

# The Ritual Invocations of Hateruma<sup>1</sup>

By

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## I INTRODUCTION

Hateruma 波照間島 is a comparatively small (14.96 sq. km), rather isolated coral island belonging to the Yaeyama 八重山 group. Its situation at 24°4' N.L. and 123°47' E.L. makes it the southernmost island of the Ryûkyû archipelago and therefore of the whole Japanese culture area. Our research concentrated on—but was by no means limited to—the religious aspects of this, as compared to other islands, fairly well-integrated island culture, which in 1965 was shared by about 1300 people spread over five villages. These villages are commonly known by Japanese (or Ryukyuan-Japanese) names, viz. Fuka 外, Naishi 名石, and Mae 前, Kita 北, and Minami 南, but in the vernacular they are distinguished as Irî (West), Nâsi, and Mê, the central villages, and Arî (East), the villages Kita and Minami taken together. The latter division is the most relevant with respect to the socio-religious structure. Although the “family” or rather the “house”, the *hî* (J. *ie* 家), should be regarded as the basic social unit, it is in fact the *brother-sister* (*bigiri-bunari*) relation that is of fundamental importance for this socio-religious structure. Certain traits of this relationship attracted the attention of the noted Ryukyuan historian Iha Fuyû 伊波普猷 (1876-

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1) The data on which this article is based were collected during a period of field research from April to December 1965, supported by the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.). I am very much indebted to the priestesses of Hateruma for their exceptional kindness in allowing my wife to record their ritual texts and for their patience in assisting us with a preliminary analysis of these texts.

1947) and others early in the 1920's, eventually leading Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男<sup>2</sup> "to correlate such traits with folk beliefs and customs found in rather fragmentary form in both the historical documents and the present-day folk culture of Japan proper"<sup>3</sup>. But it was the anthropologist Mabuchi who—on the basis of field research in the Miyako 宮古 and Yaeyama groups (1954 and 1960)—first clearly discerned the actual importance of this phenomenon for the social and religious life in the southern part of the Ryûkyû archipelago<sup>4</sup>. *Socially*, the bigiri-bunari principle forms on Hateruma the basis for the *utsiza* groupings of brothers and sisters that connect several hî on two or three generation levels, thereby as it were horizontally crossing the "vertical" structures of the predominantly patrilineally-organized hî kin groups.

From the *utsiza* groupings stem the *utsizamarî* kin groups. Taken literally, this word means those born of the *utsiza* (of both ego's father and mother), in other words the nephews and nieces of a single generation. In practice, however, there is a tendency to extend the *utsizamarî* group in both the ascending and descending lines, the centre of gravity always shifting as new generations appear and grow up to become men and women taking an active part in the affairs of everyday life. Since village endogamy is still strong, it is self-evident that in everyday life such a group of "active" bilateral relatives and their affines is of great importance, especially for coöperative projects. *Religiously*, the centre of gravity of the bigiri-bunari group is located very distinctly in the bunari, the sister. There is not only a mythical and legendary "spiritual predominance" of the sister, of a "sister-deity", but also in the practice of religious life it is in principle the *shâbunari* (*shijâbunari*), the oldest sister, who as *bunari nu kan* (sister-deity) fulfills throughout her life the religious duties of the house into which she is born, while the oldest daughter (ego's oldest sister, *boma*) of the house is re-

2) In his *Imôto no chikara* 妹の力 (The power of the [younger] sister), first ed., Tôkyô 1940.

3) Mabuchi Tôichi 馬淵東一, "Spiritual predominance of the sister", in: *Ryukyuan culture and society, a survey*, ed. by Allan H. Smith, Tenth Pacific Science Congress Series, Honolulu 1964, p. 79.

4) See his "Okinawa-Sakijima no onarigami 沖縄先島のオナリ神 (The sister-deity in the S. Ryukyus)", *Nihon minzokugaku* 日本民俗学 (Japanese folklore), vols. 2/4 and 3/1, 1955, pp. 49-57 and 63-80 resp.; also *Ryukyuan culture and society*, pp. 79-91.

garded as *kandaka* (J. *kamitakai* 神高い, "divine") because it is she who at the proper time will become the *bunarī nu kan* of her house. This system logically results in the position of the village priestess. Regarded schematically, the *ideal pattern* is that the *most important* family—the *mutu-hî*, *tunimatu*—of a village community (in most cases such a family is supposed to stem from the mythical or legendary founder of the community) is considered as not only the social but also the religious centre of such a village, and consequently the *bunarī nu kan* of this *mutu-hî* acts as the priestess of the village community and the transmission of this office *ideally* goes to the oldest daughter (*boma*) of the oldest brother of the priestess. The fact that, for many reasons, practice does not always agree with this ideal conception in no way diminishes its fundamental validity, of course.

The term often used for priestess in the Yaeyama group is *tsukasa* 司, but preference is given on Hateruma to *sīka*<sup>5</sup> or *sīka nu pa* ("grandmother" *sīka*, but in this—and other—cases the kinship term *pa* is used more or less as a status term) and sometimes simply *mutu* (J. *moto* 本, "origin", "root"), while in ritual texts the combination *mutu nu buna* (i.e. *bunarī kan nu buna*) may appear. The fact that the *bigirī-bunarī* relationship is also extended *spacially* in the division of the island into a western (*bunarī*) and an eastern (*bigirī*) part, e.g. resulting in a spiritual predominance of the *irī* (western) priestess (in Fuka village) over the *arī* (eastern) priestesses, in the rituals themselves, and, for example, also in the relation rice-millet and everything related to it, need hardly—since here a *structural* principle is concerned—cause surprise. It will be impossible, however, to work out this structure within the limited scope of the present article.

The village community can be involved in various ways in the religious functions fulfilled by the priestess in the name of and on behalf of that community. In this sense, not only the

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5) It remains an interesting problem to what extent H. *sīka* and J. *tsukasa* (as in *kamitsukasa* 神司, the person to carry out the ritual events connected with the service of the *kami*) are related. Here, I would like to draw the attention to the common woman's name 'n*Sīka* as the equivalent of J. *Itsuki* (and therefore officially, e.g. in the population-register, also *written* *Itsuki*) and the significance of *itsuki* (*itsukime*, *ichi*, *ichiko*, *itako* etc.), in Japanese folk religion denoting a woman who serves the deities; see my *Namazu-e and their themes*, Leiden 1964, pp. 160, 161.

“houses”, but all individual members of the community between the ages of 7 and 73 are under obligation as *yamaninzu*, “people of the yama”,<sup>6</sup> to supply per “house” and per head given quantities of rice for use at various religious events and rituals connected with the village shrine of their own village. In addition to this more or less passive obligation as villagers under the protection of the village shrine, there is a more active participation in the communal religious life. This participation is in many cases not limited to a commitment—either as “house” or as individual—to the shrine of the native village, but often also extends to shrines in other villages. In such cases the individual acts as one of the members of a cult-group associated with each of the village shrines, the leadership of the cult-group residing in the priestess of that shrine. The majority of the members are women; men may also acquire membership but their role remains very limited. The individual cult-group “choice” and the commitment of certain houses to other shrines besides that of their own village are governed by factors which unfortunately cannot be gone into in this article. An important question, of course, is that of the conceptual content of the religious belief. This point will be gone into below on the basis of the texts to be discussed, but it will be useful to devote a few words to it here. Put briefly, the religious life is to a great extent dominated by two distinctly separate but nonetheless complementary complexes:

1. The care of and worship of the dead (*uya p'situ*) until the 33rd year after death. This care and worship are expressed in the close relationship between the house and the family grave (or graves) and in the meticulous celebration of the “anniversaries” of the dead performed on and in front of the house altar (J. *butsudan* 仏壇, but on Hateruma also referred to as *uya p'situ*).

2. After 33 years the dead are considered to become part of the anonymous group of *ancestors* (*uyân*, J. *oyagami* 親神, ancestor deities, spirits) and the worship is performed before a niche, the *buzasïke*, which is usually located on the east side of the “first room”, the main room of the house. The *buzasïke* is

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6) It should be noted that in instances like this the word *yama* is not used in its common Japanese meaning of “mountain”, but as “grove”, especially the sacred grove around the village shrine. Therefore, the shrine itself is sometimes referred to as “yama”.

always to be found in every house (and even on every plot when the house itself has disappeared for whatever reason), whereas the uya p'sïtu altar is present only when the house has individual dead to worship. It is in principle the shâbunarï (see above) of a house who must assume the leadership of the ritual ceremonies associated with the worship of the house-uyân, and it follows from this that it is—also in principle—the village priestess whose first task is to worship and serve the uyân of the mutu-hî and therefore the uyân of the community founder(s) in the village shrine on behalf of the entire community. Ritual events in the village shrine are therefore usually preceded by ceremonies within the mutu-hî, whereas for certain important rituals in the village shrine, similar but simpler ceremonies are also held before the buzasïke of the individual houses, thus demonstrating a connection between the house-uyân and the village-uyân. The priestess has nothing to do with the worship of the uya p'sïtu—except, of course, those of her own and of her husband's house. In relation to the holy task of serving the uyân, uya p'sïtu worship is considered unclean and involves a certain period of abstinence during which performing of or partaking in uyân rituals is strictly forbidden.

We may now turn our attention to the cult centre of the village, the village shrine. This shrine is commonly called *ugan* or *uganjo* (ugan-place), but the older, purely Hateruma term is *utsï nu wâ* (the inner wâ, the shrine within the village; J. *ogamu* 拜む, to worship >*ugan*>*uan*>*wâ*) and as such is connected with its counterpart, the *pïte nu wâ* (the field wâ) located at some distance from the villages. The appellation *utsï nu wâ* is certainly to be preferred, if only for the sake of a clear distinction between the village shrine and the many sacred places, also called *uganjo*, that are dispersed over the island.

The six *utsï nu wâ* of Hateruma are the following: *Âsuku* (sometimes also: *Arasuku*, The New Enclosure, Fuka village); *Buishi* (The Great Stone, Naishi village); *Busuku* (The Great Enclosure) and *Kêshimurï* (The Sublime Grove), both in Mae village; *Arantu* (The New Origin, Minami village) and *Mishïku* (The Sacred Enclosure, Kita village).

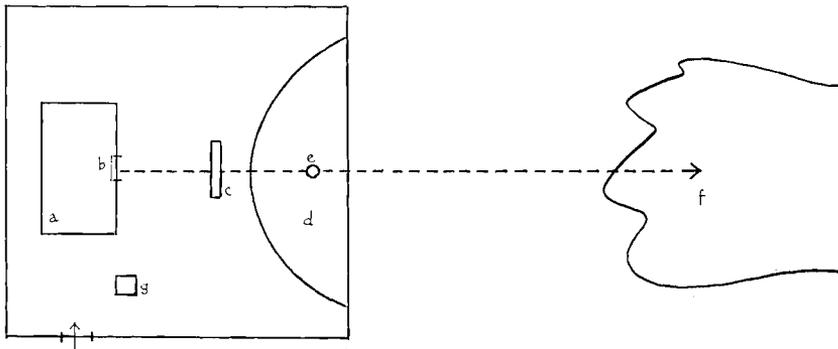
In these names the element *suku*<sup>7</sup> should be understood in the meaning of an enclosure, a place surrounded by stone walls,

7) Cf. its Okinawan equivalent *gusuku*, *gushïku*, often written with the character for J. *shiro* 城, castle, stronghold.

as is indeed the case for all but one *utsi nu wâ* on Hateruma. Arantu (*Aruntu*, *Arutu*) is usually understood as *Aramutu* (The New Origin), but *Ari (nu) mutu* (Origin of the East) would also be quite possible. Only Mae village has two *utsi nu wâ*, of which *Kêshimuri*, situated in a grove, and *not* surrounded by walls, is allegedly the older, but *Busuku* is easily the more important for reasons we will go into briefly later on.

Again, the ideal pattern is that village shrine and *mutu-hi* are closely connected in such a way that they constitute one complex, surrounded by stone walls and trees. This is at present only the case for the *Asuku-wâ* and the *Futamuri* house as *mutu-hi* of *Fuka* village. In ritual texts the whole complex is referred to as *Futabara*. The second example of such a complex is that of the Arantu shrine and the *Pêtu* house, but in the course of time the *Pêtu* family lost its position as *mutu-hi* of *Minami* village. Thus, the Arantu case conforms only formally—and not actually—to the ideal pattern. However, it shows another peculiarity not to be found for the *Futabara* complex. On the shrine grounds of the Arantu-wâ, a stone mound marks the place where the founder of the *Pêtu* family, and therefore the founder of the Arantu complex, is supposed to be buried. Especially on the second day of the great harvest festival, this grave is religiously worshipped by the head of the present *Pêtu* family.

