are based on Yanagita's *Nippon no mukashi-banashi* as translated by Mayer in *Japanese Folk Tales* (1966) and Seki's *Nihon no mukashibanashi* as translated by Adams in *Folktales of Japan.* From Mayer's I choose Numbers 41 "The Boy Who Had A Dream" (pp. 72–73), #78 "The Listening Hood" (pp. 133–138), and #80 "The Mountain God And the Boy" (pp. 139–143). For further reference these stories are abbreviated as KY41, KY78, and KY80. Since we can easily have access to Mayer's and Adams' English translations or read these stories in Japanese, I shall present the stories in brief summaries and direct my comments to the extent that they will illuminate us toward our understanding of the complicated meanings behind these stories. I shall begin with KY78, which reflects many significant features in the art of oral narrating.

1. KY78 The hero is a poor old man. He wished to offer fresh fish to Inari Sama, the tutelary deity, but couldn't afford to. One day he went to the shrine to pray the deity to eat him instead. The deity knew his trouble and deigned to give him a faded hood, which, when put on, he could understand everything that birds or beasts talk about. He thanked the deity. On his way wandering, he rested under a big tree by the roadside. Soon *he fell asleep.* Presently two crows alighted on the tree. The old man saw them and put on the listening hood. From the crows' conversation the old man learned that a rich man's daughter was struck with a mortal illness which was caused by a snake whose body had been nailed under a board when the rich man built his store house; that the remedy to save the girl as well as the snake would be to remove the board.

Before he went to the rich man's house, the old man found a broken

wooden box. He fixed it, set it on his head, and going about the gate of the rich man, he called: "Fortune-teller! Fortune-teller!" The rich man invited in the old man to try a fortune to see if there was any hope to recover his daughter's health. The old man, after chanting some incantations, retold the story just as he had heard it from the crows. Accordingly, the rich man had a carpenter tear off the boards in his store house. There a nailed snake was found half-decayed. They fed the snake until it was strong enough to run away. Meanwhile, the daughter's illness disappeared. The old man was handsomely rewarded.

Some time later the old man went out on another trip and rested under some big trees. Crows again perched on the branches of a tree. This time the old man heard the crows' conversation about a rich man's sickness and about the cause of his sickness. Again the old man acted as a fortune-teller. He asked to spend one night in an annex of the rich man's house. There during the night he listened to the talks passed between the spirits of many trees. Next morning he cured the sick man by digging up the root of a camphor tree which had been cut down five or six years ago when the rich man built the annex. After digging up the root, men in the house worshipped it as the Tree God. By then the master began to recover. The old man again received his reward.

Several points in KY78 deserve our attention. First, the hero in the beginning was poor (but became rich in the end). He was on a trip or a journey ("wandering down the road"). Second, he was helped by a friendly tutelary deity who had access to information about animal kingdom (he said to the old man "when you wear this, you can understand everything that birds or beasts say"). Third, the old man under a big tree fell into sleep in which he was able (through the magic hood) to hold contacts with animal beings. He also spent one night in the "annex" where the spirits of the trees talked. The "sleep" in which he saw the animalistic spirits (the crows that talked) seems to suggest that the hero is no longer in the present world; the night he spent in the "annex" where the tree spirits talked is surely no human world. We may call these places the "otherworlds" to distinguish them from the present world. Fourth, the hero through a special "gift", the listening hood, acquires knowledge that leads to the curing of some people's illness. And, fifth, the hero in the beginning was poor, but returned a *medicine man.*

If we take the hero's "Poverty" as an initial point of the narrative, with the essential elements in the summary presented above we can establish the following thematic-pattern:

Poverty:
Journey[1]: (to the shrine)
Helpful Tutelary: (Ujigami Sama)
Journey (extension of Journey[1]: ("he went wandering down the road" p. 133)
Sleep:
Otherworld[1]: (sleep that separates the present world; hero rests under tree; hears crows talk)
Knowledge Obtained[1]: (illness of rich man's daughter; cause of illness)
Return[1]: ("he went loitering along behind the town . . . went before the gate of the rich man" pp. 134–35)
Sickness[1]: (daughter's)
Sickness Cure[1]: (daughter recovered)
Reward[1]:
Journey[2]: ("set out again on a trip" p. 136)
Otherworld[2]: (rests under tree; hears crows talk)
Knowledge Obtained[2]: (rich man's illness; cause of illness)
Return[2]: ("old man hurried to town" p. 136)
Sickness[2]: (rich man's)
Otherworld-Extension of Otherworld[2]: (stayed in the annex with hood on)
Knowledge Obtained: (repetition of Knowledge[2] for emphasis)
Return: ("when morning came asked to be led to the pillow of the sick man")
Sickness Cure[2]: ("they dug up the root . . . the master's illness then began to disappear" p. 137)
Reward[2]:
Poverty Removed: (old man "spent his days like a . . . rich man" p. 137)

KY78 is a typical example of oral narrative because it contains repetition on different levels—repetition, as well attested by oral theorists, is an important principle in oral composition. Repetition is suggested on formulary language level (e.g., in the description of the girl's recovery, "the daughter's illness began to disappear day by day, like the peeling off of layers of thin paper (p. 135)", is repeated in the rich man's recovery: "the master's illness then began to disappear day by day like the peeling off of layers of thin paper (p. 137)"); on thematic level[13] (e.g., the composition unit about the crows' "Conversation" on p. 134 and the same on p. 136; another "Conversation" of the tree spirits is given on p. 137); and on thematic-pattern level, as shown in the above pattern, the entire

13. Known as thematic-composition—a technique in oral narrative-making focusing on a *theme*. A "theme", according to Lord (*op. cit.*, p. 68),is "the groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song." We may see "theme" as "a recurrent description or incident with varying degrees of verbal correspondence in repeated sections of a narrative, either in oral performances or in preserved texts of such performances in a narrative tradition;" see Alsace Yen, "On Vladimir Propp and Albert B. Lord: Their Theoretical Differences," *Journal of American Folklore* (Vol. 86, 1973), p. 163.

pattern, Journey: Otherworld: Knowledge Obtained: Sickness: Sickness Cure: Reward, is being repeated. These constituent elements (Journey, Otherworld, Knowledge, Return, Sickness Cure, etc.) and the pattern thus formulated will, as we shall see, recur in many other narratives.

2. KY80 In KY80 for example, the hero, a boy of 11 or 12 years old and also of a poor family, is encouraged by an old man (who identifies himself as Kami Sama and can transform himself into an oak) to go on a pilgrimage to a temple at Tenjiku. On his journey the boy stops at a *chôja*'s house to borrow some rice and bean paste, spends a night in a master's mansion, and crosses a big river by riding on an hideous woman's head. The *chôja*, whose daughter has been ill for three years, the master, whose *sandan* trees have withered, and the woman, who has been an immortal and now, suffering from swollen eyes and nose, cannot ascend to heaven, all ask the boy to bring back remedies from the temple deity at Tenjiku. In time the boy arrives at a magnificent temple where the old man waits for him and gives him all the answers. On his return trip, the hideous woman carries him across the river. The woman is advised to give up one of two jewels in her possession; she gives the boy one jewel and ascends to heaven. The master of the mansion, at the instruction brought by the boy, digs out two jars of gold and gives the boy one jar after which the withered trees send out green shoots. To the *chôja* the boy reports that he must invite all the men working for him and every single male in the neighborhood; that he must give all his property to the one for whom his daughter pours wine. When all are invited, the girl refuses to pour wine for anyone. Only the boy is left. The *chôja* invites the boy to join them and just then the girl picks up a cup and offers it to the boy. The boy at first refuses to accept it, but, being urged by the *chôja*, receives the cup of wine. The girl immediately recovers and getting to her feet she performs a dance. She marries the boy.

