

TALES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF GRAINS IN THE INSULAR AREAS OF EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN ASIA*

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The "Insular Areas" here include Japan proper, the Ryukyus, Formosa and Malaysia. The contiguity of this chain of islands is far more geographical than cultural. While the Ryukyus represent in a sense an archaic phase of Japan proper both linguistically and culturally, aboriginal Formosa is evidently affiliated with Malaysia of which the major parts are the Philippines and Indonesia. Nevertheless these areas are comparable in their cultural marginality in relation with ancient civilizations of the Asian continent, particularly with the Chinese and Indian.

Before the formation of the Chinese civilization, or prior to its infiltration to the Yangtze River drainage region and further south, a number of ethnic or cultural streams from the Asian continent flowed into these insular areas. There, presumably, a further elaboration of culture, involving both amalgamation and differentiation, took place. In later days, both Japan proper and the Ryukyus were subject to the influence of the Chinese civilization, which would be comparable to the influence of Greek and Roman civilizations on northern Europe. Such an external influence surely stimulated development of indigenous culture, though not assimilating it into the Chinese civilization, as often

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happened among the marginal peoples of the continent, who eventually lost their cultural and even ethnic identification through direct and continuous contact with Chinese people. On the other hand, the influence of Buddhism transformed considerably folk beliefs and rituals in Japan proper, although to far less degree than Christianity did in Europe. In the Ryukyus, however, influence of Buddhism is rather insignificant.

It deserves notice that aboriginal Formosa had been almost exempt from penetration of the Chinese civilization before the mid-seventeenth century when, under Dutch dominance, Chinese immigrants began to flood its western plain. Then until the mid-nineteenth century the native peoples were pushed to the foothill zone or were assimilated by Chinese immigrants. Until recently, however, the native culture in the mountains and the narrow plain of the eastern shore remained fairly integrated and undisturbed by the Chinese influence. The cradle land of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples is usually thought to be somewhere in the continental area of Southeast Asia from where their ancestors migrated in successive waves to Malaysia, Formosa, Madagascar and Oceania. It should be noted here that aboriginal Formosa seems to represent an earlier, if not the earliest, phase of Malaysian cultures. To enumerate a few important features: (1) general lack of the so-called Malayan type of forge which is widespread in southeast Asia, both continental and insular, even in Madagascar; (2) absence of wet-rice cultivation and the water-buffalo in the cultural tradition, although ploughing the wet rice-field by the water-buffalo is typical in the major parts of southeast Asia and also in southern China; (3) the importance of millet, especially the species called *Setaria italica**, in both subsistence economy and ritual life, whereas millet is rather sporadically cultivated and generally not important in southeast Asia as a whole. Apart from these traits, it can be added here that aboriginal Formosa remained free from the influence of Hinduism, which directly or indirectly permeated most parts of Malaysia, to say nothing of Mohammedanism and Christianity, now dominant in Indonesia and the Philippines respectively.

In Japan and the Ryukyus, wet-rice has been traditionally important, not only for its economic but also for its social-ritual

* In the following passages, "millet" will refer to *Setaria italica* (*awa* in Japanese) except as otherwise noted.

value. As to the ethnic composition of Japanese-Ryukyuan people, we still seek a detailed perspective, but their wet-rice cultivation must have been derived directly or indirectly from some continental area of southeast Asia, possibly from southern China of the present day. In this regard, they share with the peoples of southeast Asia, including Malaysia, a cultural heritage of wet-rice cultivation which has undergone further change under different milieus, both physical and cultural.

All these points need to be taken into consideration when investigating tales concerning the origin of grains in the insular areas of eastern and southeastern Asia. And the result of such an investigation will be of value in the comparative study of this kind of tale.

Before discussing each of these areas, it is advisable to make here a tentative classification of the tales concerned, which will be more fully developed later in this article. As elsewhere in the world, the tales in these areas can be classified into the following major types:

- I. Grains acquired from heaven or an overseas land.
- II. Grains acquired from the underworld.
- III. Grains originating in the corpse of a deity or ancestor, usually female.

J A P A N P R O P E R

Tales of type III are found in some documents of ancient Japan. In the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) compiled in 712 A.D., such a tale is described in the following form:

A heavenly god asked an earthly goddess for a meal. Having seen her cooking various kinds of food taken out from her mouth, nose and anus, the heavenly god killed her in anger. Shortly afterward there appeared seeds of various crops from her corpse: from her eyes rice, from her ears the "millet," from her nose the red bean, from her anus the soya bean, from her vagina barley, while the silkworm came out of her head.

However, it is to be noted that the silkworm and silk weaving were introduced from China in historical times.

In the *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan) compiled in 720 A.D., a similar tale is also recorded:

Having been informed that there was a Goddess of food on the earthly world, the Sun-Goddess sent the Moon-God to interview her. The Goddess of food served the Moon-God with boiled rice, fish, and the meat of wild animals, each of which she spat out from her mouth while turning her face in the direction of the village, the sea, and the mountain respectively. In anger the Moon-God killed the Goddess of food. After a while there appeared various kinds of crops and animals from her corpse: from her forehead "millet," from her eyes another kind of millet called *hie* (*Panicum Grusgalli* L. var. *Fruventaceum Trin.*), from her abdomen rice, and from her vagina barley, red beans and soya beans, while cattle and the horse came out from her head and the silkworm from her eyebrow.

According to another version in the *Nihonshoki*, there sprang from the naval of a girl the five kinds of grain and from her head the silkworm and the mulberry tree on whose leaves the silkworm feeds¹.

Some Japanese linguists such as Toshiichiro Nakajima, Shozaburo Kanazawa, and Moshu Den tried to "explain" such tales in terms of the Korean language form and suggested that this kind of tale might have diffused to Japan from Korea, although we are not yet certain about the existence of such a tale in Korea. According to them, there are these corresponding words in Korean:

- 1) head, *möri*—horse, *mar*; 2) forehead, *ca* or *co*—"millet," *co*;
- 3) eyebrow, *nunsop*—silkworm, *nue*; 4) eye, *nun* or *nu*—silkworm, *nue*, and the husked rice or millet mingled with the unhusked, *nui*;
- 5) abdomen, *pai*—rice, *pyö*; 8) vagina, *pochi*—barley, *pori*, and red bean, *pat*.

Some Japanese folklorists and mythologists tried to correlate such tales with human sacrifice in agrarian rites in ancient Japan. In fact, there are many legends alluding to the former practice of human sacrifice, particularly the sacrifice of a maiden in various localities. The main aim of such a sacrifice, according to legends, is to appease the deity of water, the mountain or the rice-field². As far as is known to us, however, Shintoism has strongly disapproved of any kind of bloody sacrifice because of the concept of blood pollution. We are not yet certain whether or not such a disapproval was due to the influence of Buddhism in the historic period, but possibly the doctrine of Buddhism

1) Matsumoto, 116-117.

2) Matsumura, III, 156-158.

would have intensified this kind of disapproval. In the *Harima Fudoki* (Local Matters of Harima Province), also of the early eighth century, we find a description suggesting the sacrifice of a wild boar whose blood was poured into the wet rice-field to fertilize the field and the crop³. However, even animal sacrifice has long ceased to exist in the agrarian rites of Japan, and such a tale as recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* of the eighth century is hardly to be found in later days.

In later days, from the medieval to the modern period, tales told in Japan proper are of type I, that is, those telling of the heavenly or overseas origin of grains. As far as the tales here available are concerned, they seem to be classified into two subtypes. In the first, a certain kind of grain—usually rice—is simply acquired from heaven or an overseas land with no device, often being brought by a bird. In the second, it is acquired by stealing.

The first subtype is found sporadically. The following tales would be of some interest. One of these tells about the heads of rice which people, attracted by the note of a seabird, discovered in the reed bush near the seashore of Shima Province, a part of present day Mie Prefecture in the south central part of the main island of Japan. According to Kunio Yanagita, the leading figure of Japanese folklore, the seashore concerned was regarded as the landing place of the deities who often visit the mundane world from the Eternal World overseas to bless people. Another tale of Kazusa Province, now a part of Chiba Prefecture in eastern Japan, mentions rice heads carried by a crane in its beak from an unknown overseas land⁴.

The crane is regarded as a bird of lucky omen in Japanese folk-belief, a concept presumably diffused from China in an earlier time and emphasized more in Japan than in China in later days. In ancient China, it was comparable to the heavenly

3) Matsumoto, 124.

4) Yanagita 1961, 136-137. The tale of Shima Province is found in a volume of serial books on Shintoism, the *Shindô Gobusho*, compiled by a priest or priests of the Imperial Shrine of Ise, sometime in the latest part of the Heian Period (796-1185 A.D.) or in the Kamakura Period (1185-1333 A.D.). Meanwhile, the tale from Kazusa Province was recorded by K. Yasukawa in his *Kazusa Koku-shi* (Description of Things in Kazusa Province) published in 1887. This volume is included in a series of books dealing with the geography and history of various provinces in Japan, all published by the Japanese Government.

dragon or the "phoenix," and it was thought of as connected with the heavenly world on the one hand and as representing a lucky omen on the other⁵.

The second tale subtype is fairly widespread in contemporary Japan. It is said in eastern and northeastern Japan that a Buddhist saint stole rice seed from India and the fox helped him by concealing the seed in a reed bush. In folk-belief of Japan the fox is a representative or a messenger of the deity presiding over rice and the rice-field. It should be noted here that in the folk-geography of pre-modern Japan, India was the holy land of Buddhism as well as a paradise beyond the horizon far away in the west to which the souls of the dead were believed to make a long journey; in folk etymology, the word for India, *tenjiku*, often corresponds to the word for heaven, *ten*. Moreover, the saint is not infrequently replaced by a woman, sometimes a very prolific woman who gives birth to thirty children. A special ritual for rice held in the late autumn in many localities of eastern Japan is named after her honorific, the *dai-shi*⁶. This is usually a term for the Buddhist saint, literally implying the "Great Teacher." Though written differently in Chinese characters, the *dai-shi* implies also the "great elder sister" and this term is often used as a sort of honorific suffix for women in the posthumous Buddhist name which is written on the memorial tablet kept in the family altar. It may be possible that such a woman as mentioned in the tale was primarily a goddess of rice and fertility replaced by a Buddhist saint in later days.

Tales of a Buddhist saint stealing the seed are also found intermittently in southwestern Japan. However, they are concerned with barley, not rice seed, and the land involved is China, not India⁷.

THE RYUKYUS

Tales of type I are usual in the Ryukyus, while those of type III such as are found in the ancient documents of Japan

5) Izushi, 707-722.

6) Yanagita 1961, 135-136.

7) Yanagita 1961, 135.

proper are not yet reported. As to the two subtypes of the major type I discussed above, the first one is fairly prevalent, whereas the second one is rather exceptional. In the Ryukyus, however, the third subtype is more popular, that is, the tales of the grain given as a gift by some heavenly or overseas deity, the deity being replaced simply by a stranger according to the situation. Thus, we see the three subtypes of major type I as follows:

- I^a. Grains given as a gift from heaven or an overseas land.
- I^b. Grains simply acquired without any device, for instance, happened to be brought by a bird from heaven or an overseas land (the first subtype above).
- I^c. Grains stolen from heaven or an overseas land (the second subtype above).

It should be noted here that heaven and the overseas land are often interchangeable in the folk world-view of the Ryukyus. Moreover, the I^a and I^b forms tend mutually to converge and diverge, because the bird or its equivalent sometimes plays the role of a messenger of a deity.

It is noteworthy that in the Ryukyus the tales of subtype I^a are not infrequently interrelated with existing rituals and beliefs of local people. Almost throughout this chain of islands, including the Amami Islands (of Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan proper), there is a widespread belief that somewhere far away beyond the horizon, often in the east, there is a holy land of the deities who annually leave to visit the temporal world and to bless the land and the people. Such a holy land is called *Nira*, *Nirai*, *Niran*, *Niza*, etc., according to the dialect⁸. In some

8) Such a concept of the holy land is comparable to the Eternal World (*Tokoyo*) conceived by ancient Japanese. Usually it is differentiated from the hereafter to where the souls of the dead make a journey. While the people of the Miyako Island have a similar concept of the holy land overseas, the *niza*, the Miyakoan cognate for the *nira* or *nirai*, does not indicate such a holy land, but somewhere deep in the bottom of the land or the sea sometimes in the direction of the west. It is thought of as a horrible place, if not hell. However, such an expression as the *niza-upu-mitsi* (the "highway to the *niza*" = the way along which the souls of the dead make a journey) would suggest an implication primarily inherent to the word *niza*. In several villages of the Yaeyama Islands, the deities are said to come annually from the bottom of the earth, not from an overseas land, to bless the people and the land. In some other villages, however, the context of the ritual

localities, especially in the Yaeyama Islands of the southern Ryukyus, more or less elaborate rituals are practised in conformity with such a belief. Tales concerning the primordial act of the deities, by which the ancestors acquired the grains, are at least partially and symbolically repeated each year in the form of ritual drama. In this case, the tale is rather a myth, something more than a simple tale, and the tale and the ritual drama tend to endorse each other.

First, we shall deal with the tales of the Amami Islands where the culture and the language are basically Ryukyuan. In a document of the mid-nineteenth century there is recorded a tale from Amami-Ōshima Island relating how a crane brought the seed of rice from the holy land⁹. In Kakeroma Island the tale and the concept of *Nirya* seem to be fairly variable among villages¹⁰. In a certain village it is said that rice seed was brought by a whale from *Nirya*, an overseas holy land. The whale is thought to be a messenger of the deities of *Nirya* and for this reason the priestesses of the village are prohibited from eating meat of the whale. In another village the people tell how the seed of rice was discovered in the abdomen of a whale which their ancestors caught; in a third village the whale is replaced by a small fish. In the latter two villages, the *Nirya* is thought to be situated in the sea bottom and seems not to be a holy land¹¹. The tale from Oki-Erabu Island diverges from

seems to indicate that the deities come from both directions. Meanwhile, it is said in the Kobama Island of Yaeyama that the other end of a subterranean road through which the *niru-pitu* (the men of the *niru*) annually visit the village to bless the islanders, reaches the summit of a pyramid-shaped hill overlooking the whole island. In these villages and islands, the belief and rituals relevant to our topic are often kept secret to outsiders. Accordingly, we are still far from reconstructing the whole scheme from such fragmentary informations, often contradictory.

9) Yanagita 1961, 138. Here Yanagita quotes from an article of Fuyū Iha: "Nantō-Zakki ni arawaretaru Marebito" (The Sacred Guest as described in the *Nantō-Zakki*), *Minzoku* (Ethnos), Vol. 2, No. 5, Tokyo 1927.

10) Itō, 127.

11) Here we have an alternative as to whether the watery world represents a shift directly from an overseas land and indirectly from the heavenly world or a unique folk-category quite unrelated with the former ones. Cf. some tales of rice originating in the watery world reported from the Koro area of central Celebes, from the Amarassi

these. It runs as follows¹²:

Following the instruction of the heavenly deity, an islander visited the holy land *Nira* in search of the seed of rice. The chief of the holy land refused his request on the ground that the harvest ritual was not yet over and thus the seed was tabooed to the stranger. But he dared to steal the seed, and he was killed by the chief. The heavenly deity resurrected him, and after the harvest ritual he obtained the seed with the consent of the chief of *Nira*.

It deserves notice that in this text the heavenly world and the holy land overseas are evidently different from each other, and that subtypes I^a and I^c do co-exist in a single tale. The text can be compared with the divergent tales concerning the rice-field called *Mifu-da*, in the southern tip of the main island of Okinawa, as will be described below.

In the main island of Okinawa where the capital of the Ryukyuan kingdom stood, certain historical documents offer a few tales relevant to our topic. The *Ryūkyū-koku Yuraiiki* (History of the Ryukyuan State), compiled in 1713, informs us of the two following stories¹³:

(a) According to what is told among the old men of Kudaka Island (an offshore islet southeast of the main Island of Okinawa), there lived an ancestral couple on this island. When the husband was fishing at the seashore, he found a white pot drifting there. Every time when he tried to take it, it drifted a bit offshore and again toward the beach, and he failed to catch it. Following the advice of his wife, he performed ablutions and put on a white robe and then went to the beach. This time the pot approached him along with the surging waves and jumped onto his arm. Inside the pot he found the seeds of barley, "millet," *kibi* (*Panicum miliaceum* L.), and three kinds of trees. The people propagated these plants and they dedicated the barley to the king of Okinawa who was much delighted. The barley begins to ripen in February (of the lunar calendar), and every other year the king of Okinawa visits the island, along with the royal priestess and high officials, to celebrate the festival of barley.

region of southwestern Timor, and from central Java, to which we shall refer later on.

12) Yanagita 1961, 76. He quotes from a book by Ichirō Iwakura: *Oki-erabu Mukashi-banashi* (Folktales of the Oki-erabu Island), published in Tokyo in 1936.

13) (a) *Ryūkyū-koku Yuraiiki*, Vol. I, new edition, Naha 1957; (b) *op. cit.*, Vol. III, new edition, Naha 1958.

(b) In ancient times the Okinawa people did not know agriculture, and they subsisted on wild fruits and wild animals. Then there grew spontaneously several kinds of grain, and barley was sowed on Kudaka Island for the first time and rice in Chinen and Tamagusuku, the two regions on the southern tip of Okinawa. The barley and rice begin to ripen in the beginning of the spring and of the summer respectively. Accordingly it has been the custom since long ago that the king visits Kudaka in February and Chinen and Tamagusuku in April every other year, respectively, to celebrate the festivals of these grains.

In the *Chûzan Sekan* (Mirror of the History of the Central Kingdom) published in 1650, however, a somewhat different tale is recorded¹⁴:

In the beginning, the people had nothing to eat other than wild fruits or the like. An ancestral demi-god *Amami-ku* (= *Amami-tšu* or *Ama-n-tšu*: "the man from the heaven"), himself of heavenly descent, visited the heavenly deity from whom he acquired the seeds of various grains. The seeds of barley, two kinds of millet (*Setaria italica* and *Panicum miliaceum* L.) and beans were sowed for the first time on Kudaka Island, and the seed of rice at two places, namely, Ôkawa of Chinen and Wokemizo (= Ukinju) of Tamagusuku. For this reason, the king of Okinawa used to visit Kudaka in February and both Chinen and Tamagusuku in April to celebrate the festivals concerned.

While citing the story from the *Chûzan Sekan*, of a white pot which drifted to Kudaka, the *Ryûkyû-koku Kyûki* (Old Records of the Ryukyuan State), issued in 1731, informs us of the following tale¹⁵:

A man named *Amami-ku* visited *Girai Kanai* from whence he brought back the seed of rice which was sown for the first time in Ôkawa of Chinen and the "parent rice field" in Tamagusuku.

Quoting from the *Kikoe-ôgimi Odon narabi O-gusuku O-kishiki no Shidai* (The Items of Regulation concerning the Royal Priestess, Palace Ladies and Sanctuaries) issued in 1726. Mr. Fuyû Iha, a famous historian as well as folklorist of Okinawa, wrote roughly as follows¹⁶:

14) *Chûzan Sekan*, Vol. I. new edition, Naha 1956.

15) *Ryûkyû-koku Kyûki*, Vol. IV, new edition, Tokyo 1942.

16) Iha 1942, 378 and Iha 1961, I, 432-433. He refers to the *Kikoe-ôgimi Odon narabi O-gusuku O-kishiki no Shidai*, but in its new edi-

Because there was no rice seed in the pot which drifted to Kudaka Island, *Amami-tsu*, after offering a prayer to the heavenly deity, ordered an eagle to obtain rice seed in *Nirai Kanai*, and after three hundred days the eagle fetched three heads of rice which were sown for the first time at *Ukimizu Harimizu* (= *Ukinju Hainju*), the place being also called *Mifu-da* (*mifu*, three heads; *da* < *ta*, wet rice-field).

By inspecting all these tales, we find a series of shifts. The two tales recorded in the *Ryûkyû-koku Yuraiki* will be classified with subtype I^b, though the first tale seems to suggest the will of the deity latent there. The tale recorded in the *Chûzan Sekan* is of subtype I^a, while that of the *Ryûkyû-koku Kyûki* represents subtype I^b. And though the tale introduced by Mr. Iha is of subtype I^b at least superficially, there remains something reminiscent of subtype I^a.

With regard to the place of origin, there is also a series of shifts. In the *Ryûkyû-koku Yuraiki* (b) the rice and other grains "grew spontaneously," in the *Chûzan Sekan* the rice seed was brought "from heaven," and in the last two tales, it came "from *Girai Kanai* or *Nirai Kanai*," an overseas holy land, the name *Nirai* being modified in such ways in the poetical or literary expressions of Okinawa. On the other hand, such words as *Wokemizo*, *Ukimizu*, and *Ukinju* are concerned simply with the ways of transcribing the same word, partially taking into consideration the pronunciation of standard Japanese.

Tales of a bird carrying rice seed seem to have been more or less widespread on the main island of Okinawa. The song of the so-called festival of the "sea-deities" (*un-gami*, *un-jami* or *un-hami*) of a hamlet named Ta-minato near the northwestern shore of Okinawa refers to a tale of the mandarin duck who brought rice seed from an overseas land¹⁷. The festival is still held annually in collaboration with adjacent hamlets, and its primary emphasis seems to have been to welcome the overseas deities who come every year to bless the land and the people. And to the east of a village named Tiima, near the central east shore of Okinawa, there is a patch of wet rice-field also called *Mifu-da* where, it is said, people sowed for the first time rice

tion published in 1958 the tale mentioned by Iha is not found. This might be due to some divergence in the contents more or less inevitable in manuscript copies of the original.

17) Iha 1942, 378, and Iha 1961, I, 433.

seed brought by a bird from an overseas land. After the harvest the priestess, presiding over the rituals of Tiima and adjacent hamlets, annually dedicates three heads of rice to the local deities, and perhaps for this reason the rice-field is called the *Mifu-da*. According to a recent investigation, however, it is now said that rice seed was brought by a bird from another *Mifu-da*, of Tamagusuku, mentioned above¹⁸. In any case, these three tales are of subtype I^b.

As cited above, the *Ryūkyū-koku Yuraiiki* tells us that the king of Okinawa, along with the royal priestess and high officials, was accustomed every other year to visit Kudaka Island in February and Chinen and Tamagusuku in April respectively to celebrate the festivals of barley and of rice. The *Chūzan Seifu* (Sequences in the History of the Central Kingdom), compiled in 1697-1701, mentions that the king visited these places every year, but adds that, owing to the inconvenience of navigating to Kudaka, the traditional custom was replaced in 1673 by a new one by which the king sent his messenger to these places. At that time the policy of the kingdom (the Second Shō Dynasty, see below) was much controlled by Kō Shō Ken, a regent of the kingdom, who was imbued with the doctrine of Confucianism and tried to reject the beliefs and rituals of the folk religion¹⁹.

