

The Concept of Ancestors and Ancestor Worship in Korea

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INTRODUCTION

Ritual services for ancestors have a long and rich history in Korea, and they are still an important part of traditional village life. A direct lineal descendant, for example, must perform such services eight times a year on the death commemoration days of all ancestors from the fourth generation beyond his parents, in addition to four other yearly rituals conducted at seasonal holidays and several services conducted at the graveyard. And important social organizations such as the "dang-nae" 堂内 and "munjung" 門中, while they no longer function in precisely the same ways as they once did, continue to be important in ceremonies for ancestors.

Korean conceptions of the ancestors have also been of considerable interest to those who study Korean shamanism. Many scholars, for instance, identify two types of spirits, namely the good or benevolent ancestor and the evil spirit or ghost (see Kendall 1981: 115 and Ch'oe 1978: 197). The distinction between these two spirits is generally held to be the manner in which they met their deaths. "Bad spirits" are the products of abnormal deaths, such as suicides or accidents, and they are held to have died outside the home. They wander around the world and harm people. Good spirits, however, have lived long lives and died normal deaths in their homes; they become ancestor spirits which protect their descendants and family (Ch'oe 1978: 197; Kendall 1981: 132).

If indeed the nature of the spirit of a dead person were fixed by the manner, time and place of his or her death, then we might postulate that there would be no particular need for the development of ritual

services for the ancestors. As we shall see in this paper, however, Korea has a most complex system of such rituals, and judging from these one might conclude that the manner, time and place of a person's death is of less importance in determining the type of spirit that a person is to become than is the nature of the performance of ritual, funerary rites and shamanistic rituals which reflect the sincerity and good faith of the person's descendants.

In other words, as Newell has already pointed out (Newell 1976: 20), there is a mutual dependence between the living and the dead (offspring and ancestor) that has been important in the development of ancestor worship in East Asia (see also Wolf 1976: 363; Janelli and Janelli 1982: 159).

This paper, then, will deal with the funeral practices of traditional Korean society and with shamanistic rituals for the spirits of the dead. The question I would like to address is how the Korean people deal with death spirits, and how the relationship of mutual interdependence is established through these rituals. In all I will deal with four general types of ritual, namely funerary rites, ritual purification of the house after death, shamanistic requiems and shamanistic purifications. Because these rituals are so important in the understanding of Korean conceptions of ancestors, I will take a very concrete approach, and attempt to describe the rituals in some detail.

FUNERARY RITES

When a person is about to die, he is brought by members of his family to a deathbed on the warmer part of an inside room and dressed in a clean cloth called *ch'ongô chongch'im* 遷居正寢. One of the most important obligations of children is to watch at the deathbed of their parents (*imjong* 臨終). If the parent has last words, the offspring will write them down at the head of the deathbed.

People believe that the date and time of death are important in the afterlife, just as the date and time of birth are important during a person's lifetime, and they go to great lengths to determine these as precisely as possible. Sometimes, for example, people will place a piece of cotton (*sokkwang* 屬纊) on the mouth of a dying person so as to be able to check the time of the last breath.

When the offspring have confirmed the death they remove all ornaments from their head and fingers, loosen their hair and weep bitterly.

One member of the family will then take the white upper garment of the deceased out into the garden, face north and climb onto the roof. There he will call out the name of the deceased in a loud voice and

repeat the word "pok" (復, literally, "return"). After calling out in this way he pulls the garment up to the roof. This ceremony is called the "ko bok" 鼻復, or calling back the spirit of the dead.

When this ceremony is completed the family prepares food for the messengers (*saja* 使者) of the deity who will escort the newly dead spirit to the other world. The offering traditionally consists of three bowls of rice, vegetables, soy sauce, money and three pairs of straw shoes. It is placed either in the middle part of the inside garden or outside the main gate of the house of the deceased.

The body is then moved from its original deathbed to a board known as the *chilsong-p'an* 七星板. This is the board of the deity of the seven stars, who controls the life of men. The head of the body is turned to the north and the thumbs are tied together with string, as are the two big toes.