This story under the scrutiny of story-pattern analysis, yields the following:

Poverty: (in the family of the boy)
Helpful Tutelary: (Kami Sama: "start on a pilgrimage . . . to the great temple . . . you will be asked to do some favors" p. 139)
Journey: (boy "set out for Tenjiku"; to *chôja*'s house)
Sickness[1]: (of *chôja*'s daughter)
Journey (extended): ("he was walking . . . he asked to spend the night at a . . . mansion")
Sickness[2]: ("the original tree and the 2nd have both withered")
Journey (extended): ("next morning he . . . set out . . . he came to the big

river")
Sickness[3]: (hideous woman's "eyes & nose all swollen")
Helpful Spirit: (hideous woman "put him onto her head, landed him on the bank")
Otherworld: (he "saw a magnificent temple; . . . found the old man")
Knowledge Obtained: (old man gave all the answers to cure sicknesses)
Return: (boy "set out on his return trip")
Sickness Cure[1]: (hideous woman gave up one jewel; she reached into the sky)
Sickness Cure[2]: ("the withered original tree and 2nd one sent out green shoots")
Sickness Cure[3]: ("the boy . . . received the cup of wine. The girl recovered instantly")
Marriage (Poverty Removed): (boy married *chôja*'s daughter)

With the exception of the last element Marriage plus Sickness[1,2,3] and Sickness Cure[1,2,3], which are multiforms of the same composition themes on "Sickness" and "Sickness Cure", the story-pattern for KY80 is essentially the same as that for KY78. It is interesting to see that the boy, like the old man in KY78, should return a "medicine man", a profession rather peculiar to the boy, if we would recall the boy's early career: a poor wood-cutter. Of course, one would argue: in fairytales anything may happen. But one may raise the question: Suppose such a feature consistently turns up in different narratives? KY41 is another example.

3. KY41 In this story the hero, a lazy boy to begin with, had a dream (instead of a "sleep" such as the old man had in KY78). Because the boy refused to tell people his dream, he was driven away from his native land and, by circumstances, was on a journey of some sort. He came to a lonely house into which he dashed only to find an old she-demon. The demon urged him to tell her the dream and offered him a magic fan by which the boy flew away without telling her the dream. He landed on what looked like a tiny island but actually was the back of a whale. In its earnest to hear the boy's dream, the whale offered two magic needles, one of which could kill anything, whereas the other could restore life to something that was dead. The boy, pretending to try them, pricked the whale with the killing needle. The whale died. The boy flew toward the mainland with the curing needle with which (and some incantations) he restored to life a feudal lord's daughter who had died "the day before." The boy was offered to marry the girl. He declined, but received a great amount of money instead.

For KY41 a pattern may be formulated as follows:
Dream: (never told)

Journey: (boy driven away)
Journey extended: (to a lonely house)
Helpful Demon: (she-demon offered magic fan)
Otherworld: (boy "saw a small island & descended to it [which] was actually the back of a great whale" p. 72)
Knowledge and Object Obtained: (needles; secrets about needles)
Return: (boy flew toward mainland)
Death: (feudal lord's daughter died "the day before")
Life Restored: (boy "took the needle . . .pierced her body . . . and she came back to life" p. 73)
Reward: (boy was offered to marry the girl; he declined, but received money and returned home)

We note from the patterns of KY78 and KY41 the main difference between them: instead of a "sleep" such as the old man had in KY78, the boy had a "dream". Strange it is to observe the fact that the contents of the dream was never told! One possible explanation would be that the contents of the dream need not be told since the act of a "dream" or of a "sleep" is only one possible form of devices to realize an "ecstatic journey to the otherworld" (I shall dwell on his point more fully at a later section). Note also that the friendly and helpful tutelary deities in KY78 and KY80 are replaced by the hero's direct, close contacts with supernatural animals such as the she-demon and the whale who possessed magic objects (the fan and the needles) and who rendered the boy help "unwittingly". The secrets about the needles which the whale shared with the boy are of supernatural knowledge, to which only the spirit-like whale has access. It should be clear by now that the she-demon who helped the boy to further journey or the whale who shared with the hero supernatural knowledge is serving, though unwillingly, in the capacity of tutelary deity just as the Ujigami Sama and the Kami Sama are tutelary deities to the heroes in KY78 and KY80 respectively. Their common "credentials" as tutelary deities are that they (Ujigami Sama and Kami Sama) either possess supernatural knowledge related to animalistic spirits or they themselves (the she-demon and the whale) are animalistic spirits possessing supernatural knowledge.

As the preceding comments show, the method of thematic-pattern analysis is a convenient and useful device for identifying similar, though contents-wise different narratives. Its usefulness will be evidenced as we proceed with more tales from Seki's collection as translated by Adams. From Adams' translation I choose Nos. #11 "The Monkey's Liver (pp. 25–27)," #15 "Shippei Taro (pp. 33–36)," #22 "The Swamp Nushi's Messenger (pp. 57–60)," and #40 "The Magic Ear (pp. 139–142)." These are abbreviated hereafter as KS11, KS15, KS22, and

KS40.

4. KS11 KS11 begins with the illness of a dragon king's daughter.[14] A priest divined its cause and revealed that the fresh, raw liver of a monkey was the only medicine to save the girl. The deity of the dragon kingdom sent a dog to find a monkey. The dog found a monkey and beguiled the monkey to go sightseeing with him to the dragon kingdom. The monkey hung onto the dog's waist, while the dog with one kick from a stepping stone bore the monkey to the undersea kingdom. There the monkey was entertained. One day an octopus and a spined swellfish told the monkey to escape, because the dragon king intended to feed the monkey's liver to his daughter. The monkey tricked the deity into believing that he had forgotten his liver at home. The dog accompanied the monkey to his homeland, but the monkey escaped.

We can outline the story-pattern in terms of the major elements presented above:

Sickness: (of dragon deity's daughter)
Journey: (monkey goes sight-seeing)
Animal Companion: (dog as guide accompanies monkey)
Otherworld: (the dragon kingdom under the sea; the monkey is entertained)
Knowledge Obtained: (octopus and swellfish's warning: "you don't have much longer to live" p. 26)
Return: (monkey returns by trick)

Several familiar elements reoccur in this story. First, the daughter's illness. (Was it cured? We don't know.) The story, as it begins, is apparently about a medical cure, as is the case in KY78, 80, and 41, but ends up differently from the latter tales. Second, the otherworld journey. Here the information is more revealing: the otherworld journey consists of an animal companion who serves as a guide and conducts a "magical flight", and, upon the monkey's arrival at the otherworld, an "entertainment." Third, the fact that the octopus and the swellfish are friendly animal helpers is clear from their warnings to the monkey. And fourth, the logical sequence of the monkey's Return—a Return with his own life—marks the completion of a Journey to the Otherworld.

5. KS15 An itinerant priest wandered about on his journey. He came upon a household, where everyone, crying, was gathered around

14. In a version in Yanagita's collection (in Mayer's 1954 translation, pp. 27–29, "Why The Jellyfish Has No Bones") it is the consort of the dragon king who desires to eat monkey liver. In that version the dragon king sent a turtle instead of a dog as it is in KS11.

a young girl; the reason being that she was to be offered as a human sacrifice to a deity in a ruined temple by a mountain. The priest volunteered to become the sacrifice in place of the girl. The priest climbed the mountain where the temple was located. He hid himself in the hole of a huge pine tree by the temple. At midnight a great horde of *bakemono* ("ogres") came, dancing and singing in the temple. Their repeated songs indicated a name, Shippei Taro, which the priest figured must be the one to conquer the *bakemono*. That night he returned to the girl's village. A search led him to the discovery of Shippei Taro, which happened to be a big dog. The priest accompanied by Shippei Taro returned to the girl's village just in time to substitute the frightened girl who had been put in a wooden chest to be sacrificed. The priest and Shippei Taro, now in the chest, were carried up to the mountain. At midnight, the *bakemono* appeared, singing and dancing around the chest. Soon they took the lid off the chest. Just then Shippei Taro let out a howl, jumped from the box to attack the *bakemono*; the priest also jumped out to cut them down. The next morning the villagers saw dead monkeys lying about everywhere. A huge baboon with hair as stiff as needles lay dead, his throat torn open by Shippei Taro. From that time onward no human sacrifices were needed.

We note that the familiar element of a daughter with illness (in KY78, 80, 41; KS11) is in KS15 replaced by "sacrifice of the daughter." If we recognize the "sacrifice of the daughter" as an alternate form of the "sickness of the daughter" we would see the re-emergence of the other elements such as Journey, Otherworld, Knowledge . . . in the pattern given below:

Sacrifice: (girl to be sacrificed)
Substitution: (priest to be substitute)
Journey^{1}: (to the mt. shrine)
Otherworld^{1}: (hole in the pine tree; presence of ogres at midnight)
Knowledge Obtained^{1}: (ogres' songs reveal name of Shippei Taro)
Return^{1}: (to girl's village)
Helpful Animal: Shippei Taro as companion)
Journey^{2}: (priest & Shippei Taro being carried up the mountain)
Otherworld^{2}: (presence of ogres at midnight)
Knowledge Obtained^{2}: (same as Knowledge^{1}; repeated for emphasis)
Combat: (ogres versus Shippei Taro and priest)
Return^{2}: (suggested by "*next morning* . . . villagers . . . saw dead monkeys . . . everywhere)
Sacrifice Removed: (death of ogres removes threat to girl's life)

In KS15 the repeated elements are Journey^{1,2}, Otherworld^{1,2}, and Knowledge Obtained^{1,2} (i.e., the repeated songs revealing the name).