The tales recorded in the *Ryūkyū-koku Yuraiiki* and other classics are well known to the local literati and tend to be propagated through them to the common people who are ignorant of such classics. At least at the *Mifu-da* of Tamagusuku, the rice ritual has been annually held, perhaps with a view to commemorating the primordial event by which the people acquired rice seed. However, the present writer heard the following tale from an informant of a hamlet named Hyakuna, situated

18) Segawa, 17. According to an investigation in Summer 1963 by Seiichi Muratake, lecturer of social anthropology, Tokyo Metropolitan University, each hamlet of Tiima region has its own *Mifu-da*, administrated ritually by a woman of a given family-line, namely the wife, sister or daughter of the head of the family concerned. She distributes the seedlings of *Mifu-da* among the people of the hamlet. People tell that the rice was brought for the first time from Tamagusuku by a bird, i.e., a hawk, eagle or crow, the kind of bird being variable among hamlets.

19) *Chūzan Sekan*, Vol. I, and Higa, 188.

on a terrace land looking down on the *Mifu-da*²⁰:

In former days when the main island of Okinawa was split into three kingdoms, a delegate from the southern kingdom visited China, and on his way home he stayed in Fukien Province, south China, for a while. It was just before the harvest of rice which was not cultivated in the Ryûkyûs at that time. He requested the local chief to give him a handful of rice seed, but the chief refused to do so on the ground that it was tabooed to the stranger before the harvest ritual was over. This was merely a pretext of the chief who was unwilling to give the stranger rice seed, and so the delegate of the southern kingdom failed to obtain it. Next time a delegate from the northern kingdom stayed in Fukien Province on his way home and he was favoured by the local chief. But, perhaps because it was forbidden to give the foreigner rice seed, the local chief tried to do so in an indirect way. He tied a few rice heads to the legs of the crane flying seasonally to Okinawa so that the delegate would eventually obtain them in his homeland. This delegate from the northern kingdom wandered about in vain in search of the crane throughout the island of Okinawa. He came as far as to the *Mifu-da* and yet failed to find the crane, notwithstanding the crane was actually lying dead near the *Mifu-da*. The former delegate from the southern kingdom, who failed to persuade the local chief of Fukien Province to give him rice seed, happened to find the crane along with the rice heads it carried. The two retainers of this delegate sowed the rice in *Mifu-da* for the first time in the Ryûkyûs, and their descendants still own the rice-field.

This tale seems to contain various elements reminiscent of both subtypes I^a and I^b, the overseas deity being replaced by a local chief of Fukien Province. In any case, this tale is quite different from those tales recorded in the Okinawa classics, to which most of folklorists, in both the Ryukyus and Japan proper, refer as the "legitimate" tales concerning the origin of the rice or other grains. We are not in a position to enter into a detailed discussion of the reason for such divergence, but it may be better to take here into account the relevant historical background.

The period of the three kingdoms mentioned in the tale of Hyakuna hamlet lasted from 1323 to 1422 when the three were integrated into the newly founded kingdom of the First Shô

20) When Masao Higa, a graduate student of Tokyo Metropolitan University, made a survey of the same hamlet in Summer 1963, another informant told him of a similar tale in which the hawk, not the crane, plays an important part. Because the hawk, not the crane, seasonally visits the Ryukyus, this seems to be original.

Family dynasty. Each of these three kingdoms had diplomatic relations with China, and ruins of some castles and shrines related to these kingdoms are still an object of religious worship among the local people who, accordingly, remember the existence of such kingdoms, if not their detailed history. The hamlet Hyakuna and the rice-field *Mifu-da* were in the dominion of the southern kingdom. The First Shô Family dynasty declined before long owing to civil war and revolution, and half a century after its foundation it was replaced by the Second Shô Family dynasty, which also dominated the southern Ryukyus on the one hand and the Amami Islands on the other. In 1609, however, the kingdom had to surrender to the invading troops of the feudal lord of Satsuma (Kagoshima) at the southwestern extremity of Japan proper, and he deprived the kingdom of the Amami Islands. The feudal lord of Satsuma interfered with both the inland and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom in various ways, and the culture of medieval Japan penetrated more and more into the Ryukyus. Nevertheless the kingdom did not disintegrate. On the contrary, political as well as cultural centralization was increasingly emphasized. It was in such an atmosphere that the *Chûzan Sekan* and the *Ryûkyû-koku Yuraiki* were compiled. The kingdom lasted for more than three centuries, until 1879, when it was annexed to the Japanese Empire to form Okinawa Prefecture as an administrative unit.

Both the First and Second Shô Families are said to have derived from Iheya Island, to the northwest of the main island of Okinawa. In spite of this, the Second Shô Family seems to have laid a ritual emphasis on Kudaka Island, perhaps in connection with the belief in the holy land far away in the east. As we have seen in the Okinawan classics, the king and the royal priestess, often the eldest among the king's sisters²¹, visited Kudaka Island every other year (or every year according to the *Chûzan Seifu* mentioned) to celebrate the festival of barley until 1673. In later days, however, the king annually sent the royal priestess to a sanctuary called Seifa on a steep hill overlooking the shore of the southeastern tip of the main island of Okinawa where she prayed to the deities of the holy land far

21) The pattern that the brother presides over secular affairs and the sister over religious ones is widespread in the Ryukyus—Iha 1942, Yanagita 1943, 31-64, and Mabuchi 1961.

in the east beyond Kudaka Island. The Seifa sanctuary is situated seven miles southeast of Shuri, the capital of the kingdom, and four miles due west of Kudaka Island. It may be added here that the *Mifu-da* and Hyakuna village are situated less than three miles southwest of the Seifa sanctuary, and near the shore of the *Mifu-da* there stretches a chain of reefs and islets, including Kudaka, to the northeast for about ten miles.

It might be possible that the Second Shô Family dynasty tried to incorporate local beliefs and tales in the larger religious system in conformity with the policy of the kingdom for cultural integration. We rather doubt whether a series of shifts of the tales concerned in the Okinawan classics is more or less correlated with such an atmosphere of the kingdom, where a conspicuous trend is to identify the mystic power of the king with that of the sun, rising in the east, in the direction of the holy land²².

On the other hand, the tale of Hyakuna hamlet seems to involve some trace of revision in reference to historical events such as the rivalry of the three kingdoms and their diplomatic relations with China. It is to be noted that the concept of the holy land in the east has nothing to do with this tale. And the eagle which appeared in a historical document mentioned is replaced here by a crane. Being primarily unknown to the Ryukyus, the crane might suggest a cultural influence from Japan proper in later times, even though the idea associating the crane with a good omen is ultimately to be traced back to China. However, the motif of a bird carrying the seed of grain is widely found in both Japan proper and the Ryukyus and seems to have been deep-rooted in folk culture. The taboo imposed upon the stranger in connection with the harvest ritual reminds us of the tale from Oki-Erabu Island mentioned earlier. This kind of taboo is also occasionally found in ancient documents of Japan proper.

The islands of the southern Ryukyus are classified into two groups, the Miyako Islands in the northeast and the Yaeyama Islands in southwest. The westernmost island of the Yaeyama group, Yonaguni, is less than seventy miles from Formosa.

Except for a few cases, the Miyako Islands are devoid of rice cultivation owing to the shortage of water for irrigation,

22) Shimabuku 1950, 55-57.

while dry rice was unknown as elsewhere in the Ryukyus as a whole. In former days the staple of the people was "millet" and it has been the sweet-potato in the modern period. The tale concerning the origin of grains is rather rare in these islands. In the southern part of Miyako, the main island, there are still observed the ritual and the taboo with regard to welcoming the deity who comes to "sprinkle the fertility" from the sky. The deity is believed to come from heaven or far away from the east, the two directions being interchangeable in the ideology of the people. The belief in the annual visit of the deity or deities is also found in Ikema, an island near the northern tip of Miyako. But the deities are believed to come from far away in the southwest, not from the east. In any case, all these beliefs have nothing directly to do with the origin of grains.

In view of the situation in Miyako, it is interesting that the present writer could find the following tale on an islet called Ôgami, situated a few miles to the east of Ikema. The tale concerns a woman who went to China from the main island of Okinawa, not from Miyako, and stole a kind of millet called *tsim* (i.e. *kibi* in Standard Japanese, namely, *Panicum miliaceum* L.):

She ate the *tsim* for the first time in China and she found it delicious. She asked the "king" of China for some seed in vain. When the people were drying the reaped millet in the sun, she was charged to keep watch over it against birds. She took off her *itsam* (a loin-cloth for women, different from the skirt they put on) and sat on the dried millet. Some grains of millet stuck to her vagina and she was able to steal them.

Here we have a tale of subtype I^c, which is to be compared with the tale from Oki-Erabu Island quoted above. It should also be pointed out that this kind of an obscene adventure is not rare in aboriginal Formosa, as will be shown later.

In the Yaeyama Islands, a widespread tale is that rice seed was brought by the deities of the holy land overseas. This statement might seem to be too simple and too short to be called a tale, but it is inseparably connected with the belief and the ritual, each endorsing the other as it were. Annual festivals, usually held after the harvest, often include ritual performances partially representing the primordial act of deities who brought seeds of rice and other crops. On such occasions, the deities are believed to visit the villages to bless the people and the crops.

With regard to the direction of the holy land from which the deities come, the eastern horizon and the eastern sky tend to be interchangeable with each other in both the tales and the rituals. This seems to be particularly so in the villages facing the sea approximately on the east. The festivals concerned are more elaborate in villages on the southern shore of Ishigaki Island and a few adjacent islets.

Two young men of the village disguise themselves as an old man and an old woman, the former representing the deity from the holy land and the latter the village people. The old man comes from the east and the old woman from the west, each on a plank carried by a number of young men, to meet each other at a given place within the village. The old man gives the old woman a basket containing seeds of various kinds of crops including rice and millet. The gift of seeds is no sooner handed over than they separate and hurry away in opposite directions, one plank carrying the old man toward the east and another carrying the old woman toward the west. A tug-of-war ensues. The whole village is divided into two sections, the eastern half and the western half, each representing the male side and the female side, though of course both men and women join each side according to the village section. The western group, that is, the female side, should eventually win, otherwise the power of fertility will not be obtained from the holy land²³. In all these the main theme is to "pull" the blessing of fertility from the east to the west, that is, from the holy world to the mundane world. And this is also the case with a few villages not facing the sea on the east.

In some villages there is held at the shore a ritual welcoming the invisible boat of the deities loaded with the seeds of crops and fertilizing powers from the holy land. A boat race is held in various villages, always from the open sea to the seashore, irrespective of whether or not the village is facing the sea on the east. They welcome the splash of seawater coming in quantity into the boat—the more splash, the more fertility.

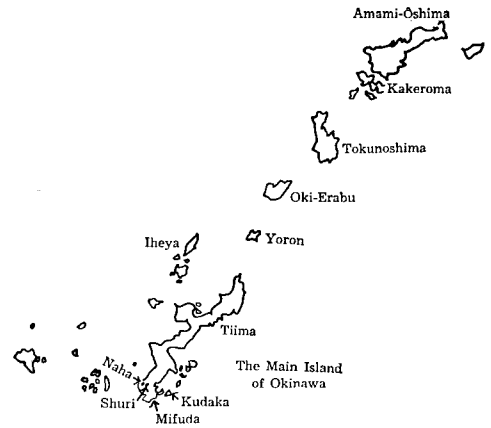
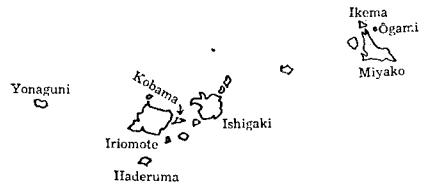
23) This trend is particularly conspicuous in the island of Ishigaki and some adjacent islets, but not always so in other localities, due partially to the topography and partially to the shift in the combination of the male-female division on the one hand and the east-west division on the other. In a number of localities of the main island of Okinawa, the east group should win.

In other localities of the Yaeyama Islands, the ritual atmosphere is fairly different from this and a rich variety of festivals is found. Nevertheless, the belief in the annual visit of deities from an overseas land and the related rituals are fairly widespread. Tales concerning the origin of grains are rather poor in these localities. Some people vaguely tell that these were acquired as a gift from such deities. If this deserves the name of a tale, it belongs to subtype I^a.

In this regard, the tale and the ritual of Haderuma Island are somewhat unique in the Yaeyama Islands. This is the southernmost island and all the villages face the sea on the north. It is said that rice was first acquired by a man discovering some heads of rice floating near the shore of the northwestern village, or that these were dropped on the seawater by a bird who brought them from an unknown land overseas. The atmosphere of the tale is reminiscent of those from Kakeroma Island of the Amami Islands and from Shima Province of Japan proper, and it is to be classified as subtype I^b. The islanders of Haderuma are divided into a few cult-groups and each group performs the rituals for the "millet." However, the rituals of rice are presided over by the priestess of a given family-line, i.e., the descendants in the male line of the discoverer of the rice floating on the seawater. And after the harvest, the male head of this family-line drops a small amount of both boiled and unboiled rice, rice-wine, salt, garlic, and incense-stick on the site of the seawater where the heads of rice were first discovered.

In passing we shall refer to a tale from Kouri, an islet adjacent to the western shore of central Okinawa. It is said that once there lived on this islet a boy and a girl, the ancestors of the islanders, whom the heavenly deity sent some rice-cake every day. One day they began to save some pieces of rice-cake. Having seen this, the heavenly deity ceased to send them the rice-cake and thus they had to search for shell-fish at the seashore²⁴. Though this tale has nothing to do with the origin of rice people now cultivate, the idea of rice existing in heaven is more or less reminiscent of type I, particularly subtype I^a in this case.

24) Shimabuku 1956, 317-318.



T. MABUCHI

FORMOSA

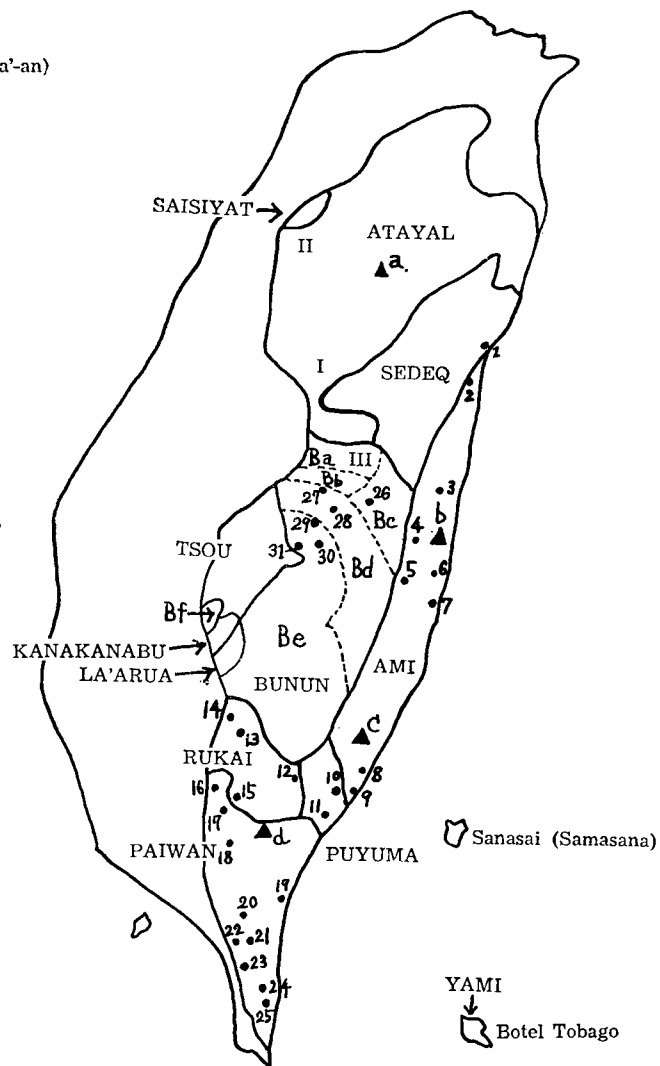
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Takilis | 2. Tala-ruma' (Na-ruma'-an) |
| 3. Vataan | 4. Pair'asun |
| 5. Taurayan | 6. Kiwit |
| 7. Kuraluts | 8. Kasasikoran |
| 9. Varangau | 10. Puyuma |
| 11. Katatipul | 12. Taromaké |
| 13. Kongadavané | 14. Torulukané |
| 15. Kotsapongané | 16. Masilij |
| 17. Su-paiwan | 18. Pulci |
| 19. Coacoqo | 20. Koavar |
| 21. Ca'ovo'ovol | 22. 'Atsudas |
| 23. Sapudeq | 24. Sinbaulan |
| 25. Sukuskus | 26. Asang-vatan |
| 27. Qatongulan | 28. Asang-'banuath |
| 29. Uvaxo | 30. Asang-'bukun |
| 31. Take-tompo | |

I. Xaqu I. Mélinax III. Tak-qultavan

a. Mt. Papak-waqa b. Mt. Tsirangasan
c. Mt. Maratau d. Mt. Cagalaus

The Bunun people consist of the following
"tribes."

Ba — Take-To'do Bb — Take-'Bak-ha
Be — Take-Vatan Bd — Iš-'Bukun
Bf — Takopulan



T. MABUCHI

ABORIGINAL FORMOSA

Aboriginal Formosa includes a number of ethnic groups culturally different from each others, although all of them belong linguistically to the Malayo-Polynesian. The three major types of the tales mentioned are found in this area.

Among the Paiwan people in the south, it is variously emphasized in both beliefs and rituals that the ultimate source of fertility is to be sought in heaven, the dwelling place of the deities. And there are widespread tales among them of grains coming from heaven. However, most tales available are of sub-type I^b and I^c, not of I^a. In Sukuskus, a village of the southern Paiwan, it is said that two men visited heaven and acquired the "millet" (*Setaria italica*) and therefore the people still dedicate some offering to the two ancestors at the millet festivals¹. In the Sapudeq region, it is simply told that "millet" dropped from heaven at the time when a brother and a sister survived the Deluge². In villages such as Sinbaulan, 'Atsudas, Coacoqo, Masilij, and Su-paiwan, we find a tale roughly as follows³:

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- 1) Sayama & Ônihi, 289.
 - 2) B. K. C., V-1, 175.
 - 3) Sayama & Ônishi, 388.

B. C.—*Banzoku Chôsa Hôkoku-sho* (Survey Reports on the Formosan Aborigines).

B. K. C.—*Banzoku Kanshû Chôsa Hôkoku-sho* (Survey Reports on the Customs of the Formosan Aborigines).

Note:

The Formosan natives are classified into a number of "ethnic groups" or "peoples" by referring to their cultural or linguistic features. This is an "objective" classification made by researchers which does not necessarily coincide with the "subjective" classification made by the natives themselves, the latter classification reflecting itself particularly in their political or jural behaviour. In northern and central Formosa, an ethnic group usually contains a number of politically or jurally independent "tribes," while in southern and eastern Formosa the political-jural independence of the village is too strong to form tribes. Anthropological literature often fails to discriminate between the ethnic group and the tribe in the above sense.

Once the "millet" dropped from heaven. When the people happened to boil three grains or so, they swelled enough to fill a room, and one grain or a half was enough to supply the whole family with a meal. A pregnant woman happened to pour a considerable quantity of millet into boiling water and she was pressed to death when the millet suddenly swelled. Since then, millet ceased to swell when boiled.

All these tales above are of subtype I^b. As to the motif reminiscent of the "Lost Paradise" in the last tale, we shall discuss it later on.

The tales of subtype I^c seem to be more widespread among the Paiwan. In Sukuskus, there is a tale as the following⁴:

The staple of the ancestors was *lumai* (a sort of millet, *Eleusine coracana* Gaertn.) and *juris* (similar to the goosefoot, *Chenopodium* sp.). In Cagaraus there were two deities, each presiding over the tubers and the millet (*Setaria italica*). A woman visited the deities in heaven, and though she could acquire the tubers, the deity refused to give her the seed of millet. Sometime afterward the deity of millet invited a Paiwan priest to come to help harvest. He concealed a grain of millet in his nail which the deity failed to detect. Thus, people began to raise millet on the earth.

Among the Paiwan, heaven is often interchangeable with Mount Cagaraus (Tagaraus in northern dialects), the highest mountain in the Paiwan area, being more than 10,500 feet above the sea-level, where the deities and ancestral spirits are believed to dwell. In the southern Paiwan, this is more often called Kavurungan, while the name Cagaraus tends more to be identified with heaven. A parallel tale is also found in the Sapudeq region⁵: A man visited a friend in heaven where he found "millet" and tubers growing. The friend in heaven refused to share these with the man from the earth, and the latter stole these by concealing these "in his penis." In Sinbaulan village, they say that the ancestor stole the tubers and "millet" from heaven which it was possible to visit at that time⁶.

The following tale, again from the Sapudeq region⁷, is an approximation to subtype I^a:

4) B. K. C., V-1, 176.

5) B. K. C., V-1, 175.

6) B. K. C., V-1, 177.

7) B. K. C., V-1, 175.

The ancestral deities had five children and all of them dwelt on the slope of the Mount Kavurungan. The deities charged the eldest child with the task of creating wild animals and of leaving them in the fields and mountains, the second child with the task of creating fishes and of leaving them in the rivers, the third child with the task of creating pigs, the fourth child with the task of creating the "millet" and tubers, and the youngest child with the task of creating the *lumai* and *juris*. All the seeds of these food plants were given to the people.

We are still far from classifying the following tales with subtype Iⁿ, though the cultural context of the Paiwan tends to persuade us to admit such a possibility: In both Koavar and Ca'ovo'ovol, two villages of southwest Paiwan, it is said that the demi-god ancestor chanted a magical song by which he produced wild animals on the one hand and food plants such as "millet" and tubers on the other⁸. In the tale of Quavar, the demi-god is said to have "planted" pieces of bones in the ground and chanted a magical song on them, but nobody knows whose bones these were⁹. In Kotsaponganě village of the Rukai people, whose culture is akin to that of the Paiwan, they tell the following: Once there was a father and two sons. The sons obtained a pig and a gourd somehow, and their father chanted a magical song over the gourd so that "millet" and *lalumai* (the cognate of the word *lumai* of the Paiwan) came out of it¹⁰.

