lighted by a small built-in oil lantern.

Finally the author mentions the dance of "Sambasō", a ritual dance of a doll which represents a figure equally found in all the theatrical forms in Japan. Sambasō is the third doll in a group of three: okina (old man), senzai (thousand years) and sambasō (the third). Sometimes the dance is performed by all three dolls, but mostly only by sambasō. It is performed before the puppet plays start. Sambasō is the bringer of good luck. Therefore, the doll is considered to be sacred and its ritual dance is performed in great earnest and respect in rural areas. Usually it is connected with the local Shintō shrine. The doll may lay there before the kami or it may be brought there in a solemn procession by the actors before the dance starts. But once the puppet play has started the sambasō is also just a dancing doll.

In the appendix the author presents a great number of photos which illustrate the different types of dolls as well as many ways of handling them.

The article shows how even in modern Japan very old forms of her theatrical tradition still survive, but also in what a danger Japan is, to lose these precious things within a rather short time. It shows also to some extent the connection of these performances with ritual and religious forms as do Prof. Immoos's articles in the same volume in a similar field.

Peter Knecht

Toichi Mabuchi: Toward the Reconstruction of Ryukyuan Cosmology.

In: Folk Religion and the Worldview in the Southwestern Pacific. The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies. Keio University, Tokyo 1968; p. 119-140.

By the title of his essay the author implies that the cosmology of the Ryukyu Islanders presents as it is a confused picture, lacking a consistent structure, and has to be reconstructed. He finds a state of confusion with regard to the ancestral deities, that is, which deities, the heavenly ones or the earthly ones, are to be considered the primordial ones in creating the islands and making them inhabitable. Connected with the confusion in matters of the deities is the confusion with regard to the cardinal points. The author, who is an outstanding expert in the ethnography of the Ryukyu Islands, shows himself thoroughly familiar with the facts concerning religion and society in his field of research, and when attempting interpretations of these facts, he weighs them against each other with utmost circumspection and thoughtfulness, and still he does not yet propose any definite hypothesis as to which cosmology may have been the original one.

In connection with the author's pursuance of his goal the reader is given a great amount of information on Ryukyuan folk life and lore. First comes the construction of houses and shrines. The four-room plan of the house is the most common one, each room having its own religious and social significance and implication. Also the house-yard is tied up with religious acts and observances, be they worship of ancestors or of deities. We learn further that the islanders are basically farmers, fishing being only a secondary means of subsistence. The agrarian annual cycle therefore determines the rhythm of religious life. The latter consists of thanksgiving for the harvest, securing fertility of the crops and human beings, and warding off of evil spirits. At the annual festivals the
deities and ancestor spirits are invited to community feasts. The village is chiefly concerned with the deities or the remotest ancestors who are believed to be the founders of the village. The deities welcomed are coming from some mysterious world, either from heaven or from somewhere beyond the sea or from the bottom of the earth. In some villages they are invisible, in others they are represented by masked persons. In dramatic performances deities are shown bringing their gifts to the villagers. In an ensuing tug-of-war the village is divided into an eastern half and a western half. The western group is considered the female side, the eastern group the male side, though actually both men and women are on each side. The western side must win if it is to pull the gifts of fertility from the east to the west, that is from the divine to the human world. In some villages the victory of the female side brings fertility to the crops and that of the male side prosperity of offsprings. The tug-of-war is usually performed during the harvest festival for wet rice.

Several weeks after the rice harvest festival, at about the turn of the year, a boat race is held. While slowly rowing out to the sea the performers sing a song welcoming the gods, from the open sea back to the village they are racing, bringing the deities along with them. Two boats are racing, one representing the male side, one the female side, the victory of the female side bringing fertility to the crops. In other places an invisible boat is welcomed which is loaded with seeds of crops and the fertilizing power from the divine land far beyond the eastern horizon. At the ritual priestesses sit on the sea-shore, facing the east. People take fragments of coral reef stones home from the seashore and put them on the house-altars in the belief that they contain fertilizing power.

