

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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Yanagita Kunio: Aim of Research on the Okinawa Islands (柳田國男: 南島研究の目途).—

Because of the great number of the islands of the Okinawa group many survivals of old customs can still be found there. For example, the belief in the Heavenly Boy (Tendô 天童) is commonly practiced on the islands of Tsushima (Quelpart Islands). Because of the Chinese name of this deity, the belief in it has always been considered as a Chinese import, but the possibility has to be kept in mind that the name Tendô is but a corrupted form of *taiyô*, the Japanese word for sun. The worship of the sun or of the East is equally practiced in Japan and in South-east Asia as well. In old Japanese records both *ama* and *ame* mean heaven, more precisely the sun. In Amami-Ôshima the word *ama* (heaven) was originally not used in the sense of the Sun-Goddess' grandson.

We can imagine that in Japan Takachihô could descend from the clouds to a mountain peak, but this imagination is difficult in the case of the low lands of Okinawa. If the higher being there is called Amamiko ("the August Child of Heaven"), we might say that the belief underwent a unification; but an instance

against this explanation is that the word *ama* is not used on the main island of Okinawa. In Nishimote, however, among the three rulers of Heaven and Earth one is called Amatsukasa ("Ruler of Heaven"), designating a deity which is in fact the ruler of the sea, so that in Yaeyama the word *ama* seems to connote the sea. Looking at such discrepancies between the beliefs of old Japan and those of the present-day Okinawa, we want to know more about the process of change these beliefs underwent.

Segawa Kiyoko: Visiting the Natal Household by the Married-out Women (瀬川清子: 嫁の里がえり).—

I. The young wife and her native village.

1) Noto Islands in Ishikawa Prefecture, Kashima District.

Two marriage types exist at present on the islands, both are marriages in which the bride moves into the household of the bridegroom. One wedding type is characterized by a number of banquets with rice-wine given in the house into which the bride married, the other by the rumor the villagers spread: "In this house wedding ceremonies must be going on because a bride has arrived." The bride moves during night and in her ordinary clothes, the apron included, into the house of the bridegroom. Then she works alternately for one day in the house of her husband and in her native house until she is about forty years old. Then she gets installed into her full rights as house mistress.

2) Ishikawa Prefecture, Fugeshi District, Ōya Village, hamlet Shimokurokawa.

The bride enters through the garden-door into the house of the bridegroom. When entering she receives a cup in which water from the bridegroom's house is mixed with one from her native village. When she has drunk the water she throws the cup away in the garden. If the cups breaks in three pieces, this is taken as an omen that she will give birth to three children. In the house the bride worships gods and Buddha and eats a rice-cake that is called *ochitsuki no mochi*, a name expressing the wish that the bride may enjoy a quiet and stable life. When the young wife has stayed for one week in her new home, she returns to her native village, taking along with her rice-cakes filled with red beans to distribute among her family members as gifts. After five or ten days she goes back to her husband. Later she returns to her parents every second, third, seventh or tenth day to be of help in her home. Only after having given birth to a child she stops going home.

3) Ishikawa Prefecture, Fugeshi District, Kugesu Village.

Wedding is called there *bashitori* (probably "taking the chopsticks in her hands"). The bride's furniture is not brought to the bridegroom's house on the first evening, as the bride is not yet to stay there and she returns to her parents. Only after three or five days her belongings are brought to her new home. There are families with not enough hands to do the work, in which case it is hard to find a bride. But on the other side there are cases that the bridegroom-to-be tells the girl of his choice: "Become my bride. We need your help." This implies that

the engagement is entered not so much for the sake of the husband but for the sake of work which the girl is expected to do. Her mother-in-law does the cooking herself, but wants the young wife of her son to bring her fuel. That means that the bride has to go to the forest every day at about four o'clock in the morning to cut wood there, she comes back at seven and gets her breakfast. During daytime the young wife has to work in the field until half past seven or so. Thus she is kept too busy with other work to find time to do the cooking in the household she entered. (This information was given by a housewife who was more than forty years old.).

(4) Ishikawa Prefecture, Fugeshi District, Sumiyoshi Village, hamlet Kaji.

Of a young wife that does not return to her native village people say: "She can do as she pleases, return to her village or not; she has no mother-in-law." In her leisure time, however, her going home is a matter of common sense. When she has given birth to children, up to the third child or so, her mother pays her a visit and takes her home for a while. Manners require that the mother is not only entertained with rice-cakes in her daughter's house but also given a present which she may take home. In her home, family members help out in field plantation work, in cutting rice and grass. The kin of the young wife, however, though they give assistance to her husband's family in rare cases such as fire catastrophies, do not care much to help out in the young wife's new home.

5) Ishikawa Prefecture, Fugeshi District, Machino Town, Tokikuni Village.

A girl gets married when she is about eighteen years old, men when twenty or twenty-five. The bride is chosen exclusively by the parents without any regards for the inclination of the two who marry. The characteristics of a marriage arranged in such a way consist in that the bride becomes a member of the family of her husband as soon as the wedding rites have been performed, but for certain reasons the young wife may go home from time to time, that is: a) A newly wedded wife may go home during the first and the second year on the second, third or tenth day to help her kin there.—b) During the first year the young wife may also go home several times and also for longer periods to help in washing and mending the clothes of her mother and brothers and sisters, which work is called *sentaku*, that is to do the laundry.—c) Immediately after the wedding rites a ceremony, called *saitogaeri* ("going home to the native village"), takes place.—d) The Bon festival, New Year and other outstanding festivals the young wife passes in her native village.—e) The first three children are born by the young mother in her native village. Each time she stays there for a long time.