The tale to be classified with subtype I^a is found also among the Bunun people of central Formosa. According to a tale of the Take-vatan tribe, heaven gave their ancestors a gourd containing the seed of the "millet."¹¹ In the Take-'bak-ha tribe, the tale is told as follows¹²:

Once there was a man who subsisted solely on hunting as there was nothing to eat. There came a woman along with her child, and she showed him a gourd containing the "millet." She told him that, when boiled, a grain of millet would swell to such a degree that it would be enough to supply both of them with a meal, and he married her. During her absence to fetch water, the child cried and he gave it a good scolding, but the more he scolded the more the child cried. Having found this, she got very angry about his

8) B. K. C., V-1, 175.

9) B. K. C., V-1, 175.

10) B. K. C., V-1, 173.

11) B. C., Bunun, 222.

12) B. C., Bunun, 214.

heartlessness. She went up to heaven with her child and the gourd, saying that she would become a star along with her child. Since then millet ceased to swell when boiled.

This tale has nothing to do with the heavenly origin of millet, although the tale from the Take-vatan tribe cited above deserves to be taken into consideration here with regard to the heavenly derivation of the gourd which contains millet. In the Tak-qultaven region of the Take-to'do tribe, they say that when their ancestors lived far away in the western plain (of Formosa), they cultivated the gourd from which "millet" happened once to come out¹³. It is well to remember here that some mystic relation between the gourd and millet is occasionally suggested in tales from various parts of aboriginal Formosa.

Among the Kanakanabu people where the tale of subtype II^a is predominant, we find still another kind of tale¹⁴ representing subtype I^a:

A female deity was born from a rock. Because there was nothing to eat, she asked the heavenly deity for some food. The heavenly deity gave her fish, animals, and rice. At that time it was enough to boil half a grain of rice for a meal, because it swelled enough to fill a cooking pot. She met a male deity eating sand of the river bed, and she married him.

As in Malaysia, there is widespread in aboriginal Formosa, particularly among the mountain peoples, the tale of a "Lost Paradise" of a sort saying that once it was enough for a meal to boil one grain or a half of millet or rice and that the grain ceased to swell after someone—a stupid man or a lazy one in most cases—tried to boil several grains or a considerable quantity of the grain at once. And especially among the Atayal and the Sedeq people, it is often said that when this happened all the boiled grains flew to the sky by transforming themselves into some kind of small bird. As we have seen, there is fairly prevalent in both Japan proper and the Ryukyus the tale that a bird brought rice from heaven or some overseas land. In aboriginal Formosa, however, this kind of tale is rare, if not quite non-existent. In this connection, the following tales from the Saisyat people deserves notice¹⁵:

13) Sayama & Ônishi, 101.

14) B. C., Tsou, 167-168.

15) (a) B. K. C., III, 8. (b) Sayama & Ônishi, 288. (c) Sayama & Ônishi, 287.

(a) A man and a woman, the ancestors of the Saisiyat, happened to hear a small bird cry while pecking at some grains. They cultivated the soil with an old horn of deer they happened to find there and they sowed the grains. These were the "millet" which the people acquired for the first time. After some generations, the people found the same kind of bird pecking at the heads of rice growing near the river. By tasting it, they found it more delicious than millet, and thus, millet came to be replaced more and more by rice among the Saisiyat.

(b) A man threw a stone at a small bird flying who dropped something it was carrying in its beak. He sowed it and obtained the "millet" for the first time. Meanwhile rice grew spontaneously from the earth after a landslide.

(c) At the time when the ancestors depended solely on wild fruits, an unknown plant grew from the dung left by an animal similar to the fox. When the grains of the plant got ripe, the people tasted them and found them delicious, and they began to sow these. This was the origin of rice.

In these tales, the bird comes to the front only with regard to the origin of the "millet," while the origin of the rice is told in quite different ways to which we shall refer again below. In any case, nothing is told about where the "millet" came from. In the mountain area of aboriginal Formosa, the people never see the sea. If it is implied in these tales that millet was brought by a bird from some "remote land beyond the mountains," it would be equivalent to an "overseas land" in the concept of coastal people. In this case, these tales on the origin of millet are variants of subtype I^b. As we shall refer to below, there is among the Bunun a tale of the peanut brought by a bird which is of the same nature as these.

Somewhat in parallel with these, we have also the following tales. Among the Mëlinax (Bunsui) tribe of the northwestern Atayal, the rat is said to have brought "millet" from an unknown land¹⁶. In an ethnographic report concerning the Atayal¹⁷, it is said the ancestor found under the bed some rice brought by a rat from an unidentified land, and in another report¹⁸, from the western plain, i.e., the land of the Formosan Chinese, though both reports failed to inform us of the locality or the tribal affiliation of the informants concerned. In the above, we have

16) B. C., Atayal-I, 173.

17) B. K. C., I, 35.

18) Mori, 264.

cited a tale of the Saisiyat people in which rice is said to have originated in the dung left by a fox-like animal. But we are still far from classifying this tale.

The following tale of the Xaqul tribe of the Atayal¹⁹ refers to a somewhat "remote mountain" which is hardly accessible to people:

Some tribesmen once visited Mount Papak-waqa and on the top of the mountain, they met a miraculous boy subsisting on the "millet" and the *bēsino* (*Panicum Miliaceum* L.), both unknown to them at that time. They found these delicious and brought the boy along with them to the village. However, nothing more is told about the boy.

As to this tale, however, the classification will only be made with some reservation. The Xaqul tribe dwell near the southern tip of the distribution area of the Atayal people, while Mount Papak-waqa is situated in the center of this area. This mountain is renowned among the Atayal in connection with the Deluge tale, being more than 11,000 feet above the sea-level. When the Xaqul tribesmen go to their hunting ground in the northern part of the tribal territory, they can look at Mount Papak-waqa further to the north. But they cannot easily visit there because it is within the territory of an other tribe antagonistic to them, though both tribes belong to the Atayal. The high peak might appear to be piercing the clouds and towering over the chain of mountains far away in the north. The boy mentioned in the tale might represent the millet spirit, although such a concept is hardly ever found among the Atayal. In any case, the tale seems to suggest an approximation to subtype I^a.

On the other hand, the Ami people of the eastern shore of Formosa tell that at least some of their ancestors came from Vutul, namely the Botel Tobago, or from Sanasai, an island north of the former, by boat or by means of the *kayakai* which implies a bridge as well as a ladder. According to the oral tradition of the Ami, the place of ancestral origin is either a certain place in the east coast area or some overseas island such as Vutul and Sanasai or heaven. A number of the Ami informants asserts that the overseas immigrants represent later comers and occasionally associate such immigrants with megalithic remains. But we are still far from analysing the

19) B. C., Atayal-I, 339.

ethnic composition of the Ami people. Anyhow, an inspection of their oral tradition suggests that the heavenly derivation and the overseas migration are interchangeable with each other in some cases and they are combined in other cases. In this regard, it is interesting to cite here the following tale of the Kuraluts village which deals also with the origin of millet and rice²⁰:

A couple of ancestral deities descended from heaven to the island of Vutul. They ate the tubers. Along with a son and a daughter, they left the island by a boat which the male deity made. Because they found indigenous people already living in Kakawasan where they landed, they continued to navigate toward the north as far as Tala-ruma' where they also found indigenous people. At last they landed in Takilis where there were no inhabitants. They planted the tubers they brought, but they happened to find both "millet" and rice growing there. As these were delicious, they cultivated the soil by a hoe they made from bamboo and wood and planted these grains.

In this tale, these grains were found in a "remote land," but it is concerned with legendary migration. Perhaps it has nothing directly to do with our type I. Meanwhile, no mention was made with regard to the origin of tubers, and the report of this tale failed to inform us on the kind of "tubers," whether they were taro or yam.

There is a tale from the northern Ami which refers to heaven in the following way²¹:

Once a man came from heaven and married an Ami woman. He did nothing but spin a top and his mother-in-law complained of his being lazy. One day he made a lot of tops and cultivated the field by spinning these tops. He planted the gourd and three kinds of bamboo which grew very rapidly. When these grew up, he cut them open. The pig, "millet" and glutinous rice came out from the three kinds of bamboo respectively, and ordinary rice from the gourd. Before this event, the people subsisted solely on the gourd, the pumpkin, or such. The man from heaven shortly disappeared after saying that his parents were awaiting him in heaven.

As far as the plot is concerned, this is essentially the tale of a trickster known by the name of Iduk or Iluk almost through-

20) B. C., Ami, 243-244, and Sayama & Ōnishi, 15-16.

21) B. K. C., II, 15-16.

out the country of the Ami people. But it is quite exceptional that this kind of tale is connected with the origin of millet or rice. This tale from northern Ami represents a variant of subtype I^a.

Perhaps we had better to add here a tale from the northwestern villages of the Tak-'banuath tribe, though it is rather unique among the Bunun people²²:

In primordial times, a father and a son came down from heaven to the earth. They wandered about here and there in search of edible plants, as they did not know how to cultivate them. They happened to see a woman covered with hair, and she brought them along with her to a land where various kinds of grain grew covering the soil. She became very angry when she found the father and son stealing the heads of various grains, and she stamped up on the earth. There appeared a flame and a dense cloud of black smoke went up. The woman disappeared, but a rope hanging down from heaven suggested her whereabouts. The son grasped the rope which took him up to heaven. For this reason, there has been a relative shortage of women among the Bunun.

In this tale of the father and son of heavenly descent, the father was perhaps the ancestor of the Bunun, who failed to steal the grains on the earth owned by a woman whose homeland seems to have been heaven. Nevertheless it seems possible that this tale is a variant of subtype I^c.

By inspecting all the tales which fall under our major type I, we suggest a series of shifts with regard to the *loci* of the events on which the emphasis is laid—from heaven to an overseas land or a remote land and *vice versa*, according to the situation of the cultural or geographical context. If we focus our observation on the means by which the people acquired the grains, we can classify the major type I into the subtypes I^a, I^b and I^c. In some cases, however, we are able to trace a shift between I^a and I^b, between I^b and I^c, and between I^c and I^a, in tales of more or less similar plots.

The tale of stealing "millet" from an overseas land is found in southeastern Formosa. This is subtype I^c in the classification above. In Puyuma, once the most powerful village of the Puyuma people, the tale concerning the origin of rice is of subtype I^a, while that of "millet" is of subtype I^c. The seed of the rice was

22) B. C., Bunun, 196-197.

given to the ancestor of a given chiefly family by a deity who dwelt on top of a high, steep mountain called Maratau adjacent to the northern border of the Puyuman territory. Meanwhile, "millet" was acquired for the first time by a man who stole it from Botel Tobago Island to the southeast of the main island of Formosa by concealing it in the foreskin of his penis. In this village the first fruits of both rice and millet are offered up annually in the direction of the place of origin. In Katatipul, a village also of the Puyuma people, however, a more detailed tale is told concerning the origin of "millet"²³:

In ancient times the root of a *banyan* tree (namely, the *warin-gin* tree in Indonesia, see below) was stretched from a place called Ruvoahan, a few miles south of the village, to reach Botel Tobago Island, so that the people on both sides could easily visit each other. A woman from Katatipul found the Botel Tobago people eating the "millet" which seemed delicious. Accordingly she stole some grains and concealed these in her vagina. On her way home, she urinated and these grains were washed away. She told the villagers of this. A man from the village visited the island and was able to steal some grains by concealing them in the foreskin of his penis.

On the other hand, the Yami people of Botel Tobago Island say that seed of the "millet" was brought from the main island of Formosa by concealing it in the vagina²⁴. The staple of the Yami people is wet taro cultivated in an irrigated field, but millet is indispensable as ritual food. Linguistically and culturally the Yami are more closely affiliated with the people of the Batan Islands in the northern Philippines than with the peoples of Formosa. Even though the distance between Botel Tobago and the southern tip of Formosa is only about forty miles, they know nothing about the ethnic groups in the main island of Formosa in their folk-ethnology or folk-geography.

Tales of major type II in our classification, namely, those telling of the grains acquired from the Underworld by certain measures, are widespread especially in the central mountain area of aboriginal Formosa. Among the Bunun people living deep in the mountains of this area, this tale type is concerned mostly with rice or a kind of bean called *layan*. It deserves notice that the "millet," the most important food among the

23) Sayama & Ônishi, 285-286.

24) Sayama & Ônishi, 286-287.

Bunun, is occasionally said to be of heavenly origin as stated above and that stealing was not the means of obtaining the seed. It is true that the Bunun have a vague concept of a supreme deity or deities, but such a being is never an object of religious worship.

In Uvaxo, the northernmost village of the Iŝ-'bukun tribe, the following is told and a similar tale is also found in Take-tompo village of the same tribe²⁵.

Near Asang-'banuath, a village of the Tak-'banuath tribe, (several miles to the northeast of Uvaxo) there was a hole in the ground leading to the Underworld, the land of the Ikukun people who have a tail (*ikul*). Their staple was rice and they only inhaled the vapour of boiled rice, because they had no anus. When some people of Asang-'banuath visited the *Ikulun*, they were served with boiled rice, which was very delicious. They requested the *Ikulun* to give them the seed of rice, but the *Ikulun* refused to do so. So they stole the seed by concealing it in the foreskin of the penis.

However, the following tale of the Asang-'bukun village of the Iŝ-bukun tribe, a few miles to the south of Uvaxo, is somewhat different²⁶:

The *Ikulun* never ate food, they only sniffed at it. Their anus was very small so that they could not eat. Some Bunun people tried to steal rice seed. A man concealed it in the foreskin of his penis, but the *Ikulun* got it back by an inspection. The next time a woman concealed the rice seed in her vagina. The *Ikulun* was ashamed of inspecting her vagina, and thus the woman succeeded in stealing it.

In the Qatungulan village of the Tak-'banuath tribe mentioned, there is found a further variation²⁷:

When an ancestor of this village happened to come to a place near the village of Asang-'banuath, he found a hole leading to the Underworld where he met "dwarfs," two or three feet high. They served him with boiled rice, millet and *layan*, unknown to the Bunun people at that time. He asked the dwarfs for seeds of these crops, but they refused his request. So he stole the *layan* by concealing it in the foreskin of his penis and since then, this kind of bean has become popular among the Bunun people.

25) Sayama & Ônishi 582.

26) Ogawa & Asai, 667-668.

27) Sayama & Ônishi, 88-89.

According to another version of the Tak-'banuath tribe, the *layan* was first acquired by the same means from some remote and unknown land on the earth, while the peanut was brought from somewhere by a bird²⁸. A tale of the Take-to'do tribe of the northern Bunun relates that the *layan* was stolen by such a means from Tsiu-tsiu, a foothill town of the Formosan Chinese²⁹. Here the underworld is replaced by some place "on the earth," but not the land of the Bunun.

The tale of obtaining the grains from the Underworld is also widespread among the Tsou, the Kanakanabu, and the La'arua, the three small ethnic groups distributed in the west and the southwest of the Bunun. A tale from the La'arua is told as follows³⁰:

When a man was digging out a huge wild yam, he happened to find a subterranean road leading to the Underworld, to where he and his wife climbed down a ladder. The Underworld people were taking a meal, but they only inhaled the vapour of the food. They served the couple with various kinds of food the couple had never seen. The man concealed the "millet" in his nail, the bean in his navel and put on his head the head-gear made of the vine of sweet-potato, while his wife stuffed various things into her vagina. Consequently, her belly got so inflated that it was painful for her to climb up the ladder, and when the couple were back again on the earth, she heaved a sigh. Immediately there ensued a landslide which killed her, and only those brought back by the husband were propagated afterward among the people on earth.

The tale of the Kanakanabu is similar to this, in that the Underworld was discovered while digging out a wild yam. And when the Kanakanabu men complained of having no other food than the wild yam or such, an Underworld man generously bestowed on him the seed of the "millet" and some kinds of bean as a gift³¹. The Tufuya tribe of the Tsou people tell also that their ancestor obtained rice from the Underworld people simply as a gift³².

A more or less similar tale is found among the Rukai people

28) Sayama & Ônishi, 289-290.

29) Sayama & Ônishi, 290.

30) Ogawa & Asai, 717; Sayama & Ônishi, 582-583; and B. C., Tsou, 168-169.

31) Sayama & Ônishi, 284-285; B. C., Tsou, 206-207.

32) Sayama & Ônishi, 584.

distributed just south of the Bunun. In Taromakě, a village of the eastern Rukai, it is said that their ancestors visited the Underworld people, the people with tails, from whom they stole rice and "millet," the women concealing the former in the vagina and the men the latter in the foreskin of the penis³³. According to a tale of the Kongadavaně village of the northwestern Rukai, a married couple were able to steal "millet" and taro, by putting the former in the foreskin of the penis and the latter in the vagina³⁴.

Tales of the Underworld origin of grains are found also among the Paiwan. As far as we are informed, however, such tales are reported only from the northern Paiwan relatively near the Rukai area, but not from the southern Paiwan. A tale of the Kuraluts village (between Su-paiwan and Pulci) is as follows³⁵:

A demi-god ancestor visited the Underworld where he was given seeds of various plants. He brought these back. The bean named *pok* (equivalent to the *layan* of the Bunun) was put in his nose, the "millet" in his nail, the "red beans" (perhaps) in his ears, another kind of bean in his head-towel, and the *juris*, taro and sweet-potato in both hands.

Such a way of transportation is at least suggestive of stealing, as inferred from other tales mentioned above. In this tale, however, these were given as a gift. A version also of the Kuraluts village relates that in ancient times there was a hole leading to the Underworld where a man of this village received seeds of various grains from the subterranean people who did not eat food but only inhaled its vapour³⁶.

In the northwestern villages of the Paiwan, people often mention the name of a certain Sa-Lumuj, an ancestor or a demi-god ancestor, who obtained seed of "millet" in the Underworld. In the Pulci village it is told as follows³⁷:

(a) He visited the Underworld and acquired the "millet" and the *pok*. The next time he visited the Underworld again and did not return home for a long time. His pregnant wife went out of the house in search of her husband, and fell to her death in a hole

33) Ogawa & Asai, 351-354.

34) Ogawa & Asai, 384-385.

35) B. K. C., V-1, 174.

36) B. K. C., V-1, 178.

37) (a) B. K. C., V-1, 177-178. (b) B. K. C., V-1, 178-179.

near the village. Since then the people became mortal. (b) The pregnant wife of Sa-Lumuj pursued him when he visited the Underworld and she fell to her death in a hole, thus causing mankind to be mortal since then.

Somewhat in parallel with these there are the following tales in the Su-paiwan village³⁸:

(a) Sa-Lumuj obtained several grains of "millet" in the Underworld and began to raise these under the eaves, and when they grew, he distributed seed among the villagers. Afterward he tried to get back the millet for some unknown reason, but the villagers refused to let him do so. He got very angry and dug himself into a hole. This was the beginning of the death. (b) Somehow the people disliked Sa-Lumuj, and thus he used to shut himself in his house. He said, he had better to go to the Underworld and he really did this. Since then, mankind ceased to be immortal. (c) In ancient times people used to get various grains from the Underworld. One day a pregnant woman brought back some grains as she usually did, but when she barely arrived on the earth, she was partially buried by a landslide which suddenly occurred. Nobody dared to help her on the grounds that the pregnant woman is polluted and tabooed to touch. At last the woman died and a big tree grew from her body.

In all these tales of the northwestern Paiwan, the millet (*Setaria italica* and some others) was simply obtained from the Underworld. It was neither given as a gift nor stolen therefrom. It is interesting to note here that the "origin of agriculture" is often combined with the "origin of the death" in these tales. As we shall see later on, this point was discussed by A.E. Jensen, but he is concerned with the tales of our type III, not those of the type II telling of the Underworld origin of the grains.

As described above, the tales of the major type II exhibit a series of variations. This leads us to a classification into subtypes somewhat parallel with those of the major type I:

- II^a. Grains given as a gift by the Underworld people.
- II^b. Grains acquired without any device from the Underworld.
- II^c. Grains stolen from the Underworld.

As we have seen, subtype II^c is predominant among the Bunun and the Rukai, while the tales of the Tsou, Kananabu

38) (a) B. K. C., V-1, 173-174 and 178. (b) B. K. C., V-1, 178. (c) Sayama & Ōnishi, 378.

and La'arua are mostly of subtype II^a. Those of the north-western Paiwan would be regarded as being of subtype II^c. By inspecting the various cases referred to, however, we shall be able to suggest a series of shifts between II^a and II^b, between II^b and II^c, and between II^c and II^a, in parallel with the three subtypes of the major type I mentioned above. However, some shifts in the *loci* of the events on which the tales are focused make it hard to classify the tales concerned, even with regard to the major type. Above, we referred to a tale of the Take-to'do tribe of the Bunun in which the *layan* bean is said to have been stolen from a foothill town of the Formosan Chinese. Because we know that the tale of subtype II^c is widespread among the Bunun, we regard the Take-to'do tale as a variant of subtype II^c, notwithstanding the *locus* of the tale is a "remote land," not the Underworld. Otherwise, we shall be at a loss as to whether to classify this tale with the subtype I^c or with the subtype II^c. Meanwhile, the two tales of the Saisyat people on the origin of rice cited above are hard to classify, the *loci* being "near the river" and "from the earth after a landslide."

On the other hand, there may be suggested in some cases a combination of the two motifs of two types, even though the main emphasis be more or less obliterated. In the third tale from the Su-paiwan village cited above, it is said that on her way from the Underworld a pregnant woman was partially buried by a landslide and after she died, a big tree grew from her body. This is suggestive of a combination of the type II and type III. In the case of the La'arua tale described above, however, when the couple was back again on the earth from the Underworld, the woman heaved a sigh, causing a sudden landslide which killed her, and only those seeds brought by the man were planted. In this connection, we may refer here to the following tale from the Katatipul village of the Puyuma people³⁹:

Once there were a couple and two children. The people suffered from drought and famine and they had to fetch water far deep in the Underworld which they could reach through a very narrow passage. When the couple went there, the wife was pregnant. The passage was so narrow that her body got stuck somewhere on the way to the Underworld. Because their parents did not return

39) Ogawa & Asai, 324-327.

home, the two children went down the passage in search of them. When they found the mother, she gave them the *zazēmēng* (a bird similar to the quail), the seed of the *siak* (translated as the pumpkin), and other things. The mother said to them: "When the *zazēmēng* flaps its wings, the granary will be filled by millet (*Setaria italica*) and the water vessel with water. When the *siak* grows from the seed, take and cut open only the flat-shaped fruits from which you will obtain (various kinds of) grain." And indeed the grains came out of the flat-shaped fruits. The next day several kinds of animals came out of the round-shaped fruits of the *siak* left in the field and ravaged the grains in the village. The people drove the animals to the mountain and these were the ancestors of the wild boar and deer. Some animals wanted to remain in the village and became pigs.