Repetition, as said before, is a frequently employed technique in oral composition. Sometimes repetition is designed for stressing the importance of an element. The fact that Journey and Otherworld are repeated bears out the importance of the mission of the second Journey and Otherworld, because the success of the second otherworld journey lies in the hero's keeping a journey companion, Shippei Taro, who, though did not conduct the journey to the otherworld like the dog did in KS11, proved to be an indispensable helper in the combat against the ogres. The dog undoubtedly adds one more to the list of helpful animals serving in the capacity of tutelary deity.

The above stories analyzed make it clear that the hero gains supernatural knowledge and/magical objects either through a deity (as in KY78, 80) or through his contacts with animalistic spirits (the tree spirits in KY78; crows, encountered twice, in KY78; she-demon and whale in KY41; octopus and swellfish in KS11; Shippei Taro in KS15). KS22 and KS40 to be presented below are similar examples of the hero's acquiring supernatural knowledge and/magical object.

6. KS22 KS22 tells the career of a poor farmer named Magojiro, who hardly made a living by cutting grass at the edge of a swamp. He was so poor that he couldn't afford to make a pilgrimage to Ise as the other villagers could. However, he was given money by a demon lady near the swamp, provided that he deliver a letter to her younger sister at the Taka swamp near Mt. Fuji, a bargain which he accepted. On his way to Taka swamp he me a *rokubu* (an itinerant ascetic monk). Their exchange of talks led to the discovery by the *rokubu* that the writer of the letter asked her sister to eat the farmer, because the grass cut short made it difficult to hide herself. The *rokubu* rewrote the letter to read that her sister should reward the farmer with a gold horse kept under Taka swamp. Having arrived at the Taka swamp, the farmer, as had been told by the demon lady, clapped his hands, upon hearing which a beautiful woman emerged from the swamp. She carried him on her back and bade him close his eyes. As he opened his eyes again, he was already in a splendid sitting room, where he spent for about three days. At the time of his departure, the woman brought a horse from the barn and presented it to Magojiro with the instruction that if he would give the horse one cup of rice a day, the horse would drop one nugget of gold each day. He mounted the horse, made his pilgrimage to the shrines, and swiftly returned home. He gave the horse a cup of rice everyday; in return the horse dropped a nugget of gold each day. In no time Magojiro became a prosperous *chôja*. (The tale

continues with a shift to one of Magojiro's greedy brothers, who gave the horse one *to* (about 50 lbs.) of rice to eat; the horse, suddenly filled with energy, flew away and turned into a mountain.)

The farmer has as his friendly helper the *rokubu*, an authority well informed of the tricks of the demon world and of the "wealthy" horse possessed by the demon woman. The farmer without the rewritten letter symbolizes a victim proceeding toward the "altar" of human sacrifice, perhaps in a way not dissimilar to the girl in KS15 who has been put into a chest as a sacrifice. Just as the priest substituted the girl, the *rokubu* is instrumental in writing a substituting letter so that in effect the farmer's fate as a sacrifice is averted. The farmer's *return* with a potentially "wealthy" horse marks a logical completion of the Otherworld Journey and reverses the initial situation of Poverty. We may formulate the story-pattern as:

Poverty:
Journey: (to Taka swamp)
"Sacrifice of Farmer": (suggested by the letter the hero is carrying toward his own death)
Friendly Helper: (*rokubu* reads the letter)
Substitution: (the rewritten letter)
Otherworld: (splendid sitting room under water)
Knowledge/Object Obtained: (the gold-producing horse & secrets about the horse)
Return: (hero mounts horse; reaches Ise; returns home)
Poverty Removed: (hero becomes prosperous *chôja*)

7. KS40 The last story in our chosen series, KS40 "The Magic Ear", is essentially the same as KY78 "The Listening Hood." The hero, a young man, walking along the beach, saved a sea bream which happened to be the only daughter of the king of the Dragon Kingdom. The young man was invited to the kingdom by a goddess-like young lady. As they went to the edge of the water, the lady turned into a large jellyfish, on whose back the man climbed. During their descent to the dragon palace, the jellyfish told him to ask from the dragon king a magic ear as a reward. Upon his arrival, the man was given a great feast. The young man, well entertained for quite a while, thought of returning home. At the time to leave, the dragon king granted him the magic ear as he requested. The jellyfish carried him back to the beach. There he put on the magic ear and listened to some sparrows' conversation which led him to the findings of a treasure of gold. A couple of crows' talks enabled him to cure the disease of a nobleman's daughter by removing a snake under a thatched roof. The sick girl recovered and eventually

became the man's wife.

In this story the man did not pretend to be a fortune-teller, but came directly to answer the notice on a signboard, which invited anyone who could heal the nobleman's daughter. Another element (apparently not found in KY78) is the "magical flight" (on the jellyfish's back), which reminds us of a similar technique observed KY80, wherein the hideous woman carries the boy across a big river, or in KS11, when the dog with one step instantly carries the monkey to the dragon kingdom. By contrast we see now the significance of the presence of the Otherworld Journey, which is only vaguely suggested in KY78 by the "sleep" that separates the present world. Despite the differences, the hero procures the magic object either through a tutelary deity as in KY78, or through the helpful jellyfish, as in KS40, an animalistic spirit who informs the hero of the existence of what is to procure. Having been equipped with the magical object, the hero in both narratives pursues a medical career, although in KS40 the hero behaves in a way also resembling a "geomancer" in locating a treasure of gold (note the role of a "geomancer" is also implied by the boy in KY80)). Therefore, pattern-wise KS40 results in one similar to that of KY78:

Journey: (young man walks along the beach)
Animal Helper: (jellyfish as guide conducts journey to the otherworld)
Otherworld: (hero carried by jellyfish to dragon palace; entertained with feast)
Knowledge/Object Obtained: (the magic ear)
Return: (hero carried back to beach by jellyfish)
Treasure: (sparrows' talk reveals treasure)
Treasure Found:
Sickness: (of nobleman's daughter)
Sickness Cure: (daughter recovers)
Marriage: (of the young man & the daughter)

We should not let go uncommented the element of transformation. "Transformation" is not a new element in our stories. We noticed it already in KY80 in which the Kami Sama turned into an oak (twice; on pp. 140 and 142). In KS40 the transformation is from a goddess-like lady into a jellyfish. Transformation is a manifested feat among practioners in shamanistic cults. Transformation involves control and concentration of the power of the mind and in that respect is regarded as a form of perfect meditation.[15]

15. Cf. Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973), pp. 26–29; 36–38; 81–95; cf. also Alexandra David-Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet* (London, 1967), pp. 246–247; 260–266; 270–284.

IV. A Search for Meanings

We have so far discussed seven narratives and abstraced their thematic-patterns. Should we arrange these patterns side by side, we will see a striking similarity shared by all seven narratives, namely, the presence of the essential elements of SICKNESS, JOURNEY, TUTELARY SPIRITS (or ANIMAL HELPERS/or ANIMAL GUIDES/for ANIMAL COMPANIONS), OTHERWORLD, KNOWLEDGE AND/OR OBJECT OBTAINED, RETURN, SICKNESS CURED (or LIFE RESTORED, or SACRIFICE REMOVED), etc. Since the element "Sickness of the Daughter" or "Sacrifice of the Daughter" has been in existence or in practice for a time period and in most cases long before the hero commences his actions (Otherworld Journey and Cure), it is logical to place such an element in an initial position, as are the cases in KS15 and, particularly, KS11. In Chart I, Nishan Shaman, KS16, RM31, RM68, and RM70 represent patterns of other tales to be cited later in that sequence (symbols and abbreviations are listed under Chart I on pp. 16–19, which should be seen and read in one spread).