The mourner will then put on only one sleeve of an upper garment—the left side if his father has died, and the right side if the deceased is his mother. A person experienced in these matters will make a spirit, called the *honbaek* 魂魄, with string or paper. If string is used three strings of different colors will be knotted together in a fixed form, and if the material is paper it will be a white paper folded in a fixed form. This knot, or folded paper as the case may be, is placed in a small box called the *honbaek* box, or "spirit box." The word "hon" refers to the spirit or soul, and "baek" has the same meaning. Sometimes one of these words will be dropped, with either "hon" or "baek" appearing alone, and sometimes both words are used.

People in Korea believe that there are three spirits and seven souls that reside in each human being. One of these spirits will go away to the other-world with the messengers after death, one will stay in the deceased body, and one will wander about the world. The spirit box is for the protection of this last spirit. The seven souls are of the two eyes, two nostrils, two ears and one mouth; they are attached to the body and thus stay with it after death.

The most important single rite in the overall funeral ritual is the *süp* 襲, or washing of the body of the deceased. One man will bring warm water brewed with mugwort or juniper, and either two or four helpers will hold down the four corners of a coverlet used to cover the body. The naked body of the deceased will then be washed with a piece of cloth or cotton that has been soaked in the warm water. When the washing is completed the hair and fingernails of the deceased will be cut. The hair and nails which have been cut off will be placed into four small bags known as *choballang* 爪髮囊, which are put into the coffin later.

The corpse is then dressed in grave clothes. Before the face is covered, the person conducting this ritual will put wet rice to the mouth of the deceased with a willow spoon, saying loudly, "a hundred sacks of rice" at the first spoonful to be held up, "a thousand sacks of rice" with the second spoon and "ten thousand sacks of rice" with the third. A coin is also placed in the mouth of the deceased person.

After the corpse has been washed it is bound with a long cloth known as *yöm* 斂. There are two stages to this binding, one of which is small and one large. The small binding is done with a long cloth which has seven parts on the left and right side. Both sides of each part are twisted together and bound to the corpse. The relatives and friends of the deceased will put paper money into the twisted sections from the belief that this paper money will be used by the deceased when he passes the twelve gates of the otherworld.

After this initial binding the corpse is bound again, this time with long cloth in the large binding rite. This time the corpse is placed on a board of seven stars which is narrower than the previous board. The corpse is bound to the board with a longer cloth, seven feet by seven inches, which is of the traditional Korean length.

Now the corpse is put into the coffin. Here the body of the deceased is covered with coverlets. The corpse is laid on top of one of these, called the "coverlet of earth," and is covered with another, called the "coverlet of heaven." The deceased's old clothes will be put into the coffin next to the head and legs to fill the empty spaces. When the cover of the coffin is nailed down with wooden nails the offspring will weep loudly. The coffin itself is now bound with a straw rope around its upper, middle and lower parts.

This marks the end of the most important rites. A screen is now put up at the front of the coffin, and a big red cloth (*myöng jöng* 銘旌), on which the official title and name of the deceased are written, is hung on it. A small table holding incense and a spirit box will be put at the front of this screen. Sometimes items which were used in daily life by the deceased, such as a pipe, glasses, etc., will also be placed on this table.

At this point the first ancestor rite, the rite of mourning clothes (*söngbok-je* 成服祭), is performed at the front of the room. The mourners wear hemp clothes. There are five different types of mourning clothes (*obok* 五服), classified according to the quality of hemp they are made from. The roughest of these are those used by the chief mourner; coat, hat and leggings are all made from hemp. The mourner must have a cane made from bamboo if his father has died, and a cane made from paulownia if the deceased is his mother. The rite of mourning clothes is characterized by bowing and the dedication of wine—in normal rituals

there will be three dedications of wine and two ritual bows. After performing this rite visitors can greet the new ancestor and the mourners.

Formerly, villages would own in common a black bier to be used in funeral ceremonies. More recently, however, the bier has come to be made of paper flowers which are destroyed or burned after completion of the funeral. The bier is made on the evening before the departure of the coffin, and the pallbearers practice carrying it at that time. They are then served food and wine by the members of the family of the deceased.

The last ceremony to take place in the deathroom occurs when the coffin is carried from the room. Four men will take the coffin and shake it slowly up and down toward the four corners of the room. When it is taken from the room a gourd will be destroyed in front of it. People say that the sound will drive evil demons from the room.

The rite of departure (*palin-je* 殯祭) is held in the garden when the coffin is fixed on the bier. All who attend this rite dedicate a glass of wine by bowing once to the coffin.