Referring to Fig. 1, I will briefly describe the basic form of the *utsi nu wâ*. In a terrain surrounded by walls of coral stone and planted with trees stands a small wooden (when restored, sometimes concrete), tile-roofed house *a*, the *wâ nu hi*. In this



house the cult objects are kept; it has a fire place and, under three openings in the wall, at *b*, a small *buzasike* altar. During their periodic retreats, the priestesses stay in the *wâ nu hi*, which also provides seating accommodation during various important

rituals; in fact, rituals often begin in the *wâ* with a short prayer offered by the priestess in front of the *buzasîke*, which overlooks *c*, the *pettsa-hî*, a tile-roofed wooden (or concrete) gate forming the entrance to the sanctum, *d*. The *pettsa-hî* (literally: the house to be crept through) and the sanctum, the *masômi*, in which the actual rites of the cult take place, may be entered only by the priestesses and the female members of the cult-groups. The name *masômi* (J. *mashômen* 真正面, the very front) is related to the fact that there is supposed to be a direct connection between the *masômi* and the *pite nu wâ*, indicated schematically in Fig. 1 by *f*. The concept on which this is based is that the *uyân* must be able to move along special paths from the *pite nu wâ* to the *masômi* and vice versa without being hindered by houses. Within the *masômi* the rites of the cult are performed in front of and on the *bû*,<sup>8</sup> a stone-place—one might call it a stone altar—indicated by *e*. This creates, as it were, a connection between the *buzasîke* (in the *wâ nu hî*), *bû* (*masômi*), and the *pite nu wâ*. Lastly, on (or near) the shrine grounds there is a well (*g*), whose water is used only for ritual purposes. In their present form and with their present function, the *pite nu wâ* are found in the Ryûkyû archipelago nowhere except on Hateruma. They constitute rather extensive jungle-like groves, made almost impenetrable by a thick undergrowth, located about fifteen to twenty-five minutes walk from the villages. Three times a year, on fixed days, the *miya kutsé* takes place, i.e. in and around the *utsî nu wâ* and the *pite nu wâ* the paths supposedly used by the *uyân* are cleared and swept. This work is done by men, these three days being the only occasions on which men are permitted in the *pite nu wâ*. Normally, it is only the priestesses and the women of the cult-groups who enter these groves at certain times and know where the holy stone-places (in this case also called *bû*) are located. The three groves are the *Maturi-wâ* in the southwestern part of the island, connected with the *Âsuku* shrine in Fuka; the *Abatti-wâ* in the south, connected with the three *utsî nu wâ* of Naishi and Mae; and the *Sîsabarû-wâ* in the east, for the two *Arî* villages. In the last

8) Elsewhere *ubu* (*Yaeyama go-i*, p. 39), *ibi* (*Okinawa-go jiten* 沖縄語辞典, Tôkyô 1963, p. 244). Cf. also *Namazu-e and their themes*, pp. 126 (note 2) and 163; and J. Kreiner, *Beiträge zur Erforschung von Religion und Gesellschaft auf den nördlichen Ryûkyû: der Noro-Kult von Amami-Ôshima*, *Beiträge zur Japanologie*, Band 2, Vienna 1965, p. 177.

case, however, it is only the Arantu priestess who performs the cult rites in the Sīsabaru-wâ. Thus, we have here, too, a distinctly congruent position of West and East, the two central villages having a less well-defined, ambivalent position, also with respect to the pite nu wâ.

In their religious aspect the pite nu wâ are of course extremely important. We may assume (and the investigation proved this to hold especially for the Maturî-wâ) that certain uyân are thought to remain permanently in the pite nu wâ, whence they are led on special occasions to the utsî nu wâ.

The occasions on which the utsî nu wâ and pite nu wâ become centres of religious activity, when both the priestesses with the cult-group and/or the yamaninzu take an active part and in the final instance the entire island community becomes involved, are related to agriculture, especially to the wet rice culture which was so important up to 1962, and to the rainwater so essential to it. These events commence with the autumn rituals (*sîsîn*, J. *sechi* 節, the autumn equinox) in September, and conclude formally with the *amijiwâ* "rain thanking" ritual in June. In 1964-65 there occurred during these nine months a cycle of about 36 rituals which became more frequent and more intense as the harvest approached and which could be systematically classified<sup>9</sup>. It is the ritual invocations recited in the utsî nu wâ during *these* rituals with which this article is especially concerned. The whole ritual, the *tôchimé*, of which the invocation is only a part, always takes its course according to a fixed scheme that is always the same on every occasion, although the content of the ritual texts is of course adapted to the occasion for which they are recited. The *tôchimé* therefore comprises the entire complex, including the bringing of offerings and the burning of incense sticks with which the ritual is concluded in the great majority of cases. The *tôchimé* begins with the recitation of the *sîsarîgutsî* (the words addressed to the uyân), which can be subdivided as follows:

1. *A short introduction.* The contents change with every event and comprise a kind of summarized invocation of the uyân, followed by mention of the day and the event for which the

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9) An annotated survey of this cycle was published in the author's article "Haterumajima no kamigyôji ni tsuite 波照間島の神行事について (On the ritual events of Hateruma)", *Okinawa bunka* 沖縄文化 (Okinawan culture), no. 23, Tôkyô 1967, pp. 25-40.

ritual is meant.

2. *The ritual invocation*, the *pan*, with which this article is concerned. There is no agreement about the meaning of the word "pan" in this special context. It refers, in the first place, to the lower leg, that part of the legs on which the body rests in the formal sitting position. In the second place, pan is used in the meaning of J. *han* 判, stamp, mark, print. The third meaning of pan in the sense of Sino-Japanese *han* 範 could be: limited part, intangible, fixed rule, model. The second meaning undoubtedly came into use much later than the first, while the word pan in the third meaning does not seem to be locally known, and it therefore seems justifiable to assume that by *pan as ritual invocation* is meant that part of the *sīsarīgutsī* on which the whole ritual so to speak "rests"<sup>10</sup>. The pan is the most formal, immutably determined part of the *sīsarīgutsī*, transmitted from one priestess to the other, for which improvisation is absolutely excluded. It is also the most sacred part, recited in a chanting tone (and according to a particular "melody" which differs for each priestess), usually with closed eyes and accompanied by what is called *shizirī*, a soft rubbing of the hands against each other in a circular motion, from which the priestesses are sometimes also called *shiziribe*.

It need hardly be said that the comprehensibility of these texts depends entirely on their correct transmission (*yuzurī*). But in the course of time and for various reasons (the principal one being the death of a priestess before she has had a chance to initiate a successor), much has been lost, and because, furthermore, these pan-texts are not formulated in the colloquial language, defects and obscurities have arisen which make both analysis and translation very difficult. Only because we were able to compare various pan-texts mutually (and with other texts)—which the priestesses are unable to do, even if they felt any necessity to do so, because they have no access to other texts but their own—could such defects and obscurities be corrected or clarified in some instances. As will be evident from the following translation and remarks, the pan consists chiefly of invocations of the *uyân* of a particular shrine-area (*ugan-paka*), which is why they are of the greatest importance for our

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10) For a more definite solution of this problem it would be necessary to investigate whether—and if so in what context—the same or related terms occur on other islands of the Yaeyama group.

knowledge of the religion of Hateruma as a whole. The pan usually ends with the spoken (not chanted) words: *kan ya p'sītutsi ui ya p'sītutsi yari-ôri...*, which forms the transition to:

3. The *nigÊ* (J. *negai* 願い), the wishes made to the *uyân*<sup>11</sup>. The content of this part continually changes, according to the relevant occasion, but is frequently very important to a proper understanding of what is taking place. Often only analysis of the *nigÊ* (of which there are many and which also offer the priestesses possibilities for improvization) can clarify the true character of a ritual.

4. In many rituals the *nigÊ* is followed by the *pÊ agirun* (J. *hai wo ageru* 拝をあげる, *ogamu*, to pay respect). What is concerned here is in fact a ritual "counting" up to 33 (3 times 1 through 10 plus 3) or to 99 (3 times [3 times 1 through 10 plus 3]),<sup>12</sup> the latter being used only at very important rituals such as those for the harvest celebrations. The women count in a kneeling position, all the while rapidly striking the ground with folded hands. The *pÊ* is the only part of the *sisarigutsi* in which all those present—thus including the men—participate, with the difference that the men remain standing and, although they move their hands rapidly up and down during the counting, they bow to the ground and touch it with their hands only three times, at the last three counts. Apart from the numinous value the repetition of the ritual counting undoubtedly possesses, the *pÊ agirun* can perhaps best be characterized as "to compel (the *uyân*) to consent by repeated entreaties".

Without a knowledge of the ritual texts, any investigation—however accurately carried out—will inevitably find itself limited to the externally observable and verifiable forms of

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11) In a few cases the *nigÊ* are replaced by a prayer in which thanks are given for all the wishes that have been fulfilled within a certain period; all the occasions on which these wishes were made are then mentioned, which is referred to as *shûbi* (J. *shubi* 首尾, literally "head and tail", i.e. "beginning and end", "from the beginning to the end").

12) The number 9 is considered especially sacred on Hateruma, and therefore on some occasions exactly nine women are supposed to be present. If, however, there are only, for example, five women, four of them must repeat the *pÊ agirun* to satisfy the rule of 9. In the *uyân*-worship the uneven number (3, 5, 7, 9) plays a certain role, and even numbers are avoided as much as possible.

religious life. This will take the investigator quite far in a culture such as that of Hateruma, where religious and social life are so closely interrelated, but the essential content of what takes place will remain for the most part a closed book. Although it may seem strange (and in a certain sense this holds for the entire Ryūkyū archipelago) that so little attention has been given to these texts, it is not difficult to comprehend. In practice, research on Hateruma has shown that much work is impeded not only by language problems but also and primarily because of the fact that a group of women considers these texts (and songs) as a literally "inalienable" property entrusted solely to them. These country women, so friendly and sympathetic in ordinary, profane life, are, without exception, deeply conscious of the sacred task they fulfill through the exercise of their religious functions. The distance existing in this respect between men and women is seen as natural and desirable. And it is therefore completely understandable that the male stranger cannot go beyond certain boundaries in carrying out his investigation. As a result, it was due mainly to the cordial friendship that developed between the priestesses and my wife that a fairly complete inventory of ritual texts (and songs) could in the end be made.

*Literature concerning Hateruma* is scarce. With a single exception,<sup>13</sup> recent sources are by Japanese scholars in Japanese and the more important of these sources deal with socio-religious problems concerning the kinship system and the cult-groups<sup>14</sup>. Useful descriptive material on several aspects of Hateruma

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13) J. Kreiner (and Sumiya Kazuhiko), "Bemerkungen zur Gesellschaftsstruktur und ihrer religiösen Grundlagen auf Hateruma", *Sociologus*, New Series vol. 15/1, 1965, pp. 68-77.

14) E.g. Mabuchi Tōichi, "Haterumajima sono ta no ujiko soshiki 波照間島その他の氏子組織 (The "ujiko" organization on Hateruma and other islands)", *Nihon minzokugakkai-hō* 日本民俗学会報 (Bulletin of the Japanese Folklore Society) no. 44, 1965, pp. 1-11; Miyara Takahiro 宮良高弘, "Yaeyama guntō no shinzoku kōzō 八重山群島の親族構造 (Kinship structure in the Yacyama archipelago)", *Tōyō daigaku daigaku-in kiyō* 東洋大学大学院紀要 (Proceedings of the Tōyō University Post-graduate Course) vol. 1, 1964, pp. 151-166, and "Saishi keishō kara mita sonraku kyōdōtai no kōzō—Ryūkyū-Haterumajima no baai 祭祀継承からみた村落共同体の構造—琉球・波照間島の場合 (The structure of village communities seen from the viewpoint of religious inheritance—the case of Hateruma island)", *Kyōdōtai no hikaku kenkyū* 共同体の比較研究 (Comparative community studies) no. 4, 1966, pp. 53-70.

culture was collected by a group of students of Waseda University (Tôkyô) during their stay on the island in the summer of 1963<sup>15</sup>.

## II THE TEXTS (transcription and annotated translation)

With regard to transcription problems, the following remarks should be made<sup>16</sup>:

1. Although the Hateruma vernacular is a peculiarly divergent and highly important member of the Japanese-Ryukyuan speech family, no reliable linguistic description of this dialect has yet been published. Miyara Tôsô's 宮良当荘 glossary of Yaeyama dialects<sup>17</sup> and Eder's study<sup>18</sup> based on this glossary contain entries on Hateruma speech, and the valuable book by Hirayama and Nakamoto<sup>19</sup> on Yonaguni speech also contains a short section and comparative notes on Hateruma, but these studies offer no solutions to practical problems encountered in writing Hateruman.

2. Even for a cultural anthropologist without special linguistic training it remains an imperative demand to start with an attempt to acquaint himself with the language spoken around him. In our case this also involved working on a phonemic and phonetic inventory of Hateruma speech. After about three months in the field, this work was greatly facilitated by the notes<sup>20</sup> kindly put at our disposal by the American linguist Dr.

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15) Partly published in the student publications (of the Asia Society of Waseda University) *Jitchi chôsa hôkoku* 実地調査報告 (Field research reports) 1964, pp. 1-58, and *Tamarisuku* タマリスク no. 17, 1965, pp. 43-97.

16) I am indebted to Dr. J. C. Anceaux (Leiden Univ.) for critically examining these remarks. His valuable suggestions have been taken into account without diminishing my own responsibility for the present wording.

17) *Yaeyama go-i* 八重山語彙, Tôkyô 1930.

18) M. Eder, *Das Lautwesen des Yaeyama-Dialektes, ein Beitrag zur Dialektkunde Japans*, Diss. Berlin 1938.

19) Hirayama Teruo 平山輝男 and Nakamoto Masachie 中本正智, *Ryûkyû Yonaguni hôgen no kenkyû* 琉球与那国方言の研究 (A study of the Ryûkyû dialect of Yonaguni), Tôkyô 1963.