In Yaeyama the deities come visibly, represented by young men, either masked or not. The most elaborate masks are those of "the deity in the red mask" (aka-mata) and "the deity in the black mask" (kuro-mata). The one with the red mask is male, the one with the black mask female. Both deities belong to the local earth, not to a foreign world beyond the sea, and are supposed to bring fertility. They visit each house and bless the families. They dance on the village square. The one with the red mask keeps to the east side, the one with the black mask to the west side. We find here that male, the east and the right side belong together, faced by an opposite combination, that of female, the west and the left side. The two combinations divide the subterranean deities into two sides.

In other places the masked deities appear in two pairs, two male and two female. The male pair visits the south section of the village, the female pair the north section of it. At each house the deities recite a long song. It seems that the deities came from the east or north and went away in the direction of the sea and set their dresses adrift there. Legends from Kabira suggest that the deities came out of a well, thus indicating that they were subterranean beings and did not come from overseas.

At the festival which takes place at the turn of the year, several weeks after the rice harvest festival, priestesses play the role of the deities from the main sanctuaries. The gods are believed to have come down from heaven to the shrines and to leave in the western direction. There is thus no uniformity concerning the origin of the deities, in some places they come from heaven, in others from the subterranean world or from a holy land overseas. These are examples of what the author calls the shifting dichotomy ever-present in Ryukyuan cosmology. In a few cases in northern Okinawa the sea-deities are distinguished by their make-up, bleached vines and green ones respectively.
Some villages the priestesses represent mountain-deities and welcome in their rituals the sea-deities and see them off again. Both classes of deities are believed to bring blessing for the farming crops. In a number of cases however are the sea-deities connected with net-fishing, the mountain-deities with boar hunting, and some rites suggest that the two groups of deities exchange their gifts. In general, throughout all festivals more emphasis seems to be laid upon the sea-deities than on the mountain-deities. The latter seem to represent the village and land when sea-deities come on a visit.

These few examples, presented in a summarized form, may suffice to show the position of the problem at the solution of which the author is striving. "Local variations in the Ryukyuan ritual seems still to be so tremendous that it would be hard to interpret such variations in terms of a single system" (p.138). In the ritual and social rank and significance of the parts of the house and the house-yard "some principles of cosmic as well as social classification are fairly manifest. When the perspective thus obtained is checked with ritual situations of various localities, it seems to be more or less evident that the local variation has often been an outcome of the different emphasis laid on either of these principles, owing partly to local topography and partly to local ideology" (ibid.). Throughout Ryukyuan cosmology is found a series of combinations such as east-west, right-left, male-female, sea-land, upper-lower, and still others. These sets are again combined with each other but not always consistently. This reviewer ventures to suggest that both changes in the economic life and changes in the popular interpretation of the inherited myths and beliefs may have contributed to the prevailing inconsistencies. Prof. Mabuchi's penetrating research into Ryukyuan religion is an important contribution also to the study of the old religion of Japan and provokes new thoughts for an analogous research work in other Western Pacific areas and may be beyond.

M.E.

Josef Kreiner: Some Problems of Folk Religion in the Southwest Islands (Ryukyu).


Dr. Kreiner, an ethnologist of Vienna, presents here the results of studies and field-research which he conducted in 1962-1963 in various parts of the Southwest Islands or Ryukyu. As other Ryukyu experts also he is aware of the fact that the folk religion there is extremely manifold in its manifestations and that it has at the same time foiled all attempts of the researchers at a systematisation. Statements holding true for one village or eventually for one island at best cannot be applied to the next village or island group and still less to the whole Ryukyu group. The author examines hitherto expressed theories and explanations in the light of recently done research work, his own included. We agree with him when he finds that the evolutionistic approach of Japanese folklore scientists to the Ryukyu folk religion was often one-sided and unsystematic. The culture of Ryukyu was considered a mirror of ancient
Japan. Ryukyuan phenomena were used to reconstruct the older phases in the evolutionary line of Japanese beliefs, practices and institutions.

The author touches on so many different questions that it is practically impossible to summarize the content of his paper. We mention only a few central topics: the noro religion, the marebito deities, the concepts concerning the Other World, the mask traditions, the guardian-god of the village. All students of Ryukyuan culture and religion will be grateful to the author for his abundant bibliography, understandably consisting mostly of Japanese publications. Besides this paper the author contributed to Ryukyuan ethnology the following publications: Maskenbrauchtum der Tokara-Inseln, Japan. In: Archiv für Völkerkunde, 19, Wien 1964/65; p. 90-101.—Beiträge zur Erforschung von Religion und Gesellschaft auf den südlichen Ryukyu: der Noro-Kult von Amami-Oshima. In: Beiträge zur Japanologie, 2, Wien 1965.