The significance of the patterns in the Chart can be delineated in terms of the structural unity and the latent meanings conveyed in the structures. The structural unity is represented by the similarity of the patterns and of the patterning sequences in which certain elements recur in a systematic way. For convenience of expression, the seven patterns can be reduced to a unique, simplified form without suffering much loss except for the repeated elements:

Sickness: Journey: Tutelary/Animal Guides or Helpers:

Otherworld: Knowledge/Object Obtained: Return: Sickness Removed. The unique, simplified form alone, even without a search for its latent meanings, can still function as a meaningful device for identifying folktales of similar attributes—folktales which otherwise often become victims of arbitrary classification under different "types".[16] For the usefulness of thematic-pattern analysis as well as its credibility we owe our indebtedness to the theoretical foundations laid and finalized by Albert B. Lord and his student David E. Bynum who based their experience on analysis of orally performed compositions from singers mostly illiterate or

16. For example, KS11, KS15, KS22, and KS40 have closely identical thematic-patterns, but are classified under three different groups as "I. Animal Tales" (KS11), "II. Ogres" (KS15; KS22), and "IV. Kindness Rewarded and Evil Punished" (KS40) in Adams' translation, *Folktales of Japan.*

Yen Chart I. p. a

TALES	I. ACTOR	II. STATUS/ POVERTY		III. SICKNESS/ DEATH/SACRI-FICE, ETC.	IV. SUBSTITU-TION
KY 41	boy	lazy		d. of feudal lord's dau. → to end of XI.	○ ← 'to of
KY 78	old man	poor	v	sick. of rich man' dau. → to end of XI. R sick of rich man	(offers to be eaten
KY 80	boy	poor	v	sick. choja's dau. → to end of VII. R sick sandan trees RR sick hideous woman	○
KS 11	monkey	○	○	sick of dragon king's dau.	(liver?)
KS 15	priest (monk)	○	○	dau.'s sacrifice	priest
KS 22	Magojiro	farmer	v	(hero proceeds toward his own death) rewriten letter → to end of VII.	
KS 40	young man	not clear		treasure of old to be unearthed → to end of XI. R sick nobleman's dau.	○
Nishan Shaman	Nishan Shaman	shaman		d. of Sergadai Fiyanggo	○
KS 16	mother	not clear		dau. lost	(priestess spread robe over mother)
RM 31	Olofat	magician		eyes of chief's son lost	○
RM 68	Tilap	not clear		○	○
RM 70	boy Anoun Farrang	chief's son		○	○

Symbols & Abbreviations:

cure md	curing method (s)	dau.	daughter
cure mdc	curing medicine	id.	identical to the previous
d.	death	mt.	moutain (s)

Yen Chart I. p. b

V. DREAM/SLEEP/ DRUNKENNESS, ETC.	VI. JOURNEY	VII. TUTELARY SPIRITS ANIMAL HELPERS/GUIDES/ COMPANIONS
end dream II	driven away from home	she-demon offers fan → to end of VIII. ← to of
sleep → to be of VIII.	to the shrine	Ujigami Sama
○	to Tenjiku ← to end of II; to end of VII →	Kamisama; hideous woman → to end of VIII
○	to go sightseeing	dog guide; octopus/swellfish → to end of IX
○	to mt. temple R. id.	hero has no helper in lst trip; Shippei Taro
(hero closes his eyes — → to end of VIII	to Taka swamp	*rokubo*
○	to beach temple R id.	jellyfish
drunkenness	to the otherworld	tutelary spirits Nishan invoked
sleep ← to end of III.	to mt. & fields	priestess
○	goes out at night; R id.	hero relies on trans-formation & magic → to end of IX.
○	went & followed papaya tree	ghost took hero to (chief in) heaven
○	sailing on a journey	hero's own magic; whale girls

o absence of an element
R or RR repeated element (s
sick sickness (of)
v presence of an element

Yen Chart I. p. c

VIII. EXTENSION OF JOURNEY	IX. OTHERWORLD	X. KNOWLEDGE AND/OR OBJECT OBTAINED
end VI. to lonely house of she-demon	descends on "island" (whale's back)	needles & cure md.
wandering down the road;	rests under tree, hears crows talk; R id. RR annex	dau's sick & cure md.; R rich man's sick & cure md.
to *choja's* house to a mansion; to big river	magnificent temple; meets old man	cure md. for woman. R cure md. for sandan tree/ RR cure md. for. *choja's* dau.
○	dragon king palace under water	dragon king is to feed monkey liver to dau.
○	hole in pine tree; presence of ogres at midnight/R midnight ogres	songs reveal name of Shippei Taro; R id.
to Ise → to end shrines of X	splendid sitting room under water	gold-producing horse & secrets about the horse
○	dragon king palace under water	magic ear
to Terrace to View Homeland; to Red River	well guarded magnificent city	soul of Sergudai Fiyanggo
to the river bank	*oni*'s mansion	lost dau.
○	Likechmwocho's island; R id.	(failure in first trip); R lost eyes
○	amidst the ghost in heaven	cure mdc.
○	whale girls' house under water	cure mdc. (for sick/dead whales)

→ or ← "should be transposed"

Yen Chart I. p. d

XI. RETURN	XII. SICKNESS CURED, LIFE RESTORED; SACRIFICE REMOVED, ETC.	XIII. POVERTY REMOVED
flies toward mainland; lands on castle town	dau.s' life restored	(refuses marriage; receives great amount of money)
loiters behind town; to the gate of rich man; R hurries to town	dau.'s sick cured; R rich man's sick cured	receives reward; lives like rich man
on return trip carried back across river	woman cured; R sandan tree cured; RR dau.'s sick cured	marries *choja's* dau.
escapes by trick	not given	○
to girl's village; R presence of "next morning"	d. of ogres removes sacrifice	○
to his own country	wealth restored	v
to the beach	treasure of gold unearthed; R dau.'s sick cured	put gold into his purse; marries dau.
to Baldu's courtyard	Sergudai Fiyango restored to life	○
escape by showing *daijina tokoro;* return home	lost dau. found & returns	○
returns to Kuttu; R id.	lost dau. restored	○
returns to earth	medicates people killed in war	○
to Losap	hero learns how to cure sick or dead whales	○

with minimal education.[17]

The other aspect, the latent meanings conveyed in the structures, remains on the interpretative level. One interpretation on the surface hinges on the *Return.* It denotes a logical completion of a journey to the otherworld. On the other hand, it also signifies a "return" with "diagnostics" to existing human adversities: a man in poverty attains to wealth; a girl in illness recovers, or a human being in sacrifice no longer suffers. The "return" is then a "cure" to adverse human conditions, be they poverty, illness or death, and as such are reflected from our stories. It is to the latent meanings surrounding the *return* that I shall turn for interpretations. Our major premise rests on this articulation: Is it not true that Shintoism admits the notion of shamanistic elements to subsist within its system? Without arguing conclusively, the following presentation of statements and documents seems to point to the positiveness and truthfulness of the notion of shamanistic elements in Shintoism.

"Shinto" ("the Way of Kami or Gods") was rooted, so Anesaki Masaharu informs us, "in the instinctive being of human nature feeling itself in communion with the living forces of the world. . . ."[18] As for the "Kami" ("Gods"; "Spirits"; or "Mysteries"), some "were thought to reside in the heavens, others to sojourn in the air or in the forests, to abide in the rocks, in the mountains, or to manifest themselves in animals or human beings. Princes and heroes were Kami manifest in human form, or any person might become a Kami by exhibiting supernatural powers."[19] Note the pluralism concept of divinity. Such an experience of plural images of divinity in the mind of the ancient appears to insinuate the indistinctive nature of a religious system in its early, prehistoric stage. This much nature of Shintoism is not dissimilar to the manifestations accorded to the shamanistic creeds whose beliefs admit the existence of spiritual beings in the forms of "souls", ancestoral spirits, demons, animals, and spirits in the physical world (in the air, water, mountains, trees and so forth). Their professionals, known as "shaman"

---

17. For information about the criteria for selecting singers in field-work and the backgrounds of the selected singers see Albert B. Lord (ed. and tr.), *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1954) I, pp. 7–14; 54–56; see also sections on "Conversation" (A through E); for the kind of disciplines involved in thematic-pattern analysis of oral narratives see David E. Bynum's forthcoming book, *Laertes' Orchard: A Study of Oral Narrative Tradition.*

18. See Masaharu Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (Rutland: Vermont, Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963; first published in 1930), p. 22.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

("the one who knows"), claim to have the ability to "cure". The word "cure" must be understood 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 to conduct it to where souls belong), to "cure" the predicament of lost cattle, to "cure" the sorry plight of poverty, etc., to the unpredictable mysteries such as to "cure" the future course of life; in other words, to take auspices on such matters as fishing, hunting, warring, 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 diseased 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[20] —each one being a form to reach an ecstasy as ecstasy is a key conceptual notion in shamanism. Once in an ecstatic state, the shaman has at his disposal "tutelary spirits" of various kinds (animals, demons, spirits of plants, souls of ancestoral shamans). The tutelary spirits communicate with the shaman in a "secret or spirit language" and enable the shaman to forsee the causes of sickness, of misfortunes, and of other mysteries. They serve as guides to conduct the shaman's "Journey to the Otherworld."[21] 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).[22] Oftentimes the tutelary animals are able to make the shaman transform himself into animal form,[23] or, according to other sources,[24] the shanamic 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

20. Cf. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1964), pp. 33; 35; 38; 43; 53; 65; 103–104; cf. also Gerardus Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (tr. by J. E. Turner from the German original *Phänomenologie der Religion*; Tübingen, 1933), pp. 488–490.