20) In the shape of a *Field handbook for speech of Hateruma*, type-written MS, 101 p., Shuri (Naha) 1965.

Owen Loveless (at that time engaged in compiling his dictionary of standard-Ryukyuan and living in Shuri 首里 on Okinawa). A fairly reliable phonetic transcription of the pan-texts would therefore not have been entirely impossible.

3. Experience has shown, however, that a scientifically sound phonetic transcription has the disadvantage of being in a sense "unreadable" for non-linguists (for whom this article is intended in the first place) and, furthermore, often leads to appreciable technical problems for the printer. For these reasons, an intermediate path has been chosen for this article (for which linguists, I hope, will be inclined to forgive me!) by on the one hand use of the internationally accepted spelling for standard-Japanese, i.e. the so-called Hepburn system with the usual modifications,<sup>21</sup> and on the other hand the deliberate application of certain simplifications. In addition, certain supplements were found to be required.

4. A few examples may serve to clarify these remarks. Hateruma speech probably distinguishes three grades of *vocalic length*, but for this transcription we chose to regard all vowels showing extra length in whatever way as simply long, and according to the Hepburn system rendered with â, î, û, etc.

*Pitch* (rising, level, falling) and *glottal stop* are definitely phonemic, but have been omitted from the transcription for practical reasons.

*Vocalic unvoicing* is a prominent feature of Hateruma speech. It has been indicated in this transcription by providing the vowel concerned with a special symbol, e.g. i, u, ï. Noteworthy is a frequently occurring "tight", unrounded *high central quasi-vocoid* with an acoustic effect somewhere between i and u, for which we have used the symbol ï. It is usually contoidal in effect, being a kind of lamino-alveolar fricative [z] or [s], according to whether or not it is voiced (cf. Loveless, p. 5) and is sometimes—but not exclusively—accompanied by another peculiar phonetic feature of Hateruma speech, viz. *vowel-associated friction* resulting in spirance. This is indicated by the symbol 's, as in p'si (J. hi 火, fire) or sak'si (J. saki 先, in front of, beyond, the far end). Lastly, attention should be paid to

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21) For the sound system of modern standard-Japanese and the Hepburn transcription, see the survey in F. Vos, "Dutch influences on the Japanese language", *Lingua* vol. 12/4, 1963, pp. 352 ff., and the sources mentioned there.

a *low front vowel* rendered by the symbol  $\hat{E}$ , phonetically very close to I.P.A. [æ], broader than  $\hat{e}$ , and mostly (or always?) lengthened to  $\hat{E}$ , as in *m $\hat{E}$*  (J. *mai* 米, rice).

5. For several reasons the language of the pan-texts often differs phonetically and morphologically from ordinary Hateruma speech. Unlike, for instance, the *nig $\hat{E}$* , the pan are—as mentioned above—recited (almost sung) in a certain rhythm which causes—or even requires—deviations. The fact that the pan-texts are the most sacred part of the *s̄isarigutsi* involves the notion that these texts—as holy texts—should differ from ordinary speech. The language used by officials from Okinawa and/or Ishigaki 石垣 as well as the fact that Shuri (Okinawa) and Ishigaki (city) were held in esteem as the seats of high-ranking priestesses in the religious hierarchy of the Ryukyuan kingdom, probably influenced the language of the pan-texts.

On the other hand, corrupt places whose meaning is no longer understood by the priestesses easily tend to undergo further changes. The texts also clearly revealed not only individual differences in pronunciation (articulation) but—to a lesser degree—also dialectical differences between West and East Hateruma. However, the present transcription does not record such differences systematically.

*The texts:*

*Asuku-pan* (Fuka village)

- 1 futabara bŷân p̄sŷân tôto  
buransŷuku muransŷuku utsingur̄i yungur̄i oru uyân yun tôto  
yŷ s̄inu yŷ pana ni oru uyân  
hako-ura utsi m̄isho-ura utsi oru uyân yun tôto
- 5 buzô oru uyân kanezô oru uyân  
zô utsinga ni tŷur̄i utsinga ni oru uyân  
buminaga p̄suminaga udê shiki p̄ $\hat{E}$  shiki shôru uyân tôto  
tôto yasik̄i nu uyân funami oru uyân  
yuru nu is̄i-ma-ndô p̄isu nu nana-ndê p̄isê-ôru bŷân p̄sŷân
- 10 shinnê nu yu muchi-oru uyân  
kan yun p̄s̄itutsi ui yun p̄s̄itêtsi yari-ôri  
shî mus̄ib̄i yŷ mus̄ib̄i shôru uyân  
tuyu mishiku nar̄i mishiku jinsŷuku ndô  
mur̄i-mun sŷuku-mun d̄emun k̄emun oru gizanasi

- 15 nigen ba marôtaru gizanasî sîsa ba sune-ôtaru gizanasî  
 nigen ba marôri sîsa ba s ne-ôri  
 mitsî ba p'sîki-ôri fun ba nama-ôri  
 isî yama mî yama namôtaru gizanasî  
 uchimurî azamagu oru mun suku mun
- 20 nanchi shikyâra mutu nu oru bûyân pîsûyân  
 arîbara bûyân pîsûyân  
 bû-p'sîta mutu-p'sîta mâtuku bisôtaru  
 funanshîki minanshîki shôru bûyân pîsûyân  
 pênâbari bunâbari sîma muchi yû muchi-oru uyân
- 25 ami nu nusî mizî nu nusî oru uyân  
 sîma-yu ba muchi-ôri sîma-gabu ba muchi-ôri tôto  
 inama funanshîki minanshîki  
 madumarî uri nu uyân yuri nu uyân pîsa nu uyân  
 yurêza surêza shôri
- 30 shikin nu tamê sû nu tamê tamê-shôri  
 nagazasî sak'sîbana oru uyân  
 turôsî p'sîkyôsî shôri  
 crya futsî kêssha futsî sîsa ba futsî mitsî ndami shôru uyân  
 sûdami shôru uyân mitsî ndami shôri sûdami shôri
- 35 purîmarî butungubana sîsupama kêpama  
 sîsu nandarî kênandarî asîbî-ôru bûyân pîsûyân  
 ni nu futsî ba dagi-ôru uyân sîma ba dagi-ôru uyân tôto  
 tuyu mishîku narî mishîku  
 bashôtsî futsî gara ndôtaru kanputuginganasî uiputuginganasî
- 40 sîmazasî sak'sîbana oru uyân  
 mô-tukurubana isî nu kumurî oru uyân nana nu kumurî oru  
 uyân  
 arî-p'sîngasî ichô haka-oru uyân tama haka-oru uyân  
 ichô ba haka-ôri tama ba haka-ôri  
 turôsî p'sîkyôsî shôri
- 45 isî nu kumurî-n b'zîryôri nana nu kumurî-n b'zîryôri  
 irî myôdagi oru uyân ya utu nusî narî myôdagi oru uyân ya  
 бага nusî  
 kumu ya pana oru uyân ya ami nu nusî  
 garî ya pana oru uyân ya mizî nu nusî  
 kunôra miyoshîku mutu nu sîsî taki nu sîsî
- 50 ura ura sak'sî sak'sî oru uyân tôto

*Buishi-pan* (Naishi village)

- 1 miyara duntsi oru uyân kêssha duntsi oru uyân  
 kan tûritsi ui tûritsi oru uyân  
 buzasīke dêpana oru uyân  
 yasiki nu uyân funami nu uyân
- 5 hako-ura utsi misho-ura utsi oru uyân yû panaji oru uyân  
 buminaga pîsuminaga zô kanezô oru uyân  
 buishi naishi oru uyân  
 panasukubara oru uyân butura uyân agantara uyân  
 mutu busuku naga busuku kêshimuri mêpanaji oru uyân
- 10 tachi-ushi oru uyân p'siki-ushi oru uyân  
 pênbâbari bunâbari oru uyân  
 suri nu uyân yuri nu uyân  
 ma nu ba zô oru uyân bumiya pîsumiya oru uyân  
 pêmuchu mapêmuchu shindu oru uyân
- 15 mî yama mî taki oru uyân itsi yama itsinga ni oru uyân  
 busasibana sak'sibana oru uyân  
 dô min p'siki min shôru uyân  
 sani nu kê mutu nu kê oru uyân  
 pênbâbari bunâbari oru uyân ami nu nusi mizi nu nusi oru  
 uyân
- 20 iri myôdagi kê-myôdagi oru uyân  
 kami nu tukuru tukuru oru uyân  
 kan ya p'situtsi ui ya p'situtsi yari-ôri tôto

*Busuku-pan* (Mae village)

- 1 mutu busuku naga busuku sin turi fuchi haki oru uyân  
 mêpanaji utsingani oru uyân naringani oru uyân  
 naga-ushi fukura-ushi tamê shôru uyân  
 mî muri mî taki oru uyân
- 5 masarabutsi kêshabutsi za yurê pîsa yurê oru uyân  
 shatabara mutu nu hi ni nu hi panasukubara oru uyân  
 bunâbari pênbâbari bunun pîsunun taku nu nusi yu nu nusi ami  
 nu nusi oru uyân  
 busasibana sak'sibana bontara agantara funanshiki minan-  
 shiki oru uyân  
 p'si-mûri mi-mûri oru uyân

- 10 butô oru uyân kêtô oru uyân  
 bu-ino kê-ino asïnaga sïpusïnaga oru uyân  
 sïsupama kêpama bunandarï kênandarï oru uyân  
 nubïmarï oru uyân subïmarï oru uyân  
 shï musïbï yû musïbï mï shïkusï mï taki oru uyân
- 15 nabimurya nana kumurï  
 mugasï nu yu ba muchôri kisasï nu kitari ba turï-ôri  
 kinôbari mutu nu kê ni nu kê sïsumizi nu nusï amamizi nu  
 nusï oru uyân  
 kunêzasï panazasï oru uyân  
 takanâzasï panazasï arï-p'singasï ichô haki-oru uyân tana haki-  
 oru uyân
- 20 ura ura sakï sakï sïma nu mutu fun nu mutu oru uyân  
 itsï yama itsïnga ni mï yama mï taki oru uyân tôto kobya  
 kan ya p'sïtutsï ui ya p'sïtutsï yari-ôri tôto

*Kêshïmurï-pan* (Mae village)

- 1 chï tôto kêshïmurï nu mêpanaji oru uyân  
 utsïngani narïngani oru uyân  
 naga-ushi fukura-ushi tamê shôru uyân  
 mï murï mï taki oru uyân
- 5 masarabutsï kêshabutsï za yurê pïsa yurê oru uyân  
 naga busuku mutu busuku sïn turï fuchi hakï oru uyân

The rest of the *Kêshïmurï-pan* is exactly the same as the *Busuku-pan* with the single exception of line 11 which runs:  
 bu-ino kê-ino busïnaga yûsïnaga oru uyân

*Arantu-pan* (Minami village)

- 1 arantu mërantu oru uyân tôto  
 buminaga pïsuminaga oru uyân  
 zô utsïnga ni turô utsïnga ni oru uyân  
 hako-ura utsï misho-ura utsï oru uyân tôto
- 5 nana zô nana magu oru uyân tôto  
 méyama mêpanaji oru uyân tôto  
 kasarabutsï masarabutsï oru uyân tôto  
 arï-pingasï oru uyân ichô hake tana hake oru uyân tôto  
 takanâzasï funzasï oru uyân

- 10 ishika nu buya ishika nu pa oru uyân tôto  
shira-ishi maishi oru uyân  
nabimurya Êmurya tanamurya oru uyân tôto  
budû-p'sîki madû-p'sîki oru uyân  
sakora futsi darasi futsi oru uyân
- 15 katsatsani oru uyân tôto  
bu-ino tu-ino oru uyân  
butô nagatô oru uyân tôto  
itsi yama mi yama oru uyân  
bumishiku kêmishiku oru uyân tôto
- 20 sîma nu ura ura sak'sibana oru uyân  
tukuru tukuru kin kin oru uyân tôto  
konora miyoshiku oru uyân  
kandaga uidaga oru uyân  
kan ya p'sîtutsi ui ya p'sîtutsi yari-ôri tôto

*Mishiku-pan* (Kita village)

- 1 mutu mishiku kê-mishiku oru uyân tôto  
nana dan nana zô sirôtsi oru uyân tôto  
tabaru-tento ni oru uyân tôto  
mêyama mêpanaji oru uyân tôto
- 5 ucha ni miya ni oru uyân tôto  
uji ya shiki shi ya shiki oru uyân tôto  
itsi yama mi yama mari-oru uyân tôto  
p'sînâbara oru uyân tôto  
sîsami ni migi ni oru uyân tôto
- 10 sîmusi funira sîmadami sûdami shôru uyân tôto  
ari-p'singasî ichô haki tama haki-oru uyân tôto  
sakorya futsi kêsha futsi darasi futsi oru uyân tôto  
hako nu nusi yû nu nusi mari-oru uyân tôto  
nubimari subimari tukuru tukuru kinkin oru uyân tôto
- 15 sîma nu ura ura sak'sibana oru uyân tôto  
kêshabutsi masarabutsi za yurê pîsa yurê oru uyân tôto  
bunâbari pênarî oru uyân tôto  
bu-ishôtsi ma-ishôtsi marubena oru uyân tôto  
shirazi burazi oru uyân tôto
- 20 sîmazasi funzasi oru uyân tôto

kunora miyoshiiku kandaka uidaka oru uyân tôto  
 kan ya p'sîtutsi ui ya p'sîtutsi yari-ôri tôto

*Translation:*<sup>22</sup>

*Âsuku-pan*

- 1 great uyân, uyân looming large at Futabara (1), hail to thee  
 o uyân who art in the morning and in the evening at the great  
     Âsuku, the sacred Âsuku, hail to thee  
 uyân at the four corners, at the four edges [of the wâ nu hî]  
 o uyân within the enclosure, within the sacred enclosure, hail  
     to thee
- 5 uyân at the great gate, uyân at the iron gate  
 uyân behind the gate, behind the entrance of the gate  
 uyân in the great garden, the wide garden, sitting on the  
     ground and placing thy hands before thee [and thereby  
     protecting us from behind]  
 hail to thee, uyân in the shrine grounds, at the funami places  
 great uyân, uyân looming large, who art always present dur-  
     ing the five hours of the night and the seven hours of  
     the day
- 10 uyân keeping prosperity for a thousand years  
 o deities, please be one; o those above, please be one  
 uyân joining thy hands, uniting thy sacred power  
 hero Gisha who appeared from the depth of the earth at  
     thriving Mishîku, at Mishîku whose fame resounded (2)  
 [hero Gisha] at the gate of the hole, at the bottom gate, the  
     exalted, the sublime gate
- 15 hero Gisha who procreated the human beings, who offered  
     the salt  
 human beings thou procreated, salt thou offered  
 the roads thou drew, the island thou founded  
 hero Gisha who founded the five yama, the three yama  
 the gate, the gate at the enclosure of the lord of Uchimuri (3)

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22) The translation of the texts was completed after much delibera-  
 tion and represents our present opinion. Many problems remain to be  
 solved, however, and we very much hope that publication in this form  
 will lead to further discussion of moot points.