William A. Lessa: Chinese Body Divination.


This is a contribution to the Chinese cultural history. The use of phenomena on and in the human body for fate divination can be traced back, Lessa finds, to 611 B.C., a date given by the Tso Chuan, a commentary on the Ch'un Ch'iu, or the Spring and Autumn Annals by Confucius. The author handles his subject as embedded in the general social and cultural milieu of the various periods. Since physiognomy serves the determination of the future of individuals, times of social mobility were favorable for its advancement and those of social stagnancy were not. It is found that from the Ch'un Ch'iu period (722-481 B.C.) on down to that of the Warring States (403-221) physiognomy developed rapidly. This time was an age of vigorous thinking during which the "Hundred Philosophers" blossomed. In the leading philosophic thought systems, however, body divination does not seem to have found much acceptance. In the third century B.C. the Confucianist philosopher Hsün-tse wrote a special essay against the practice of physiognomy. This essay, at that time, relied in the main on general morphology and on color. The time called the Middle Ages (202 B.C.-906 A.D.), that is, from the Han through the T'ang dynasties, is a time of arrested development of physiognomy. However, the first book on body divination, the Hsiang-jen, was written during the Han time, but still this art does not go yet beyond the physiognomy of the pre-Han. It is based on the use of symbolic interpretations from morphology and from color and the human voice. The literature of the T'ang in general shows only a slow development of physiognomy. The ideological background of the time, with Confucianism dominating it, did not favor development. The sporadic writings on physiognomy did not find wide circulation because the art of printing did not yet exist before 770. Besides, the theoretical basis for physiognomy was during all these times but feebly developed. Thus Chinese intellectuals practically ignored it. Even during the Ming and the Ch'ing periods body divination did not gain the status of a science.

The Sung period (960-1279), when printing was already furthering communication, was intellectually characterized by a blend of Confucianist, Taoist and Buddhist cosmology, and the time saw lively social mobility. These
factors helped to arouse interest in physiognomy and to develop it in new directions. Two major methods were applied in this art. One was the classification of morphological units with symbolic interpretations. The other was the direct approach with philosophical and cosmological interpretations. By the first method human morphological units were brought in relationship with the Twelve Temples, the Six Quarters and the Five Sacred Mountains, and symbolic, sometimes philosophical, interpretations were made. With the help of Taoist cosmology physiognomists developed a new system by applying the principles of the Five Elements and the concepts of shen or mind, and chi or spirit, pneuma. Along these lines physiognomy advanced during the early Ch'ing time (1644-1911), but still its theoretical foundation remained vague. In the preface of his Shen Hsiang Fui Pien (A Book of Collections on Physiognomy) Kao Wei-ching writes in 1843 that seventy-three schools of physiognomy existed in his time.

The author touches on the question of an eventual diffusion of Western physiognomy to China, but he is of the opinion that at best only a stimulus diffusion has happened. Body divination always remained an occult art as such. However, it is an interesting phenomenon within the realm of magic and religious beliefs.

Leyte-Samar Studies.—A new journal which specializes in giving information on research work in the Eastern Visayan Islands, published bi-annually by the Graduate School of the Divine Word University of Tacloban, Leyte, Philippines.

From the Foreword of Vol. 1, No. 1, 1967: “In July 1966, a University was born in Tacloban City. Deeply aware of the leading role this University is expected to play in the Eastern Visayas, the DWU Graduate School is launching an intensive research program on the cultural aspects of the Bisayan people.

The Leyte-Samar Studies has as its primary purpose, therefore, the unearthing, exposition and presentation, in a scholarly manner, of the various facets and areas of the rich cultural heritage of Samar and Leyte. ... We clearly realize that this particular region is little known, its valuable heritage thus far unappreciated, its great men and women and their deeds and contributions to the history and culture of the Archipelago almost totally forgotten. Hence, we desire to expose ourselves historically, linguistically, scientifically, traditionally —in short, in all cultural dimensions.”