21. See Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 91; 92; 97; 385.

22. *Ibid.*, 482–491.

23. *Ibid.*, 94.

24. *Ibid.*, 477–478.

merriment with a celestial lover[25] or enjoy a meal or a feast prepared by his celestial wife.[26] In short, the ecstasy experienced is the pivot conception in shamanism around which the shaman's explorations into the infinite world of fantasies are dramatized.

Abundance of literature on shaman's "medicating" (including restoration of soul to life) has been documented to substantiate the shaman's sociological functions in a given culture.[27] A classical example to cite is the *Nishan Shaman* narrative of the Goldi people near the lower Sungari River.[28] According to this account, the captive soul of a younger brother, Sergudai Fiyanggo, was restored to life by Nishan Shaman, a woman shaman close to her 80's. The narrative begins with twin brothers of a certain Baldu family of Lolo village.

> The brothers were away from home, hunting. One day as the brothers and their fifty retainers came back from hunting, near their camping site arose a whirl wind which struck both brothers dead. When the sad news of their death reached home, the Baldu's swooned.
>
> At the suggestion of an old man attending the funeral service, their father Baldu visited Nishan Shaman. At her house, after performing the rites to invoke the spirits, Nishan (now possessed by some spirit) announced that Baldu's eldest son had been doomed to die. His younger son, taken away by mistake (since the twins looked alike), might have hope to return to life, if Baldu would consult a skilful shaman. Baldu earnestly invited Nishan home and at his house entertained her with wine and food.
>
> Nishan played her drum, danced in front of an incense altar, and began to shamanize with two unskilful attendants. Some spirits descended and spoke to the attendants for only a few words when the former became silent. At Nishan's recommendation Baldu sent for Nari Fiyango, well known for his skilfulness in attending the spirits. Upon his arrival Baldu again arranged wine and food to entertain both Nari Fiyanggo and Nishan Shaman. After the dinner Nishan knelt in front of the altar, beating her drum and incanting verses. Meanwhile, Nari burned some fragrant grass and uttered incanta-

---

25. Cf. Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 82–91. Eliade (*op. cit.*, p. 76) de-emphasizes the role of the celestial wife and regards it as "secondary."

26. Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 77; 80; see also Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 76–81.

27. For example, a medicating song intended for childbirth from the Cunas of Panama has been documented by Claude Lévi-Strauss in "The Effectiveness of Symbols," *Structural Anthropology* (New York, 1963), pp. 186–205.

28. The summary in this study is based on Johnson Ling's (Ling Shunsheng's) "I-hsin Sa-man," in *Sung-hua-chiang hsia-yu ti He-che-tsu*, 2 vols. (*The Goldi Tribe on the Lower Sungari River*; Nanking, 1934), II. 637–658. A Manchu text with transliteration and translation in Russian was published by M. P. Volkova; see Volkova, *Nišan Samani Bitxe* (*Predanie Nišanskoi Samanke*, Moskva, 1961). A fuller summary of "I-hsin Sa-man" in English appeared in Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 201–206. Some of my transcription of the proper names in the present study follows that of Volkova's.

tions. In a short time the spirits descended, attaching themselves to Nishan, who all of a sudden rose to dance around the altar. Nari also held in hand a drum and answered in repartee for a long time with the spirits. Presently Nishan lay on the ground as if a dead body. Judging from her appearance that Nishan must have gone to the otherworld, Nari gave Baldu instructions to slaughter and burn two pairs of male chicken, two dogs (one yellow, one black), prepare and burn bean sauce, salt, paper ingots and cash, and also make ready one wooden bed. These things were instantly done. Nari put Nishan's body on the bed, covered her with a white cloth, and set up a large tent over the bed to screen off the sunlight. Nari did not for a moment leave Nishan's body.

Nishan was dancing in the yard. Suddenly her head swam; her eyes became dim; and she lost her consciousness. After a while she came back to herself to find Nari watching over her body in the yard. In front of her gathered the tutelary spirits whom she had invoked a while ago. She saw also the dogs and the chicken in bundle of pairs among the other items; these she asked her tutelary spirits to carry. Together Nishan Shaman and her guides came to the "Terrace to View Homeland." There Nishan viewed Baldu's yard in which Nari kept watching over her body; she also saw the bodies of the two brothers.

Before long they arrived at a big river. There were no boats on the banks of the river. Thereupon, Nishan threw into the river the drum she had had, which, upon touching the water, changed into a small boat. The drum carried them to the western bank of the river. After the entire party had disembarked, Nishan took up the boat, which changed back into a small drum. As they journeyed, the spirit of Nishan's dead husband appeared from a fireside. Refusing to listen to her assigned mission, he insisted that Nishan carry back his soul instead so that they might be reunited; and he would not let her pass. At her wit's end she beguiled her husband to sit on her magic drum so that he might return to life. As soon as she saw him sit on the drum, she called to one of the spirits to throw him to the Mountain of Hades.

Now Nishan and her party came to what was called the Red River, where, so the spirits told Nishan, the thirsty souls after death attempted to quench their thirst only to find out that the water was meant to drain all worldly things from their memories. They crossed the River with the help from a ferryman whom Nishan rewarded with some bean sauce, salt, and paper cash. They hurried on until they came to a magnificent city. There were devil guards on all three gates. By bribing the guards with silver and gold, Nishan succeeded in getting through the first two gates. On the third gate, however, having been refused entrance despite her bribery, Nishan transformed herself into an eagle flying into a house of the city where Sergudai Fiyanggo's soul was kept. She put Sergudai on her back. While Sergudai closed his eyes, Nishan flew him back to the third gate where the spirits waited for her. Sergudai dismounted from the eagle's back and the eagle transformed itself into Nishan's original appearance. In no time the ferryman poled the boat back to the place where they had embarked.

They were on their way to return, when Te-na-k'o-ch'u, who by mistake had captured the soul of the younger brother, blocked Nishan's way, demanding her to leave Sergudai behind. Nishan Shaman, well composed, charged him of wrong-doing for his illegally keeping Sergudai's soul; she commanded him to go with her to the court of King Yama. Knowing his guiltiness, Te-na-k'o-ch'u implored her to drop her charge. Nishan took this oppor-

tunity to urge him to ask King Yama to extend Sergudai's life-span; the reward: two pairs of male chicken, two dogs in yellow and in black, and two bagful of silver and gold. Te-na-k'o-ch'u offered to promise to extend Sergudai's life-span from his predestined 58 to 88. With such deals they ended.

Nishan with the soul of Sergudai and her tutelary spirits joyfully returned to Baldu's courtyard. She led Sergudai's soul to the north hall where his body lay and pushed the soul into his body. Next, she went to the courtyard, in which Nari kept watching over her body. Thereupon, Nishan fell into her own body. Nari saw Nishan take breath and her limbs begin to move. Nari hurried to have people light some incense, while he beat the drum and chanted incantations. Presently Nishan rose, went to the incense altar, and drank three mouthful of clean water. Afterwards, she had people carry Sergudai's body into the courtyard. There she danced around the body for a while and asked Baldu to feel if there was any warmth on Sergudai's body. But before he could do so, his wife had already reached her hand onto her son's bosom. Indeed there was warmth. While Nishan continued dancing, beating the drum, and uttering incantations and Nari followed her beating his drum and singing songs, Sergudai took breath; his limbs began to move. Shortly later he rose on his bed. He looked almost as through he had gone through a frightful dream. But right in front of him danced Nishan Shaman, whom he knew to be the woman who had flown him back to the living world....

The above narrative of Manchurian tradition most typically illustrates beliefs and practices in shamanism, the shaman's role and function in a society, and the "ecstatic experience" which itself is a singular triumph for the shaman professionals to live and re-live with. On the structural level, the above narrative is linked to the seven Japanese folktales because the former offers a story-pattern:

Death: (of Sergudai)
Wine-drinking (Drunkenness: of Nishan Shaman)
Journey: (to the Otherworld):
Tutelary Spirits: (invoked by Nishan)
Otherworld: (guarded city)
Knowledge/Object Obtained: (Sergudai's soul)
Return: (to Baldu's yard)
Restoration of Soul to Life.

which is essentially the simplified pattern shared in common by the seven Japanese tales. The question naturally arises: Does the Japanese tradition impart anything like divining or "medicating" involving a "shamanistic" figure if not necessarily a shaman? Does the Japanese mind pass on the concept of "Journey to the Otherworld" solely for the purpose of bringing back the spirit of the dead?