Though the tale does not clearly mention the origin of grains, the context seems to suggest this. Moreover, we may find in this tale something in common with the La'arua tale on the one hand and with the third tale of the Su-paiwan village on the other: the derivation of grains from the Underworld and a pregnant woman (or a woman with a belly inflated) being buried and killed. In their general outlook, these tales are classified with type II, but there seems still to be something latently reminiscent of type III.

The tales of the major type III are rare in aboriginal Formosa except among the Ami people who tell these in relation to the origin of tobacco, the betel nut (areca nut), and the betel pepper vine. Among the Ami, the Puyuma, the Rukai, the Paiwan and the Yami, but not among the peoples of the central and northern mountains, the betel nut and the leaf of the betel pepper vine are chewed together with the lime powder, as it is widely found in southeast Asia. Tobacco is said to have grown from the grave of a girl who committed suicide because she was unable to get a mate⁴⁰. In a version of Varangau, a village of the southern Ami, it was from the grave of a girl who also committed suicide, but for being predeceased by her fiancé. Before her death she advised her parents to smoke the leaves of the plant growing from her grave so that they could comfort themselves⁴¹. In a tale of the Kiwit village, central Ami, the girl is replaced by a husband who wanted to comfort his wife

40) B. C., Ami, 282-283, and Sayama & Ônishi, 292-294.

41) B. C., Ami-Puyuma, 76, and Sayama & Ônishi, 294-295.

whom he predeceased⁴². In another version in the same village, two varieties of tobacco are said to have emerged from the graves of a brother and a sister who committed incest and killed themselves after being scolded by their parents⁴³. In the Vataan village, also of the central Ami, it is simply said that tobacco grew from the grave of a son and the parents began to taste it⁴⁴.

The origin of the betel nut and the betel pepper vine is told in more or less similar ways. The tale of the Vataan village relates that two months after the death of a maiden, both plants emerged from her grave, and it was her mother who tasted them for the first time⁴⁵. In Morotsan, a hamlet of the Pair'asun village of the central Ami, it is said that an adulterous shamaness and shaman committed suicide after their having been beaten by the husband of the shamaness. The shamaness transformed into the betel nut tree and the shaman into the betel pepper vine which still twined itself around the betel nut tree⁴⁶. According to a tale of the northern Ami, an adulterous wife along with her sweetheart committed suicide because she was ashamed of being scolded by her husband and a betel nut tree and betel pepper vine grew from their grave, the latter twining itself around the former⁴⁷. In a tale of the Kiwit village, a wife predeceasing her husband suggested he comfort himself by chewing the betel nut which would grow from her grave⁴⁸. The report of this tale adds that "ordinary rice (not the glutinous rice) was derived from the (her) eyebrow." But the description is too simple to lead us to a further discussion.

The tale of the "millet" originating from a woman, but not from the woman killed, is found in the Kiwit village⁴⁹, possibly suggesting a variant of the type III:

A couple of ancestral deities along with a son and a daughter descended from heaven to a place named Taurayan. There came

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- 42) B. C., Ami, 84.
 - 43) Sayama & Ônishi, 292.
 - 44) B. C., Ami, 214.
 - 45) B. C., Ami, 214.
 - 46) B. C., Ami, 111.
 - 47) Sayama & Ônishi, 380.
 - 48) B. C., Ami, 84.
 - 49) B. C., Ami, 1-3.

a huge tidal wave. The two deities barely escaped to heaven by climbing up a ladder, but the two children drifted to the peak of Mount Tsirangasan with a boat-shaped mortar. They married each other to become the ancestors of the Ami people. One day the face of the sister swelled and her ears felt itchy inside. When she scratched there came out grains of millet.

Finally, the following tale of the Take-vatan tribe is also suggestive of the type III, though such a tale is exceptional among the Bunun people⁵⁰:

Once they buried a corpse with the vine. There sprouted a strange kind of vine from the grave. The people dug out some tubers which were delicious. This was the origin of the sweet-potato.

As we have seen, the tales of both type I and II are widespread in aboriginal Formosa, while those suggestive of type III are found almost exclusively among the Ami on the eastern shore. It is to be noted here that type II is predominant among the peoples of the central mountains, along with the Rukai and the northern Paiwan adjoining in the south. As far as our information is concerned, this tale type is not yet found in Japan proper and the Ryukyus.

50) B. C., Bunun, 222.

M A L A Y S I A

In Malaysia, including the Philippines, Indonesia and a few adjacent areas, we find our three major types of the tales. Indonesia especially abounds in the reports concerned. In dealing with these, we shall divide the whole of Malaysia geographically into several parts, the division being made simply for convenience sake.

Celebes and the Banggai Archipelago

In his voluminous work on the West Toraja, Kruyt classified the relevant tales into the following types: a) rice originating from the human body; b) rice coming from the moon; c) rice coming from heaven; d) rice being stolen from heaven; and e) rice being found somewhere on the earth¹. The type *a* corresponds to our type III and the *b*, *c*, and *d* to our type I, while the type *e* deserves special discussion.

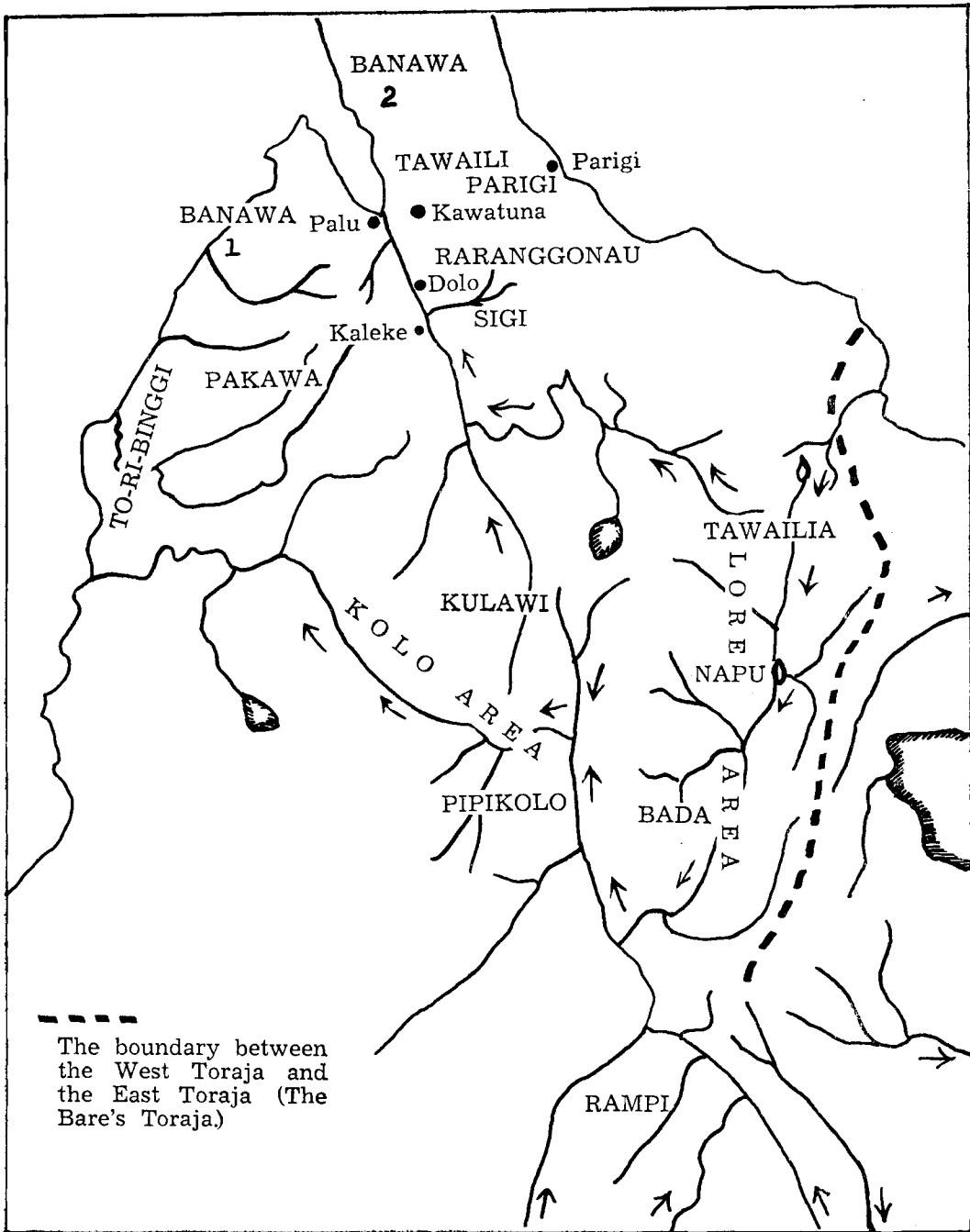
*Type a*². The tale of rice and other crops originating from the corpse of a child, often one of seven children, is far more widespread among the West Toraja peoples than other types of tables. The following tale from the Pakawa region exemplifies this:

Once there lived a couple along with seven daughters. The couple cultivated a patch of land and ordered their daughters to sow rice. Being ignorant of how to do this, they pounded the rice. The mother got angry and abused them. The eldest daughter rolled herself over the slope of the cultivated land until her body was full of cuts and blood came out from all sides of her body. Within an interval of seven nights, all the other daughters did this one after another. When the youngest daughter did this, she cried and finally she disappeared under the trunk of a tree left standing in the slash-and-burn field. After a while, various kinds of food plants sprouted from the ground where she disappeared: glutinous rice from her flesh, ordinary rice from her bones, the black variety of

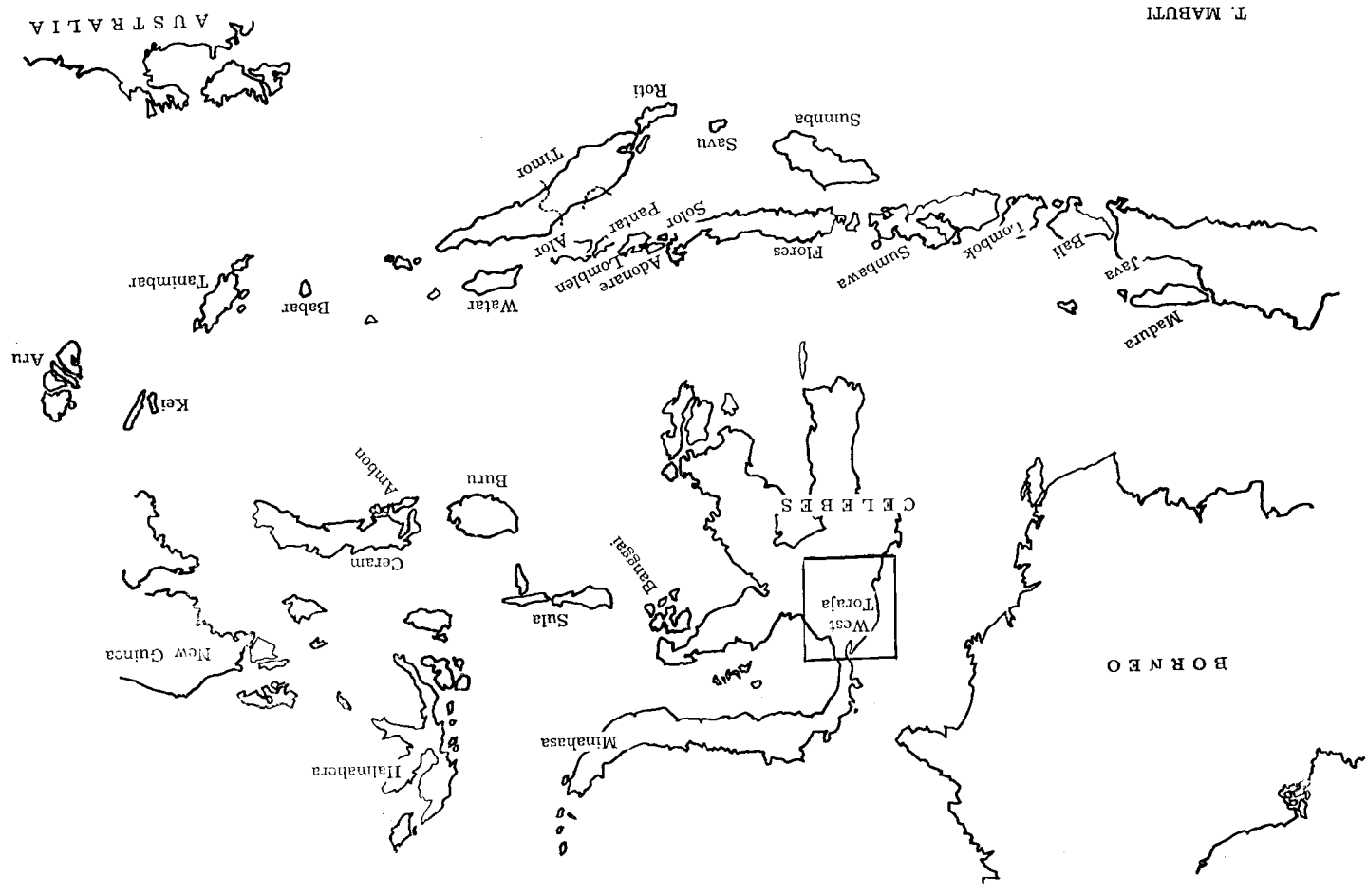
1) Kruyt 1938, IV, 4-16.

2) Kruyt 1938, IV, 4-5.

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rice from her liver, and the red variety of rice from her blood. And from her teeth came out maize and from her head the coconut.

The narrative suggests that the "more original" rice did exist already before this primordial event. This point may not be logical, but "mytho-logical." In another version from Pakawa, the seven children consist of four sons and three daughters, the names of the latter being Nabi Kalau, Nabi Mohama and Nabi Mosee. The last two names seem to represent a superficial influence of the Islamism on this region. The word Nabi primarily implies the prophet, but it often means the Creator or some deity. Here it is Nabi Mosee, the youngest daughter, who rolls herself over the cultivated land. Among the Raranggonau people it is told in the following way:

Nabi married a woman Bae Bula, "a full moon," who came out of a stone. They had two sons and five daughters. One of the daughters (perhaps the eldest one) rolled herself over the cultivated land seven times, and after three days various kinds of food plants grew there: from her brain rice, from her fingers the banana, from her teeth maize, from her muscles the yam, from the hair on her skin the palms, from the hair of her head the taro, and so on.

While retaining the motif that someone rolled oneself over the slope of the ground resulting in the appearance of food plants, a tale from the To ri Binggi people refers only to a woman named Danu. In a tale from the Kanggone people, Danu was a son of Sawerigading, a famous hero, to whom we shall refer later on. Danu and his sister ate the rice which their father ordered them to sow and they were expelled from the house. Danu requested his sister to roll herself over the slope in the way mentioned. Among some of the Sigi people, it is told as follows: A mother had beaten her son to death and while dragging his body, his hair was pulled out and his teeth were broken out of his mouth. Rice grew from his hair and his teeth became maize.

In the Kaili group, that is, those peoples of the downstream area of the Palu-Gumbasa valley and of adjacent regions near the northern shore such as Banawa, Tawaili, Kawatuna and Parigi, mention is made almost everywhere of the seven children. In Kaleke, the victim was the youngest among the seven sons who, following his request, cut his throat and rolled his body over the ground thus giving rise to the rice. In Parigi, it was the fourth of the seven sons, while in Palu the youngest among

the seven children was a maiden and she disappeared in the ground. In Banawa, it is simply said that the rice grew from a child who was buried in the ground.

In the deep mountain zone including the Koro area and the upperstream region of the Palu valley, the tale of seven daughters or children is found only in one village of the Kulawi people: The youngest among these sisters rolled herself over the ground and rice grew from her blood sprinkled there. In the two villages of the Koro area, it is said that the mother, not the daughter, rolled herself over the slope of the cultivated land and rice grew from her corpse.

In the Lore area, the tale of rice originating from the human body is hardly ever found except among the Besoa, south of the Napu, who have been in contact with the Sigi people. There are the following variants:

- 1) The youngest among the three sisters ran over the cultivated land and disappeared in the ground. After five nights there grew maize and after seven nights, rice.
- 2) Having committed incest, a brother and a sister hid themselves in a cave where they were transformed into gold. Meanwhile the father was transformed into maize and the mother into rice.
- 3) A wealthy nobleman was anxious about his people suffering from shortage of food. He ran in circles on the cultivated land and he disappeared in the ground where there appeared various kinds of food plants.

In some regions of West Toraja, stars come to the front in the tale concerned. In Kawatuna, the seven children are said to be the Pleiads and one of them became rice. It is also said that the seven stalks of rice which emerged from the human body were the sisters of the Pleiads. A tale from Sigi tells of a wife becoming rice and the husband the girdle of the Orion. In the Koro area, the following tale is fairly prevalent: The Pleiad was originally a woman who ordered her son to cultivate seven hills and she sowed rice while rolling herself over the slopes. These tales suggest a fusion of type *a* and type *c*, though the main points of emphasis seem to be more or less obliterated on each side.

We shall add here the following two tales which seem to be the variants of the type *a*. In a village of Sigi, people say that rice was found growing in the coffin of a prince when it was opened. In a village of the Raranggone region it is told as follows: A princely maiden hid herself in a bush and died there

because she was ashamed of her being pregnant without a husband. The people brought her corpse to the village where it was put into a coffin and they fenced the place where her corpse was found. Afterward various kinds of food plants grew from the fenced place.

*Type b*³. Among the West Toraja it is frequently said that rice originated in the moon, and the mystic relation between the moon and agriculture is apparent in their beliefs in various ways. However, the relevant tales reported by Kruyt are relatively few. In some region of the Koro area, it is said that the rice goddess lived originally in the moon and afterward she descended to the peak of a mountain, the site being different according to the localities of the informants. The Napu people tell of a *waringin* tree (banian or banyan, a sort of *Ficus*) in the moon bearing fruits of various food plants. It was due to the break of its branch by a small bird *tekuri* that these fruits were strewn on the earth. As we shall see further below, the *waringin* and the bird often play an important part in tales and beliefs relevant to rice among the West Toraja.

Type c. The tales of rice coming from heaven is also widespread, and some of them simply tell that rice dropped from heaven onto the earth. In a village of Napu, they tell of two heads of rice dropped from heaven, each accompanied by a grain of maize. In the Kore area, the original rice is said to have dropped at a place named Paena⁴.

In other tales, it was the heavenly god or his equivalent who brought rice, either directly or indirectly. In the Pakawa region this tale is⁵.

A primordial woman married a man from heaven and gave birth to two sons. One of them remained unmarried and another had seven daughters. Nabi, the heavenly god, gave the youngest daughter two coconut-shells filled with rice. Her uncle made a long trip and he gave one coconut-shell to the Pakawa people and another to the people of Palu, the former being filled with dry rice and the latter with wet rice.

Above we mentioned the name of Sawerigading, who plays

3) Kruyt 1938, IV, 9-10 and II, 376-377.

4) Kruyt 1938, IV, 11.

5) Kruyt 1938, IV, 5-6.

an important role in the origin myths of the Buginese, who are distributed here and there along the sea-coast of central Celebes, besides in their homeland in southwestern Celebes. His name, along with other cultural traits, seems to have been diffused to West Toraja. It is said rather intermittently among the West Toraja that Sawerigading brought rice from heaven. In a tale of the Sigi region, Sawerigading and his sister are said to have climbed down the rainbow from heaven to earth and brought various kinds of food plants.

A tale from Bada runs roughly as follows⁶:

Ala Tala, the creator as well as the heavenly god, let two human couples live on the earth. Ala Tala and Wuali (the chief of the earth spirits) agreed with each other not to give their food such as rice to the human beings, and for seven days the people ate no other food than the cassava, the banana, and leaves. Wuali became compassionate because the men got lean and he gave them rice. Ala Tala became very angry about this, but it was too late.

In Bada, there is a variant of this tale⁷:

Once there lived two men and two women, and they had no other food than taro, yam, cassava and such. There came two men, Ala Tala and Uali (equivalent to Wuali in the above tale). The former went to heaven and the latter dwelled on a *waringin* tree. Before his going to heaven, Ala Tala requested Uali not to give the people such things as rice because he had already given them other kinds of food. Out of sympathy with the people relying on poor food, Uali gave them maize and subsequently also rice, and each time he taught them how to cultivate the plant. Ala Tala came down to the earth and got very angry about this. Before going again to heaven, Ala Tala said to Uali: "The *waringin* tree, your dwelling place, will be cut down by people who cultivate the field for these plants." Accordingly, Uali said to the people: "Because I have provided you with food, you should never lay out your field where a *waringin* tree stands." Thus, even today people dare not cut down the *waringin* tree.

In another tale from Bada, it is told as follows⁸:

The "Old Man" in heaven gave rice to the people on earth, but they cultivated only the ground in the bush and did not know how

6) Woensdregt 1925, 121.

7) Woensdregt 1928, 127-129.

8) Woensdregt 1925, 125-126.

to lay out a wet rice-field. There were seven relatives, all females (or sisters), and a female orphan, also a relative. Being ill-treated by the seven women, the orphan lived alone far away from the village. She happened to find seven plants of rice which grew rapidly and increased in quantity. She saw the rice was harvested and put into a big granary in a miraculous way. This was done by Buriro, the rice deity, who married the orphan, and what he cultivated was wet rice. Meanwhile, the dry rice cultivation of the seven women failed miserably and they became obedient to the orphan whom they once ill-treated. Since then, people began to lay out wet rice-fields.

We may add here a tale from Rampi⁹:

Ala Tala regularly sent people pounded rice, but they happened to find a grain of unhulled rice which they sowed. Seeing this, Ala Tala ceased to send rice to the people, but the bird dropped the rice on its way to the earth. Ala Tala punished the bird by striking its tail and since then the wagtail wags its tail all the time. Then, Ala Tala sent the so-called "rice-bird" as his messenger, but it strewed the grains on the ground and picked at them. Ala Tala punished it by twisting its neck, and since then its crop is set behind its neck. Subsequently, Ala Tala sent the wagtail again and this time it brought the rice directly to the people. Thus, the people laid out wet rice-fields for the first time on a mountain named Kaliwamba.