- 20 great uyân, uyân looming large, uyân of the first one to acquire the name [Nanchi]  
 great uyân, uyân looming large at Arībara (4)  
 great uyân, uyân looming large, uyân of the great P'sīta, the first P'sīta (5) starting to worship at Maturī (6)  
 and mooring the ship, the sacred ship  
 uyân at the southern Nābarī, the great Nābarī (7), keeping the island, keeping prosperity
- 25 uyân, master of the rain, master of the water  
 please bring prosperity, bring a good harvest to the island, hail to thee  
 [uyân] mooring the ship, the sacred ship at Inama (8)  
 uyân coming from far away, uyân residing on the rocks at Madumarī (8)  
 please gather together, sit down together
- 30 please help the world, do good to us all  
 uyân at the far edge of Nāzasī (9)  
 please lead [the boats] through, pull and push [them] through  
 the Entrance gully (10), the sublime, the white one, uyân please let it be used as a [boat-]way  
 uyân who help us all, please let it be used as a [boat-]way, please do good to us all
- 35 great uyân, uyân looming large, divinely diverting thy-selves at the Butungubana [stone] of Purīmarī (11)  
 at the white beach, the sublime beach, the white coral-slabs, the sublime slabs  
 uyân encompassing the gully of the rat-direction (12), encompassing the [whole] island, hail to thee  
 the god, the high god who appeared from the Bashôtsī gully (13)  
 of thriving Mishīku whose fame resounded
- 40 uyân at the far edge of the [western] point (14) of the island  
 uyân at the five holes at the edge of Mōp'sīna, at the seven holes (15)  
 uyân at Arī-p'sīngasī (16) with the silk robe, the tama [necklace]  
 please don the silk robe, please put on the tama [necklace]  
 please go through, pull and push through

- 45 please be seated at the five holes, at the seven holes  
 uyân, the younger brother at iri-myôdagi; uyân, the young  
 master at narî-myôdagi  
 uyân at the edge of the clouds, master of the rain  
 uyân at the rising edge, master of the water  
 uyân at Kunôra Miyoshîku, at the ground of origin, at the  
 mountain top ground
- 50 uyân far behind and beyond, hail to thee

*Remarks*

- line 5: "iron gate", iron in the sense of strong, everlasting.
- „ 6: "behind the gate", behind the pettsa-hî, in the masômi.
- „ 7: minaga, *miya nu naga*; miya, part of the shrine grounds  
 planted with trees, the sacred shrine *garden*. In Japan  
 miya acquired the meaning of shrine complex, includ-  
 ing the shrine buildings.
- „ 8: "funami places", here: certain places around the Futa-  
 bara complex, just outside the stone walls, where the  
 Âsuku priestess (sometimes also cult-group members  
 and the head of the Futamurî house) on certain oc-  
 casions prostrate themselves and whisper into the  
 ground (from whence there is supposed to be an under-  
 ground connection with the sea) their wishes for mild  
 weather over the island and at sea. Cf. Okinawan *funshi*  
 (Ch. *feng shui* 風水), "wind and water", a concept in  
 geomantic lore.
- „ 9: before January 1st 1873, the Japanese (and Ryukyuan)  
 "hour" system, of Chinese origin, differed from the  
 European system. Normally, a Japanese "hour" equal-  
 led two European hours, but the Japanese temporal  
 "hour" varied in length with the seasons.
- „ 10: yu, yû can have several meanings. Prosperity, fertili-  
 ty, abundance, therefore also good harvest (line 26),  
 but it is sometimes used in the sense of abundant rain-  
 water or as in line 12, of sacred power.
- „, 13, 14: Mishîku (not to be confounded with the Mishîku-wâ  
 of Kita village), located west of the Futabara complex,  
 near the coast, played an important role in the mythical

past of the island. The place is now indicated by a holy spring, the Mishiku-gê, where certain rituals presided over by the Âsuku priestess still take place. Gizanasî, i.e. Gizaganasî; *-ganasî (-ganashi)*, “the lovely one”, an old Ryukyuan honorific. Here it has been translated as hero, because Gizanasî has all the features of a culture hero. Giza, i.e. Gisha, is still a common man’s name.

*Mun* in *suku-mun*, *dêmun*, etc. (see also line 19) remains somewhat enigmatic. The normal Hateruma word for gate is *zô*. *Mun* is only found in the Âsukupan. We offer the meaning gate (J. *mon* 門) as the most plausible one in this context.

- „ 15: *sîsa*, the white (thing), is invariably interpreted as salt, salt being an important (though not the only “white”) offering.
- „ 18: five *yama*, three *yama*, interpreted as the five *utsi nu wâ* and the three *pite nu wâ* (cf. footnote 6).
- „ 19, 20: *Nanchi*, an important Fuka house said to originate from *Uchimurî*. *Azamagu*, i.e. *aji nu magu*, the enclosure (dwelling place) of the *aji* (of *Uchimurî*); *anji*, *aji* (*azî > aza*), formerly a hereditary rank of Okinawan nobility, a lord or chieftain.
- „ 21: *Arîbara*, a sacred grove in Fuka village, east of the *Futabara* complex, and closely connected with another *mutu-hî* in Fuka, the *Buni* house.
- „ 22, 23: the five houses of the important *P’sîta* family form a distinct quarter of Fuka. Of all the villages on Hateruma only Fuka still reflects to a certain degree the traditional pattern of stem and branch houses (*mutu* and *şura*, or *mutu-hî* and *bagari-hî*) of family units living together in a separate quarter of a village. Just south of the *P’sîta* quarter, two stones are said to have been used as mooring posts of the sacred *P’sîta* ship.
- „ 24: *Nâbarî* is a region south of *Mae* village, important because of the rain-water (see also the next line) draining off to the west and inundating the wet rice fields of Fuka.
- „ 27, 28: *Inama* is the beach east of *Nâzasî* or *Nagazasî* (line 31),

the Central Cape, once located at a place next to the present pier (*sanbashi*). In former times ships could approach the coast through a difficult, narrow sea channel, a gully (*futsi*, *futsi*, cf. also the other pan-texts) or long cleft in the coral reef surrounding the island. Thus, ships could anchor at Madumarî near Inama beach. The entrance gully (line 33), with its white sand bottom clearly visible through the limpid water, is no longer used except for ritual purposes, e.g. the boat races at *sîsîn*.

- „ 35: The Butungubana stone is found on the western shore of Cape Purîmarî, the first cape west of the pier; from there the Barasî gully leads northwestwards through the reef in the geomantic “rat-direction” (line 37). Folk Taoism, and consequently geomancy, plays an important part in Ryukyuan folk life.
- „ 38: the term “kanputuginganasi” (with the embellishing reiteration “uiputuginganasi”) strangely combines J. *kamihotoke* 神仏 (the Shintô and Buddhist “spirits”) with Ryukyuan -ganasi (see line 14). It is translated here as “god” because of the special position of this “uyân” in the origin myths of the island. The Bashôtsî gully is quite near the Mishîku-gê.
- „ 40, 41: *sîmazasî*, the “island cape” of the protruding north-western part (*Môp’sîna*) of Hateruma is in the islanders’ conception the very west and as such connected with Cape Takanâ as the very east (in reality the southeastern edge of the island). The western beach of *Môp’sîna* is called *Pêpama* (Southern Beach). The “five holes”, the “seven holes” (*kumurî*) are small, round holes caused by erosion of the sea water in the *sîpani* (sharp, pointed coral rocks along the coast) at the southern end of *Pêpama*. Actually, only *one* hole (among many) is meant and religiously attended.
- „ 42: *Arî-p’sîngasî* (derived from *a(ga)rî p’sîngasî*, the fire deity, i.e. the sun, rising in the East; *p’sîngasî*, J. *higashi* 東, East?) is the region around Cape Takanâ. The *uyân* is supposed to travel from *Takanâzasî* to the *kumurî* at *Pêpama* (which is reflected in lines 44 and 45). The silk garment and the *tama* (bead) necklace

even today find their counterpart in the white dress and the bead necklace used as ritual paraphernalia by the priestesses in some parts of the Ryukyus. On Hateruma, only the wide, white (hemp) *kan-ichu* ("divine kimono") is used as ritual dress by the priestesses on some occasions.

- „ 46: for *iri-myôdagi* (*nari-myôdagi*) etc. there are several interpretations. The most plausible is that of a mountain top in the eastern part of the great, mountainous island Iriomote 西表 (*Iri-umutu*) opposite to and always visible from Hateruma. Then the "elder brother" would be the sacred *Umutu* (*Ufumutu*) mountain (in some texts called *Ari-myôdagi*) on Ishigaki, the main island of the Yaeyama group, facing Iriomote in the East. Both mountains are important in connection with rain, and until a few years ago *mizi turi* (water fetching) rituals were performed three times a year on Iriomote and Ishigaki by the heads of traditionally-appointed Hateruma houses. "*Mutu nu sîsi*" (line 49) would then most probably refer to the *Umutu* mountain, cf. also the *Yaeyama go-i*, p. 197.
- „ 49: *Kunôra*, *Kun* (officially: *Komi*) *nu ura*, *Komi Bay* and the former village of *Miyoshiku* (near *Komi*), *E. Iriomote*, are the places from which at least part of the original population of Hateruma is supposed to have migrated as the first settlers of the island.

### *Buishi-pan*

- 1 *uyân* at the *Miyara Mansion*, the sublime *Mansion*  
*uyân* behind the divine entrance, behind the holy entrance  
*uyân* at the *buzasîke*, at the lofty edge [of the *buzasîke*]  
*uyân* of the shrine grounds, *uyân* of the *funami* places
- 5 *uyân* within the enclosure, within the sacred enclosure, *uyân*  
 at the four edges [of the *wâ nu hî*]  
*uyân* in the great garden, the wide garden, at the gate, the  
 iron gate  
*uyân* at the *Great Stone*, at the *Long Stone* (17)  
*uyân* at *Panusukubara*, *uyân* at *Butura-agantara* (18)  
*uyân* at the origin *Busuku*, the central *Busuku* (19), at  
*Kêshimuri*, the grounds in front [of *Busuku*] (20)

- 10 uyân at the place [from which] to start, [from which] to pull  
and push through (21)  
uyân at the southern Nâbari, the great Nâbari (22)  
uyân assembling, uyân gathering together  
uyân at the gate of the horse-direction, uyân in the great  
garden, the wide garden (23)  
uyân [in the bush] above [the beach of] Pêmuchi, the very  
Pêmuchi (24)
- 15 uyân at the three yama, the three groves; uyân at the five  
yama, within the five [yama]  
uyân at the far edge of the Busasî (25)  
uyân who used the scales and the strickle  
uyân at the Sani well, the origin well (26)  
uyân at the southern Nâbari, the great Nâbari, master of  
the rain, master of the water (27)
- 20 uyân at iri-myôdagi, sublime myôdagi  
uyân at the divine places  
a deities, please be one; o those above, please be one, hail  
to thee

*Remarks*

- line 1: the place known as the Miyara Mansion (Miyara, Mêra  
duntsi), slightly to the north of the Buishi-wâ, is now  
a small stone-place with some trees and an incense-  
burner (*kôri*). It is supposed to be situated on the site  
formerly occupied by the house of an important Ishi-  
gaki official of the royal government at Shuri.
- „ 3: i.e. the buzasîke in the wâ nu hî.
- „ 4: for the funami places, see the remarks to line 8 Âsuku-  
pan.
- „ 6: see the remarks to lines 5 and 7 Âsuku-pan.
- „ 7: Buishi (Great Stone), after which the Buishi-wâ was  
named, is a big, sacred stone overgrown by a tree  
standing just outside the east wall of the wâ. On  
special occasions it is religiously attended by the  
Fusukoy house as second tunimutu of Naishi village.  
The Long Stone (after which the village itself was  
named) lies at present in front of the utsi nu wâ on  
the other side of the road.