The funeral procession is formed in a line behind a red cloth banner, and the small bier, with a box for the spirit and ancestor tablet, follows next. Various dirge singers stand before the bier. The leader of bearers rings a bell, singing the funeral procession song and the pallbearers chant syllables. The bier comes next, behind the bier the mourners, followed by remote relatives and visitors. In earlier times a red puppet made of wood, sword in hand, stood at the front of the bier to drive away the demons.

In some areas, the funeral procession proceeds on a road and a roadside rite (*nojön-je* 路奠祭) is performed at the entrance of the village. In other areas, this rite is performed in front of the house of an intimate relative or friend of the deceased. After the roadside rite, the women go back to their homes.

The grave site is important not only for the person buried there, but for his or her descendants as well. The grave site is selected by a professional geomancer. He decides all the processes; the digging of the grave, time of burial and the direction of the coffin once it is in the grave.

When soil has filled the hole of the grave and reached the same level as the surrounding flat land, the *p'yongt'o-je* 平土祭, or rite of flat land is performed. After this rite the chief mourner takes the box for the spirit and the ancestor tablet, which had been laid by the grave side, home following the same route the bier had passed.

When the chief mourners return home the female mourners come outside their gate, welcoming them by wailing. The box for the spirit and ancestor tablet are put into the mourning shrine along with a higher

table of food offerings and a small table holding an incense burner (*panhon-je* 反魂祭).

The first rite of requiem is held on the day of burial in front of the mourning shrine. The second rite and the third rite follow. These three rites of requiem are called *samu-je* 三虞祭. After these rites the process of ancestor worship follows the normal way, namely three dedications of a glass of wine, each requiring two bows.

After three months a day is selected to perform the *cholkok-che* 卒哭祭, or final rite of weeping. Until that day, the mourner shows respect for the deceased parent by weeping anytime without limitation. From this point the mourner weeps only three times daily, when he dedicates meals.

The day after this final rite of weeping, the rite of attachment of the ancestor tablet (*pu-je* 耐祭) is held in cases where there is a family shrine for the ancestors at home. In the family shrine there are several ancestor tablets, from the parent up to the fourth generation. With this rite the new deceased becomes an ancestor of the family.

The first anniversary of the death day is called *sosang* 小祥, the "small commemoration." For this ritual, relatives and friends come together to the mourner's home.

The second anniversary of death day is called the *taesang* 大祥, or "large commemoration." The ritual at this time is celebrated on a larger scale. After the ritual, the mourners withdraw from the mourning shrine and the longest mourning period is brought to an end by the changing from mourning clothes to normal attire.

If a man follows the fundamental process of mourning obligation as written in the Book of Rites, he will perform the rite of normalization (*tam-je* 禫祭) two months after the large commemoration day. He will perform the rite of good fortune (*kil-je* 吉祭) on the one hundredth day after the large commemoration. With this the longer process of the funerary rites is totally over.

Stages of rituals. The long process of the funerary rites can be broken into five stages, according to the rituals involved. The first stage is from the death to the making of the box for the spirit after the corpse has been placed on the board of the Seven Stars. In this stage there is a ceremony for calling back the departing spirit, and a ceremony for the messengers of the dead.

The most important ceremonies are in the second stage, which begins from the washing of the corpse and ends with the binding of the corpse. Washing is a rite of purification, cleaning the polluted body. The binding of the corpse symbolizes the act of separation.

The third stage includes several rites for the coffin, such as the rite for bringing the coffin out of the room, the rite of departure from home and the rite of departure from the village. The rite of the flat land at the grave site is the last separation of the deceased from the world.

The fourth stage begins from the rite for the returning spirit. When the chief mourner brings the spirit box and ancestor tablet, the rite of the returning spirit is performed at the mourning shrine simply for wailing. The most important part of this stage is the three rites of requiem. This stage is ended by the rite of final wailing.

The fifth stage includes the rite of the small commemoration or the first commemoration, and the large or the second commemoration. A man of sincerity performs two more rites; that of normalization and the rite of good fortune.