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This short essay is a contribution to the research on Christian folk religion in the Philippines, in particular on that of Leyte in the Eastern Visayan Islands.
MISCELLANEOUS REVIEWS

The Santo Niño is an image of the Holy Infant Jesus. Magellan had carried such an image along on his expedition and presented it to the wife of Humabon, the king of Cebu, as a present on the day of her baptism, the 14th of April, 1521. This image is still preserved in the Augustinian church in Cebu (Cf. Gregorio Zaide: Philippine Political and Cultural History, Vol. I, The Philippines since the Pre-Spanish Times, Manila, 1949, repr. 1950; p. 117). After Magellan had found his tragic end at the hands of the local chieftain Lapu-Lapu in 1521, and many other Spaniards had been put to death in Cebu, a few survivors left the islands and returned home, it was Legazpi, who in 1565, had succeeded in inducing the king Tupas of Cebu to sign the first Filipino-Spanish treaty. The king only gave in to the superior arms of the invaders who had shelled and subsequently looted the city. On April 28, 1565, one of Legazpi's soldiers, Juan de Camuz, discovered in a private house the image of the Holy Infant Jesus which Magellan had presented to Humabon's wife in 1521. The Spanish settlement in Cebu was named Ciudad del Santisimo Nombre de Jesus in honor of the Holy Infant Jesus (cf. Zaide, i.e., p. 144, f.). Cebu City celebrates every year the recovery of the image of the Santo Niño by the soldiers of Legazpi in 1565. (Cf. Rosa C.P. Tenazas, The Santo Niño of Cebu. University of San Carlos Publications, Series A, Cebu City, 1965). The veneration of the statue of the Holy Infant Jesus was introduced from Europe by the Spaniards and found in the Philippines, together with that of statues of other Christian Saints, an enthusiastic reception. This kind of religiosity must have appealed to the natives there who were, in their old religion, used to worship guardian-spirits.

The author presents the main data of the Christianisation of Leyte and continues by enumerating some town fiestas which are commemorating events connected therewith. Other town fiestas are held in commemoration of the dedication of a church or a town to a certain Saint. There are localities who were dedicated to a Saint for protection from epidemics and other calamities and dangers. Stories of miracles attributed to the image of the Santo Niño of Cebu circulated also among people of the neighboring islands of Panay, Bohol, Leyte, Samar, Mindanao, and in parts of the Tagalog region. A rather crude figure of the Santo Niño existed in Basey on the island of Samar, which later was exchanged for a more elaborate one and in the course of time given to the community in Tacloban in Leyte. In 1888 the statue was packed to be sent to Manila for repair, but the boat that carried it caught fire at sea and the crew threw all cargo over board. The crate which also contained the holy image was recovered off Mindoro and the Santo Niño made its triumphant return to Tacloban. At that time a cholera epidemic was raging there which was subdued at once by the power of the Holy Infant. In commemoration of the return of the miraculous image the 30th of June was made the day of the annual town fiesta of Tacloban.

The worship of the Santo Niño in Tacloban and elsewhere is a case where a Christian motif was accepted in the native way. The latter is described by the author as a genuine festival which lasts for a whole week, the entire population wholeheartedly taking part in it. Theologically minded pastors of souls may sometimes feel uneasy, suspecting people of idolatric inclinations, but given proper guidance, no wrong can be seen in letting the Filipinos manifest their Christian faith in their own way.

M.E.
"A scraping of the social veneer of many people in the coastal towns of Eastern Leyte reveals that many of the folkways and practices are a strange combination of Christian ideas and symbolism with pagan beliefs and practices", writes the author (p. 221). She then concentrates on *engkantos* (spirits), *aswang* (witches), and local sorcerers.