In Gimpu village of the Koro area, there is a tale about rice also brought by some bird. While carrying the rice from heaven, a bird named *popore* dropped it in the sea. Next the parrot brought rice, which people planted on the earth¹⁰. In the description by Kruyt, however, we are not certain about whether the bird simply brought rice to the earth or if it did so following the order of the heavenly god. This is also the case partially with the following tales in which a given animal, not a bird, is said to have brought the rice¹¹:

1) In another tale from Rampi, it was a mouse who brought seven grains of rice from heaven. As a reward for this service, the mouse may eat a part of the harvest. 2) In a tale of Sigi, it was a mouse who bit off seven heads of rice at the farm of the heavenly god and dropped them on a mountain in the Sigi region.

9) Woensdregt 1925, 128.

10) Kruyt 1938, IV, 12.

11) Kruyt 1938, IV, 11-12.

3) In another tale from Sigi, a heavenly princess, who came down to the earth from a certain tree, sent a mouse to heaven to fetch the rice because she could not eat the root crops or leaves on which ordinary people depended at that time. 4) A tale of Napu tells of a cat whose master had neither seen nor eaten rice. The cat ascended to heaven and asked the Creator for rice. The Creator summoned the water-buffalo and the wagtail. The mission of the former was to bring hulled rice to the people on the earth and that of the latter was to provide the "subterranean people" with unhulled rice. On the way they exchanged the rice mentioned, and thus, the people on the earth have had to hull rice by pounding it.

Type d. The tale of the rice stolen from heaven is also widespread in West Toraja. Sometimes it is told in connection with the seven maidens of heaven. In some tales, a man found them taking a bath in his fish-pond. In other ones, he saw them stealing his *bailo* (a sort of millet, *Sorghum vulgare*) with which they rubbed themselves "to make their body strong." In any case, such an event led him to visit heaven and to steal rice which he saw there for the first time¹². A tale from Bada illustrates this:

Parents died leaving two sons whom bad people deprived of all property excepting a fish-pond. The younger son went to the pond where he saw seven maidens from heaven. Along with them, he climbed up the rainbow and it took seven nights to arrive at heaven. In heaven he found rice which he felt delicious, but the "owner of the rice" did not permit him to bring the rice to earth. He stole a handful of rice by putting it in his mouth and he tried to return to the earth by climbing down the rainbow. The owner of the rice pursued and caught him on the rainbow. Endeavouring with all his might to escape, he got wounded in his legs and he had to stay in heaven for a while. Then, he concealed a handful of rice in his wounds which the owner of the rice failed to detect. He could return to earth where he raised the rice.

In a variant of this tale, stealing rice was repeated in various ways, the rice being concealed in the nails, in the ears, and so on, all the efforts failing in the end. At last a man concealed some grains in the split made by yaws on the sole of his foot and he succeeded in bringing rice to the earth. In a tale from Palu, a man concealed the grains in his turban, coat, shoulder-

12) Kruyt 1938, IV, 13. But no mention was made about the locality where the tale is told.

towel and so on, but each time these were discovered. Finally, he put them in his trousers where the heavenly people were ashamed to investigate¹³.

The following tales are more or less simple. In a tale from the Koro area, a man stole rice in heaven to where he climbed up an iron chain. In Kulawi, it is said that upon the request of a woman the heavenly gods gave her the chaff of rice because they thought that no rice would grow from it, but there was attached a couple of grains of rice inside the husks and from these the rice grew on earth¹⁴.

In the above tales, the reluctance or unwillingness of the heavenly god to give the rice is often suggested. Kruyt refers to the following tales the locality of which he does not mention, but it might be from some region of the Lore area¹⁵:

When the heavenly gods came to know that people on earth raised rice stolen from heaven, they came down to earth to retrieve it. The people did not allow the gods to do so and there ensued a battle. When the tide was turning against the people, they threw water mixed with pepper on the gods who became blind and retreated. Moreover, the people cut off the ladder which led to heaven.

The following tale from Napu is a combination of two stories¹⁶: stealing rice from the heaven (type *e*) and growing rice from the human body (type *a*):

One of the heavenly gods wanted to have a feast, and he invited a maiden to come to pound the rice. She stole only one grain of rice, but the god fully counted the number of grains. When she was on her way home, the god missed the grain which he took from her. When the god employed her again for the same work, she swallowed a grain. The god missed a grain, but this time he failed to find it. The god cursed her by saying that she would shortly die. When she returned home, she said to her parents: "I shall die soon because the god cursed me. When you see something growing from my grave, it is rice which you should raise."

*Type e*¹⁷. Under the heading "the origin of the rice being

13) Woensdregt 1925, 118-120.

14) Kruyt 1938, IV, 14.

15) Kruyt 1938, IV, 14.

16) Kruyt 1938, IV, 13-14.

17) Kruyt 1938, IV, 14-16.

looked for on the earth" Kruyt enumerates several tales. They say simply that people found rice sprouting along the roadside or near a pond, or obtained it from an unidentified stranger. In Bada there is a "realistic" tale that the original rice was brought from the To Mori, in the seashore region of the central east Celebes.

The following tale from a village of the Koro area is somewhat unique.

A hunter went to a small lake in the deep mountain. On the water of the lake he found some plant which he had never seen. He made a raft and approached the plant. It was seven stalks of rice with ripe heads, and he cut off these and went ashore. When he barely landed, the water of the lake suddenly rose and pursued him. As the price for the plant, he made a present of a doll made of the fibre of the sugar palm and some bark-cloth to the deity of the lake, and the water ceased to pursue him.

In this tale, the rice seems to be related to the water, and this might suggest some tales from Java as referred to later.

Meanwhile, the following tale from Bada¹⁸ suggests a link between rice and heaven, notwithstanding that it says simply that the original rice was found on a tree:

A hunter happened to find seven stalks of rice on a *waringin* tree. In the dream, Ala Tala and Buriro instructed him how to deal with this plant.

This tale is comparable to the following tale from Kawatuna¹⁹, which is in fact a variant of the type c:

Seven stalks of rice sprouted from the grains which dropped from heaven onto a *waringin* tree. These were watched by a mouse. A cat tried to catch the mouse in vain. Instead, the cat brought the stalks of rice which he divided among seven villages.

Not only in the area of West Toraja but also in various parts of Indonesia, the *waringin* tree is regarded as representing the link between heaven and earth, and this is variously reflected in tales and rituals. The tale from Bada mentioned just above might be a derivative of a somewhat more elaborate tale, presumably approximating that from Kawatuna.

18) Woensdregt 1925, 122.

19) Kruyt 1938, IV, 10.

All these tales from the West Toraja were arranged in conformity with the classification of Kruyt, though with some modification so that the arrangement will be more easily coordinated with our classification by which we have dealt with the tales from Japan proper, the Ryukyus, and aboriginal Formosa. It is evident that type *a* of Kruyt corresponds to our type III and type *d* to our subtype I^c. Kruyt differentiated type *b* from type *c* by whether the rice came from heaven or from the moon. While it seems true that an intimate relation between the moon and agriculture is emphasized in the beliefs of the West Toraja, the tales of type *b* are relatively few, at least as far as the report of Kruyt is concerned. As we have seen above, there are other tales in which the stars, particularly the Pleiads, come to the front. Kruyt classified these with type *a*, that is, the tale type of rice originating from the human body. This seems reasonable. When classifying such tales as we are now concerned with, we have to take into consideration not only the *locus* of the primordial event, but also the process by which people acquired rice or other food plants. An inspection of all the tales enumerated under the headings of type *b* and type *c* reveals that there are at least two kinds with regard to the process mentioned: (1) The heavenly god or his equivalent, either directly or indirectly, gives people the rice as a gift. (2) Rice happens to drop from heaven onto the earth, or is brought by some bird or animal, irrespective of the intention of the heavenly god. The first corresponds to our subtype I^a and the second to our subtype I^b, tentatively leaving aside the distinction between "heaven" and the "moon."

In some cases, however, we are not certain as to whether a given tale represents a fusion of or the shift between subtype I^a and subtype I^b. In some other cases, a similar situation will also be suggested with regard to the relation between subtypes I^a and I^b on the one hand and the subtype I^c on the other.

We have previously observed, particularly in the tales of Japan proper and the Ryukyus, that a bird played an important role in fetching some grain from heaven to the earth. Here too the bird often represents an important figure. It deserves notice that dry rice and wet rice are of different origin in some tales of the West Toraja. It is sometimes suggested that root crops such as the taro and the yam precede rice as the food of people. In various chapters of his five volume publication on the West

Toraja, Kruyt tried to show proofs by which he postulated four serial stages of food culture among the West Toraja, characterized respectively by (1) the root crops such as the taro and the yam, (2) Job's tears (*Coix Lacryma-Jobi* L.)²⁰, (3) dry rice with the slash-and-burn cultivation, and lastly (4) wet rice accompanied by irrigation. The royal or princely families, found here and there among the West Toraja, are the descendants of the immigrants who represented the last cultural stream and introduced wet rice cultivation. They seem to have come from the south, that is, the land of the Buginese or the regions imbued with Buginese culture, in the pre-Islamic period. The royal or princely families along with wet rice cultivation and some other cultural traits have left many more imprints in the Kaili area mentioned above than in the interior regions.

It is interesting to note here that, according to Kruyt, almost all the tales are of type *a* in the Kaili area, while the other types of tale coexist with those of type *a* in more interior regions. Moreover, as we have said, the tales of type *a* are rather rare and those of types *b*, *c*, and *d*, that is, those tales ascribing the origin of rice to the heaven, are more predominant in the interior regions. Such a situation would be comparable to what is found in Ceram Island on the one hand and what is in East Flores and adjacent islands on the other, as will be stated.

In his article of an earlier date²¹, Kruyt tried to "explain" the tales of rice being stolen from heaven (type *d*) in the light of the contact between the indigenous people and the later immigrants who brought rice culture. The latter were regarded as being of heavenly descent and in the beginning they were reluctant to share the precious crop with the indigenous people. According to Kruyt, it is possible to draw such a deduction by referring to the wide distribution of the tale that people had stolen rice from heavenly people. In the paragraphs just preceding this discussion, however, Kruyt somewhat emphatically points out the contrast in religious restrictions and beliefs between dry rice cultivation and wet rice cultivation. Accordingly,

20) According to Kruyt, the Job's tears culture left a relatively insignificant imprint on the Toraja people. The term for the Job's tears is often used for maize in later days. This is also the case in central Formosa.

21) Kruyt 1924, 35-36.

we are not sure whether his discussion is concerned with wet rice culture or with rice culture as a whole, particularly in contrast with root crop culture. If the latter is the case, as it seems probable, his perspective at least partially parallels that of Ad. E. Jensen to which we shall refer in the later part of this article.

In the still earlier publication about the East Toraja²² where wet rice culture was introduced half a century ago by the Dutch Government, Kruyt reports only two tales. The Bare'e Toraja, namely the East Toraja, tell that a couple, their ancestors, found rice growing on a *waringin* tree fallen on the ground. In the Sausu region it is said that a strayed hunter happened to find a small patch of ground where rice was raised by a man living alone. But the people do not tell how the hunter came to get the rice. The first tale might be a derivative of the type *d* or our subtype I^b. The second one, however, is hard to classify. Kruyt also reports here the following tale from the Kulawi region of West Toraja, not of East Toraja, which he seems to have failed to publish in his later work on West Toraja mentioned above:

The primordial couple of mankind descended from heaven to Mount Kadudua in the Rampi region. It happened that the wife gave birth to a daughter and everywhere the blood of the wife dropped, there grew rice. The rice was soon eaten up. Remembering that the rice came out of her blood, the husband killed his wife. He strewed her blood on the earth and the blood changed into rice.

In parts of Celebes other than the Toraja area, our information available here is rather scarce. Among the Tontemboan people of *Minahasa*, northeastern Celebes, we find a tale subtype I^{c23}:

A man went to heaven to steal rice which he concealed in his hair, but it was discovered by the heavenly people. The next time he succeeded in stealing rice, because he concealed the grains in the notches which he made in the horny skin (callous) of his leg.

The *Buginese* of southwestern Celebes are pious Moham-

22) Adriani & Kruyt, II, 230.

23) Woensdregt 1925, 118 footnote, and De Vries, I, 144-145 and 367. Both authors refer here to Schwarz, J. A. T.: *Tontemboansche teksten*, Leiden 1907, 342-348.

medans, but they still retain a lot of cultural elements dating back to the pre-Islamic or even pre-Hindu period. They have a quantity of elaborate myths of origin. With regard to the origin of grains, however, the tales available are related very vaguely. We introduce here the following three tales²⁴:

a) The pair of Supreme Gods in heaven, Patoto' and Datu-Palingè', had nine sons, the eldest being Batara Guru. The pair of Supreme Gods in the underworld (Paratiwi or Peretiwi), Guru-ri-Sëllëng and "Sinau-Toja" (= "the one overshadowed by the water", that is, the one living under the water), had nine daughters, the eldest being We-Nyi'li-timo' who is said to have come out of the foam of the surge. Patoto' was a twin brother of Sinau-Toja and Datu-Palingè' a twin sister of Guru-ri-Sëllëng, while Patoto' was a cousin of Guru-ri-Sëllëng (thus, indicating the sister exchange between cousins). The family council of these gods decided to send Batara Guru onto the earth and to let him marry We-Nyi'li-timo'. Patoto' gave Batara Guru various kinds of plants, including rice, and having put him in a bamboo cylinder, let Batara Guru descend down the rainbow to earth. When he had barely arrived on earth, he dropped the areca-palm which changed into a snake and other animals and the rice, into birds. After seven days the bamboo case burst open and Batara Guru came out of it. Immediately he was invited by Guru-ri-Sëllëng to come to see his bride in the underworld. He was told that the bride could be on the earth when it would become inhabitable. Thus, Batara Guru went again to heaven where he consulted with his father, Patoto'. His Father sent seven axes by which to cut open the jungle, and then, the seeds of maize and millet (*Setaria italica*). Moreover, Patoto' let the palace and other things descend onto the earth. The land where the residence of Batara Guru was built is called Luwu, along the northern shore of the Gulf of Bone (the cradle-land of a number of Buginese dynasties in later days). When everything was ready, We-Nyi'li-timo' came out of the sea in the east.

b) Sangkuruwira, the heavenly god, and Guruiseleng, the underworld god, agreed with each other to create human beings on earth. For this, the heavenly god had to let his son go down from heaven and the underworld god had to let his daughter go up from the underworld, so that they would meet and marry each other on earth. The heavenly god once killed his son, Batara Guru, and put him in a bamboo cylinder, while the god let Batara Guru bring a lump of soil. On his way to the earth, Batara Guru jumped out of the bamboo as a living man. He threw the soil in all the directions, giving rise to the land. Then the heavenly god sent seven male

24) (a) Friedericy, 137-140. (b) Kruyt 1906, 467-468 and Fischer 1929, 41. (c) Kern 1954, 10-11.

slaves to help the farming work of his son. Meanwhile, Nyilitimo, the daughter of the underworld, came up from the underworld along with her female slaves. Batara Guru married Nyilitimo and the male slaves married female slaves to become the ancestors of human beings.

c) After the hills and the valleys were covered by rice plants and Batara Guru ascended again to heaven, the Creator, the Supreme God in heaven, said that he would send a rice-knife and a *gëllang* (the word not to be identified). As long as Batara Guru longed for the daughter (perhaps, *We-Nyi'li-timo'*), he was unable to eat rice but millet (*Andropogon sorghum* Brot. and *Setaria italica*). In heaven, La Masinaka of Pinasumpu was charged with the task of descending to the earth and of teaching people how to cut rice stalks with the rice-knife.

Among these three tales, the first and the second do not tell us clearly of the origin of grains, though there seems to be suggested the heavenly origin of food plants. It deserves notice that Batara Guru was once killed by his father, the heavenly god, in the second tale. But, the tale has nothing directly to do with our type III. The third tale is presumably a fragment of a long story. Not being informed of the whole plot, we can understand this tale only partially. In any case, all these three tales suggest our subtype I^a.

In B a n g g a i Archipelago, adjacent to eastern Celebes, various kinds of root crops, above all the taro and the yam, are the staple of the natives, but there are found tales similar to those of the main island of Celebes concerning the origin of rice. Here it is said that one of the seven children of Nabi was killed and cut into pieces from which the yam grew. The taro is called the "crop of the spirits," and it is said simply that people once found the taro in a wild state and transplanted it onto cultivated ground. In West Peling, Peling being the main island of the Archipelago, the taro is said to have been the staple of the people already when the yam was unknown to them. Moreover, the taro is said to have been created simultaneously with primordial men at Mount Tokolong. In East Peling, however, people assert that the yam is older than the taro²⁵.

25) Dormeier, 8.

Borneo, Malaya and Sumatra

With regard to Borneo, we can find here tales of sub-types I^a and I^c and of type III.

Among the Dayak tribes distributed along the Baram River which in its down stream forms a natural boundary between Sarawak and the sultanate of Brunei, we find the following tales²⁶:

In the beginning there were two large birds who created all the rivers, the great sea, the earth, and the sky.... Out of a tree called *kumpong* which has a strong fibre and exudes a deep red sap, they fashioned a man and a woman. Then the two birds devised the yam, wild tapioca, taro and other edible tubers.

Though this tale only deals with root crops, a tale from southern Borneo refers to the origin of rice²⁷:

In the beginning there was nothing but water. The God Hatallah created Naga Pasui in the middle of the water. The son of the god looked down and found two big "earth-eggs" on the *naga*, and he came down to break them, from which there appeared a man and a woman who married each other. The woman gave birth to seven boys and seven girls, but they were without souls, that is, without life. The son of the god charged the man with the task of fetching souls from the *naga* for the fourteen children. Before he left home, he instructed his wife to stay behind the curtain of the bed all the time during his absence. But feeling warm, she lifted the curtain to take a bath. Because of this, a gust of wind came into the curtain and into the children who were going to live and to cry. The result was that the souls of mankind are nothing but wind and men must die. The anger of the father who returned was directed toward the innocent and unfortunate babies whom he threw away by pairs and they became the spirits who dominate the world. Only one pair of babies was left to become the ancestors of the human beings. The God Hatallah provided them with fishes and birds, but refused to give them rice. The son of the god resolved to steal rice for the sake of human beings.

26) Münsterberger, 185-186. Here the author refers to Furness, W. H.: *Folklore in Borneo*, Wallingford 1899, 10-13.

27) Münsterberger, 226-227. The author did not mention the name of the ethnic group among whom the tale is found, though it seems to be the Oloh Ngaju.

In this tale there seems to be a double aspect, reminiscent of subtype I^a on the one hand and of subtype I^c on the other.

The tales of type III are reported from North Borneo. For instance, we have here the following two tales of the Dusun people, from the Tempassuk village and from the Timpalang village respectively²⁸:

a) Once a man and his wife killed the baby whom they cut into pieces and they buried these in the ground. From the blood grew rice, from the head the coconut, from the fingers the betel nut, from the legs Indian corn, from the skin the gourd-vine, from the throat the sugar-cane, from the knees the taro, and from the rest of the body others things good to eat.

b) In primeval times there was no earth, but only water. In the middle of the water there was a large stone which opened its mouth and out of it there appeared a man named Kinharingan and a woman named Munsumundok. They pounded up the rock and mixed it with the earth they obtained from the spirit of small-pox and thus, they made the land. The man made the Dusun people and the woman, the sun, and they made the moon and stars. They had a son and a daughter. Kinharingan's people wept because there was nothing to eat, so the couple killed their daughter and they cut her body into pieces. From different portions of her body there grew all things good to eat, including the coconut which came out of her head. All the animals also arose from pieces of her body.

Another tale also from the Dusun people is more or less similar to this²⁹:

A female deity Kinorohingan and a male deity Yuman lived at first in the sky. The female deity made a man out of the termites' nest and then she made a woman. The male deity said to the female deity: "I had better bury you, for, if I do not, there will be nothing for human beings to eat." Then when the female deity had been buried, the male deity went back to the sky. From the grave of the female deity there came out various things to eat such as rice, taro, sweet-potato, coconut, onion, and also buffaloes, cattle and pigs.

28) Münsterberger, 143-146. Here the author refers to Evans, I. H. N.: "Folk Stories of the Tempassuk and Tuaran Districts, British North Borneo," *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913, 423, and *Studies in Religion, Folklore, and Custom in British North Borneo*, Cambridge 1923, 45 ff.

29) Evans 1953, 372.

In Malaya, we find again a tale of type III. Wilkinson reports the following tale³⁰:

The primordial couple of mankind, Adam and Hawa, had two sons and two daughters. They suffered from the shortage of food. Following the suggestion of the god, Adam killed a son and a daughter and cut the corpses into pieces which he strewed on the ground. Hawa inquired of Adam the whereabouts of the children, but Adam simply replied that they were in the field. After six months, the couple went to the field where they found a lot of rice heads growing. When they called the names of the slain children, all the rice flew into the house of the couple.

It is interesting to note here the following tale from the Negritos of Malaya who were primarily food-gatherers as well as hunters³¹:

There were two brothers who were snakes. They were once Negritos. The elder brother cut open his youngest child's stomach, took the blood and strewed it about. It became rice. The ears of the child became sirih-vine, its backbone sugar-cane, its head a coconut, its fingers and toes string-beans, its topknot onions, its brains lime (for chewing with tobacco, etc.), its eyes areca nut, its forearms cucumbers, its stomach a gourd, its spleen tobacco. There were two other children, a son and a daughter, the latter being the younger. The son became a white pig and the daughter a black pig.

Formerly the Malays had no rice, only the Negritos had rice. The Malays ate wild tubers. When the rice was ripe a turtle-dove came and ate it and then went to the house of a Malay king and said to the king that he ate tubers, while the bird ate the rice. The bird left a dropping on the king's threshold which contained a grain of unhusked rice, and the king had the rice grain planted. In six days it sprouted and gave much rice. That is how the Malays learned about rice. . . . Both brothers went into the earth together and came up together, forming a rainbow. The elder brother is below, as he went deeper into the earth. In the six months when rice is growing, they are always coming up to look at it. After that they are not often seen.

The first part of this tale is of type III, while the second part is to be classified with subtype I^b.

With regard to Sumatra, our information available concerning it is extremely poor, notwithstanding there are found

30) Matsumoto, 118. The author refers to Wilkinson, R. J.: *Malay Industries*. Part III, *Rice Planting*. Kuala Lumpur 1925, 21-27.

31) Evans 1937, 167-168.

a lot of tales concerning the origin of the world and human beings. While hoping more tales will be found in Sumatra which abounds in ethnographic reports, we have to be content with introducing here a few tales obtained sporadically from several regions.