These complicated funerary rites could be classified into two areas, one for the deceased and one for the mourner. For the deceased, the first rite is the calling back of the departing spirit. After the confirmation of separation of the spirit from the body, there is the ceremony for the messengers of the dead. After the purification rite rice and money are put up to the mouth of the deceased and the corpse is dressed in grave clothes—in other words, the deceased is prepared for the next life with food and clothes. The binding of the corpse symbolizes separation, and is repeated three times. The rite of departure is also repeated three times.

The rituals for the mourner begin from the rite of mourning clothes. But the mourner undergoes a period of “no person” at the beginning of the funeral, which is symbolized by putting on one sleeve of the upper garment. Through the rite of mourning clothes, the family members of the deceased take on for the first time the status of mourner. With the rite of first commemoration, the obligation of the mourner is diminished and with the rite of second commemoration, one's mourner status comes to an end.

The funerary rites reveal several important things about the spirit. As mentioned already, it is believed that there are three spirits and seven souls in a human body. After death the three spirits are separated from each other. One is carried to heaven or the other world, accompanied by messengers who are sent to the world by Yōnma Taewang 閻羅大王, the god of the afterworld. Another spirit stays in the body. The third spirit stays in the box for the spirit which is made by strings or paper. The box of the spirit is preserved for two years in the mourning shrine. It is buried in the grave after the rite of large commemoration.

People believe that the dead person passes through twelve gates in

the afterworld and is judged by his behavior and achievements by the god Yŏnma Taewang, who has sent the messengers.

THE RITUAL CLEANSING OF THE HOUSE

Among the many different shamanistic rituals, there are several rituals which deal with dead spirits. The rite of requiem (*chinogin-gut*) and the rite of purification (*ssigim-gut*), are the main rituals for the deceased, but the most simple ritual for the deceased is the rite for the ritual cleansing of the house, called *chipkasim* or *chari gödum*. The former refers to house cleansing and the latter to bed cleaning.

The ritual for the cleansing of the house is performed mainly where the deceased died. If the death was caused by accident, this rite is performed in the room where the deceased lived. The ritual is generally held a few days after death, before the coffin leaves the house, on the day of departure of the bier, or on the day of "samu-je," the rite of requiem.

The ritual for cleansing the house is performed by a shaman as a part of the normal shamanistic ritual which will be explained below. But the normal ritual requires a long process, lasting more than one day, while the ritual for cleansing the house is performed without formality.

The essential part of the ritual of house cleansing includes six steps. First is the rite of purification (*pujŏng* 不淨), then the rite of calling the spirit (*nök-ch'öng*), followed by the rite of bringing the spirit down (*nök naerim*), the rite of sending the spirit back (*nök bo naim*), the rite of the coming spirit (*tae naerim*) and the rite for the messenger (*saja kamang*) (Lee D. H. 1973: 12).

For the house cleansing rituals the family members prepare several tables: one for all the gods, one for the deceased spirit and one for the gods of the otherworld. In addition to these tables, rice is placed also on a white paper, decorated as the symbol of the deceased.

The rite of purification is an opening ceremony, intended to purify the altar through the singing of a song or recitation of certain sentences. The rite of calling the spirit (*nök ch'öng*) is performed for communication with the dead spirit. After a long dialogue the deceased spirit descends to the shaman. In this rite of bringing the spirit down (*nök nae rim*), the shaman tells the family members what the deceased wants to say. During the rite of sending the spirit back (*nök bo naim*) the deceased spirit is sent away.

The rite of the coming spirit (*tae naerim*) looks like the rite of bringing the spirit down, but in this rite persons other than the shaman are possessed by the dead spirit. A man will hold a bamboo branch

on a basin where there is rice. When the shaman's song and the ringing of the bell reaches a crescendo, the bamboo begins to shake and the man with the shaking bamboo stands up and talks about the wishes of the deceased. He looks around at the relatives and friends, indicating their clothes or personal possessions, and inspects the food offerings. When the man takes the bamboo outdoors, the rite is over.

The shaman then performs the rite for the messengers of the dead (*saja kamang*), expressing various desires to the messengers to get them to take good care of the deceased. After this rite the shaman takes away the paper covering the rice and finds animal footprints on the rice; with these he can read the life of the deceased after death.

The purpose of the ritual of house cleansing is to purify a polluted house, because the death of a person is considered the worst pollution (Kendall 1981: 118). But the practical purpose of the ritual is to ease the regret of the deceased. Through the back to back rites of calling the spirit, bringing the spirit down and sending the spirit back, the shaman invites the deceased spirit to her, and the shaman explains the otherworld to the deceased as well as the wishes of the deceased to the living. The dead appears once again through a possessed person to emphasize his or her last wishes to family members.