- „ 8: Panasukubara, the region immediately in front (i.e. to the south) of the Buishi-wâ and Naishi village. At the easternmost side of Panasukubara, quite near to Mae village, is the Buturî well (Butura-agantara); it is here that the Naishi priestess prays and sprinkles water before every ritual to be performed in the Buishi-wâ.
- „ 10: this place south of the Kêshimurî-wâ is the starting point of the journey to the Abatti-wâ.
- „ 11: see the remarks to line 24 Âsuku-pan.
- „ 12, 13: i.e. the Abatti-wâ; the “gate of the horse-direction” (cf. the remarks to line 35 Âsuku-pan) “opens” toward the part of the southern shore of Hateruma called Pêmuchi (line 14).
- „ 15: cf. the remarks to line 18 Âsuku-pan; *taki*, as in Okinawan *utaki* (sacred grove, equivalent to the Hateruma wâ), should sometimes be translated by grove, sometimes by mountain top.
- „ 16: Busasî, the Great Cape, at the easternmost end of Pêmuchi beach.
- „ 17: this line refers to the weighing and measuring of rice by the officials in charge of levying taxes.
- „ 18: one of the kumurî at the western end of Pêmuchi from which a path leads inland to the Bunâbarî yama and well, an important sacred place referred to in line 19; cf. also line 24 Âsuku-pan, where “the southern Nâbarî, the great Nâbarî” actually refers to the same Bunâbarî yama.
- „ 20: see the remarks to line 46 Âsuku-pan.

*Busuku-pan*

- 1 uyân at origin Busuku, central Busuku (28), uyân holding the ink and writing with the brush  
 uyân at the grounds in front (29), forging the iron, clanging the iron  
 uyân at the central stones, the honourable, beautiful stones  
 uyân at the three mounds, the three groves

- 5 uyân gathering at the magnificent Eastern Ridge, the sublime Ridge (30)  
 uyân at the Ôsha (31), at the origin house, the root house,  
 uyân at Panasukubara (32)  
 uyân at the great Nâbari, the southern Nâbari (33), at the  
 great fields, the wide fields, uyân, master of the water,  
 master of the rain  
 uyân at the far edge of Busasî (34), at Bontara-agantara,  
 uyân at the mooring-place of the ship, the sacred  
 mooring-place (35)  
 uyân at the reefs all around, the sacred [reefs] all around  
 (36)
- 10 uyân at large in the great sea, the sublime sea [outside the  
 reefs] (37)  
 uyân at sea, the sublime sea, where the water reaches the  
 knee (38)  
 uyân at the white beach, the sublime beach, at the great  
 coral-slabs, the sublime slabs (39)  
 uyân at the sandy slope [where the water does not reach],  
 the stretching slope (40)  
 uyân joining thy hands, uniting the sacred power; uyân at  
 the three [stones] piled up, the three tops (41)
- 15 [uyân at] Nabimurya (42), [at] the seven holes  
 the prosperity of yore, please [continue to] preserve it [for  
 us]; the rule of the past, please keep it  
 [uyân at] the Kinôbari well, the origin well, the root well  
 (43), master of the white water, master of the rain  
 uyân at Cape Kunê, the cape at the edge (44)  
 uyân at Cape Takanâ, cape at the edge, [uyân at] Ari-  
 p'singasî wearing the silk robe, the tama [necklace] (45)
- 20 uyân who art from the beginning at the far ends of the  
 island, of the land  
 uyân at the five yama, in the five [yama], at the three yama,  
 the three groves, hail to thee, so be it  
 deities, please be one; those above, please be one, hail to thee

*Remarks*

- line 1: shortly after 1500, when the Royal Court at Shuri (Okinawa) extended its influence over the Yaeyama archipelago and officials sent from Ishigaki also settled on

Hateruma, the Busuku-wâ rose to importance as a religious centre deeply involved in the new political situation. For a long time thereafter, Busuku maintained close ties with the officialdom on the island. It was these officials who "held the ink and wrote with the brush", in other words they introduced the art of writing.

- „ 2: "the grounds in front", i.e. the Kêshimurî-wâ in the south of Busuku (even now, all houses on Hateruma have their fronts directed to the South). Tradition has it that Kêshimurî was closely connected with the establishment of a smithy. Iron sand is found on the island, and the making of agricultural tools and probably also weapons was reported for the first time in 1479 in records of Korean shipwrecks.
- „ 3: this line probably refers to stones situated between the Busuku- and Kêshimurî-wâ, where, according to the interpretation of the priestesses, bones of uyân are buried. On certain occasions, water is sprinkled on these places. However the text itself is not clear and probably corrupt.
- „ 4: The "three mounds (groves)" are interpreted as Busuku, Kêshimurî, and the Abatti-wâ. Another interpretation is that the "three mounds" refer to Busuku, Kêshimurî, and the grounds between them, called Fusamara yama. However, this interpretation remains problematic.
- „ 5: the "Eastern Ridge", commonly called Ariyama, is a densely wooded, high ridge (in fact the highest spot on the island, some 60 metres above sea level) just east of Minami village on the way to Cape Takanâ. It is a sacred grove that may not be entered and is comparable to the three pite nu wâ, although it does not receive the same degree of religious reverence.
- „ 6: the building in Naishi village used as an office by the officials of the Royal Government was called Ôsha 王舎. This line again reveals the ties between Busuku-wâ and officialdom. The present *Kôminkan* 公民館 (Headquarters of the island administration) is still referred to as Ôsha; the local island government is called

*Ôsha p'sïtu* (people of the Ôsha). For Panasukubara, see the remarks to line 8 Buishi-pan.

- „ 7: see the remarks to line 24 Âsuku-pan; “taku nu nusï yu nu nusï” was interpreted by the priestesses as “master of the octopi, master of the fishes (yû, J. *uo* 魚, fish)”, which is—taken literally—possible, but in this context not very intelligible. We chose the arbitrary translation “master of the water”, referring to *rain-water*.
- „ 8: see the remarks to line 16 Buishi-pan; Bontara-agantara (i.e. the Buturï well, cf. the remarks to line 8 Buishi-pan) is out of place here and probably reveals a text-corruption.
- „ 14, 15: The three stones, which are actually placed one above the other, are to be found somewhat further inland at the easternmost end of the southern beach, called *Mê nu pama* (the beach “in front”, i.e. in the South of the central part of the island). South of these stones, near the seashore, lies the Nabimurya (Cauldron Hole).
- „ 17, 18: further to the East, about halfway between *Mê nu pama* and Cape Takanâ, lies Cape Kunê and, in its immediate vicinity, the Kinôbarï well. “White water” means *rain-water*.
- „ 19: see the remarks to lines 42, 43 Âsuku-pan.
- „ 21: see the remarks to line 18 Âsuku-pan.

#### *Kêshimurï-pan*

- 1 hail to thee, uyân at Kêshimurï, the grounds in front  
uyân forging the iron, clanging the iron  
uyân at the central stones, the honourable, beautiful stones  
uyân at the three mounds, the three groves
- 5 uyân gathering at the magnificent Eastern Ridge, the sublime Ridge  
uyân at the central Busuku, origin Busuku, [uyân] holding  
the ink and writing with the brush  
etc. (see the translation of the Busuku-pan).

#### *Remarks*

Although the Kêshimurï priestess has to attend her own wâ,

which even has its own small cult-group, there is—especially at the more important religious events—close coöperation between the Busuku and Kêshimurî priestesses of Mae village. The two pan are verbally almost identical, but the Kêshimurî priestess nevertheless clings to a recitation of the 11th line in which the words “busînaga yûsînaga” remain unintelligible. This is additional proof that the priestesses recite their texts automatically, as they were transmitted to them. Even if—as in this particular case—a correction is permissible and entirely logical, the wording of the texts must not be altered.

*Arantu-pan*

- 1 uyân at Arantu, sacred Arantu (46), hail to thee  
 uyân at the great garden, the wide garden  
 uyân behind the gate, behind the entrance [of the gate]  
 uyân within the enclosure, within the sacred enclosure, hail  
 to thee
- 5 uyân at the seven gates, the seven walls, hail to thee  
 uyân at the yama in front, the grounds in front, hail to thee  
 uyân at the sublime Eastern Ridge, the magnificent Eastern  
 Ridge (47), hail to thee  
 uyân at Ari-p'sîngasî, uyân wearing the silk robe, the tama  
 [necklace], hail to thee  
 uyân at Cape Takanâ, at the point of the island (48)
- 10 uyân, Grandfather Ishîka, Grandmother Ishîka (49), hail to  
 thee  
 uyân at the birth-stone, the very stone (49)  
 uyân at the Cauldron Hole, the Blue Hole, the Rice-field Hole  
 (49), hail to thee  
 uyân at the Budû crack, the very Budû crack (50)  
 uyân at the Sakora gully (51), at the Darasî gully (52)
- 15 uyân at the Rain-hat [stone] (53), hail to thee  
 uyân at the great sea, the far sea  
 uyân at the deep sea, at the central deep sea, hail to thee  
 uyân at the five yama, the three yama  
 uyân at the great Mishîku, the sublime Mishîku (54), hail  
 to thee
- 20 uyân at the far ends of the island  
 uyân all around us, hail to thee

uyân at Kunôra Miyoshiku  
 uyân at the divine high [place], the high-above [place]  
 o deities, please be one; o those above, please be one, hail  
 to thee

*Remarks*

- line 2: see the remarks to line 7 Âsuku-pan.  
 „ 3: see the remarks to line 6 Âsuku-pan.  
 „ 5: the Arantu complex indeed has several gates and walls interrupted by gates. The number seven is used as a sacred number (cf. the seven or five holes, line 45 Âsuku-pan).  
 „ 6: “the yama, the grounds in front” refer to the burial mound of the Pêtu family (see p. 68) and the wooded plot inside the walls at the southern side of the Arantu-wâ.  
 „ 7: see the remarks to line 5 Busuku-pan.  
 „ 8, 9: see the remarks to lines 42, 43 Âsuku-pan.  
 „ 10, 11: the Ishika pair is a mythical ancestor-pair; their names have been given to two big rocks at Ari-p’singasî, somewhat to the north of Cape Takanâ. Their first child was born at the birth-stone in the same vicinity. Later on, they moved north and took shelter under the projection of the stone shaped like the broad-rimmed rain-hat still worn at present (line 15).  
 „ 12: one of these big holes (*murî*) is shaped like a cauldron, another resembles an inundated rice field, and the salt water in the third one has a dark blue (indigo) colour; in the past these holes were important for salt production.  
 „ 13: this line refers to a deep crevice in the coral formation, stretching northwards from Cape Takanâ along the coast.  
 „ 14: the Sakora and Darasî gullies (see the remarks to line 33 Âsuku-pan) are important for fishing.  
 „ 18: see the remarks to line 18 Âsuku-pan.  
 „ 19: this is a reference to the Mishiku-wâ (Kita village).  
 „ 22, 23: see the remarks to lines 49, 46 Âsuku-pan.

*Mishiķu-pan*

- 1 uyân at the origin Mishiķu, the sublime Mishiķu (55), hail to thee  
 uyân at the seven steps, the seven gates, behind the entrance [gate], hail to thee  
 uyân at Tabaru-tonto (56), hail to thee  
 uyân at the yama in front, the grounds in front (57), hail to thee
- 5 uyân within [the enclosure], in the garden, hail to thee  
 uyân placing thy hands before thee [and thereby guarding us], hail to thee  
 uyân from the beginning at the five yama, the three yama, hail to thee  
 uyân of P'sjinâbara, hail to thee  
 uyân at [the] Sîsabarû-[wâ] (58) ..., hail to thee
- 10 uyân at Sîmusî (59), at Funira (59), who help the island, help us all, hail to thee  
 uyân at Ari-p'sîngasî (60), wearing the silk robe, wearing the tama [necklace], hail to thee  
 uyân at the Sakora gully (61), the sublime gully, at the Darasî gully (62), hail to thee  
 uyân from the beginning masters of the sea, hail to thee  
 uyân at the sandy slope, the stretching slope (63); uyân all around us, hail to thee
- 15 uyân at the far ends of the island, hail to thee  
 uyân gathering at the sublime Ridge, the magnificent Eastern Ridge (64), hail to thee  
 uyân at the great Nâbarî, the southern Nâbarî (65), hail to thee  
 uyân at the great Ishôtsî, the very Ishôtsî (66) ..., hail to thee  
 uyân at the birth-place, the great birth-place (67), hail to thee
- 20 uyân at the [western] point of the island (68), of the land, hail to thee  
 uyân at Kunôra Miyoshiķu, the divine, high ones, hail to thee  
 o deities, please be one; o those above, please be one, hail to thee

*Remarks*

- line 2: see the remarks to line 5 Arantu-pan; sirôtsi is a corruption of tûri (-u) tsî (tûritsî—line 2 Buishi-pan, turô-(u) tsî—line 3 Arantu-pan).
- „ 3: the remnants of an old stone wall, said to have once surrounded a duntsî west of Mishîku-wâ, are called Tabaru-tonto. Water is sprinkled here on certain occasions.
- „ 4: a holy place south of Mishîku.
- „ 6: these uyân (cf. line 7 Âsuku-pan) are said to reside at a place some 100 metres northeast of the Mishîku-wâ.
- „ 7: see the remarks to line 18 Âsuku-pan.
- „ 8: P'sînâbara could not with certainty be identified as a place name. However, the Mishîku priestesses are chosen from the so-called P'sînâbara line, which comprises houses supposed to be related by old kinship ties. According to the present priestess, it is this P'sînâbara to which this line refers.
- „ 9: “migi ni” remained unintelligible.
- „ 10: Sîmusî refers to the important sacred spring northeast of the Mishîku-wâ and not far from the seacoast; Funira is a stone-place just north of the spring. The Sîmusî region abounds in remnants of old village sites.
- „ 11: see the remarks to lines 42, 43 Âsuku-pan.
- „ 12: see the remarks to line 14 Arantu-pan.
- „ 13: here, reference to the sea and sea animals is far more relevant than in line 7 of the Busuku-pan, which explains our choice of “masters of the sea”.
- „ 14: “the sandy, stretching slope” of Pêdumarî beach, to the north of the Darasî gully.
- „ 16: see the remarks to line 5 Busuku-pan.
- „ 17: see the remarks to line 24 Âsuku-pan.
- „ 18, 19: ishôtsî (J. *iso (no) chi* 磯地), the beach, the strand or shore, in this case the beach near Mishîku-gê (cf. line 39 Âsuku-pan, where Bashôtsî stands for Bu-ishôtsî).