First, in connection with our topic, the following tale from the Toba Batak people of northern Sumatra deserves notice³²:

Batara Guru had a son named Badia Porhas, a great magician, and twins, of which the first-born daughter was Sorbajati and the younger one Deakparujar. On the other hand, Soripada, the brother of Batara Guru, had a son named Endapati or Si Raja "Ilik" (lizard) who looked like a cameleon and was carefully hidden in a hut specially built. Batara Guru and Soripada agreed with each other to have Sorbajati marry Endapati, and the bride-price was all paid. Along with her younger sister, Sorbajati visited the village of Endapati in vain to see her future husband. Actually Endapati had more interest in the younger sister, as she put on her head a brilliant golden charm-amulet given by her brother Badia Porhas, the great magician. In her second visit, Sorbajati wore a charm-jewel obtained from Badia Porhas, but still she failed to outshine her younger sister in attracting the attention of Endapati. In the third visit, however, she happened to find a monster sitting inside the hut. Thus, she ran away to her village and declared her wish to break off the engagement. In this case, however, the bridewealth should be paid back twofold. Moreover, it would be a great shame to both families. Nevertheless, all the pressure and persuasion failed to change her mind.

She requested her brother to prepare a drum orchestra, because she wanted to dance in honour of her family. All night she danced in front of her father's house, and in the dawn the dance was at its climax. Then she stood on the balcony of her father's house and jumped violently to the ground in the middle of the village green, into which she disappeared. Later in this place there grew the sugar-palm of which the hard wood came out from her bones, the marrow from her hair, the bark from her cloth, the leaves from her hands, the sweet sap from her tears, and so on. On the other hand, Endapati too died sometime later. From his corpse, there came out bamboo and the rotan vine.

Though this tale has nothing directly to do with the origin of the grains or root-crops, it is still reminiscent of type III. The name of Batara Guru appears again in this tale. In some

32) Korn, 37-39.

origin myths of the Toba Bataks, Mulajadi na Bolon, the name of the Creator in the traditional beliefs of the people, is replaced by Batara Guru. However, we are not certain what place Batara Guru is given in this tale.

From Simalur, an offshore island southwest of Achen, we have a report of the following tale³³:

Once there were two brothers, Rahim and Rachman. Their father died and left a lot of debt. The people deprived the brothers of all the property, but the brothers still had to get out of the remaining debt. Thus, they fled from the village to the jungle where they made a patch of field. The elder brother said to the younger brother: "Let us dig a hole in the ground. Cut off my head and bury it in the hole." The younger brother was reluctant to do so, but at last he could not refuse the request of his elder brother. After having worked two or three years as a servant of someone else, the younger brother visited the place where he buried the head of his elder brother. He saw a tree growing there. He took fruit of the tree and tasted the juice and the pulp. He planted many of these fruits there, while he brought a number of them to the village where his father had lived. The villagers had never seen this kind of fruit and they found it delicious. This was the coconut. Because the coconut originated from the head of the elder brother for the benefit of the people, this could well counter-balance the debt left by the father.

According to a comment on this tale published, the tale would have been imported sometime from Acheh on the north-western tip of Sumatra. The tale of the coconut originating from a human head is widespread not only in Malaysia but also in Oceania.

In Nias, an offshore island west of central Sumatra, where people have been less imbued with the cultural streams of the main island of Sumatra, the tale relevant to our topic is rather unique. It is told roughly as follows³⁴:

In the primordial period, there was a "world-tree" on which nine clusters of flowers were formed. From one of these clusters there came out thirteen seeds, including the seed of the Moon, of the Sun, of the ancestor of human beings, of the pig, of rice, and

33) Kähler, 68-71 and 204.

34) Münsterberger, 15. The author refers to Sundermann, H.: "Die Insel Nias und die Mission daselbst," *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, XI/XII. Buchausgabe Barmen 1905, 65.

so on. Everything is to be traced back to the *uwu*, "the existed from the beginning."

In this tale, both rice and human beings are of the same derivation, and it is hard to classify this with any of our types or subtypes. The idea reminiscent of the "world-tree" is not rare in Indonesia, but this kind of tale involving the origin of rice seems to be exceptional.

Madagascar

When dealing with the tales of Malaysia, it would be of some interest to refer here to those of Madagascar where the languages are almost exclusively Malayo-Polynesian and the staple of the people is rice, either wet rice or dry, in the main parts of the island. The following two tales are of subtype I^b and I^a respectively, a bird playing an important role in the second tale. The author of the book describing the tales failed to inform us of the locality where these are told, but it may be that they are tales of the Imerina people of the central plateau³⁵.

(1) Along with rain, grains of rice dropped from heaven onto the earth and began to germinate. The heavenly deity sent Thunder to teach the people how to raise these.

(2) Heaven ordered a cardinal to bring rice seed to the people on earth and to teach them how to raise it. With a view to telling the people of the season for rice cultivation, Heaven made the colour of this bird in the following ways: Every year, when the people see the colour of the plumes getting brilliant red, they know that the harvest is coming. The colour persists till the end of the harvest. It is red in the hot and dry season, from November to March, and moderate gray in the cool season.

Moreover, we have a tale of the Betsileo people which is of subtype I^a³⁶.

Once Andriamanitra, the heavenly deity, ordered the two birds, a cardinal and a skylark, to bring and sow rice on the earth. The instruction of the deity was that the birds should sow the rice on well prepared soil and when ripened, they would eat it as payment for their service.

35) Vally-Samat, 13-14.

36) Dubois, 1334.

On their way to the earth, the skylark dropped all the rice, while the sparrow did not lose the rice and succeeded in planting it. For this reason, the sparrow eats rice in the rice-field, whereas the skylark can eat only the rice dropped on the road.

In the first paragraph of the tale, the cardinal and skylark are mentioned, whereas in the second paragraph, they are the sparrow and the skylark. But, it would be better here not to be bothered about the kinds of the birds concerned. In any case, this tale is evidently of subtype I^a, here too the bird playing an important role with regard to the origin of rice.

Moluccas Islands

In this area we find both types I and III. In the Kei (Kai) Islands, there is a tale to be classified with the type II with which we shall deal later on, along with a somewhat parallel tale from the Philippines.

In the section of this article concerning Celebes, we referred above to a tale from the Tontemboan people of northern Celebes, which is of subtype I^c. De Vries remarks that a similar tale was reported from the Galela people of Halmahera Island.

With regard to the tales concerned, we have more detailed information from the island of Ceram (Seran). Among the Wemale people of western Ceram, there is an elaborate tale about a maiden named Hainuwele, from whose corpse various kinds of root crops came out. We summarize it as follows³⁷:

A man named Ameta pursued a wild boar who rushed into a pool and was drowned. He found above the tusk of the boar a coconut unknown until that time. He planted it and it grew very rapidly and soon it bloomed. When Ameta tried to cut the blossom, he happened to injure his finger and blood dropped on the blossom. The blood was mixed with the sap of the blossom and from this there appeared a small girl whom he named Hainuwele, the "bough of the coconut-palm." After three days she grew up to be a marriageable maiden. There was held a great *Maro* dance which lasted for nine nights, each till the dawn. Forming a ninefold spiral, the men danced, while the women sitting in the center served the men with the sirih and the betal nut. This time, Hainuwele was in the center and she provided the men with the same things in the first night. In the second night, however, she gave them instead corals

37) Jensen & Niggemeyer, 59-64.

which they found nice. In the third night, Chinese porcelain plates in place of the corals. In the fourth night also Chinese porcelain plates of a larger size, in the fifth night large bush-knives, in the sixth night beautiful sirih-boxes made of copper, in the seventh night golden ear rings, and in the eighth night beautiful gongs. In such a way, night after night the objects Hainuwele distributed among the dancers had increased in value. The people felt this uncanny and they became so jealous of this that they at last decided to kill her. They dug a deep hole at the dancing place for the ninth night, and when Hainuwele was in the center, the spiral of the dancers pushed her into the hole, and the dance song of the people drowned out the shouts of the maiden. They poured soil into the hole and stamped the ground while dancing.

Next morning the dance was over, but Hainuwele did not return home. Now Ameta knew that she was killed. He dug out her corpse and cut it into pieces. He buried these in the ground around the dancing place and from these there emerged various kinds of root crops such as the yam and taro. But he did not bury the two arms of Hainuwele which he gave Mulua Satene, the woman who was born of an unripe banana when the human beings were created and who was still governing the people. At that time, death was unknown to people.

Mulua Satene got angry because the people killed Hainuwele. She constructed a gate in the form of a ninefold spiral and while standing on the trunk of a big tree, she said to the people: "I shall live here no more, because you killed Hainuwele. All of you must come to me through the gate, and those who pass through the gate will remain human beings, and those who do not will be other beings." All the people tried to pass through the gate, but a part of them failed to do so and were transformed into various kinds of animals, birds, and fish, and also a number of spirits who dwell on the earth. With an arm of Hainuwele, Mulua Satene struck those who passed through the gate. She said to them: "Today I shall disappear from your sight, and you will see me no more here on the earth. Only when you die, you can see me again. In this case, however, you must make a hard journey before you meet me." Then, Mulua Satene disappeared and since then she has lived on Mount Salahua, the mountain of the dead situated in the southwestern part of Ceram.

The tale consists of three parts: first, the birth and the death of a maiden named Hainuwele; second, the root crops originating from the corpse of the slain maiden; and third, the origin of death by which human beings became mortal. The interrelation particularly between the second and the third is important in the discussion raised by Ad. E. Jensen to which we shall refer later on. Here it is enough to point out that this tale is of our type III, though it deals only with the origin of

root crops, not of grains.

With regard to the origin of rice, however, there is found quite a different tale which is of our subtype I^c. While the Alung people of the westernmost Ceram depend mainly on rice and for this reason, are also called the Makahala, "rice-eaters," rice is less important among the neighboring Wemale people and seems to be of a later import. Nevertheless, it is said among the Wemale that once a man brought home rice from heaven where he stole it and thus, the heavenly god Tuwale or Duniai still tries to punish the descendants of the man concerned who, it is said, was a native of the village Ahiolo of the Wemale. Accordingly, it has been customary among the Wemale that the people of several villages, not of a single one, communally cultivate the rice-field so that the heavenly god fails to find who among the cultivators are the descendants of the primordial thief³⁸.

Tales telling the heavenly origin of food plants are also reported from central Ceram. In a tale of the Hatumetan village of the southern shore, it is told that, after his having descended from the heaven to a high mountain behind the village, a man asked the Creator for something to eat and shortly the sago plant emerged around him³⁹. According to a tale of the Kabauhali village, in the interior of central Ceram, there were no living creatures when their ancestors came down from heaven to earth. All the plants began to grow from the foam of showering rain and from the urine of Alahatala, the Creator in the heaven⁴⁰. In Maneo, a village southeast of Kabauhali, it is said that Lahatala, the Creator, created the human ancestor whom he let climb down a golden chain to the earth and whose food Lahatala sent also by means of a golden chain to the earth⁴¹. Moreover we have here the following tale from the Seliha village of the northern shore⁴²:

Having climbed down a golden chain from heaven to earth, the ancestor asked Lahatala for food. Lahatala strewed seeds of plants on the earth and there emerged 99 kinds of plants. The wife

38) Jensen 1948, 34.

39) Röder, 30.

40) Röder, 78.

41) Röder, 66.

42) Röder, 65.

of the ancestor who also climbed down a golden chain from heaven to earth, laid out for the first time the plantation with these seeds.

Three of these four tales are of subtype I^a, except the Kabauhali tale which seems to be of subtype I^b. The idea that the sacred marriage of the male heaven and the female earth creates and fertilizes everything is fairly widespread in east Indonesia, both the Moluccas and Lesser Sunda Islands. In various localities of this area, a festival is annually held to celebrate the marriage concerned at the beginning of the rainy season. The heavenly rain is believed to fertilize the earth. In Ceram, such a belief seems not to be elaborate, but these tales, particularly that of the Kabauhali village, suggest this kind of cultural atmosphere.

Lesser Sunda Islands

Leaving aside Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, we shall deal under this heading with Sumba, Flores, Timor and some adjacent islands, roughly including the central and eastern part of the Lesser Sunda Islands. In this area, the tales of type III are predominant, although the tale type I is sporadically found.

The island of S u m b a fairly abounds in the tales relevant to our topic⁴³. All the place-names below are those of regional communities or petty principedoms, the whole island being divided into such administrative units.

According to a tale of Lamboja, it was one of the heavenly people who strewed rice on the earth, and the grains dropped on the dry earth became dry rice and those dropped on swampy places wet rice. In Tana Riu it is told that rice, along with maize and the peanut, was brought by a heavenly man named Mbiri Pari. These two tales are evidently of subtype I^a.

In Anakala there is told a tale about an ancestor Umbu Sebu and his sister Rambu Pari Mboka ("Maiden-fat-rice"). When they climbed down an iron ladder from the heaven to the earth, the sister fell down from it and immediately died. The wet rice grew from her corpse. With regard to dry rice, however, there is another tale as the following. Once there were three brothers and four sisters, and each brother married

43) Kruyt 1922, 581-584.

one of these sisters. Thus, a certain sister remained unmarried and when she died, there grew from her corpse various kinds of food plants, first of all rice and maize.

Also in Lauli, wet rice and dry rice are said to have derived respectively from the corpses of two women. In heaven one of the two brothers married a girl who gave birth to a daughter. When this family climbed down an iron ladder to the earth, the daughter fell off and died. There grew from her eyes the stalks of rice which is to be sown in the dry field. On the other hand, a man named Umbu Sebu had a daughter. The wet rice grew from her corpse.

In Memboro there is somewhat divergent a tale as the following:

Once there lived a couple in heaven and they had seven sons and eight daughters. Each son married one of the sisters and accordingly one girl failed to marry. She married a mouse who came to her in the figure of a man. When she visited the house of her husband, she found that it was a hole in the slope of a hill. The mouse entered the hole, but she had to remain outside. Finally she died of affliction and disappointment. It is said that, in anger for her having married a mouse, her brothers cut her corpse into pieces. From her right side there grew wet rice and from her left side dry rice. Her hair transformed into grass, her teeth into maize, and so on.

The following tale from Tabundung is a bit more elaborate:

In ancient times when (wet) rice was not yet known to the people, there were a brother and a sister who married each other. The sister gave birth to a still-born baby and she too died immediately. The husband, namely her brother, simply buried her without any ceremony. There ensued a terrible thunder-storm and some strange upheavals. A man named Umbu Kadu climbed up to heaven and asked Maramba Bokul, the "Great Lord," about the reason for such upheavals. Maramba Bokul told him that the corpse was buried in the wrong way and that her body should be taken out from the ground and be put into a cist in a sitting position. Maramba Bokul also suggested to him to lay hold of her side when her corpse was put in the cist. And when he did so, various kinds of rice came out of her side. These grains were planted on the soil near the hearth, and when harvested, the rice was distributed among the people. This was wet rice.

Then, Maramba Bokul ordered Umbu Kadu to erect a pole on the grave of the woman and to hang there the heads of various birds and animals. A further order was that these hung on the pole should be replaced first by the head of a monkey and then by

the head of the brother of the woman from whose corpse the wet rice came. Thus, Umbu Kadu killed the brother, and his body was cut into two parts and flayed. Its skin, stomach and entrails gave rise to the ancestors of the common people, while its flesh and bones were thrown to form a pile from which there appeared the ancestors of the princely family of Tabundung.

Before these events, dry rice already existed. Originally it had "quite a round grain." This is named *uhu woru*, the "rice which increases by itself." (This name is related to the Lost Paradise type of tale to which we have referred previously in the part of this article dealing with aboriginal Formosa). Wet rice and dry rice can never be stored or cooked together.

All these tales of Sumba, except those of Lamboja and Tana Riu, are of type III. It may also deserve notice that the woman from whose corpse the rice came is often said to be of heavenly descent. In the Tabundung tale, it was due to the suggestion of the heavenly Lord that rice came out of the corpse of a woman. In all these tales, however, the main point is that rice originated from the corpse of a woman, not from heaven.

C. Nootboom tried to reconstruct cosmological-social dualism from the Tabundung tale mentioned above⁴⁴. According to him, the primordial siblings, a brother and a sister who married each other, might represent the higher and male half and the lower and female half of the heavenly moiety respectively, while Umbu Kadu represents the earthly moiety. Though he failed to enter into a detailed discussion about such a classification, it seems that he tried to suggest a double dualism instead of a simple one, perhaps under the influence of F. A. E. van Wouden. As we shall see later on, human sacrifice was practised by the heavenly or higher moiety and headhunting, as a reciprocal service, by the earthly or lower moiety in the island of Timor. In regard to these, there is something parallel, if not exactly the same, between Sumba and Timor. It is to be noted here that the growth and the prosperity of both the food plant and human beings depend on ritual interaction between the more or less antagonistic moieties or phratries.

With regard to Timor, we are concerned here with the ex-Dutch part of the island where we can find information relevant to our topic. Our information consists of the two reports, the earlier one by A. C. Kruyt and the later one by

44) Nootboom, 80-82.

B. A. G. Vroklage. A commentary note by F. A. E. van Wouden on some tales recorded by Kruyt will be referred to here. First, we shall deal with the tales reported by Vroklage.

Vroklage's report is concerned with the Belu people in the eastern part of Indonesian Timor⁴⁵. He classified the Belu tales into two types. In the first type, one should have died before rice came out of his or her body; in the second type, rice was brought by ancestors from some overseas land, that is, their cradle-land. The first is equivalent to our type III, while the second seems to approximate to our type I in some respects, which we shall discuss after inspecting various tales of Timor.

The first type seems to be more prevalent, but some tales suggest the fusion of both types. The following tales from various princedoms or regional communities represent the first type. In Wahali (= Waihale), the tale is told as follows:

A nobleman along with his children, coming from an overseas land, landed on the shore of Timor. They suffered from hunger and thirst because they had nothing to eat and to drink. The father ordered his children to kill him. His head transformed into coconut, his hair into maize, his blood into water and the rest of his body into rice.

A similar tale is found in Fatu Aruin. The corpse of a slain ancestor was cut into pieces and these were strewn on the field where rice, maize, and various fruit trees grew. In Alan they say that the youngest son of the primordial couple was killed and his bones became sandalwood, his flesh rice, and his blood water. According to a tale from Naitimu, it was a woman from whose corpse various kinds of food plants appeared. It was cut into pieces and there emerged sugar-cane from her arms, the gourd from her head, the yam from her intestines, rice from her blood, and so on. But maize originated from the blood of a certain man, and the coconut from some part of his body.

The tale from Maumutin, of the ex-kingdom Fialarang jutting out in the Portuguese territory, is somewhat divergent from those mentioned above:

Seven ancestors came to the land of the Belu from an overseas land. The eldest among them cultivated the land, but there was

45) Vroklage, I, 39-49.

no rice seed to plant. Thus, they asked their forefathers for help. Immediately it became dark. The forefathers wept and their tears fell in the form of rain. At the same time they shouted in such a loud voice that the people thought it thundered. Suddenly the eldest among the seven ancestors transformed into grains of rice which the people strewed on the field.

In Dafala, also of Fialarang, there is found a simple tale representing our type III. Having been requested to do so, a man killed his brother when the rainy season had started and he cut the corpse into pieces which he strewed on the field prepared by both brothers. This gave rise to rice and maize. In connection with a festival song of Lassiolat below, it may be of some importance to note here that the parents of these brothers are said to have lived on the slope of Mount Lakaan. A more or less similar tale is also told in Lidak.

Side by side with the above tale, there is found in both Dafala and Lidak another tale representing what Vroklage classified as the second type. According to this, their ancestors, coming from an overseas land, brought rice and water-buffaloes along with them. The people of Dirma say that the pig, buffaloes, rice, maize, and coconut originated in Sina Mutin Malaka, their ancestral land overseas, where the ancestors went again to fetch them. In Lassiolat, also of Fialarang, it is said that an ancestress brought rice from Lokomea Saurato, an overseas place. She sowed it, but the sprouts soon perished. Then she again visited Lokomea Saurato where she presented some sacrifice and she could bring along with her the "Lord of the rice," the rice deity, who cares for the growth and the harvest of rice. Since then rice was propagated among the people.

In Lassiolat there is a festival song which narrates the coming of rice in the following way:

The peak of Lakaan is comparable to the shape of a rice-ball or the vault of a cloud. The god created white rice and red rice. The god threw rice onto the earth and indeed rice came to grow in the cradle-land of rice. Rice was propagated to various regions of the world. Rice came to Timor, in fact on Mount Lakaan first.

Mount Lakaan (= Lekaan), one of the highest mountains in central Timor, which more than 5,200 feet above the sea-level, is important in the origin myth of Fialarang. According to the myth there lived a woman on the peak of Mount Lekaan when the whole island of Timor, leaving only this peak, was covered

by primordial water. She married a man from a land far away and they became the ancestors of the royal and princely families of the Fialarang kingdom⁴⁶.

This tale from Lassiolat is evidently of our subtype I^a. As we have mentioned, reference was made to an overseas land in place of heaven in both the tale from Dirma and another tale from Lassiolat around Lomokea Saurato. In both tales, rice was not brought simply by ancestors when they migrated from their cradle-land to the island of Timor. They had to visit the original land again to acquire the rice. Thus, these tales much more approximate to our type I, either being of subtype I^a or of subtype I^b.

We shall add here a tale from the Besikama in the southern shore region, also reported by Vroklage, which seems to be rather unique among the Belu people and yet can be classified with subtype I^a. According to this, a man from heaven brought the heads of rice, and he laid out two patches of rice-fields, one for dry rice and another for wet rice.

While the report of Vroklage is concerned with the eastern border land of Indonesian Timor, that of Kruyt deals with the more westerly regions, so that the two reports supplement each other. Kruyt reports the following tales⁴⁷.

In Bijeli it is told that rice and maize existed in heaven already before these were cultivated on earth. The primordial man and his wife ate only such things as grass, and when he asked Usif Neno, the "Lord-Sun," for something good to eat, the latter ordered him to kill his wife, to grind her bones and flesh, and to sprinkle these in the wind. And when these were scattered on the ground, there emerged rice and maize. In a sense, this tale suggests a combination of type III and type I, possibly subtype I^a.

There is another tale from the same region as follows:

The heavenly god, Usif Neno, sent two men to a certain place, within the territory of the principedom Insana of later days, where they made a field. Then they visited the heavenly god whom they asked for some seed, but the god gave them a lump of soil instead. When they broke the lump after they returned to the earth, there appeared a beautiful girl whom both men married. She gave birth

46) v. Wouden, 43.

47) Kruyt 1923, 473-474.

to a daughter. Shortly these two men began to grumble about their having obtained a woman in place of the seed and to quarrel with each other about their ownership of the woman. Then, Usif Neno ordered them to kill the daughter and from the place where her corpse was buried there appeared rice and other crops. And Usif Neno allotted the woman to one of these two men.