Studies on shamanism in Japan have been outlined in William P. Fairchild's "Shamanism in Japan" (*Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. XXI,

1962, pp. 1–122). Fairchild's study introduces Yamaji Aiyama, Yanagita Kunio, Iwai Hirosato, Nakayama Taro, Harada Toshiaki, and Hori Ichiro as among the pioneers who explored the intricacies on this subject.[29] Some of their ideas were documented in an important pioneer work in Western language in Dr. Matthias Eder's "Schamanismus in Japan."[30] In Japan, thus Eder writes, the general term is *miko* (literally means "the child of god") whose spheres of activities are: (i) they call a dead person's spirit from the otherworld; (ii) they provide for the client information of good or bad luck; (iii) they remove illness and other evils and manage ritual purification; (iv) they inquire from their god the name of a medicine to use against a disease; (v) they give information about lost objects.[31] The *miko*, in the opinion of Fairchild, are "religious functionaries" and should be distinguished as such from the shaman whose profession meets certain basic criteria, "namely: practice ecstasy, depend on a guardian spirit, are bond by a fixed ritual. . . ."[32] The *miko* might have originally employed ecstasy, but "the "term gradually came to include many groups which did not use ecstasy."[33] Fairchild's study, however, does not exclude other *miko* groups whose profession does involve invocation of guardian spirits, ecstasy, and ritual performances. Of great interest among the *miko* groups listed in his article is the *itako*. Although the provenance of *itako* is yet to be attested, linguistic parallels for the term "shaman" in the Altaic-Tungus languages family, such as "utiugun" in the Kidan language, "udayan" in the Yakut, "utyan" and "odeyon" in the Tungus, suggest the continental origin of the Japanese *itako*.[34] The *itakos* as professionals consist of blind woman practioners who are concentrated in the northeast section of Japan in Aomori, Iwate and Miyagi Prefectures. They function as medium to communicate with the spirit ("*kami kuchi*", mediumistic prophecy through possession by the spirits) or with the dead ("*shi kuchi*", mediumistic prophecy through possession by the dead) so as to supply information concerning such matters as sickness cure, exorcism of evil spirits, contacts with the souls, the crops, weather, etc. They are known to rely on guardian spirits to make their performances possible.

29. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–26.

30. Matthias Eder, "Schamanismus in Japan," *Paideuma*, Band VI (Heft 7, Mai, 1958; Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden), 367–380. Cited in Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 462–464.

31. Eder, op. cit., pp. 367–368; cited in Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 462–463.

32. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.

During their performances they chant prayers, make invocations, dance, use among other items candles, rosary, and dolls (the last item personify the "*Oshira Kami*"), and finally they go into ecstasy. Their vocation may be regarded "hereditary" (in former times it was to be determined by the gods). It goes through a training of three to five years which culminates with a graduation ceremony called *kami tsuku* ("spirit possession") symbolizing a guardian spirit's "endorsement" of supernatural gifts to be associated with the novice *itako*.[35]

One ancient source, the *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*, comp. A.D. 712), cited in Fairchild's study, implies the antiquity and native origin of the concept of "Journey to the Otherworld" for the purpose of meeting with the dead and bringing her back to the living world. It is Izanagi's descent to the land of Yomi. Prior to his descent, he and his wife Izanami had formed the Island Onogoro by which they reached earth and erected a "heavenly pillar." They created other islands and the deities of seas and fire. The deity of fire burned her genitals and eventually caused her death. After the birth of a series of other deities Izanagi,

> . . . wishing to meet again his spouse Izanami-nö-mikötö, went after her to the land of Yömi. When she came forth out of the door of the hall to greet him, Izanagi-nö-mikötö said: "O, my beloved spouse, the lands which you and I were making have not yet been completed; you must come back!"
>
> Then Izanami-nö-mikötö replied, saying: "How I regret that you did not come sooner. I have eaten at the hearth of Yömi. But, O my beloved husband, how awesome it is that you have entered here! Therefore I will go and discuss for a while with the gods of Yömi my desire to return. Pray do not look upon me!"[36] [Izanagi violated the taboo and entered a hall to find maggots were squiring and roaring in the corpse of Izanami. He was frightened and fled. Cf. *Kojiki*, p. 62.]

The "journey to the otherworld" (with a "return" of the hero alive) reveals to us the ancient Japanese views of the "otherworld": (1) the land of Yomi has an "architectural design" (the "door" and the "hall") (2) the dead lives as much the same as the living (the dead "eats" and uses the "hearth") and (3) the dead has "desire" (to return). It is the same mind, we must say, that creates or elaborates the visual pictures of the otherworld surroundings and happenings in many of the tales already discussed (the splendid undersea sitting room in KS22, the dragon king's palace in KS11 and KS40, the great feast with dancing in the

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 62; 63; 64; 65–70.
36. Donald L. Philippi (tr.), *Kojiki* (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 61–62.

dragon king palace in KS40; the supper the daughter cooked for her mother in the *oni*'s mansion in KS16 to be cited later).

Perhaps we should at this point turn our attention to the area of the guardian deities and spirits associated with certain *miko* and *shugendo* priests (*shugendo* being a religion of the "mountaineering ascetics"). Fairchild's sources indicate that the Japanese mind conceives of divine beings in terms of (i) *kami* (deities or god-like spirits) which should include *jigami* (tutelary deities and ancestor deities), *yashiki ujigami* (village or local deities); (ii) *tama* ("souls", of both the living and the dead); (iii) *tsukimono* ("animal spirits"). To the last category, *tsukimono*, belong *tonbogami* ("snake spirits"), *inugami* ("dog spirits"), *saru* ("monkeys"), *osaki suji* ("fox lineages"), *okamigami* ("wolf spirits"), etc.[37] These animal spirits could move about, transform themselves, and become associated with mountain gods, harvest gods; they could possess human beings, bring fortune or misfortune to man, cause sickness, death, or other evils.[38] Families who raised animal spirits, controlled them and cultivated intimate relations with them were "animal spirit families."[39] The animal spirits could possess members of the animal spirit families, act as their guardian spirits and slave spirits, and enable the possessed person to perform *kuchiyose* ("mediumistic prophecy"); the snake spirits in particular were the secret spirits of men shaman.[40] It should be of interest to note that the families who raised animal spirits were mainly *miko* and *shugendo* priest families.[41]

The above summary about animal spirits, their functions and relationship to the animal spirit families should enable us to relate our tales in a more intelligible way, that is: The frequently recurring tutelary spirits and animal helpers associated with the journey heroes in our tales certainly represent a conscious reflection of a tradition at work—a tradition, the designation of which, whether Shintoism or not, is as intriguing as our attempt to identify Shintoism with shamanism. But until one establishes a precise pattern of pre-eighth century[42] Shintoism on both ritual and pragmatical levels as distinguishable from that of shamanism, we would have to contend that, based on the evidence of documents and

37. Cf. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–39.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 34; 35.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 34; 40.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 40. Most of the *kanji* (Chinese characters) for this section are available in Fairchild, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–112; 119–122.
42. That is, before the establishment of State Buddhism in Japan in the eighth century.

identical story-patterns in the Japanese and the Manchurian narratives, the contents and essence of the seven Japanese folktales represent shamanistic ritual tradition. Evidence bearing shamanistic elements in the seven tales is almost everywhere if we would recall the details of our stories. Consider the old man's "sleep" and "listening hood" through which he acquires supernatural knowledge about sickness cure from the *crows*; the kind of helps or secrets the hero obtains from animal or demonic spirits; the perilous passages the hero passes (the boy in KY80 crossed a big river by riding on a hideous woman immortal's head; the boy in KY41 flew by a magic fan obtained from a she-demon; the heroine in KS16 to be cited learned from her tutelary helper how to cross a dangerous "abacus bridge"); the young man in KS40 given a feast by the dragon king under the sea; the transformation of a goddess-like lady into a jellyfish that helped the young man (KS40); but consider must importantly, the ultimate and ever present concern with "curing" of adverse human conditions in all seven tales—all elements are, as mentioned earlier, the shaman's ecstatic experiences and professional activities. As single entities, these elements amount to no significance except as gimmicks in fairytales. But when each and all elements constitute an integral part of the entire story-pattern in a meaningful sequence of configuration, the chances are that each and all elements should be read in the context of a system which offers the most possible interpretations and unfailing testibility—so far, the shaman-oriented search for ecstasies.