The *engkantos* inhabit fields, seas, and rivers and are nature spirits. As to their origin, the natives believe they are the bad angels whom God has expelled from Heaven within forty hours. Not all landed in Hell; some fell on trees, others on the earth and still others into the sea, and thus we have spirits in all regions of nature. Most powerful became the tree spirits, "because of a kind act they rendered Our Lord on Calvary", namely they covered his nakedness with a piece of white cloth when he hung on the cross. Their higher power however they use to harm men. They are especially known for abducting people. They are afraid of salt and flee when there is talk about salt. Illness and death are attributed to the *engkantos*. To forestall their attack rituals and ceremonies are performed. Only specialized persons, the *tamberlan*, know the prayer formulas against them. After the prayer the officiant distributes *carmen*, a kind of an amulet, to every member of the household. It is a tiny bag of black cloth containing bits of candles from the church such as the *Candela de Pascua*, a splinter from an altar stone (*bato ara*), a black diamond (*wagas*), a magic stone (*mutya*), and a palm blessed on Palm Sunday (*lokay*). "Some practicing Catholics wear the quack doctor’s *carmen* together with a crucifix and a medal of the Blessed Virgin" (p 224). Other performances exorcise a field before it is cultivated. The Genealogy of Our Lord Jesus Christ after Mathew I, 1-17 is recited in Latin and considered to be a very powerful charm. Also food and drinks are offered to the spirits to appease them.

The *aswang*, or witches, are evil persons possessing preternatural powers. Most feared are the *aswang* who attack healthy persons and suck their blood. They can best be driven away by the acrid smell of burnt shoes or car tires and the like, and with a certain species of bamboo and with salt. "To most people, however, the best protection against witches is the counterpart of their magic oil. This oil bubbles when a witch is nearby. It is also made in Samar caves but only on Good Friday. A witch senses it at once when this oil is to be found in a house and will leave as fast as she can” (p. 229). Oil made from a coconut that has been picked on Good Friday is also efficient, provided that it did not grow as one in a cluster but single and had pointed to the East. Spells for keeping witches away are gibberish with corrupted Latin words. People may be infected with the “germs” of witchhood by eating cold food. A dying witch passes her power on to a successor.

Sorcerers are feared as much as the *engkantos* (spirits) and the *aswang* (witches). A sorcerer, called by various native names, is born with a black tip on his tongue. By talking to somebody he can make that person sick. The bizarre mixture of Christian elements with native magic beliefs is especially crass in the case of the sorcerer. "He goes to certain caves on Good Fridays to gather the roots of plants. He places the roots in a bottle of oil. After a time, tiny worms, centipedes, snakes, bees, and even *habon* (chicken lice) appear
in the oil. When a barangan [sorcerer] finds a victim, he spits out a mouthful of this oil in the direction of the victim. Then he says the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the Doxology and prays to Saint Anthony to make the person sick (p. 230). Thus, commonly known Christian prayers are used as evil spells. Little dolls or images are used for sympathetic magic while a prayer is said to Saint Anthony that he may send pain to the victim. Certain objects protect from sorcery, among them again a piece of an altar stone or of a crucifix, and the blessed palm from Palm Sunday.

The author writes that she is presenting only some samples of the superstitions prevailing in Eastern Leyte. In this review we have picked out a few to call the attention of students of psychology of religion to Villegas's interesting paper and to the extraordinary fact that Christian beliefs and prayers are made to serve magic purposes. To a considerable extent the paradox happened that Christianity has enriched ancient pagan beliefs and practices. If there is to be Christianisation, it can never go halfway or even less.

M.E.

Nobuhiro Matsumoto: Religious Thoughts of the Bronze Age Peoples of Indochina.
In: Folk Religion and the Worldview in the Southwestern Pacific. The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies. Keio University, Tokyo, 1968; p. 141-158.

In undertaking this study the author expects to find an important clue to the process by which a higher culture with rice planting was brought to Japan. Some characteristic features on the bronze drums of the Bronze Age peoples of Indochina lead him to this expectation. The bulk of his paper concerns the religious thoughts in the area in question. These he describes by quoting and interpreting references found in older Chinese sources, foremost the T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan, according to which large bronze drums played a great role in sumptuous rank festivals at which much wealth was sacrificed in order to enhance the social prestige of the organizer. Human sacrifices were given to the deity of the rice-fields. Many figures on the bronze drums give hints as to the religious world of the tribes who possessed the drums. Figures of huge snakes and tigers suggest the worship of such animals. Human figures may be interpreted in terms of fertility rites. "There is found another scene which should be considered as the one showing a shaman or a shamaness going with a procession of their followers probably to the site of ritual plowing at the sacred furrow" (p. 147). In another scene two standing figures embracing each other may well represent a fertility rite. Still other agricultural rites have left traces in the figurative decorations found on bronze drums.