Here too, we have a sort of combination of type III and type I, possibly subtype I^a.

The following tale from Amarassi, a seashore region of southwestern Timor, seems to be a specific variant of our type III:

In a pond, which is said to be connected by a subterranean waterway with the sea, there lived Usif Ika Kabiti, the "Lord Scorpion-fish," whose father was a crocodile. This Lord had compassion on his children and grand-children suffering from hunger, and he ordered them to kill him. From the grave where his corpse was buried there appeared several kinds of plants: the gourd from his head, maize from his bones, and rice from his flesh. (Near the pond mentioned, there are flat stones on which the people still put their offerings. Before planting the rice or maize, they bring some grains of seed to this place or to the grave.)

It deserves notice that the hero of this tale lived "in the water," not "on the earth" or "in the heaven." Later in this article, we shall discuss a bit about the "underworld," as the *locus* of important events told in the tales in relation to either the earth or water.

Kruyt's report also informs us that "in some regions" the king of Son bai (= Sonba'i or Sonnebait) is said to have originally given rice to the people and "in other regions" rice is said to have come directly from Usif Neno. Son bai is the name of a kingdom which existed until the mid-nineteenth century in the interior part of western Timor, and the above-mentioned Bijeli region once belonged to this kingdom. Though Kruyt failed to inform us clearly of the location of these "regions," it seems certain that these were situated in that part of Timor. The king of Son bai was regarded as being of the direct descent of the "Lord-Sun" or as representing himself as the "Lord-Sun" and bestowed with power to control the weather and crops. Under such circumstances, both of these short tales will be classified with subtype I^a.

There remains a tale from the Amanuban kingdom, also reported by Kruyt. According to it, four men came down from

heaven to be the first inhabitants on the earth, and it was the daughter of a man named Nubatonis who was to be killed by the order of Usif Neno. The parts of her corpse were scattered on the ground and from these there emerged various kinds of food plants.

F. A. E. van Wouden tried to interpret this tale of Amanuban in the light of comparative study, by taking into account ethnological information from this area as well as the other parts of eastern Indonesia. Because his main point is to reconstruct the double dualism in both aspects of the world-view and the "society-view," it is hard to introduce briefly his way of approach here in a limited space. But, his perspective on the Amanuban tale will be summarized as follows⁴⁸. It is noteworthy, according to him, that the royal family of Amanuban is said to have descended from Nubatonis, the father of a girl from whose corpse there originated various kinds of food plants. In the heaven-earth division of dualism, it is usual that the earthly moiety is particularly concerned with agriculture. The people of the Manela ane village, the place where the "spokesman" of the Amanuban king resided as a local lord, were used to catch a boy and a girl of the Tumbesi village, the capital of the Amanuban king of somewhat later days. Such a boy and a girl were sacrificed to secure fertility of the rice. In turn, the villagers of Tumbesi are privileged to practise headhunting toward the villagers of Manela ane as a sort of revenge, notwithstanding both villages belonged to the same kingdom. Ethnological evidence suggests that the king of Amanuban represents the earthly moiety and the local lord of Manela ane the heavenly moiety. Amanuban and Amanutun, just to the east of the former, are said to be sister kingdoms. It seems that the former represents the earthly moiety and the latter the heavenly moiety, on a higher level of cosmological-social dualism. Something parallel to these is also to be found in the Sonnebait kingdom in that the king, himself representing the heavenly moiety, used to seize for sacrifice those representing the earthly moiety, and the Kune group (family or clan), representing the earthly moiety, several times killed the kings of Sonnebait. The heavenly group practised human sacrifice, their victims being those representing the earthly group. According to van Wouden,

48) v. Wouden, 58-59, and 132.

this is a theme fairly widespread at least in eastern Indonesia.

In Rote (Roti), an offshore island of western Timor, we find again a tale of our subtype I^a. According to this, the two ancestors married the daughter of the Sun and of the Moon respectively who, after having requested the "bride-price" gift for their daughters, gave the two men rice, beans, the cucumber, and so on, as a counter-gift⁴⁹.

Next we shall deal with the island of Flores where the tales of type III seem to be predominant. P. Arndt reports that among the Ngadha people of central Flores their ancestral land named Dzava is regarded also as the land where rice originated⁵⁰. Though he failed to give us a more or less detailed tale, this seems to be of our type I, perhaps rather exceptional in this island.

In the principedom of Riung, also of central Flores, there is found a tale of seeds of rice, maize, and other crops originating from the corpses of the two children killed by their father⁵¹.

We find here the following two tales from the principedom of Sika, eastern part of central Flores, each from different localities⁵²:

a) A woman born from a hole of the rock married a man from another locality and gave birth to a girl who, in turn, married a man named Dzeni Lai Lengi and gave birth to a daughter named Düa Bobi. Dzeni Lai Lengi opened a field and he made porridge from the corpses of all his slaves and servants whom he killed. He strewed the porridge on the field where there grew maize, "large millet," and "smaller millet." Once he was making a field while his daughter collected fuel and chopped it. She happened to hurt her leg and when the blood dropped on the ground, there grew rice. Then, he dressed his daughter in stately regalia and ordered her to stand near the "pole for sacrifice." He killed her and hung her ornaments on the pole. His wife searched for their daughter in vain and she began to weep when she saw the ornaments of her daughter hanging on the pole for sacrifice. Afterward Dzeni Lai Lengi harvested the rice in quantities and distributed it among the people.

49) Fischer 1932, 228. The author refers to Westering, F. A. van: "De afkomst der Rotineezen van het eiland Rote," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zending Genootschap*, LXVI, 1922, 317-319.

50) Arndt 1958, 102.

51) Arndt 1935, 351.

52) Arndt 1932, 63-65.

b) A woman killed a slave and cut the corpse into pieces which she strewed on the field. There grew two kinds of "millet" with smaller grains and larger ones respectively, the yam, and other root-crops. Then, she killed two daughters and she disposed of the corpses in the same way. There originated rice and sugar-palm from the two corpses respectively.

The following tale is reported from east Flores, though P. Arndt failed to inform us of the locality⁵³:

Once there came out of the earth a man who brought fire along with him. On the earth there already lived a woman who ate raw food because she did not know how to make fire. She married the man, and after that she could eat cooked food.

She gave birth to a son who got his wife on the sea and brought her to his house. The woman, in turn, gave birth to seven sons and a daughter. The daughter requested her seven brothers to open the field and then to kill her. The sixth brother killed her and cut her corpse into pieces which he strewed on the field. There came out rice.

The first paragraph of this tale is comparable to the tales of the Ifugao people and of the Kei Islands, to which we shall refer later. Ernest Vatter reports a tale of the village Lēloba, near Mount Ili Mandiri, also of eastern Flores⁵⁴. It is similar to the tale above in that there were seven brothers and a sister and that the rice grew from the corpse of the sister who was killed and cut into pieces by the brothers, but not by one brother.

In connection with such a tale, it is interesting to note here that a maiden personifying in a sense the primordial woman, from whose corpse rice originated, still plays an important role in the agrarian rituals of eastern Flores. She is usually the daughter of the priest representing the "land-owning clan." A village contains a number of patri-clans, a few of them being the land-owning clans and others not. Each of the land-owning clans has its own "rice maiden." At the place where the rice ritual is held, there is a large flat stone on which the rice maiden stands and a pole erected nearby. Before sowing rice, a large pig is sacrificed and its head, stomach, liver and heart are placed on the flat stone mentioned, and the pole is smeared with the blood of the pig. A parcel of land is reserved for ritual sowing.

53) Arndt 1951, 69-70.

54) Vatter, 106.

A brother or some close male relative of the rice maiden makes the first hole by a digging-stick and the rice maiden drops several grains of rice into it. After this, the rice maiden distributes rice seed among the women attending the ritual, and so on. The rice maiden is found also on Solor, an island to the south-east of Flores, but not on other adjacent islands such as Adonare, Lomblem, Pantar and Alor⁵⁵.

A tale of Solor relates the origin of rice in the following way⁵⁶:

Once a rice maiden lived on the top of Mount Ili Mandiri in eastern Flores. At that time, the people of Solor were suffering from hunger because rice cultivation was unknown to them. With a view to helping them, the rice maiden of Ili Mandiri threw her necklace in the direction of Solor. The pearls of the necklace would have changed into the grains of rice, if they had dropped on earth. But the necklace dropped into the sea on its way to Solor and was stolen by a huge inkfish who is a demon of the sea. For this reason, the people of Solor learned rice cultivation later than all the other peoples.

This tale is in connection with a ritual held annually before sowing rice in which a fowl or a young pig is offered in the direction of Mount Ili Mandiri. Though this tale does not directly tell us of the origin of rice cultivation in Solor, the plot of the tale as well as the atmosphere of the ritual suggests that the tale is an approximation to subtype I^a.

In east Adonare, we find the following two tales⁵⁷:

a) Once upon a time there lived a woman on the earth, along with her seven sons. The sons made the field, but there was nothing to plant. The woman ordered the sons to dress her in full regalia and to kill her. They hesitated to do so, but finally her head was cut off. Her blood flowed over the whole field. After six or seven days, the sons saw rice, maize, beans, coconuts, the sugar-palm, etc. growing on the whole field.

b) Once there was a rich woman. Her excrement was gold, her hair a golden chain and her finger-nails glass. Having heard of this, a man came by boat to visit her and finally he married her. He ordered seven men to lay out a field to cultivate some food

55) Vatter, 60, 81 and 100-105.

56) Vatter, 194.

57) Arndt 1951, 204-206.

plants. (No mention is made as to whether these seven men were his sons or servants, while the woman had already seven daughters). The woman decorated herself with ornaments, went to the field, and asked them to kill her. Finally her husband killed her. Her blood squirted out and wetted the field. Then the husband cut her corpse into pieces which he strewed on the ground. After three days there appeared rice and maize.

The tales of our type III are found also in Alor. In its northwestern part, it is said that two sisters were killed by their elder brother and from the corpse of one sister there appeared rice and from that of another sister, maize. In southwestern Alor, they say that an old woman requested her sons to kill her in the field and there originated rice from her body and maize from her teeth⁵⁸.

Ernest Vatter, who published the above information from east Flores and the Solor-Alor Archipelago, compared the "rice maiden" with the Javanese rice-goddesses, Tisna Wati and Dewi Sri, whom we shall discuss later on. Vatter ascribes rice cultivation and the agrarian ritual focalizing on the "rice maiden" to the influence of Hindu culture. Apart from whether or not his view is correct, it seems true that, while rice cultivation and the tale of type III are widespread in the area he dealt with, the ritual around the rice maiden is found only in the western part of this area, namely, in eastern Flores and Solor, where the ritual and the tale concerned are organically connected with each other. Indeed, Vatter postulated an eastward migration of all these cultural elements, among which the beliefs and the ritual around the rice maiden lagged behind in their propagation⁵⁹.

In this area where Vatter worked, the Sun-Moon and the Earth are important in both the beliefs and rituals. The Sun-Moon is regarded as the man as well as the father and the Earth as the woman as well as the mother. But these have nothing directly to do with the tales with which we are concerned⁶⁰. More than twenty years before Vatter, Father Schmidt pointed out that the sexual dichotomy in cosmology, combined with the "solar mythology," is widespread in eastern Indonesia. Such a

58) Vatter, 239-240.

59) Vatter, 105 and 284.

60) Vatter, 91-92.

kind of dichotomy appears in the following combinations, though he failed to find information from Vatter's area at that time⁶¹:

	Husband	Wife	
I	Sun	Earth and Moon	Kei and Aru Islands.
II	Sun	Earth	Islands from Wetar to Tanimbar (Timor-laut) and possibly eastern Timor.
III	Heaven	Earth	Buru, Ambon, Ceram and some adjacent islets.

According to Schmidt, such a dichotomy is pre-Austronesian or pre-Malayo-Polynesian and these islands still display ethnological as well as linguistic features which may be called "Papuan" rather than Austronesian. This might support, if not positively, Vatter's view that the tales of our type III came from the west. As we shall see later on, however, New Guinea seems to be the land where the tales of type III are predominant.

Java and Bali

Such a kind of sexual dichotomy as mentioned above is also reported from Java. The idea that the marriage of Bapa-Kasa (Father-Heaven) and Ibu-Pratiwi (Mother-Earth) brings fertility still exists among Javanese peasants, and they try to get blessing from these in their prayer. Meanwhile, they refer in their prayer to the name of Sri (Dewi Sri) from whose corpse rice originated, as we shall see just below. The name Pratiwi corresponds to Paratiwi or Përëtiwi of the Buginese of Celebes. These names are to be traced back to Prithivi in the Vedic myth of ancient India, which implies the earth and secondarily, the mother-earth⁶².

In both Java and Bali there are found several tales concerning the origin of rice, presumably much elaborated in the influence of the Hindu-Javanese culture which is characterized by complexity, including both the indigenous and Hindu features. As far as Java is concerned, we shall introduce here mainly the two tales, the story called *Manik Maya* representing central Java

61) Schmidt, 244-245.

62) Fischer 1929, 43, and Wilken, III, 182-183.

on the one hand and the story *Wawachan Sulanjana* representing western Java on the other.

The *Manik Maya* is a long story presumably containing divergent or even heterogenous aspects which will be studied from various view-points. We find here two kinds of information, one by J. H. F. Sollewyn Gelpke and another by W. H. Rassers⁶³. As far as our topic is concerned, they coincide with each other for the most part. These will be summarized in the following way:

From his palace in heaven, the god Guru (Batara Guru) saw something glittering in the middle of the sea far below. His messenger found the light radiating from the hermit Kanekaputra who was practising asceticism in the middle of the ocean. Kanekaputra is said to be the elder brother of Guru. Other messengers of Guru failed to disturb the hermit's asceticism and finally, Guru had to visit there himself to persuade the hermit to come to heaven. Guru requested Kanekaputra to show him the *Rĕtna dumilah*, the glittering jewel, which the latter held in his hand. Kanekaputra threw the jewel to Guru who failed to catch it and the jewel fell down to the seventh earth where Antaboga, a huge snake, caught and swallowed it. Kanekaputra and a number of other gods tried in vain to retrieve the jewel from Antaboga for Guru. However, Antaboga came at last to heaven and offered Guru a small box in which the *Rĕtna dumilah* was kept. Guru could not open the box and he threw it down so that it broke. There appeared from the box a beautiful girl who was given the name of Tisnawati. (According to Sollwyn Gelpke, this name was given to her after her death). Guru loved this girl so much that he forgot his wife Uma and wanted to marry her. Because Tisnawati refused his proposal, he began to compel her to marry him. At last, she said to him that, before she accepted his proposal, he should find for her three things: food which, however frequently one might eat, never awakes disgust; a garment which will never wear out; and a set of musical instruments which sounds sweetly without anyone playing on it. (The present writer quotes here from Sollewyn Gelpke, the description by Rassers being a bit different with regard to the three things).

Then, Guru sent Kala-Gumarang, the son of the god Batara Kala, onto the earth to search for these three things. On the earth, Kala-Gumarang happened to come to the garden of the god Vishnu and saw there a woman taking a bath. She was Dewi Sri, the wife of Vishnu. She was so beautiful that Kala-Gumarang importunately sued her by various devices, but due to the prayer she offered to the gods, he was at last transformed into a pig.

63) Sollewyn Gelpke, 114-121, Rassers 1925, 325-330, Rassers 1959, 14-19, and also Wirz, 220-228.

Meanwhile, Guru awaited in vain the return of Kala-Gumarang, and being unable to control his passion, he embraced Tisnawati violently and she finally died. Guru ordered Kanekaputra to take her corpse to the kingdom of Mëndangkamulan on the earth, and to bury it there. (Here quoted from Rassers, while the description by Sollewyn Gelpke is as follows: Guru ordered Prabu Makukuwan, the king of the land mentioned, to carry her corpse and bury it there. According to Rassers, Mëngukuhan, namely, Prabu Makukuwan in Sollewyn Gelpke, is said to be the ancestor of the rulers of Java). After some time, the coconut-palm originated from her head, rice from her genitals, banana from the palms of her hands, and maize from her teeth. There grew also the sugar-palm. (In the description by Sollewyn Gelpke, rice grew from her navel and sugar-palm from her genitals).

On the other hand, Kala-Gumarang even in his animal form continued importunately to sue Dewi Sri. This made her life tiresome and when she heard that Tisnawati died, she wanted to share her fate. The gods accepted her desire and at last she disappeared suddenly. At the place where she disappeared, there grew rice. Rice originated from Tisnawati was dry rice, whereas that from Dewi Sri was wet rice. (This paragraph is cited from Sollewyn Gelpke).

Pritanjala, the guardian god of the northeastern wind, wondered where his "brothers" Kanekaputra and Vishnu could be staying. He flew through the air down to earth by being induced by the sweet scent of new vegetation, rice growing in the land of Mëndangkamulan. He changed himself into an *emprit*, a little black bird, and feasted on the rice. In such a way, the god Pritanjala brought damage to the rice, but the watchers of the rice-field could not prevent this because he always hid himself in the flower stalks of the sugar-palm. Jaka Puring, the brother of the king Mëngukuhan, therefore ordered these stalks to be cut off. When this was done, sweet liquid flowed from the stalks. It was caught in a bamboo container and Jaka Puring offered it to the king Mëngukuhan. He, in his turn, had the sweet palm-wine taken by Kanekaputra to Guru in the heaven. (Cited from Rassers).

Prabu Makukuwan, the king of Mëndang Kamolan (Mëndangkamulan), saw a huge snake on the dike when he was watching the wet rice-field of his land. When he approached the snake to take a closer view, it disappeared, and in place of it, there stood a beautiful woman. Each time when he went to the field, he saw her. But, when he approached her, she retreated each time leaving a given distance between them. And when he addressed her and requested her to come to him, she disappeared. At last, however, she told him that she was a metamorphosis of Dewi Sri, the wife of Vishnu, and she taught him how he could approach her. Following her instruction, Prabu Makukuwan took a bath and put on new clothes. In the evening he went to the rice-field where he found her standing. But when he stretched his hands to her, she

disappeared and never appeared again. Now, Dewi Sri was incarnated in the wife of the king Prabu Makukuwan, while Vishnu, who still loved her, was incarnated in the king Prabu Makukuwan. Thus, the king and his wife, or rather Vishnu and Dewi Sri, were engaged in the multiplication of the newly originated plant, namely, rice. (Cited from Sollewyn Gelpke).

This tale seems to be much imbued with the atmosphere of the Hindu-Javanese culture. The names of the gods such as Guru (Batara Guru or Siva), Kala and Vishnu are the important figures in the pantheon of Hinduism. Antaboga, a huge snake of the seventh earth mentioned, could have derived from Anantabhoga or Ananta of Hindu mythology as exemplified by the relief in a temple of ancient India, in about 600 A.D., in which Vishnu is recumbent on the coils of Ananta, the cosmic serpent⁶⁴. Nevertheless, the tale is essentially of our type III which is widely found in other parts of Indonesia.

Though the present day Javanese are theoretically Moslems, the pre-Islamic elements are well retained among them, particularly around rice cultivation. Beliefs in Dewi Sri is still vivid in folk religion, and a sort of python called *ula saba*, the "snake of wet rice-field" which Javanese peasants never kill, is regarded as an incarnation of Dewi Sri⁶⁵. Before the harvest of wet rice, local priests or magicians perform various kinds of rituals, the main theme being to make *Boq Sri* and *Jaka Sĕdana* (Lady Sri and Sir Sĕdana) descend from heaven to the earth. Sometimes the shadow-play and the *lakon* (a sort of long recital indispensable to the former) called *Sri-Sĕdana* are performed. This *lakon* refers to a story telling of the adventure of Dewi Sri and her brother Sĕdana, who are the children of Sri Mahapunggung, the ruler of the kingdom Mĕndangkamulian. Dewi Sri is also said to be the elder sister of Sĕdana and they wanted to marry each other. After the harvest a similar performance also takes place.⁶⁶ The kind Sri Mahapunggung and the kingdom Mĕndangkamulian in this *lakon* correspond respectively to the king Mĕngukuhan and the kingdom Mĕndangkamulan of the *Manik Maya*. The *Manik Maya*, itself *lakon*, would represent a development of a kind of local *lakon* that has been enriched in its content by the influence radiating from the center or centers

64) Hidding, 22, Zimmer, 60-61, and Stutterheim, 77 (Fig. 27).

65) Sollewyn Gelpke, 122.

66) Rassers 1925, 319-320, and Rassers 1959, 9-10.

of the Hindu-Javanese culture.

Rassers tried to reconstruct the world-view as well as the "society-view" by referring to the *Manik Maya*, the *lakon Sri-Sědana* and other data. Particularly under the influence of Durkheim and Mauss whose works date back to the 1900's and 1910's, he saw there a simple dualism rather than a double dualism. In any case, he tried to find those that are indigenous to Java or Indonesia in general, either manifest or latent in these data, notwithstanding they are much overshadowed by the influence of Hindu culture. His reconstruction is focalized on the initiation ceremony in which the initiates have to endure a number of ordeals, the part played by each moiety in various aspects of the ceremony, and the basic concept of dualism reflecting itself in the religious and social life of the ancient Javanese. Though it is hard here to enter into the details of his discussion, we had perhaps better to take a view briefly of Javanese dualism so that we can compare it with the dualism in some other parts of Indonesia to which we have referred in connection with our topic.

In the creation myth of the Javanese, it is said that there was the highest god Wisesa in the beginning and there ensued serially various forms of "division into two": 1) heaven and earth, 2) sun and moon, 3) the brothers *Manik* and *Maya*, and so on. *Manik*, also named *Guru*, was the true successor of *Wisesa*, as he shared in *Wisesa*'s attributes of beautiful appearance and splendid colour. On the other hand, *Maya* was black and of a hideous appearance. In order to compensate him to some degree, *Wisesa* gave him a jewel named *Rětna dumilah*. *Rassers* sees here the right and superior moiety represented by *Manik*, namely *Guru*, and the left and inferior moiety represented by *Maya*, namely *Kanekaputra*. *Kanekaputra* is said also to be the elder brother of *Guru*, and this is related to the trend that the left moiety is regarded as the older one. (According to van Wouden mentioned above, the heavenly moiety is often represented by a younger sibling and the earthly moiety by an elder one in eastern Indonesia). The *Rětna dumilah* is the female figure representing the left moiety, and thus destined to marry *Guru*. After she had died in the initiation death, she soon came to life in a new form and under a new name *Tisnawati*. Her corpse was brought by *Kanekaputra* to be buried in *Měndangkamulan*, where the king *Měngukuhan*, as the ruler of the farmers, is to

be placed in the left moiety in Javanese classification. From Tisnawati, that is, from the "mother of the left or earthly moiety," there originated various kinds of useful plants, above all, rice. Tisnawati is to be regarded as the same as Dewi Sri. The *Manik Maya* tells that Vishnu, the husband of Dewi Sri, was incarnated in the king Měngukuhan. According to Rassers, this is a "mythological error," because both figures belong to different moieties, Vishnu representing the right and superior moiety. In a version of the *Manik Maya* (quoted by Sollewyn Gelpke as in the above), the sugar-palm is said to have originated from the genitals of Tisnawati. According to Rassers, this is also a mythological error, because the sugar-palm, from whose juice the palm-wine is obtained, belongs to the right and superior moiety, not the left and inferior one, in Javanese classification⁶⁷.

