

impression of caution, perhaps stemming from his innate sense of humility. Since he has said he intends to search for elements of folk faith in the tales, his intimate contact with the setting and the narrators should furnish something deeper in that respect. There are certain questions that come to the mind of the reviewer. Why is the "Nukabuku, Komebuku" tale an autumn story, why the festival as the setting for match making, and why does the succor come in the mountains?

As Mizusawa goes further into his study of certain types of tales, we can expect him to gain more insight and more confidence in his conclusions. He is turning up a tremendous amount of fresh material from which we can hope for fresh and penetrating observations.

Fanny Hagin Mayer  
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**C. Ouwehand:** *Namazue and Their Themes*. An interpretative approach to some aspects of Japanese folk religion. XVI, 271 pages, 21 plates, 2 maps, drawings and charts in the text. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964.

To prepare this book the author worked twice in Japan, one year from 1956 to 1957, later, in a shorter sojourn, from 1958 to 1959. He studied collections of *namazu-e*, "catfish (sheatfish, wels) pictures," usually colour prints or painted on paper, sometimes on wood. Most of them were made on certain occasions for specific purposes for the satisfaction of the imaginative mind of the common people. Ouwehand studied a collection of 88 such pictures which is preserved in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden since 1902, and another consisting of 55 prints which were collected by the late Ch. Bolard-Talbère and are now kept in Geneva. Further collections studied were that of Prof. Fujisawa of Meiji University in Tokyo and one owned by the State University of Tokyo. Most of these prints were put into circulation immediately after the great earthquake that devastated Edo, now Tokyo, and the adjoining Kantô area in 1855 (Ansei 2), 10th month, 2nd day. Edo at that time had already a population over one million. A careful estimate is that about 5000 lives were lost and 14,000 dwellings destroyed, mostly by the ensuing fire. On the Bay of Edo tidal waves swept away entire villages. The *namazu-e* gained popularity because of this calamity. On the prints is pictured a monstrous fish which in the belief of the people caused the earthquake. The pictures show either the fish as such or disguised as some human being. The fish is pressed down by the Kashima deity by means of a sword or a huge stone, the so-called *kaname-ishi* or pivot stone. In a frequently occurring variation the *namazu* has the body of a serpent-dragon. Other substitutions for the *namazu* fish are the whale (*kujira*) and the thunder or fire god. "The monster-*namazu*, with Edo in flames on its head and

back, here vomits gold and silver pieces; the thunder-god relieves himself of gold and silver faeces" (p. 6). Other prints show the fish in combination with human or divine figures which are trying to tame the *namazu* with the help of a restricted gourd (the *hyôtan*). On a number of pictures the Kashima god is replaced by the god Ebisu or his companion Daikoku.

The explorer of popular religion finds himself confronted with the task of explaining how the *namazu* can have such substitutes and how the monster-fish can act as destroyer and restorer, hated and adored, and as a ravager and nourisher of life. "This contrast-harmony will also appear to be to a high degree characteristic and even determinative for the meaning of this entire representational world" (p. 8). The interpretation of the *namazu* pictures is further complicated by the appearance of the fish in human form, as child, as a man or woman, as a representative of various crafts and trades, but still showing a connection with the gourd or water or both by a distinctive mark on his clothes. At times the *namazu* as causer of earthquakes is abused and hated, at times he is adored as avenger of social injustices, "long standing socio-economic contrasts began to assert themselves via the typical folk prints which are the *namazu-e*" (p. 14). Besides their religious significance in connection with the earthquake legend we find in the pictures also criticism of existing social conditions through ridicule, irony and puns on words.

The *namazu-e* serve a double purpose, as society satire and as charms against further earthquakes. As charms they were pasted on the houses, "the charm takes the place of the Kashima god who restrains the earthquake monster" (p. 23). The concept of a monstrous animal under the earth as causer of earthquakes is shared by many peoples. Its Japanese version is that of an enormous fish (*namazu*) living under the earth, having its head just under the province of Hitachi where it is kept down by the Kashima god with the help of a pivot stone. The fish is carrying the whole country on its back and arouses earthquakes by any movement of its body.