“Marubena” remained unintelligible and could not be translated. In most variants of the origin myth the “birth-place” is located near the Mishiku-gê.

„20, 21: see the remarks to lines 40, 41, 46, 49 Âsuku-pan.

### III NOTES

1. The six pan-texts, taken as a whole, show several striking *points of conformity and difference*. The main agreement is linguistic. Stereotypic formulations recur in all of them. The use, for instance, of repetition, sometimes accompanied by sound-similarities explicable only in that context (buransuku—muran-suku, shirazî—burazî, funanshiki—minanshiki, etc.) or even sound-changes (e.g. p’sîtutsî—p’sîtêtsî), or the frequent use of embellishing epithets such as bu-, kê-, mi-, dê-, etc., serves not only to intensify the numinous effect of the texts but also, and especially, to facilitate the rhythmic recitation of the texts and committing them to memory. The differences are also very evident. The most obvious is that the Âsuku-pan is more than twice as long as the other five. The reason for this is difficult to determine with certainty, but it may be assumed that the Âsuku-pan was transmitted more exactly and more completely than the others. The present Âsuku priestess was conducted and “coached” for about forty years by the at present eighty-seven years old Nahi of the Sakidê house, who for many years also provisionally kept the function to which she herself could not be officially named and who still combines a wide knowledge of religious texts and songs with a lively interest in old traditions. In none of the other villages was such an exceptional woman involved in the transmission of the pan-texts, although there, too, older women served and still serve as *basî nu sîka* (“side priestesses”) in advisory functions. Furthermore, as has already been mentioned in the introduction, in certain respects Âsuku occupies an especially important and even dominant place on Hateruma. Not only are two of the three annual meetings of the priestesses with the ôsha p’sîtu—for the determination of the calendar days on which the island rituals must be performed—held in the Futabara complex but it is also the Âsuku priestess who is supposed to take the initiative for important, island-wide rain rituals and it is she or Âsuku cult-group members who depart

from the West to make regular religious journeys over the island. The place occupied by the West and the *Âsuku-wâ* on Hateruma is also typified by the fact that during the religious culmination of the harvest festival, nine so called *mizi sika* (water priestesses), i.e. nine *Âsuku* cult-group members, go about the island dancing and singing as divine messengers, are ceremoniously received in all *utsi nu wâ* and at certain other places, and invite all the *uyân* of the island to attend the *kan buduri* (divine dance) held in their honor in the Futabara complex. In contrast to this important, beneficent act of the "bunari-side" at the conclusion of the ritual agricultural year is the far less spectacular journey of the "bigiri-side" in the person of the male representative of the easternmost house of Hateruma, the *KÊsÊ* house in Kita village, at the beginning of the ritual year, the autumn festival (*sîsin*; see above, p. 70). Another marked difference between the *Âsuku-pan* and those of the other villages is the great *coherence of the text* itself. Although all pan-texts begin with the invocation of the *uyân* supposed to reside in and in the immediate vicinity of the *utsi nu wâ*, if we compare, for instance, the first twelve lines of the *Âsuku-pan* with the opening lines of the others, it is very evident that the structure of the *Âsuku-pan* is far more coherent and systematic. This question of the structure of the pan-texts brings us to another point, namely:

2. The *geographic demarcation of the ugan-paka*, i.e. the demarcation of the "territory of disposal" of the five *utsi nu wâ* as indicated by the invocation of the *uyân* of (at, near) the various places mentioned by name in the texts and indicated in the translation and on the map by numbers. It should be noted that the demarcation is a very rough one and that although the places mentioned are without exception indeed very important for the religion of Hateruma, they are nevertheless few in number. A more exact demarcation can only be arrived at by taking into consideration *all* the sacred spots (the great majority being holy stone-places and wells) visited during the ritual journeys and/or mentioned in other texts or songs—several hundred in all. This holds especially for the very complicated situation in the shrine areas of the Arantu- and Mishiku-wâ. A more or less complete "religious geography" is therefore impossible to include within the limited scope of the present paper.

The demarcation of the shrine areas is in the first place important because the religious bonds between the houses and

the various shrines are to a high degree dependent on the problem of which shrine area encompasses the fields of these houses (see also above, p. 66). In other words, the affiliations of a given house to certain *utsi nu wâ* are largely dependent upon the land in its possession and the location of the various parcels.

The geography of the shrine areas, as indicated by the pan and other religious texts and songs, is also of interest from the *ethno-historical point of view*.<sup>23</sup> Together with such things as mythical and legendary data and the indigenous interpretation of those data, they enable us to arrive at a tentative reconstruction of the earliest settlement of the island and the gradual formation of the present villages.

Examination of the places indicated for the *Âsuku-paka* (nos. 1-16) reveals that they are distributed over the *paka* in a certain logical sequence. After the coherent invocation of the *uyân* in and around the central *Futabara* complex (1), we move first to the four sacred places *Mishiiku*, *Uchimuri*, *Arîbara*, and *P'sîta* (nos. 2-5), which are mythically and legendarily closely related to the four *mutu-hî* of *Fuka* (the houses *Futamuri*, *Nanchi*, *Buni*, and *P'sîta*, respectively). In the *P'sîta* case the presently settled area is the same as the origin place mentioned in the pan, but for the other three houses this is no longer the case. From *P'sîta* we proceed to the *Maturi-wâ* (6), which is supposed to have been founded by the *P'sîta* house (at the great harvest festival only rice offerings of the *P'sîta* house are brought to this *pite nu wâ*), and then to the *Bunâbari yama* (7), a sacred place on the western side of the *Nâbari* region, and then follow the eastern border of the *paka* northwards. At *Inama* (8), we reach the coast. The treacherous coral reefs surrounding *Hateruma* have always made it difficult for ships of any size to approach the island. *Inama* was the only place on the northern coast with a natural passage through the reefs sufficiently wide and deep to permit such ships to anchor safely. *Inama* played an important role as harbor in the period roughly between 1500 to 1905, the "colonial era" in which the government officials stationed on *Hateruma* kept a sharp watch to insure the regular delivery and shipment of the heavy taxes (paid *in natura*, mainly rice and locally woven hemp textiles). At present, a stone pier re-

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23) Ethno-history is here taken in the sense of "the conception of the past shared by the bearers of a particular culture", cf. William C. Sturtevant, "Studies in Ethnoscience", *American Anthropologist* vol. 66/3, pt. 2, 1964, p. 100.

places the earlier Madumari, and there is a new, artificially-deepened passage, but the old Inama region still retains a religious function pertaining particularly to seafaring, fishing, the connections with the outer world. From Inama the pan-text follows the coast westwards, to end at the southern side of Pêpama (15), whence a direct connection, as it were, is made with Cape Takanâ (16) furthest to the East. The text refers to the exquisitely garbed uyân with "the silk robe and the tama necklace", supposed to travel from Cape Takanâ to the West. Although it seems justifiable to assume that this is a reference to the daily rising and setting of the sun, it was impossible to obtain an unequivocal confirmation of this interpretation. Nonetheless, the sun (and in that connection the fire-god) is known to have played a part in the old religion of Okinawa,<sup>24</sup> which makes it probable that the influence of this conception reached Hateruma but was there adapted to and inserted into the local religious structure in which the East-West relationship occupies such an important place. The Âsuku ugan-paka can be visualized as bordered in the East by an imaginary line, shown by the dotted line on the map, running from the northern to the southern coast. Exactly at the point at which this border-line crosses the road from Fuka to Naishi lies a place which is extremely important in the relationship of West to East (bunari-bigiri). Here the mizi sika (see above) leap over the imaginary border; this is also the point at which an attempt is made to ward off the danger of an approaching typhoon by addressing first the uyân in the West and then those at Ari-p'singasî; directly to the East of this point lies the Nêma-field, millet from which must be offered at Cape Takanâ; over this border, before the harvest festival, no rice was to be transported along the main road from the West to the East and no millet from the East to the West.

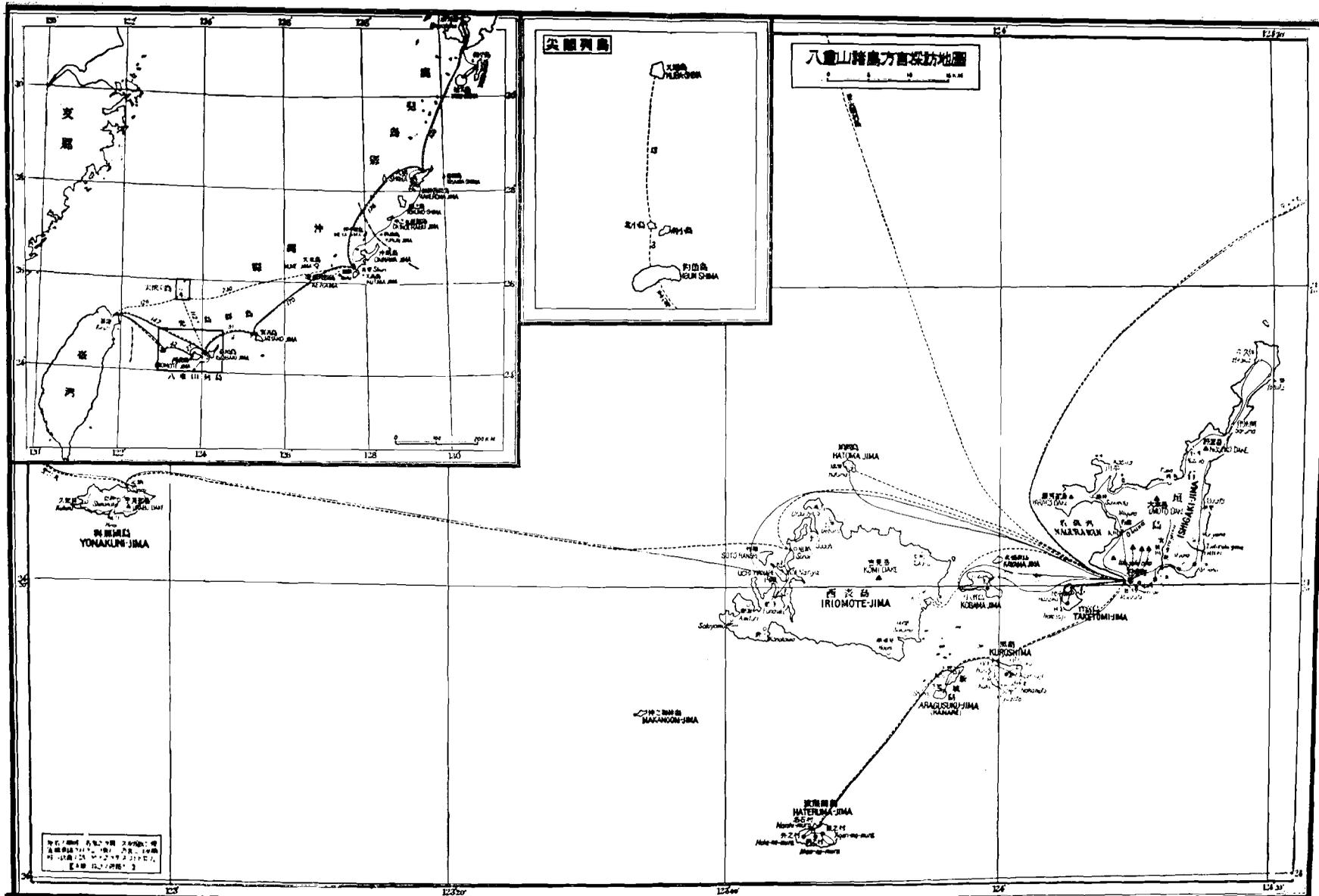
Compared to the rather distinct picture given by the Âsukupan, the other pan present many problems. In the central part of the island, south of the road connecting Fuka with the villages of Naishi, Mae, and Minami, are scattered as far as the south coast the *ugan-paka* of *Buishi and Busuku (Kêshimuri)*. They