RITUAL OF REQUIEM; *Chinogi-kut*

The ritual of house cleansing is seldom performed because it should be held during the funerary rites or shortly after the funeral. The ritual of requiem by a shaman (*chinogi-kut*) is more popular, however, because there are time or space limitations. There are many varieties of rituals, depending on the locality and scale of sponsorship but basically they can be classified into two different types, namely these in which the series of rites of requiem are performed as a part of a longer shamanistic ritual not intended entirely for the dead, and these in which the series of rites of requiem are performed separately, mixed with the other rites. The following is drawn from an example of the former type.

A normal shamanistic ritual *kut*, called a *kōri* 巨里, includes twelve rites or seances. The following example, however, is composed of nine normal rites and eight rites for the deceased (Lee D. H. 1983: 2). I will list these below:

1. The rite of purification (*pujōng kōri*). This is the opening ceremony, meant to purify the altar and greet all the gods.
2. The rite for the mountain god (*sangsan kōri*). This is performed to invoke the protection of the mountain god, who is considered an important god of nature.
3. The rite for the spirit of smallpox (*pyolsang kōri*). This is per-

- formed for the expulsion of diseases and bringing good health to the family members.
4. The rite for the warrior god (*obang sinjang kori*). This is the rite for the five gods who protect the family from calamities from the five directions, namely east, west, south, north and center.
 5. The rite for the lower level spirits (*sangsan taegam kori*). This is to invoke the protection of the lower level gods, who have no important position in the other world but still cannot be neglected.
 6. The rite for the guardian spirit of village (*ponhyang kori*). This deals with the village god who protects the village from outside influences.
 7. The rite for the ancestors (*chosang kori*). This ritual is for the spirits of ancestors who lived in the family but have not been specified as fixed ancestors. As a house god, the ancestor god also protects the family members.
 8. The rite for the household god (*songju kori*). This is performed so that the family may receive blessings from the household god.
 9. The rite for the actors' deity (*ch'angbu kori*). This is performed for protection from accidents, because the deity of dead actors control accidents.

The nine normal rites for the happiness of the family are performed by a shaman on the wooden floor in the middle of the house. The eight rites for the dead are held in front of a different altar in the yard.

10. The rite for mournful gods (*arin kamang kori*). This is performed by an assistant shaman to diminish the pains and regrets of all mournful gods, including the deceased spirit.
11. The rite for the ten kings of the underworld (*chungdi taewang kori*). This is also performed by an assistant, and is to request the ten kings of the underworld to receive the deceased spirit.
12. The rite for the messenger of hell (*saja kori*). This is performed by the main shaman, who wears a yellow robe and hemp cloth tied around her head with a straw cord. She holds a brass bell in her left hand and in her right hand she holds a dried fish wrapped with white paper which symbolizes the abode of the departed spirit. The shaman acts as the messenger of hell, recounting the experiences of the journey to the otherworld as she passes the ten gates of the ten kings.
13. The rite of princess Pari (*malmi kori*). This is performed by a shaman dressed in a red robe and wearing a big wig decorated with a crown. Princess Pari (literally, "rejected princess") was born as the seventh and last daughter of a king who had wanted

a prince. He therefore abandoned this last princess, who had to endure many hardships. When she was fifteen years old, she learned that her parents had become very sick. The other six princesses rejected them but this last princess underwent many hardships to bring back the water of life from another world. With this she brought her parents back to life. Thereupon she herself became the deity who guides the deceased to the other-world, and is the special spirit of shamans. The shaman recites a long shamanistic song of the epic of Princess Pari for more than an hour. People believe that during this rite the princess will take the deceased to a better world. The family members wail continuously to show their concern.