One aspect remains to be tackled. Both Eder's and Fairchild's studies favor almost exclusively women shamanic activities. How could we account for the seven narratives whose journey heroes are male? To answer this kind of quest I offer to tackle categorically.

I. As the seven narratives stand, it is true that all the "journey heroes" are male. Perhaps they should be accepted as such.

II. There are, however, narratives in which the "journey heroes" are female. In KS16, "The *Oni*'s Laughter," for instance, it is the mother who journeys to the otherworld to bring back her lost daughter. The daughter was in a palanquin proceeding toward her bridgeroom'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]'s mansion over across the river. There is [*sic*] 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. . . .[43]

The next morning the mother woke up to find herself on a plain, pillowing 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 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 human beings. The girl said she was pregnant. Upon hearing this 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 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 to instruct 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 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 story in summary reveals several illuminating points. First, we should note the role of the priestess. No doubt, she possesses supernatural knowledge about animal spirits (the *oni* that kept the daughter; the big and the small dogs) and serves in the capacity of a tutelary spirit to the mother. Second, the "abacus bridge" is certainly an allusion to one of the "perilous passages" symbolic of a shaman's ecstatic experience. Third, the fact that the mother immediately falls to "sleep", suggests that an

---

43. See Seki, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

initiation to an "ecstasy of some sort" is being put into effect (as "sleep," "dream," "drunkenness," are the most common devices to effect an ecstatic experience). The passage describing 'the priestess took off her robe and spread it over the woman" while someone else fell asleep clearly indicates a "possession" of some kind is taking place. The priestess' prophecy of the lost girl's location with instructions to recover her sounds not unlike Nishan Shaman's prediction of how to restore Baldu's younger brother to life. We may wonder: Doesn't this priestess' mysterious talk suggest what Eder's and Fairchild's sources have concluded on "*kuchiyose*" ("mediumistic prophocey")?[44] And finally, the entire narrative yields a pattern:

Loss of Daughter:
Journey: (mother crossed fields & mountains; to the temple)
Sleep:
Friendly Helper[1]: (priestess shared secrets about lost daughter and ways to find her)
Journey (extended): (mother set out for the river bank)
Otherworld: (*oni*'s mansion; mother offered supper by daughter)
Knowledge/Object Obtained: (lost daughter)
Friendly Helper[2]: (priestess adviced how to escape)
Return: (mother & daughter escaped by showing *daiji-na tokoro*)
Lost Daughter Found & Saved.

The above narrative analysed for illustration confirms an acknowledged concept in shamanism: As far as the techniques of ecstasy go, they should present no problem whether the "medicating" performer is a shaman or a shamaness, as purported by the journey heroes or heroines in all the narratives presented and discussed including the Manchurian *Nishan Shaman* and the Japanese "The *Oni*'s Laughter" (KS16).

III. Our postulation might rest upon this final scrutiny, were we able to explain: Why, in the 8 tales presented including KS16, the situation always involves a female—a daughter mortally ill, a daughter to be sacrificed, or a daughter lost—and eventually the sick girl is cured, the the girl to be sacrificed freed, the lost girl found? While we may most conveniently assign the sick (the lost, etc.) into a category of what a shaman would call "clients", it is the opinion of many scholars on shamanism that a person, chosen or called to shaman profession (usually at puberty), falls into illness known as the shaman sickness. If the chosen one is not willing to accept his (or her) calling, he will be continuously subjected to torture. Concomitantly occurring with the shaman sickness may be

44. Eder, *op. cit.*, pp. 367–368; Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

lingering sleeps, dreams, hallucinations, visions of ancestoral shaman spirits, loss of consciousness, hysterical mumbles, etc.[45] Only after the initiation for the calling finalizes or after the candidate accepts to exercise shamanism as his vocation may his sickness be cured or ailment relieved. The explanations presented above may pose one problem: How is the sick girl related to the hero (KS16 excepted) who actually has gone through the journey and revives the ailing or dying girl? With the possible exception of KS16 (in which one may entertain the idea that at the point when the mother sleeps, the priestess takes possession of her by the very act of the priestess' spreading her robe over the mother; that it is the priestess who travels to the other world[46]), we can only construe that the shaman performance of the "ecstatic journey to the otherworld" is never a one-person-oriented feat. This construe is amply supported by my research done elsewhere.[47] For the present study we may recall as evidence the performance of Nishan Shaman and her assistant Nari Fiyanggo, a shaman attendent. It seems that we are lost somewhere in the process from what was originally a performance to reach an ecstasy to what eventually became an oral narrative—a search into the quest of transmutation from a traditional ritual performance to a traditional narrative, a quest to which there seems to be no definite answer. (And if there should be one, it would be that the ritual aspect of the performance as experienced by the performer had been highly aestheticized in a verbal form, the presentation of which differs from narrative to narrative, as there had been various shaman performers with different experiences.[48]) Nevertheless, we may tentatively conclude that the sick or the lost in our tales reflect in fact women who were called to shaman profession. The "sacrifice" girl in KS15 is a "sacrifice" in the sense that she is the only daughter of her family; to use a forced analogy, it is as much as what Jesus was stressing, a "sacrifice" or "loss" in the worldly sense is a gain to His chosen ones in the profession of the Gospel. After all, a shaman career is regarded as perilous and unpredictable!) For those who may find my explanations inconsequential or paradoxical, an

45. Cf. Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–66; cf. also Vilmos Dioszegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia. The Story of An Ethnographical Research Expedition* (translated by Anita Rajay Babó from the Hungarian *Sámánok nyomában Szibéria földjén*, 1960. Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout, The Netherlands, 1968), pp. 57–58; 60–61; 66–67; 141–143.

46. The same role could be seen from the *rokubu* in KS22, who substitutes, not merely in the act of rewriting the letter but also the person, Magojiro.

47. Cf. Yen, "Demon Tales," pp. 187–188.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 195–196.

alluding reference to a strong shamanistic notion is available at the close of KY80:

> "This is the desire of Kami Sama. Please accept it," the *chôja* urged. The boy then received the cup of wine. The *girl recovered instantly* and getting to her feet, *she performed a dance.* (p. 143. Italics mine.)

In a description such as "she performed a dance" (and *that* right after her recovery!) when read without the context of the Manchurian *Nishan Shaman* narrative, its complicated meanings would remain unintelligible to an uninformed reader. But consider that "she performed a dance" is is in realistic terms part of the initiating (and "shamanizing") process!

Appendix

Men like Mircea Eliade inform us that shamanism is a religious phenomenon characteristic of the Siberian and Ural-Altaic peoples. But it is also found among peoples is Southeast Asia, Oceania, among North American aboriginal tribes and other peoples.[1] As a testing case of the above statements and also of the method of thematic-pattern analysis, I pick up three tales from Roger E. Mitchell's "The Folktales of Micronesia,"[2] as his work is conveniently available to the readers of *Asian Folklore Studies.* The tales chosen are Numbers #31 "Olofat and The Stolen Eyes" (pp. 92–95), #68 "The Life-Restoring Medicine" (pp. 194–198), and #70 "The Island of Dolphin Women" (pp. 202–206). (Hereafter abbreviated as RM31, RM68, and RM70)

I. RM31 In this story, Olofat, a magician, through his journey to the otherworld recovered the lost eyes of the son of Sou Kuttu, Chief of Kuttu Island. Sou Kuttu's son was in the habit of taking his eyes out whenever he took a bath and put them back after the bath. One day, while taking a bath, he forgot to hide his eyes, which with their illuminant rays attracted the attention of Likechmwocho (an evil spirit). She flew over to Kuttu Island, stole the eyes, and flew back to her island. She wrapped the eyes in a piece of cloth and hung them around her neck to keep them safe, because she intended to save them for her lunch.

Attempts were made by Sou Kuttu to recover his son's lost eyes. He learned from the old and wise people about the magician Olofat. He

1. Mircea Eliade, ***Shamanism***, pp. 45–58 and Chapters IX–XII.
2. Roger E. Mitchell's work appeared in monograph form in *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. XXXII (Nagoya, 1973).

sent a messenger to invite him to come. Only with difficulties did the messenger succeed in finding Olofat, because Olofat had transformed himself, first, into a bird; next, into a pile of manure, and finally, into a human being. Having been told of the matter, Olofat knew where he could recover the lost eyes. At night he set out for Likechmwocho's island; he changed himself into a very fine stick, and let the stick float toward her island. The next day Likechmwocho came to the shore and found this stick. She desired to keep it, but when she picked it up and examined it, she knew it was Olofat. She threw it back into the water.