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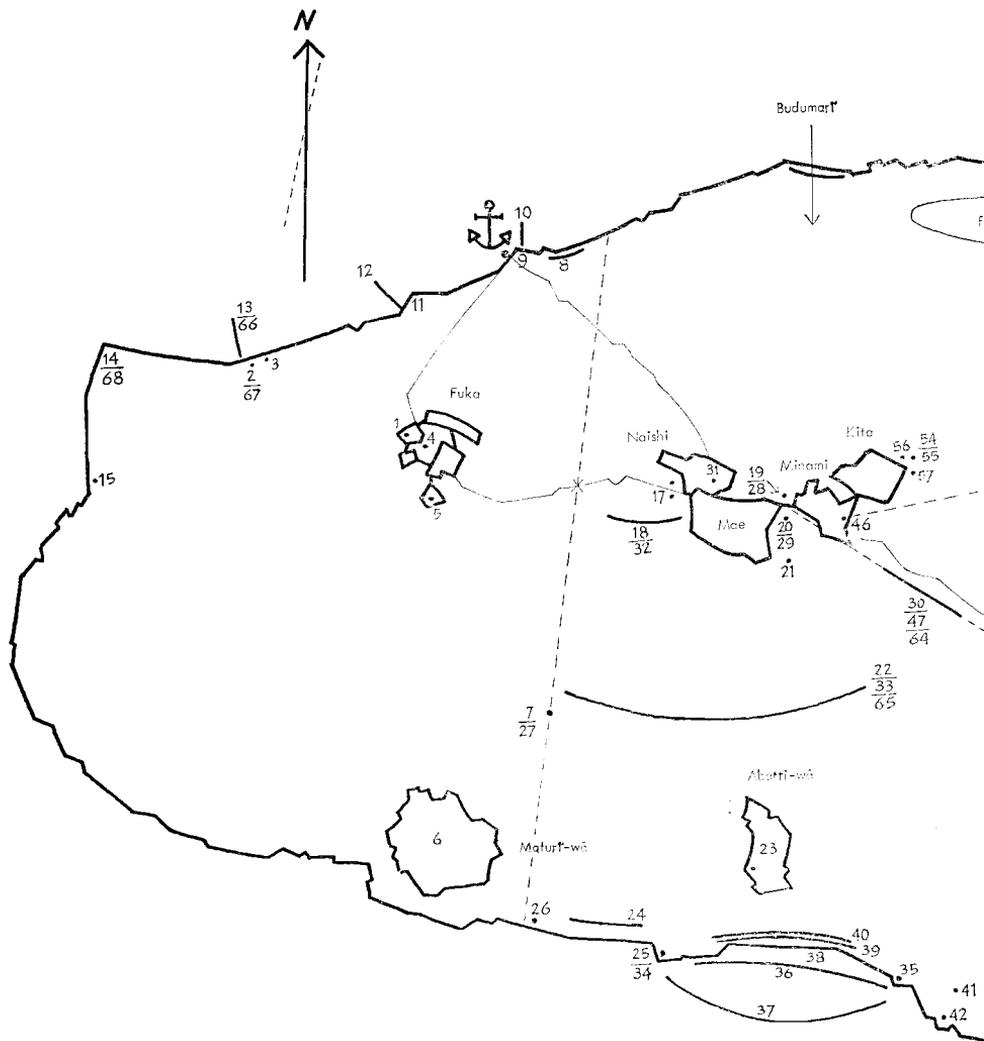
24) For the conception of the sun-fire deity in Ryukyuan religion, see Nakahara Zenchû 仲原善忠, "Taiyô suhai to hi no kami 太陽崇拜と火の神 (Sun worship and the fire deity)", in: *Nihon minzokugaku taikei* 日本民俗学大系 (An outline of Japanese folklore), vol. 12, Tôkyô 1962, pp. 161-174, and the sources mentioned there.

are not shown individually on the map, but it is clearly evident from the pan-texts that the Buishi-paka is bordered in the West by the Âsuku-paka and that the Busuku (Kêshimurî)-paka covers the eastern part of this area. The Buishi-pan directs itself to Busuku and Kêshimurî (19, 20) and from the point indicated by (21) the Buishi, Busuku, and Kêshimurî priestesses start for many joint ritual journeys to the collective Abatti-wâ (23), where they part. From Cape Busasî (25) the Buishi-pan proceeds to the West (24, 25, 26) and returns via Bunâbarî (27) to the Buishi complex (17). Thus, the Buishi-paka is bordered on the south coast by the rather short western portion of Pêmuchi beach, while Busuku (Kêshimurî) is bordered on the coast by the much longer part of Pêmuchi, which is usually called Mê nu pama and which occupies an important place in the Busuku (Kêshimurî)-pan (34-42).

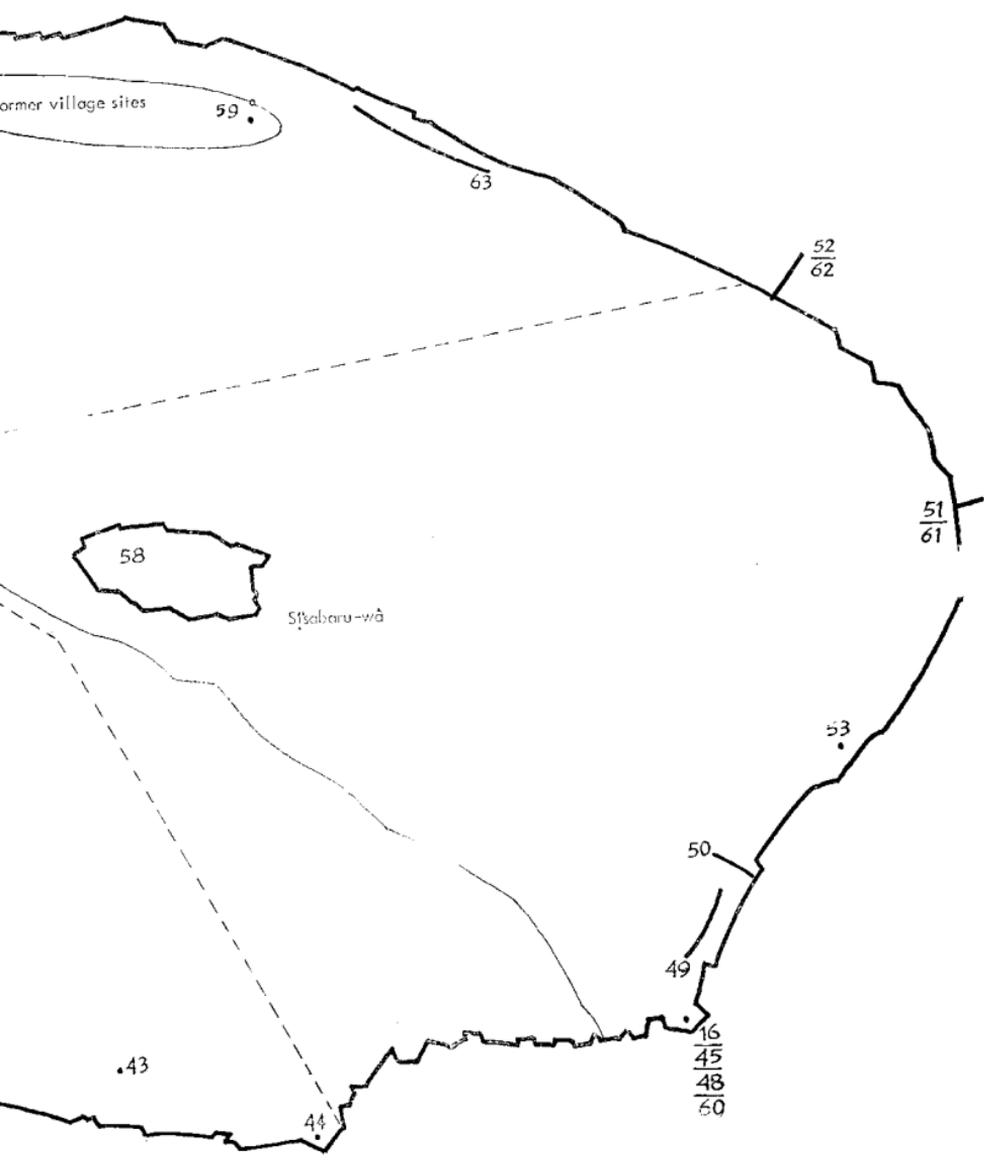
The dominant position of Busuku with respect to Buishi and Kêshimurî is clearly expressed in the number of houses that have some form of commitment to the three utsî nu wâ mentioned: for Busuku this number is 96, for Buishi 14, and for Kêshimurî 12. Kêshimurî was overshadowed by Busuku, by which it was finally in effect usurped. Only Buishi continued to retain appreciable independence. The main reason for this must be sought in the close ties maintained by the Busuku-wâ in former times with the ruling class of officials; this has already been referred to in the remarks to the Busuku-pan. An echo of this past is to be found not only in the Busuku- and Buishi-pan but, for one thing, also in the prescribed ritual contacts which the Busuku priestess still has with the descendants of the former official's family of Ishino, the present Isshi house in Naishi (until a generation ago the Busuku priestess even stemmed from the Isshi house); in the unique position occupied by the Isshi house on Hateruma (they serve, for instance, a sacred stone-place in front of their house known as the "navel" of the island); in the annual ritual held in the Busuku-wâ only for certain families descended from officials; and it is also reflected in the relationship between Busuku and Buishi, popularly characterized as "bigirî-bunari". The fact that the Busuku-pan also mentions Panasukubara (32)—the region formerly containing many fields belonging to officials—and the Ôsha (Shatabara, 31), need cause no surprise in this context. What is remarkable is that the Abatti-wâ is mentioned in so many words only in the Buishi-pan, and not in the Busuku (Kêshimurî)-pan even though the Busuku



Map of the Ryūkyū archipelago and the Yaeyama group  
(from Miyara Tōsō, *Yaeyama go-i*)



Map of Hateruma Island, scale 1 : 30,000



and Kêshimurî priestesses hold rituals there. Instead of the Abatti-wâ, however, mention is made of Ariyama (30), which may be compared with a pite nu wâ. So far, no satisfactory explanation of this fact has been found. Lastly, attention should be called to line 17 of the Buishi-pan and line 8 of the Busukupan. In the remarks we put forward the view that these lines, in which reference is made to the uyân "using the scales and the strickle" and to Bontara-agantara, do not belong in this context and thus represent a corruption: both Bontara-agantara (i.e. the Buturî well) and the weighing and measuring by the officials should actually be located in Panasukubara (18 and 32) and at the Ôsha (31). There is another possible interpretation, however, by which at least the "using the scales and the strickle" is related to a deity who brought salt by boat from Takanâ, anchored this boat at the place (35) mentioned in the Busukupan, and then "weighed and levelled off" the salt. This interpretation (given by the Busuku priestess) is certainly consistent with the emphasis given in the Busuku(Kêshimurî)-pan to the sea and the coastal region of Pêmuchî, but whether it is correct cannot be determined with certainty.

In the treatment of the *ugan-paka of Arantu and Mishîku* we also encounter problems that cannot be solved solely from the pan.

It is a striking fact that in the Arantu-pan a great deal of attention is paid to Ari-p'singasî and the coastal region to the northeast of it. Located here, for instance, are the coral rocks (indicated on the map by 49), which are associated with the arrival from over the sea and the landing on the eastern coast of the mythical ancestor-pair Grandmother and Grandfather Ishîka, the birth of their child, and their subsequent journey along the coast to the North, with a halt at the Rain-hat Rock (53). The eastern coast is savage and lacks fresh water, springs being found only along the northern coast. Here, the Sîmusî-gê (59) is a religiously very important spring, and it is also in this region that remnants of former villages are found. But whether the founders of the Arantu-wâ and the first houses grouped around that centre actually came from that region seems difficult to determine. What we do know is that their descendants consider them to have been the oldest inhabitants of East Hateruma and that the Arantu priestess is supposed to belong to the so-called Ari-p'singasî line. Arantu is also closely related to the Sîsabarû-wâ (although the latter is not—strangely enough—

mentioned in the Arantu-pan) and it is the Arantu priestess who is the sole leader at all the religious events in the Sīsabarū-wâ. Although the borderlines of the Arantu-paka cannot be clearly deduced from the pan-text, the places visited during ritual journeys by the Arantu priestess and her cult-group members as well as by the head of the present first mutu-hî of Minami (the MugÊ house) during the millet ritual, indicate that the northern limit of the paka runs roughly according to the dotted line on the map from Minami to the northeastern coast slightly to the north of the Darasî gully (52). In the South it joins the Busuku-paka. Many important houses related to the Mishîku-wâ are, to the contrary, very much aware of their origin from the old settlements along the northern coast and still maintain certain bonds of a ceremonial nature with them (the same may indeed be said of several houses now located in Mae and Naishi). In this sense the easternmost house of Hateruma, the already-mentioned KÊsÊ house, plays an important part in the worship of the Sîmusî-gê and the Funira-place (59) just to the north of it. Funira (Funêra, Funôra) means (in other Yaeyama dialects as well) a place where ships come and/or anchor. In the KÊsÊ house the legend is preserved that the ancestors arrived by boat at the coast near that place and settled there. They are supposed to have crossed over from the island of Iriomote. According to the legendary tradition, a second wave of migration reached the present Budumarî beach (see arrow on map) and from there went to what is at present the village of Kita. Thus, the legends of the BuattÊ house, the first mutu-hî of Kita, are primarily concerned with the arrival at Budumarî beach and the utilization of the so-called Kêra spring on that beach. The tôchimê held at this beach and near this spring are mainly directed towards the clearly visible island of Iriomote and are led by the so-called Budumarî priestess with the priestess of Mishîku as basî nu sîka (see above, p. 96). That the Budumarî priestess, who has her own small cult-group, is mentioned only now for the first time in this article is due to the fact that her function is limited and has no relation to the rituals in the utsî nu wâ that were our starting-point. The reason why the Mishîku-pan makes no mention of the region bordering the Âsuku-paka in the West and bordered in the East by an imaginary line running from the eastern side of Budumarî beach to the village of Kita, is very probably that it is just this region which, in its ritual aspects, belongs to the special realm of the Budumarî priestess.