In such a way, Rassers classified a number of important figures which appeared in the *Manik Maya*. However, nothing was told there about the derivation of Dewi Sri from whom wet rice originated. It is still hard for us, after the manner of Rassers' classification, to ascertain whether Dewi Sri primarily belonged to the heavenly or superior moiety or "married into" (or "married up into") the heavenly moiety from the earthly one. Provided that the former is the case, we may say that wet rice originated from the heavenly woman Dewi Sri, while dry rice from Tisnawati whose natal home is to be sought in the middle of the Sea. As we have previously observed, there seems to be found, though sporadically, in central Celebes and elsewhere in Indonesia some kind of contrast between wet rice and dry rice in the ideology of the people. On the other hand, the

67) Rassers 1925, 337-342, and Rassers 1959, 24-29. Here the author refers to Winter, C. F.: *Javaansche mythologie*, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol. 5, 1842. In his dissertation (Rassers 1922) Rassers made a comprehensive study on Javanese dualism. If we postulate here a somewhat more complex system than a simple dualism, the situation will be different. Under the circulating marriage system involving several patri-clan of Tanimbar (Timorlaut) Island for instance, the wife-giving clan provides the wife-taking clan with such things as clothes and agricultural products as the female gift, while the wife-taking clan provides the wife-giving clan with palm-wine, fish, meat, etc., as the male gift. It deserves notice that the wife-giving group is superior to the wife-taking group. A similar situation in the transference of women and gifts is widely found in Indonesia and elsewhere: Drabbe, 547 ff., van Ossenbruggen 1936, and Mabuchi 1960.

relation between Siva and Vishnu is not clear in the *Manik Maya*, though Rassers simply states that both gods belong to the heavenly moiety. Siva and Vishnu, the two active figures of the Hindu trinity, are coordinated with each other in various ways and manifest themselves in various forms in both India and Indonesia. Nevertheless, a more or less conspicuous contrast in the attributes seems still to be observed between the two gods in various manifestations of the Hindu-Javanese culture, notwithstanding the predominance of Ciwaism in which Vishnu is fairly overshadowed by Ciwa (Siva). For instance, Siva seems to represent something light and Vishnu something dark. This might eventually invite us to a re-consideration about the place of Vishnu in the simple dualism mentioned or about such a dualism itself. As we shall discuss later, there remains another problem as to whether the "middle of the sea" falls under the same category as the "underworld." We recall here that the jewel *Rĕtna dumilah*, from which Tisnawati appeared, was brought to heaven by Kanekaputra representing the inferior moiety and then, it was swallowed by Antaboga, the underworld snake, who brought it again to heaven⁶⁸.

Space does not permit us to enter into a detailed discussion around the classification made by Rassers. Next, we shall deal with the *Wawachan Sulanjana*, a tale well known among Sundanese people of western Java. We summarize it in the following way⁶⁹:

In heaven, the god Guru ordered all other gods faithfully to serve his elder brother Panji Narada whom Guru loved so much. Dewa Anta, the underworld snake, lamented his being unable to serve Narada because he had no arms and no legs. Dewa Anta shed tears which changed into three eggs. Following the advice of Narada, Anta tried to bring these eggs to Guru, by holding these in his mouth. On his way to the heaven, he met a demon Heulang bĕlang who asked him about his destination, but he could not reply because he held three eggs in his mouth. Heulang bĕlang got angry and struck Anta in the ear and gouged out his eyes, causing two eggs to drop from his mouth. One egg fell down on a place

68) As to the Ciwaism in the Hindu-Javanese culture, a brief view will be obtained from Stutterheim, 125-133. With regard to some contrast between Siva and Vishnu, one may refer for instance to Damsté, 224-264, Goslings, 200-210, van Ossenbruggen 1918, Swellengrabel, chapter III, and Hardjowirogo, 4, 19-20, etc.

69) Hidding, 9-12.

called Pasarbrangan where it changed into a pig and a wild boar, and the other on a place called Têgal kakapan where it changed into an animal with the shape of dog. Thus, Dewa Anta could offer only the remaining egg to Guru. From this egg there appeared a maiden who was named Dewi Pohachi and the goddess Uma, the wife of Guru, nursed this girl. The god Dewa Wênang was afraid that Guru would want to marry Dewi Pohachi and gave her fruit of the paradise tree. After that, she never wanted to take other kinds of food and she died finally.

After some time, there appeared various plants from the grave where her corpse was buried: from her head the coconut, from the right eye two kinds of rice each with red and white colour in both awns and grain, from her left eye other kinds of rice with red grain and with awns of various forms and colours, from her thighs the bamboo, from the calves of her legs the rotan, and so on. Guru ordered his messenger to bring these plants to King Siliwangi of Pakuwan pajajalan, (a kingdom which is said once to have existed in western Java). The king distributed these plants among his subjects who were charged with cultivating them. The seed of rice was named *Nyi pohachi sangyang sri* and it was to be planted on both wet as well as dry rice-fields. The king received only three heads of rice from Guru. When he distributed these among his subjects, they seemed not to be enough, but the quantity of rice increased much after the harvest.

King Siliwangi had seventy-five wives, among whom there was a *widadari*, the heavenly nymph, named Dewi nawang sasih. She was charged with the task of disposing of the rice, because no other woman surpassed her in this regard. She taught the people how to cook rice without pounding and washing it beforehand, while a head of rice, when cooked, was enough for one hundred persons. King Siliwangi, her husband, failed to keep his promise not touching her cooking implements, and immediately she left him.

The god Guru sent the god Sēmar and his sons to Pakuwan pajajalan to watch the rice cultivated by the people. Meanwhile, Guru and his brother Narada also visited this land, both in the form of a small bird named *piit*. Sēmar thought these birds would damage the rice, but he could not catch them. At a loss he struck the sugar-palm tree where the birds often alighted, and while pursuing the birds, he happened to tear the flower-stalk from where the sweet sap came out. This was palm-wine obtained for the first time. The sugar-palm came out originally from the corpse of Dewi Pohachi, and the leaves are still used as the symbol of the rice harvest.

In its theme, the similarity between this tale and the *Manik Maya* is not to be denied. Dewa Anta is equivalent to Antaboga of the *Manik Maya*. It deserves notice that rice and other plants originated from the maiden Dewi Pohachi who, in turn, appeared

from an egg formed by the tear shed by Anta, the underworld snake.

In a version of the tale *Lutung-Kasarung*, also well known to the Sundanese people, the origin of rice is related in a simpler but a different form⁷⁰. According to this, immediately after the blowgun shooter and his wife ate a carp trapped by him, she became pregnant and gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. Sometime afterward, the girl died and from her grave there originated rice and other plants and also the *piit* bird. At that time, there were two powerful kingdoms, Pajajalan in the west and Majapahit in the east. After a long series of ordeals and adventures, the boy, that is, Lutung-Kasarung, succeeded to the throne of Majapahit.

As it is well known, the island of Bali is much imbued with the Hindu-Javanese culture. We find here the following tale⁷¹:

Once there lived in Bali a king named Maharaja Wene who was cruel, especially toward the priests. At last, the king was attacked by the priests who struck and killed him. From the mouth of the slain king there came out a boy, who grew up rapidly to be an adult. All the people loved and respected him because of his good personality and he was elected the king of Bali. His name was Pretu. At that time the people suffered from the shortage of daily food. King Pretu visited Siti, the goddess of the earth, whom he threatened and compelled to produce some better food than the sap of sugar-cane, the staple of the people at that time. The goddess Siti was at her wit's end. She ran away and took the form of a cow. All the time pursued by mighty Pretu, she finally surrendered to him. Because she was subdued by a person named Pretu, she was thenceforth called *Pretiwī*. The goddess Pretiwī told him that he had to learn from the god Indera the way of cultivating the ground so that Pretiwī, the cow, could help Pretu in raising rice.

King Pretu tried by violence to compel the god Indera to accede to his demand. Indera was indignant at the rough attitude of Pretu and refused his request. Thus, there ensued a fight between them, but Indera had finally to escape and to ask the god Vishnu for help. In the land ruled by Vishnu, he saw the goddess Sri, the wife of Vishnu, who told him that her husband was incarnated in the king Pretu on the mundane world and that she was going to follow her husband. Accordingly, Indera decided to visit the supreme god Siva to consult about the matter with him.

70) Hidding, 29, and Kern 1940, 497.

71) Tjokorde Gde Rake Soekawati, 423-426.

Meanwhile the god Sanghyang Kesuhan Kidul heard of the fight between Pretu and Indera. To prevent the fight in which he was afraid he might be involved, he tried to send the seeds of rice to Pretu. His messengers were four birds: the ordinary dove in charge of the black seed, the crest-dove the white seed, the bush-dove the yellow seed, and the turtle-dove the red seed. On their way to Pretu, they met a *gendarwa* (perhaps, a demon) who wanted to rob the birds of the seeds. The bush-dove fought with the *gendarwa* and his seed dropped from his beak onto the earth. The birds flew back to their master. Then, three birds, excepting the bush-dove, flew toward Pretu. On the way, they met the goddess Sri who was also going down to the earth. With a view to making her trip less troublesome, they offered her a seat "in the seeds," and she was glad to accept the offer. Pretu was much pleased by the gift, but he did not know what to do with these seeds. Therefore, he wished again to learn from Indera.

This time, Indera sent to Pretu a teacher of agriculture who taught him how to lay out the wet rice-field as well as the dry rice-field and how to manage the cow for farming. Moreover, the teacher taught that the white and black seeds should be planted in the wet rice-field and the red ones in the dry rice-field. The goddess Sri has remained faithful as the rice goddess and even now sits all the time in the rice. Two servants of Sri became the sweet-potato and maize.

In contrast with the Javanese and Sundanese tales mentioned which are of our type III in their main theme, this tale from Bali is of our subtype I^a, the seeds of plants coming from heaven as a gift of the god and birds playing an important role as messengers. Though the "explanation" of the name Pretiwi seems to be nothing more than an outcome of the folk-etymology, the names of the important figures in the tale are of Hindu origin, as it is the case with Javanese and Sundanese tales. The Balinese share with the Hindus the idea that one and the same god manifests himself or herself in different forms and with different names. With regard to such a set of different manifestations, however, there seems still to be something inherent in the Balinese, while the implication and the function of each god or goddess has undergone some degree of change in this kind of combination. For example, it is said that the goddess Sri, i.e., the goddess of the ripening rice and the harvest, is the same as (1) Uma, the goddess of rice-field, caring for the seedling and the germination of the rice, (2) Durga, as the goddess of the temple of the dead, controlling the demons who threaten the growing crops with disease and pestilence, (3) Giriputri,

the most important mountain goddess who, along with her husband Mahadewa, rules over the water of the mountain lakes to be sprinkled on the rice-field in order to secure a blessing for the crop, (4) Mother Pertiwi representing the fertility of the soil, and (5) a number of other gods⁷². Under such an atmosphere in which Sri, the heavenly goddess, is coordinated with Pretiwi (Pertiwi), the earthly goddess, for instance, some shift in the theme of the tale would be rather natural in the long run, apart from our classification of the tales which is concerned with what they are at a given situation.

The Tales of Type II in Malaysia

As far as we have observed above, tales in Malaysia are either of type I or III, excepting some ambiguous cases. We have not yet found any tale representing the type II, that is, the tale of grains acquired from the Underworld, though the *Wawachan Sulanjana* of the Sundanese suggests a combination of type II and type III. In this regard, the following tale from the Kei (or Kai) Islands, near New Guinea, deserves attention⁷³:

A man went hunting along with his dog who fell into a chasm in the ground. In search of the dog, he went down to the Underworld where he met an old woman. She offered him some root crop, but it was raw and he could not eat it. Then she offered red rice and white rice, but these, too, were raw and he could not eat them. He made fire with his fire-making instrument and cooked the rice. They ate together and they found it delicious. They married and lived together. After some time, however, he wanted to return to his village, along with his wife, the old woman.

They went together, but when they arrived at the entrance of the chasm through which they could leave the Underworld, they quarrelled with each other about who would climb first. Finally the woman went ahead and she climbed up the air-root of the ficus tree (banyan tree) hanging down in the chasm. Looking up at her climbing, however, he laughed and suggested to her that he saw her genitals. The woman got ashamed and returned to the Underworld. But the man wished to return to his village, and thus, they separated from each other.

72) Grader, 166-167.

73) Geurtjens, 277-281.

Before he returned home on the earth, he stole some rice, but she took it from him when he held it fast in his hand. He put the rice inside his sarong and then in his armpit, but each time the woman got it back. Finally, "he hid it in his foreskin, but the woman took it back, and then he hid it in the anus from where she failed to take it back." (This translation may or may not be correct, because H. Geurtjens, the reporter of this tale, describes it somewhat ambiguously: *abscondit in preputio, mulier denu arripit, abscondit in serotoet inde arripere non valebat*, while van Wouden, quoting from Geurtjens, simply writes: "the man succeeded in concealing two grains of rice in his testicles"). He could bring two grains of rice along with him, one being white rice and another red. He sowed these two grains under a tree and harvested two heads. Then he sowed these on a somewhat larger field. In such a way the rice gradually increased. He brought the harvested rice to his house and the people came to see it. Because he sold the red rice and kept the white, all the red rice got angry and the bag filled with this kind of rice left his house walking by itself. On the way the bag tore and there spilled out some rice which changed into the sago-palm. The red rice came finally to a field prepared by a woman where the rice strewed itself and sprouted. The people of the village of the man mentioned heard of this. They came to the woman's village and persuaded the red rice in vain to return to the original village. (In the Kei Islands, however, red rice is usually cultivated well on the dry rice-field).

In the subsection of this article dealing with the island of Flores, we have introduced a tale in which a man from the Underworld brought the technique of making fire while the woman who lived on the earth was eating raw food, in contrast with this tale from Kei. With regard to the origin of rice, however, we have here a parallel tale from the Ifuga'o people of the Philippines⁷⁴.

Two brothers pursued a wild pig up to the Skyworld where they killed it. The Skyworld people accused them of having killed a Skyworld pig, but were assured finally that the pig was from the earthworld. The pig was cut up and the Skyworld people were given a share. They mixed the meat with blood and rice and ate the mixture uncooked. The two brothers refused to eat with them, descended to the earthworld, and cooked rice and meat in bamboo joints. The children of the Skyworld people followed them and were invited to eat. After eating they were given the left-over rice and meat and told to carry it to their parents. The Skyworld people wondered at the pleasant taste of the cooked food. They

74) Barton, 31-35.

called the two brothers back so as to trade with them for whatever it was that made the food good. They offered jewels first, then cowpeas, but they were refused by the two brothers. Then, they offered their Skyworld rice, which the two brothers accepted since it was superior to what the earthworld people already had. The two brothers made a fire for them with a bamboo fire-saw. Then the brothers departed with their rice.

The Skyworld people carried the fire into their house, thereby setting the house on fire. In great alarm, they called the two brothers back again. One of the brothers taught them how to deal with fire. They, in turn, gave directions that the rice was to be planted in a swampy place. This was the origin of irrigated rice.

This tale from the Ifugao people is to be regarded as a variant of our subtype I^a. Nevertheless, this tale is comparable with the tale from the Kei Islands in that the rice was acquired in exchange for the fire, though the *locus* of the original rice is just the reverse, the Skyworld in the former tale and the Underworld in the latter one. This might suggest that the *locus* may shift from one to another, while the theme itself remains the same.

In the above, we have introduced a few tales of grains originating "from the water"—"from the water of a lake" in central Celebes and out of a jewel "from the middle of the sea" in Java, for instance. And though the tale from Amarassi of western Timor is of type III, Lord Scorpion-fish, the hero of the tale, lived in the water of a pond connected with the sea and moreover, his father was a crocodile. Hidding tried to contrast the tales of the grains coming from heaven with those "from the water" or "from the earth," and he regarded both of the latter as representing the earthly powers (*chthonische machten*)⁷⁵. When dealing with each particular tale, however, we have to take into account the situation of the contrast. As we have seen above, there are various kinds of contrast: the heaven and the mundane world, the mundane world and the Underworld, the mundane world and the water, and the sea and the land. In the last case, the sea is often identified with some overseas land or heaven, while the land represents something "lower." As we have suggested in the chapter on the Ryukyus, the *Nira*, a name usually for an overseas holy land, is located in the bottom of the sea in a tale of a hamlet of Kakeroma Island. In south-

75) Hidding, 31-33.

western Celebes, Java and Bali, the tales involve the threefold division of the world: the heaven, the mundane world and the world of the water. On the other hand, a comparison of several tales would suggest some shift in the *locus* largely depending on the contextual situation. While admitting the importance of Hidding's view, we still hesitate to apply his principle to our classification involving multidirectional tales distributed in a vast area.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Here and there we have referred to our classification of the tales with which we are concerned. Taking the distribution of the tales also into account, we can show our classification in the following diagram:

Subtypes Types	a Given as a gift	b Acquired without any device	c Stolen
I. From the heaven or an overseas land	R, F, M	J, R, F, M	J, R, F, M
II. From the underworld	F, M	F	F, M
III. From a corpse, usually of a goddess or a woman	J, F, M		

The signs J, R, F and M indicate Japan proper, the Ryukyus, aboriginal Formosa and Malaysia respectively.

It is true that there remains something inconsistent in this classification. The classification of type I and type II is concerned with the *locus*, while that of subtypes in both types refers to the process or measures by which the grains were acquired. However, the classification of type III refers only to the process or measures. We are still far from classifying the tales of type III into subtypes.

As we have suggested rather sporadically, the "horizontal shift," namely, the shift from one subtype to another within the range of the same type, seems to be traced to some extent. On the other hand, we have here and there observed tales representing a combination of two types, though with an emphasis often

laid more on either theme. Such a shift in emphasis of the theme might have eventually led to the "vertical shift," that is, the shift from one type to another, but it is still hard to make sure of such a shift in most cases. In this connection, we have to take also into account the contextual situation of the cosmological division as mentioned above.

It is to be noticed that the tales in ancient Japan are of our type III, while those in medieval and modern Japan are exclusively of type I. In the Ryukyus, we find tales exclusively of type I. In aboriginal Formosa and Malaysia, we find the tales involving all the three types. Nevertheless, the tales of type II are particularly conspicuous in central Formosa, while they are very rare in Malaysia, if we leave aside Hidding's principle of classification mentioned.

There is surely a sharp contrast between type I and type III, the grains or other food plants coming from heaven on the one hand and from the human body on the other. By referring to tale type III and relevant beliefs and rituals found in New Guinea, Melanesia, Indonesia and elsewhere, Frobenius tried to see there a particular kind of world-view in which the fertility of plants and the killing of human beings are inseparably connected or "identified" with each other⁷⁶. Jensen elaborated Frobenius' view and pointed out that this kind of world-view, along with the myths and rituals relevant to it, is widely found not only in the southern zone of Eurasia extending further east to include Melanesia, but also in Africa and in the New Hemisphere⁷⁷. According to Jensen, the origin of death and that of food plants are inseparably connected with each other in this kind of world-view. From the one who died the primordial death there originated food plants, while human beings became mortal by this event. By repeating ritually such a primordial act, the fertility of both plants and human beings is to be secured. With this view are closely interrelated the human sacrifice, headhunting, cannibalism, the ritual death in initiation ceremony, and so on, "death, killing, procreation and reproduction forming an inseparable unit." In his later work⁷⁸, Jensen

76) Frobenius, 135-144.

77) Jensen 1949, 33-125, and Jensen 1950, 23-38.

78) Jensen 1960, 101-102, 121, 123-129, etc.

paid attention to two types of tales: (1) tales of food plants originating from the human body, and (2) tales of food plants fetched or stolen from heaven against the will of the god. These correspond respectively to our type III and subtype I^c. By taking into account to some extent the distribution of the tales, beliefs and rituals, he tried to correlate his first tale type with the earlier agricultural stratum dominated by root crop cultivation and his second tale type with the later agricultural stratum characterized by grain cultivation and in the Old Hemisphere, also by cattle-breeding. This contrast certainly represents the fundamental difference in world-view, accompanied by the development of the idea of heavenly god in the later stratum. However, he admitted that tales of the first type, along with the beliefs and rituals more or less conforming to them, are often "retained" even in a higher stage of cultural development, as exemplified in ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, ancient India, and pre-Columbian Mexico as well as Peru. As far as Malaysia is concerned, he ascribed his second tale type to the "Middle Malayan" stratum characterized by rice cultivation and the breeding of water-buffalo used exclusively for sacrifice. In Polynesia, where the people depend on root crops, the tales are of his second type, that is, those telling of the heavenly origin of root crops. According to him, this suggests that during their eastward migration the ancestors of the Polynesian people had lost the grain crops once they had cultivated in their cradleland, somewhere in Southeast Asia.

Distribution of the tales in Indonesia seems not necessarily favourable to the view of Jensen. As we have suggested, tales of our type III might be regarded as of a later introduction at least in central Celebes and in the area including east Flores, Solor, Adonare and Alor, while this type is predominant in Java where the Hindu-Javanese culture once flourished, leaving various degrees of its influence on other islands of Indonesia. The Hindu mythology might have tended to fertilize the indigenous tales of type III while transforming them to a large extent. Though we have no definite perspective with regard to the diffusion of tales in Indonesia, the subtle problem is whether the world-view relevant to a given tale would diffuse at the same pace as that of the tale.

Jensen did not deal with the tales of our type II. It would

be too simple instantly to see there the "Mother Earth," "Chthonische Mächten" or such, though some atmosphere of the tales might eventually lead to the formation of such a concept according to the situation. For the moment, we regard these tales as of a specific type, the implication of which remains still to be investigated.

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Abbreviation:

- Bijdragen*—*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië)*.
- Tijdschrift*—*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkerkunde*.
- Verh. v. h. Kon. Bat. Gen.—Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.