The author takes special interest in images of bird-ships and bird-disguised rowers which he brings in connection with Indonesian bird-ships and soul-boats. The Dayaks have boats of which the stem and the stern are fashioned after the head and tail of the hornbill. "The feather-decorated mast provides the perch for the birds that accompany the dead... This Dayak soul-boat closely resembles the bird-ship found on bronzed drums" (148). The author is here quoting from Victor Goloubev. In the funeral rites of the Dayaks shamans try to chase evil spirits away which are disguised as birds. With Goloubev the author
assumes that in the cult of the dead and in the belief in the immortality of souls, in which birds play a role, the Dayaks and the makers of the Indochinese bronze drums have common ground. He then attaches archaeological findings from Japan to the same religious complex. Boat-shaped coffins and figures of birds on pictures of boats became known here, Japan thus forming part of a wide distribution area.

To sum up, the archaeological and literary material with regard to the bronze age peoples of Indochina permit conclusions on the religious world in two directions: rank festivals with their religious implications and the soul concept. Japanese parallels may be due either to migration or close cultural contact.

M.E.


The Mnong Gar, better known today as the “Montagnards”, belong to the Southwestern group of Mon-Khmer speaking tribes and live in the mountain forests of Central Vietnam as semi-nomads, subsisting by shifting cultivation. Their descent is matrilinear and residence is matrilocal. The author concerns himself mostly with the worldview of the Mnong Gar, “they are animists”, he writes, “and the culmination of their religious life is the sacrifice of buffalo”. One who can afford this sacrifice is not only enhancing his social prestige, his sacrifice produces its effect also in the world of the gods. When a man kills a buffalo, a god dies; just as when a god kills a buffalo, a man dies. The human and the divine world are interrelated. The universe seems to consist of one substance, the forms of which are partly visible, partly invisible. Only the shaman is familiar both with the visible and the invisible forms. All visible beings have their counterpart among the invisible beings and vice-versa. If a disaster strikes at one thing, its counterpart is also affected.

In footnotes the author elaborates on many statements made in the text, and the references cited may serve the reader who wants to delve deeper into the problems touched upon, as a guide. We only wished the author had laid before us a more detailed report on his fieldwork among the Mnong Gar.

M.E.

Tsuneo Ayabe: A Study of Soul Concept in Thailand and Japan.

The author does not imply that there is a genealogical connection between the respective soul concepts in Thailand and Japan. He only wants to contribute to the typology of the soul concept by comparing those of the two areas which
he has investigated. The Thai believe in two different types of soul; one is the khwan, or the soul living in the human body, and the other is the phi, by which term all spiritual beings are meant which exist outside the living sphere of the ordinary man, such as the souls of the dead and the souls of extraordinary human beings; for instance the souls of divine kings and of sorcerers. The latter type of souls is feared and has to be warded off. The Thai believe that a human baby is born as a child of phi, and is not yet possessing a human soul which enters its body only on the third day after birth. From then on constant care must be taken to keep the human soul in the body. The Thai also perform various rituals for the purpose of tying the human soul to the body and calling it back when it is sometimes wandering outside it.

In Japan the soul of a living man can be appeased by magic rites and the soul of another person can be invited to enter into one's body in order to strengthen one's own soul. Thus the ancient Japanese invited powerful souls into the body of the emperor. The soul is tied to the body and strengthened. In the Bon festival of the living, ikibon, respect is paid to the souls of influential persons. When somebody is sick, it is thought that his soul has been contaminated while outside its body and it has to be called back and appeased. These examples, together with many more which the author presents of the soul concept in Thailand and Japan, show that in both countries the soul is more than only the principle of life. It has a quasi-independent existence and is considered a higher being, mysterious, and therefore to be treated with awe and respect. The student of the science of religion could here ask the question whether the soul concept of agricultural peoples is a specific one. It would be interesting to include also the Chinese soul concept in such a comparative study.

M.E.