14. The rite of circumambulation (*toryong kōri*). This is to send the deceased to paradise. A shaman goes around an altar which has been dedicated to the deceased taking first three steps forward and then two steps backward. The family members follow the shaman, weeping and carrying the deceased's portrait, incense and candles. After circling the altar the shaman twists a knife in the air twice and throws it to her assistant, who is on the opposite side of the altar. The assistant returns it to the shaman. Then the shaman dances and sings a song for the deceased.
15. The rite of division of the cloth bridges (*chungdi garum kōri*). This is performed to send the deceased to paradise. The family members first pull two long cloth bridges, one made of hemp and the other of cotton. After turning left and right twice, the shaman proceeds through the cloth bridges with her breast, thereby splitting each of the cloth bridges in half. The hemp symbolizes the unclean bridge that opens the way to the ten kings of hell. The cotton is for the clean bridge that opens the way to Buddha or paradise. During her trance the shaman cuts through the cloth bridges, and the family members put money on them for the best wishes of the dead.
16. The rite of the descending spirit (*nōkch'ōngbae kōri*). This is performed by a shaman with a paper image of the deceased on her head. During this seance the shaman is possessed by the spirit of the deceased. She grasps each family member and transmits the words of the dead. She also goes around to pick up possessions, such as watches, hats, clothes etc. At last the deceased wishes good luck to every member of the family and leaves the shaman.
17. The rite of finishing (*twit jōn*). This is the last seance of the whole process. The shaman greets all gods who participated in the ritual. All demons are served with food at the outside gate.

Among the seven rites of requiem (*chinogi kut*), there are three which have the same characteristics as the rite of house cleansing; the rite of the messenger of hell, the rite of circumambulation, and the rite of the descending spirit. The messenger of hell in the *chinogi kut*, however, is not the same messenger who takes the dead to heaven—in this case the shaman is the messenger of hell, and relates stories about the otherworld to the family members. The real messengers are not valued in the *chinogi kut* as they are in the funerary rites and the ritual of house cleansing. The deceased appears twice in the ritual of house cleansing, once to the shaman and once to a spectator. In the ritual of requiem, however, only the shaman is possessed by the deceased.

The characteristics of this ritual of requiem, or *chinogi kut*, are the rite for the ten kings in the otherworld, the rite for Princess Pari, and the rite of division of the cloth bridge. According to this rite, there are ten kings who control different worlds or gates in the otherworld. The deceased spirit must pass these ten gates. King Yŏnma, who sends the messengers in the funeral rite, is one of these ten kings. Those spirits who are able to pass through all ten gates reach paradise.

To pass these hardships the deceased needs help. Princess Pari, the guardian spirit of all shamans, helps in this process. The passing of the deceased to the otherworld is dramatized clearly by the cutting of the cloth bridges. These shamanistic rituals enable the deceased to gain entrance to paradise.

RITUAL OF PURIFICATION: *Ssigim-gut*

The shamanistic rituals for the deceased are different in the southern part of the Korean peninsula, where they are called *ssigim-gut*, or the ritual of washing or purification. There are also some regional variations within this ritual of purification, but the essential part of the rite is included in the total ritual when it is called the ritual of purification. The following are some typical rites of purification prevalent in the southern part of the Korean peninsula (Ch'oe 1981: 95).

1. The rite for salvaging the spirit (*hon kŏnjiki*). This is performed by a shaman when the deceased has drowned. An altar is first prepared on the sea coast. The shaman bows to the four directions in front of this altar, throws the spirit bowl in the water and then salvages the dead spirit into the bowl. She drowns a hen in the sea as a sacrifice.
2. The rite for the fire god (*chowang megi*). This is performed in the kitchen where the fire god is enshrined. In the southern part of the Korean peninsula, the fire god is considered the most important of the house gods.

3. The rite for the ancestor spirit and the house god (*sönyöng, chi-wang*). This is performed on a wooden floor in the center of the house. A table for ancestors and another table for house gods are prepared. In this session the shaman praises the ancestor deity and the house gods to help make it easier for the deceased to get to paradise.
4. The rite of the center (*chung-kut*). This is performed in the yard, where one table for the ancestor deity and one for the messengers who bring the spirits of the dead to the otherworld have been prepared.
5. The rite for Princess Pari (*ogi p'uri*). This is performed in the yard. But this session is not so important or dramatized as it was in the rite of requiem (*chinogi kut*) noted above.
6. The rite of sending the spirit off (*hon ollim*). This is performed for an easier journey of the spirits of the dead to heaven.
7. The rite of untying the knot (*ko p'uri*). This is the process of untying seven knots, which have been bound in one long cloth. During this process the family members wish the deceased good luck by wailing and imitating the shaman.
8. The rite of washing (*ssigim*). This is the rite of symbolic purification of the dead. New clothes and white paper are bound together with a rush-mat which symbolizes the body. A bowl and lid are used as symbols of the head and hat. The shaman sweeps the symbolic body of the deceased three times with a broom that has been drenched with water scented with juniper, water scented with mugwort and with pure water.
9. The rite of smooth passage (*kil takküm*). This is to help the deceased to the other world. The men spread out a long cloth. The shaman moves the spirit basket slowly across the cloth, singing a song to help the deceased pass to the otherworld.
10. The rite of the four directions (*obang chigi*) is performed by a shaman and her assistant, who go around the kitchen, rooms, and yard, playing all the white on all kinds of musical instruments.
11. The rite of road (*köri gut*). This is performed on the road outside the house. A variety of foods is put in a bowl for the demons. A fire is made on the road from the clothes and papers used in the rites.