The author first deals with the question who this Kashima god is. He examines both the official mythology and local traditions. In the myths the god Kashima is Takemikazuchi which arose from the blood of the fire-god Kagutsuchi when his father Izanagi killed him with his sword. Takemikazuchi is the sword-fire-god and thunder-lightning-god at the same time. Kashima is a place name in southern Hitachi. In the conquest of this province for the ruling Yamato clan, members of the Nakatomi clan were leading. They then retained a hereditary position in priestly functions at the Kashima-Katori-Shrine-complex in Hitachi. We have here one among many other cases in the history of Japanese religion that the cult of a certain deity in a given region was determined by the clan whose ancestor or clan-god the deity was. Early in the 8th century the deities of Kashima-Katori were brought over to Nara, the then capital, and worshipped in the Kasuga shrine, the sanctuary of the Nakatomi clan. At the same time, the original ancestor-gods of the Nakatomi, the son-mother pair Ame no Koyane no Mikoto and Himegami were relegated to a minor position. An older

autochthonous Kashima deity was probably identical with the later Takemikazuchi. The author with good reasons goes along with this assumption. He finds it decisive whether or not the local Kashima deity shows traits of a thunder-god, and indeed, in connection with wet-rice cultivation the thunder-god held a strong position in the religion of the farmers of Hitachi. This deity has also close connection with water and with stone worship. The combination of thunder-god, water and stone worship characterizes the Kashima deity and is a fundamental thesis in the present investigation of the *namazu-e* and relevant religious beliefs.

The *kaname-ishi*, the pivot stone, is still worshipped within the precincts of the Kashima shrine. Ouwehand identifies this stone with a sword. Relying on data in the *Engishiki*, published in 927, he takes the connection of the deified sword of Takemikazuchi with the worshipped stone for granted. Accordingly the pivot-stone concept would be a later formation. The *namazu* as destroyer and benefactor is, in the author's opinion, a religious figure. In a charm formula against earthquakes the treasure boat (*takarabune*) is mentioned. This boat connects with Ebisu and Daikoku, a pair of gods of fortune. The whale is often identified with Ebisu. Part of this complex is the *tokoyo* concept, *tokoyo* being the land of the dead, but also of eternal life, eternal youth and wealth. The *ne no kuni* is a water world and closely connected with Ebisu. There is interaction between mountain-gods and water-gods. The water-god can reside in rock caves. The *namazu* as water-god is related to the *wankashi* legend in which a mysterious being in a cave lends a bowl which bestows abundance of food. Hitachi is the center of the *kakurezato* idea, that is of a village hidden deep under the ground. Hitachi is also the cradle of the earthquake legend. The *namazu* is here conceived of as water-god with relation to the *wankashi* legend. The complex of the visit to the Dragon Palace (*ryûgû-iri*) and the *tokoyo* belief show parallels in Hitachi which in ancient times was thought to be the "promised land." In the *Hitachi-fudoki* Hitachi and the region adjacent to it are identified with *tokoyo*. The same identification is to be found in the so-called Miroku songs and dances which are closely connected with the Kashima-Katori shrine complex. The messianic expectations of the Miroku cult have left their traces in the folk religion. The World of Miroku (*Miroku-yo*) is the Everlasting World (*tokoyo*) or paradise, which is in Hitachi. There exists relationship between *yo-naoshi* (new creation of the world) as charm against earthquakes and between the *Kashima no kotobure*, that is commandments of the Kashima god, said to be issued through a person supernaturally connected with the god and receiving his commands (*shinrei*).