It was the population groups originating from the old settlements in the North (and Iriomote) that gave rise to the Mishiku-wâ and began to play a certain role in the local political situation on the island in the critical period after 1500. The Mishiku-wâ was also oriented towards the Sîsabarû-wâ (58) and towards Takanâ (60), albeit that the Arantu-wâ retained a dominant position of religious seniority. Furthermore, the Sakora and Darasî gullies (61, 62) appear to have acquired a place in the Mishiku-pan, thus creating a "bunari-bigiri" relationship between Arantu and Mishiku. The Mishiku-"bigiri" is also mentioned by name in the Arantu-pan (57), and the Arantu cult-group members are supposed even today to receive a portion of the bigiri (i.e. Mishiku) rice-offerings three times a year at certain religious ceremonies. A very striking feature of the Mishiku-pan is that the text finally leads via Ariyama (64) and Nâbari (65) to Bushôtsi (Bashôtsi, 66), Mishiku (67), and the point of Môp'sîna (68) in the West. This again represents a bond between East and West, a connection between Mishiku(-wâ) in the East and Mishiku (-gê) in the West, which is reflected in the meaning of the most important Budumari stone-place as "otôshi" お通し, "passage" to Mishiku-gê, and which is also evident from, for instance, the regular ritual "traffic" between the holy springs of Mishiku and Sîmusi. Although these concrete East-West relationships fit entirely into the religious structure of Hateruma as we interpret it, it must not be forgotten that the legendary origin of the Kita people from Iriomote finds a parallel in the mythical suggestions about a similar origin of the first inhabitants of the West. In this sense, for instance, the Bashôtsi gully is seen as a marine pathway to Iriomote, and the fresh water of the Mishiku-gê is supposed to have a subterranean connection with certain springs on Iriomote. For these reasons, the men who take part in the mizî turî on Iriomote (cf. the remarks to line 46, Asuku-pan) are received on the beach near Mishiku-gê and not near Inama.

3. Lastly, a few words should be devoted to what might be called the "uyân-concept" as it emerges from the pan-texts. On page 66 of this article the matter was reduced to its simplest proportions by starting from *the term uyân (uyagan, J. oyagami)*

in its meaning of ancestor deity or spirit.<sup>25</sup> The people of Hateruma are aware of the fact that the uyân are actually “ancestors” who established villages and shrines, worked the fields, dug wells, exercised power, lived in certain “duntsi”, and became mythical and legendary heroes; that the dead also join this group of uyân after thirty-three years and should be worshipped and invoked to protect and help their descendants. These uyân passed across the island and left their traces behind them; they made the island into what it is, and continue to keep watch over it. Among these uyân are the first mythical inhabitants of the East, the Ishika pair of the Arantu-pan. They include the hero Gisha (Âsuku-pan) and his sister Aramarî nu pa (The Newly-born Grandmother), who appeared from the depths of the earth, i.e. from a cave, in which they had survived the “Flood” in the form of a downpour of burning oil, and then produced descendants. A stone near the Mishiku-gê seals off this cave, the “birth-place” (Mishiku-pan) of Gisha (in other versions of this creation myth he is called Kana) and his sister, and they are worshipped there.

The fact that in the great majority of cases such uyân are symbolized and represented by stones and rocks on the island of stones and rocks that Hateruma is, is a fundamental phenomenon that is not limited just to Hateruma and the Ryûkyû archipelago. It is found in comparable forms throughout the Japanese culture area. I have already discussed the how and why of this phenomenon elsewhere.<sup>26</sup>

However, the *term* uyân in its literal, relevant meaning of “ancestors” who lived at some time or other does not adequately cover all of the meaning of the underlying uyân-concept. Indeed, the term uyân is also applied to the numinous powers and forces adhering to those elements in nature upon which the lives

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25) With regard to the often far from satisfactory rendering of J. kami 神 by “deity, spirit”, the development of the kami-concept and its relation with ancestor worship, see e.g. Yanagita Kunio and Origuchi Shinobu 折口信夫, “Nihonjin no kami to reikon no kannen sono hoka—taidan 日本人の神と靈魂の觀念そのほか—対談 (The Japanese idea of kami and soul—a discussion)”, *Minzokugaku kenkyû* 民族学研究 (Ethnological Studies) vol. 14/2, 1949, pp. 1-21, and Kôno Shôzô 河野省三, “Kami”, *Kokugaku-in daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyûsho kiyô* 国学院大学日本文化研究所紀要 (Proceedings of the Institute for Japanese culture and classics of the Kokugaku-in University) No. 3, 1958, pp. 146-156. The latter article also contains a most useful bibliography on the subject.

26) *Namazu-e and their themes*, pp. 177 ff.

of men, animals, and plants are dependent. The uyân both as ancestor spirits and as forces in nature possess this mysterious power, beneficent and creative but sometimes also destructive, indicated in the old religion of Okinawa as *shiji* or—as in the *Omoro* songs<sup>27</sup>—*seji*.<sup>28</sup> It is this idea which persists on Hateruma (and elsewhere in the Yaeyama) in the concept *yu*, *yû*, and it is even highly probable that the “*yu muchi* (-*oru uyân*)” (Âsuku-pan, lines 10, 24), i.e. J. *yo mochi* 世持, reached the *Omoro* through the strong Chinese influences at the royal court of Shuri with the Sino-Japanese pronunciation *seji*, and then lived on in the Okinawa dialects as *shiji*.<sup>29</sup>

The translation of *yu* (*yû*) in the pan-texts not only as “sacred power” but also as “prosperity” and “good harvest” (see the remarks to line 10, Âsuku-pan) is explained not only by the fact that *yu*-power is by the nature of things very closely related to prosperity, abundance, good harvest, and even with abundant rain to provide prosperity, but also by the fact that the wording of other texts supports this translation. In the *nigê*, for instance, *yugabu* (*yu*-fortune) ordinarily occurs in the sense of harvest, good harvest, but it is also found in the prayer for “*yugabu* every five, every ten days” and in that case rain is specifically meant. The expression *yunganasi* (*yu-ganasi*) recurs repeatedly in the rain songs, in which it is used in the same sense as the “master of the rain, master of the water” found in the pan-texts.

The sea plays a very important part in all this. In the pan-texts two terms are used for “sea”. On the one hand *tô* (*tû*, *dû*; J. *tô*, *oki* 沖) as in *butô* and *budû* (Busuku-pan, line 10; Arantupan, lines 13, 17), the immeasurable extent of the sea; and on

27) The *Omoro sôshi* is a collection of 1553 songs, compiled at royal instigation and finally published in 1923 in a total of 22 volumes; for a short but useful introduction and literature on the *Omoro*, see Sakamaki Shunzô, *Ryûkyû, a bibliographical guide to Okinawan studies*, Honolulu 1963, pp. 9-23.

28) Cf. Nakahara Zenchû, “*Seji* (reiriki) no shinkô ni tsuite セヂ (靈力) の信仰について (On the belief in “*seji*”—sacred power)”, in: *Okinawa bunka sôsetsu* 沖縄文化叢説 (Essays on Okinawan culture), ed. by Yanagita Kunio, Tôkyô 1947, pp. 125-152; also William P. Lebra, *Okinawan religion*, Honolulu 1966, pp. 26, 27.

29) It was Yanagita who in an inspiring essay “*Ne no kuni no hanashi* 根の国の話 (A talk on “*ne no kuni*”)”, *Kokoro* 心 no. 8/9, 1955, pp. 14-30, first hinted at this possibility. The Hateruma materials strongly support his opinion.

the other hand *in* (J. *umi* 海) as in *bu-ino tu-ino*, *bu-ino kê-ino* (Busuku-pan, line 11; Arantu-pan, line 16), the great distant sea, including the depths and even the bottom of the sea. The uyân arrive from over the sea and moor their ships on the beaches; uyân are found outside the reef, on the reef, on the beach, at the waterline on the beach, at the coral-slabs, the coral rocks and holes on the coast and at the dunes bordering the coast. The sea itself is the bearer of life-giving forces, of "yu". For this reason any water entering the boats during the races held at the autumn festival (*sîsîn*) may not be bailed out: even that water is "yu"; furthermore, the crews decorate their heads with beach plants. In the rain songs, the clouds collect at the ends of the sea, rise up out of the sea, mate with each other, and beget the "rain child". The Butungubana stone (*Âsuku-pan*, line 35) is the edge of the Great Sea Palace, the world of and under the sea from which prosperity comes. Near this stone, a uyân from the Futamurî house once dragged his fish-net along the beach and found in it the first rice ears, which marked the beginning of rice culture on Hateruma. Each year the head of the Futamurî house still wades or rows into the Barasî gully near the Butungubana (see the remarks to line 35, *Âsuku-pan*) to offer rice in commemoration of this miraculous "haul" in the distant past. The only deity consciously distinguished from the uyân, the *kanputuginganasî* (see the remarks to line 38, *Âsuku-pan*) is also a deity from over the sea who landed near Mishîku via the Bashôtsî gully. Prosperity is not all that comes out of the sea, however. The sea is also the source of the storms and typhoons which scourge the island each year. The important Hateruma rituals for calm, favorable weather are called in *busî kachi busî* (calming down of the sea and the wind), and in the nigê for these rituals the *Âsuku* priestess addresses herself at the funami places (see the remarks to line 8, *Âsuku-pan*) to the "*in nu jû suku nu jû nêrazî kêrazî oru uyân*" (uyân at *nêra kêra*, the land in the sea, at the bottom [of the sea]). This is an exceedingly important indication—in fact the only one known to us—that Hateruma, too, possesses a terminological variant of the well-known Ryûkyû-concept of *nirai kanai* (*girai kanai*, *neraya kanaya* etc.), the world in and over the sea, which so frequently plays a role in the folk religion of the Japanese culture area.<sup>30</sup>

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30) Cf. *Namazu-e and their themes*, pp. 85-96; Kreiner, *Beiträge* (1965), pp. 164 ff.

The invocation of the uyân within the ugan-paka, i.e. the invocation by means of the pan-texts treated here, usually takes place in the masômi of the utsi nu wâ. This is, as it were, the "exchange" from which the uyân can be reached and to which they can be invited to be present at the rituals in order to receive the first bit of the offerings (*patsi*, J. *hatsu* 初). The actual "fetching" of the uyân by the priestess and the women of her cult-group occurs only on nine special occasions, special rituals spread over the nine months of the agricultural year. The women pass along the divine paths (*kan mitsi*, J. *kami no michi* 神の道) leading to the pite nu wâ and return with the uyân along the same paths to the utsi nu wâ. At the conclusion of the ritual the uyân are invited to return alone to the pite nu wâ at their own convenience. Thus, there is no question of their being "led back". From this course of events it must be concluded that the pite nu wâ is considered to be a kind of gathering-place for the uyân, which explains its sacred isolation and the prohibition against entering it. It seems obvious to assume that this relationship between the utsi nu wâ and the pite nu wâ may be regarded as the prototype of the relationship between the *naigû* 内宮 (inner shrine) and the *gegû* 外宮 (outer shrine) of the Japanese Shintô shrines. In this light the importance of the uyân cult for comparative Shintô studies, particularly with respect to the early forms of Shintô, should not be underestimated.

4. The separate publication of the five most important pan-texts of Hateruma has the unavoidable consequence that they are detached from their ritual context and thereby from their religious background. This necessitated the partial remedy of an introduction. On the other hand, the limitations imposed on the notes may raise more questions than they answer. The presentation of important text material in this form has nonetheless, in spite of the many imperfections, the advantage of confronting us with these insistent questions. Although a rapidly changing world will not fail to entangle even an island like Hateruma, it may not be too late to make a search for the answers worth-while.



Cape Takanā seen from the North.



"Arantu mērantu . . .", the wā nu hī and the holy well of the Arantu-wā.



The Arantu priestess praying in the masōmi behind the pettsa-hi



The pettsa-hi of the Arantu-wā.



The Āsuku priestess and her basī nu sika, SakidĒ Nahi.



*Bunandari kēnandari oru uyān...*, the Busuku priestess and two cult-group members praying on Mē nu pama.



The nine mizi sika visiting the Busuku-wá during the harvest festival.



The Busuku priestess and her cult-group members offering in the  
masómi of Busuku-wá during the harvest festival.