Olofat, unsuccessful on his first mission, returned to Kuttu to plan another trip. Again, at night he walked to her island. He climbed a coconut tree from which he took four or five ripe coconuts and threw them into the water. Into one of these fruits Olofat changed himself. Likechmwocho heard the noises and was worrying about the coconuts which she really liked. So the next day she went to the shore where the coconuts were. She picked up all five coconuts, but she forgot that the noises she had heard were four counts. She brought them into her house. At night when she fell asleep, Olofat used his magic to make her sleep soundly and untied the piece of cloth with the eyes. With these eyes he returned to Kuttu and restored them to the son of Sou Kuttu. . . .

II. RM68 This story tells how the people from Yap procured life restoring medicine and later lost it. Tilap, hero of the story, by walking on a very very big papaya tree went to heaven.[3] There he watched some ghosts (or spirits) taking a bath. After the spirits had gone, he took some grated coconut they had left behind and ate it. This he did for several times until one day he was caught by a spirit and brought to the chief of the spirits. Tilap had to stay with the spirits in heaven for many years. There in heaven he taught the spirits how to use a bamboo tool and a shell to prepare food. One night he went with the spirits fishing on earth. Before it was dawn, the spirits started yelling, as it was the way by which the spirits flew back to heaven. Tilap tried to stay on earth, but he couldn't stop yelling once the spirits started to yell. One day the chief of the spirits received the bamboo tool and the shell, in exchange for which he gave Tilap a life restoring medicine; he also

3. In the "very very big papaya tree" we seem to see a Japanese parallel, the "Ame no mihashira" ("heavenly pillar"). Matsumura Takeo sees in the "heavenly pillar" an allusion to the ancient Japanese belief that "the heavenly pillar was used to summon down divine or ancestral spirits, or the symbol of these spirits." Cited in Donald L. Philippi's translation of *Kojiki* (Tokyo, 1968), Additional Note 3 on p. 398; and p. 50 and note 1 on p. 50. The "heavenly pillar" is also cited in Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

taught Tilap how to stay on earth. The following night they were fishing on earth again. When it was almost dawn, all the spirits yelled, but Tilap, who had taken a shell with him, started blowing the shell. All the spirits flew to heaven except two who were left behind. Tilap went to live in a place called Nimar. There he got married and grew very old. One day he heard that two spirits had been captured and put in a cage. Tilap and his wife went to see the spirits, because the people who captured the spirits could not understand the spirits' language. As Tilap and his wife approached the cage with some leaves called *lamar*, the two spirits started to get wild and run about in the cage. Tilap gave them those leaves and the two spirits began to eat those leaves. Tilap and the spirits passed words briefly. The people then knew that Tilap could understand the spirits' language. Since then whenever there was a war, people would bring the dead to Tilap, for "Tilap would gather this kind of medicine" and put it in a big basket, into which he "put the dead or the person that had been cut into small pieces . . . and put some more of the medicine on top of them. Then in three or four days the person would come to life again (p. 197)."

Before Tilap had left heaven, he told the spirits that to sharpen the bamboo tool and the shell, they had only to put them into the fire. After the fire had burned out, naturally there was nothing left. Having been fooled, the chief of the spirits sent some ghosts to earth to get the medicine back. They came, took the tip of all the branches Tilap had planted, and went back to heaven. Since that time onward, the medicine became useless, because the important part of it had been taken away.

III. RM70 Anoun Farrang, a handsome boy and son of the chief of the Lugenfanu clan of Farrang, was sailing with a group of men from Losap to Truk. They boy was on the back steering the canoe when a group of whales came near to him and one of them knocked him into the water. (The other men in the canoe did not realize this.) The boy swam aimlessly. He performed some magic to decide in which direction to swim till finally the magic favored his diving downward. He landed on a beautiful island, in the middle of which was a big pool. He hid among the trees and grass. Later, the whales came and jumped from the salt water into the pool. They took off their whale skins and turned out to be beautiful girls. They piled up their skins in order to use them again. After the girls had left, the boy hid the skin of the prettiest girl. Soon the girls came back, put on their skins again, and jumped out into the ocean. The prettiest one without her skin had to stay behind and searched around the pool. The boy approached her with the skin. He

told her how he had been knocked off from the canoe by a whale; how he had swum to this place; how he had watched the whales take off their skins, and how he had hidden her skin. The girl realized it was she who had knocked him off from the canoe. She invited him to her and the other whale girls' house. . . .

In that house the girls took turns to stay with the boy; the boy on his part taught them how to cook the food. One day the boy let know his desire to return home. Upon hearing this everyone was sad. Nevertheless, they prepared a big feast to fare him well. Before the boy's return to Losap, the girls also taught him some of their medicine. One of the important medicines was to restore to life a sick or dead whale. A big cage bearing the boy and all kinds of food was carried on the backs of the whales who swam to Losap. People in Losap recognized the lost boy. They received the boy and the food. The girls (the whales) told the boy that the medicine which after he applied would be placed under a rock. The people now call the rock Fonrau, which means the "Stone of Whales."

All three tales, though differing in titles and contents, under the scrutiny of pattern analysis turn out to belong to a pattern similar to those shared by the eight Japanese tales, namely:

Sickness: (loss of eyes in #31; not in #68; nor in #70)
Journey: (#31: Olofat went out at night, p. 94; #68: "Tilap went and followed the tree" p. 194; #70: "boy & a group of men . . . on a journey" p. 203)
Animal Guide/or Helper: (#70: the whale girls; boy used his magic to decide direction; #31: Not clear; hero relies on transformation & magic; #68: Not clear, but "one ghost . . . took Tilap to their chief" p. 195)
Otherworld: (#31: to Likechmwocho's island; #68: to the ghosts' place in heaven; #70: to whale girl's house under water)
Knowledge/Object Obtained: (#31: the lost eyes; #68: the curing medicine; #70: boy learned about some medicine from the whales, p. 206)
Return: (#31: Olofat "left the island & went back to Kuttu" p. 95; #68: Tilap blew the shell and stayed on earth; p. 196; #70: The "whales took the boy until they got close to Losap" p. 206)
Sickness Cure: (#31: Olofat "gave the eyes to the son of Kuttu and he could see his way again" p. 95; #68: "when somebody got killed . . . Tilap . . . put some . . . of the medicine . . . the person would come to life again" p. 197; #70: only vaguely suggested; see p. 206)

Of the three journeys to the otherworld Olofat's definitely falls into the traditional, "standard" shaman's pattern of ecstasy represented by that of the *Nishan Shaman* narrative. Apart from the pattern *per se*, the shamanistic elements in RM31 are strongly evidenced by (i) Olofat's ability to transform himself into anything he desires to. Transformation,

as we recall, is a manifested feat among practioners in shamanistic cults; (ii) Cf. the word "shaman" ("one who knows") with Olofat's capacity as a seer—he knows where to find the lost eyes; (iii) Olofat's role as a "curer"—he restores the lost eyes to their owner; and finally (iv) the magical competition in the art of transformation in which Olofat outwits Likechmwocho reminds us of a corpus of literature about magicians' transformations and their outwitting each other best represented by *Siddhi Kür* ("Magic Corpse").[4] No doubt, the cultural areas which gave birth to such kind of literature as *Siddhi Kür* must have been associated with a tradition where shamanistic cults had played a dominant role.

Both RM68 and RM70 have three points in common: (i) The hero either "was brought to the chief of the spirits in heaven" or "was knocked off" from the canoe and later led to the whales' house. This very happening suggests a passiveness on the part of the hero. (ii) The hero's mission to the otherworld was not clear until at one point, when an "exchange of helpfulness" between the hero and the otherworld beings was established, *the hero began to acquire knowledge* or *substance of a certain medicine.* (iii) The hero had a strong desire to return to the human world and it was a return equipped with knowledge about certain medicine and with an ability to cure.

On account of these points we can speak very strongly of the possibility that RM68 and RM70 can be read as stories about shaman's passages of initiation rites, whereas RM31 is a story about a shaman professional's fulfilment rendered to his patron. The fact that all narratives (including those discussed in the main essay) demonstrate similar thematic-patterns and yet certain ones have to be read as shaman initiation rites while certain other ones as shaman professional activities should by no means be construed as inconsequential or paradoxical, but largely because "shamanism" has such limited, operative conceptions that the shaman initiation consisting of the Shaman Sickness, Ecstasy, and Curing of the Sickness is at times almost completely identical with the shaman professional activities consisting of the Client's Sickness, a quest into the causes of the sickness by the shaman's Journey to the Other-world, and the Curing of the Client's Sickness.

4. Professor John R. Krueger of Indiana University has an unpublished English translation of *Siddhitü Kegür.*