The argument of the author in following the twisted paths of folk religion arrives at the following conclusions: the restored new world (*naori-yo*) and the expected paradise on earth (*Miroku-yo*) are the same. Furthermore, the *tokoyo* and the *ne no kuni* are the same, a distant paradise and a dark underworld. Takemikazuchi and Ebisu are both suppressing a subterranean monster, either an insect, a serpent (-dragon), a fish or a whale. Into this context of mutual relationships

belongs the *namazu* as destroyer and benefactor. He is a water-god and as earthquake *namazu* he is a *rusugami*, a caretaker-god during the absence of the Kashima deity in the 10th month. There is a great ambivalence in the nature of the *namazu* to the point of absurdity. he is at times a *nigimitama*, at times an *aramitama*, a benevolent and a malicious deity. Sometimes it seems to us that Ouwehand should perhaps have given more consideration to the irrational element in folk religion in which accidental associations and connotations play also their role so that its creations must not necessarily always call for a deeper and far going explanation.

Ouwehand's research into the *namazu-e* cuts through many fields and segments of folk religion and is a well documented attempt at a synthesis. So far not many of such attempts have been made, but in view of the enormous material brought together by field investigators and researchers of single questions with a limited scope, more such attempts should be tried with all the risks involved. Ouwehand's book has also its merits in so far as generally valid findings of psychology and sociology of religion are tested in it. Among other accomplishments in this respect the author refers to Bergson's ideas on the religious function of imagination in crisis situations (Henri Bergson, *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, 64th ed., Paris, 1951) and to H. Spiegelberg's *Die Profanisierung des japanischen Geistes als religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen dargestellt an Hand einer Analyse des Farbenholzchnittes des Ukiyo-ye* (Leipzig 1929), always following however his own careful judgement. No doubt, Ouwehand presents here a profound study of the *namazu-e*, the circulation of which was occasioned by the earthquake of 1855, and together with them also on the whole and complicated texture of related concepts and ideas in the religion of the Japanese people towards the end of the Tokugawa period (1868).

M.E.

**Alois Pache:** Die religiösen Vorstellungen in den Mythen der formosanischen Bergstämme [The religious concepts and ideas in the myths of the mountain tribes of Formosa]. *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, Vol. 19. XVI, 262 pages. St. Gabriel-Verlag, Wien-Mödling, 1964.

The aim of this study is to show which religious world outlook is to be found in the myths of the Formosan aborigines and what position among their neighbors in the Southeast Asian area these tribes occupy as far as their myths are concerned. The author could scrutinize 284 myths which are contained in the Japanese collection compiled by Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin, *The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes*, Taihoku [Taipei], 1935. For the purpose of his study the author translated the myths himself from the Japanese original of the collection. On its 783 pages this collection gives the myths a text-critical treatment. On the left page the myth is rendered in the

native language of the tribe concerned with a line by line literal Japanese translation. On the opposite right page the translation is given in a refined Japanese version. This collection is the source for our author who could not himself have recourse to the native texts.

Linguistically the Formosan aborigines are divided into twelve tribes (Atayal, Saisiyat, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Ami, Sedeq, Bunun, Tsou, Saaroa, Kanakanabu, Yami). These tribes vary in size and their share in the total number of the Formosan myths is different. At the time of the collection of the myths (1930) the Bunun, for instance, numbered 17,926 members and were one of the largest tribes. The number of myths recorded among them (63) is second only to those of the Atayal with 35,000 members.

For the examination of the religious content of the myths the author devised a scheme which he applies in the same way to each ethnic group. This scheme is a set of categories of religious ideas and practices. These categories are (I) Concepts of higher beings (belief in a High God), belief in lesser gods, and in divine human beings by which the author understands beings of heavenly descent who live temporarily among men on earth; (II) Creation concepts (cosmogony, anthropogony); (III) Concepts of a primeval age of the world (a paradisiac state and stories of a world deluge); (IV) Forms of religious expression and activities: prayer, sacrifice, festivals, rites, magic, superstition (divination, omen, ordeals, dreams, taboo, conjurations, curses); (V) Ministers at worshipping ceremonies (priests, shamans, sorcerers); (VI) Ethic concepts (positive manifestations of ethics, negative manifestations of ethics: homicide, theft, incest, other sex offenses, cruelty, laziness); (VII) Concepts and practices concerning death, funerals, the other world.