The central part of this ritual of purification is three rites, namely the rite of untying knots, the rite of washing the dead body, and the rite of smooth passage. The rite for unfastening the seven knots is a symbolical rite to relieve the regret of the deceased. The rite of washing

the body is the most essential part of the ritual of purification of the polluted body. The rite of smooth passage is a symbolic passing of the deceased to the otherworld. In short, the ritual of purification is important mainly for its aspects of purification and the passing of the dead to the otherworld.

The rite of smooth passage within this ritual of purification is different from the same rite as it appears in the ritual of requiem. In the ritual of purification (*ssigim-gut*) the shaman passes the spirit basket across a cloth. In the ritual of requiem (*chinogi kut*), however the shaman cuts the cloth bridge into two parts for the same purpose of passing the deceased to the otherworld. There is a rite to Princess Pari in the ritual of purification, but it has only a minor or weak function. In the ritual of requiem, though, the rite to Princess Pari is essential. In the ritual of purification there is no rite for the ten kings of the otherworld, but the ancestor spirits seem to have an important function, appearing both in the rite of ancestors and in the rite of the center.

CONCLUSION

During the funerary rites, the dead spirit is preserved in the spirit box after death has been certified by the rite of calling back the departing spirit. The spirit in the spirit box is the one which left the body after death. One more spirit has gone with the messengers from the otherworld, and the third spirit remains in the body with the seven souls. This is why the funerary rites are performed with the corpse and spirit box, and why there is a ceremony for the messengers.

The most important rite of the funeral is the rite of purification of the corpse. In this rite the deceased is given food and clothes for life in the afterworld. During the rite of separation by binding the corpse, relatives and friends give paper money to the deceased to use at the twelve gates in the otherworld.

The long period of funeral and mourning is a period of patience and self-denial for the mourner. This sacrifice of the offspring allows the deceased parent to become an ancestor who must also then protect the living family members.

If death has been caused by accident, the dead spirit needs the help of a shaman to release it from regret and to help in the passing of the ten trials in the otherworld. There are three types of shamanistic relief rituals, namely the ritual for house cleansing (*chipkasim*), the ritual for requiem (*chinogi-kut*), and the ritual of purification (*ssigim-gut*). The rituals of requiem and purification are the most popular and important of these.

The main purpose of the ritual of house cleansing is to dissipate the regret of the dead. In the course of this ritual the spirit comes down twice, once to the shaman, and once to the man holding the bamboo stick. As in the funeral rite, the important deities in this ritual are messengers who guide the deceased to the king of the otherworld. There is also a session to dissipate the regret of the deceased in the ritual of requiem (*chinogi-kut*), but the main purpose of this ritual is to ease the passing of the deceased to heaven or to help it reach paradise after passing the ten judgements by the underworld kings. The most important deity in this ritual is Princess Pari, the shaman's foundress-spirit.

The most symbolic part of the ritual of requiem is the rite for cutting the cloth bridges. But the ritual of purification has vivid symbolic sections—the rite for unfastening the seven knots, the rite of washing the dead body with water, and the rite of smooth passage. They symbolize the dissipation of regret, purification from pollution and the passage way to the otherworld.

These shamanistic rituals allow those who died in accidents to be purified and pass to the otherworld. But the main purpose of these rituals is to pass the ten gates of hardship and to arrive in paradise. Sometimes our world is believed to be one part of paradise because happier men may be reborn here.

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