With regard to this scheme a few reservations could be made. If within the category IV a subdivision "superstition" (Aberglaube) is made and such diverse things as divination, omen, ordeals, dreams and taboo are brought together in it, this procedure may serve practical purposes, but it will hardly be in accordance with modern science of religion. When going through the data under VI (Ethic concepts) the reader wonders how in a book on religious concepts ethics are given so much attention and space. Of all twelve tribes the ethic concepts and values are scrutinized and arranged with the result that only an almost imperceptible connection between them and religion seems to exist in a few instances. In fact, a closer connection can hardly be expected in a religious world in which the idea of a High God is not strongly enough developed or has perhaps been almost lost again. Only an active and powerful High God could be master of man's ethical conduct of life, issuing his commandments and punishing their neglect.

In the first part our author outlines the history of research work on the Formosan myths. In the second part the myths of each of the twelve tribes are searched for their religious concepts. In the third part the results thereof are summarized in two chapters, namely, A General Survey of the Religious Concept of the Formosan Mountain Tribes, The Results for the Science of Religion. By these results the author understands a better insight into the position of the Formosan

proto-Malayans among their racial and cultural relatives in Southeast and South Asia as far as religion is concerned. The substance of the book gives the religious concepts and activities of the Formosan proto-Malayans seen in the light of the religious world of the entire racial and cultural family of which they are members. To have brought this substance into focus is perhaps the greatest merit the author has earned in writing his book. Since only a few other scholars in ethnology and science of religion have access to the Japanese source material, the author did us a valuable service by closing the gap that had remained open before his book was written.

When reading the book we could not help getting the impression that in the representation of the material another approach would perhaps been recommendable. In the second part of the book, by far the greatest of it, several repetitions of the same statements became unavoidable. In this part, after the examination of the myths of each tribe with the help of the seven-point scheme, a summary of the findings is given. In it we find the same data again, this time only in a more condensed form. When all tribes have been examined in this way, there follows another summary in which the material presented first for each tribe is repeated once more. Then comes the third part: The results of the examination (*Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen*), Chapter one: A General Survey of the Religious Concepts of the Formosan Mountain Tribes (*Gesamtüberblick über die religiösen Vorstellungen der formosanischen Bergvölker*). In this part we find again the seven-point-scheme applied, this time for a comparison of the findings tribe by tribe. For this comparison a further repetition, the third, of the same things occurs. Even a fourth repetition cannot be avoided, though it is this time in a still more condensed form. In Chapter Two of the second part, "The Results for the Science of Religion" (*Die religionswissenschaftlichen Resultate*), the twelve tribes are no longer reviewed one by one, but again the seven-point-scheme is applied in the comparison of the Formosan tribes with tribes other than Formosan. As a starting point for the comparison we find here also things repeated. The author could have escaped the necessity of repetitions had he started his book with his section: A General Survey of the Religious Concepts of the Formosan Mountain Tribes. The tribal variations could have been listed in smaller print or perhaps in annotations.

In the comparison with non-Formosan tribes the author proceeds carefully weighing the points of comparison and making good use of the competent literature. We shall give here an outline of the results of this comparison. The Formosan mountain tribes have, as far as religion goes, their closest relatives among the proto-Malayans of the Philippines, especially of Northern Luzon. In their myths they show also a strong relationship to the non-Chinese tribes of South China, to the Mon-Khmer, and to the oldest tribes in Northeast India. This relationship is strongest in the myth complexes of cosmogony and anthropogony and in the myth about a primeval age. "Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the myths of the Formosan mountain tribes, if examined for their religious concepts, sufficiently prove that the carriers of this cultural heritage must have come from the Indonesian area,

in particular from its Northeastern sector, that is from the part adjacent to Southeast Asia" (So kann abschließend gesagt werden, daß die Mythen der formosanischen Bergstämme, auf ihren religiösen Vorstellungsgehalt hin untersucht, die Träger der Formen dieses geistigen Kulturbesitzes hinreichend deutlich als unmittelbar aus dem indonesischen Raum, näherhin aus seinem nordöstlichen, dem südostasiatischen Raum benachbarten Teil stammend, ausweisen) (p. 258).

M.E.