Each of these visits is accompanied by an exchange of gifts of food, those from the house of the wife being worth more than those from the side of her husband. Most honoured are all these customs in districts of Hokuriku.

II. The young wife returns to her home to help working, this custom being called *hi wo toru* (lit. "taking a day," or "days").

On the islands near Noto Peninsula it has been heard that a frequent return of women of more than forty years of age takes place even in our time. Various

types of this custom exist in different provinces.

1) In Sado the girl is taken into the house of her bridegroom already before the engagement is publicly announced, a custom called *ashibumi* (lit. "to experience the feet"). In this period of her life the girl works alternately half a year in the house of her fiancé and in her own house, which they call *bantoshizukui* (lit. "half year's service"). In winter the girl works in her home most of the time.

2) In Nibukawa Village in Hida (Gifu Prefecture), Ôno District, in settlements deep in the mountains, when the New Year's congratulations have been said the girl stays with her parents for a whole year. After her marriage she returns home every third day. Even in case of family division, when the new household consists only of husband and wife, the latter goes frequently home to her parents.

From Hokuriku down to Shinshû the wedding ceremonies are called *basbitori* (lit. "taking the chopsticks") in many places, but the ceremonies themselves are in no way uniform.

III. Going home to do the laundry (*sentaku-kaeri*).

This custom is known everywhere in Japan but most frequently practiced in Hokuriku, where washing is incumbent on the young wife and her family. In case of divorce the wife carries her clothes home herself on her shoulders. In Mie Prefecture, Ayama District, in the region of Tsuge, the young wife goes home in the evening of the wedding day. The next morning she returns in her ordinary clothes to the house of her husband and starts working there. Besides, she has to distribute rice with red beans to the families of her new neighborhood. Afterwards when some spare time is left to her, she goes back to her village and helps in the work of her family; furthermore, she makes her own clothes by preparing cotton and weaving.

IV. The custom of *satogaeri* ("going home to the native village") in present-day wedding ceremonies.

The custom is also called *mitsume* (lit. "the third," sc. "day"), because the young wife goes home to stay there for one night on the third day after her wedding, or she may return to her husband's house the same day. In Kaga (Ishikawa Prefecture), Nomi District, the young wife goes home on the seventh day. There she stays for as many days as she did in the house of her husband; for instance, if she has spent seven days there, she may now remain at home also for seven days.

V. Ceremonies on the main annual festivals.

When the wedding ceremonies have been duly performed and the bride has moved to her new home, she brings food as gift to her parents' family on New Year and on Bon. In Shinshû, Minami-Saku District, this custom is called "*setsu ni yuku*," that is "to go to celebrate the festival."

VI. *Sanya-gaeri* (産屋がえり), "going home to the birth-house".

For several years after marriage the young wife goes home to deliver her children there. In Awa, the young wife in her fifth month of pregnancy gives

notice to her parents of her condition and receives congratulations from them. In Kai, Kita-Koma District and Nishi-Yamanashi District, when her conception has become a fact, she receives rice-cake and fresh fish as presents from her parents together with congratulations.

In Aomori Prefecture, Sanoe District, the young mother, after having delivered her child there, stays in her parents' house for twenty or thirty-three days or even fifty days, during which time she is taboo. At the end of this taboo period she takes her baby along to her husband's house where a feast is prepared. In Iwate Prefecture, Iwate District, Shizukuishi, in Akita Prefecture, Kita-Akita District, in Niigata Prefecture, Sado District, and in other places, this feast is called *magô-iwa* ("grandchild feast"); in Ishikawa Prefecture, Enuma District, in Fukui Prefecture, Imadachi District, in Nagasaki Prefecture, Tsushima region, it is called *magô-watashi* ("handing over the grandchild").

Inoguchi Shôji: Bean Paste Amulets (井之口章次：味噌の魅力)。—

Bean paste (*miso*) is a supplier of vegetable albumin and salt. In undertaking to study folk traditions related with food, we have first to make clear what changes the latter underwent in the course of time.

Though no essential connection existed originally between funerals and bean-paste, bean paste diet nevertheless plays a great role at funerals. In Akita Prefecture, Senboku District, Nakagawa Village, when rain prayers are said, people jump into the basin of the waterfall, holding hand-made *miso* and reciting the prayer: "Please give rain before this *miso* is washed away!" At the same time *miso* is also smeared into uneven places on rocks. As *miso* comes in the category of black impurity, the basin of the waterfall is polluted by it so that the water-god gets angry and hastens to send rain to wash the pollution away. The popular belief existing in Harima (Hyôgo Prefecture), that rain will fall when *miso* casks are laid outdoors, is also rooted in the conception of *miso* as something impure.

In Rikuzen, Tome District, if the sign 巳 (*mi*) occurs three times in the calendar of June and *miso* is boiled on such a day, death will befall a member of the family so soon that he will not be able to eat from the boiled *miso*. In Satsuma in Kyûshû the making of *miso* is strictly avoided on an anniversary day of the death of a family member.

Also in many practices of the people *miso* is used. In Nagasaki Prefecture, Nishinoki District, Seto Town, roasted *miso* is made, wrapped in straw and hung on the entrance door as an amulet against devils and as such it is called *akuma-odoshi*, that is "devil chaser". The devils mean all those that bring diseases to the family. In Kôchi Prefecture, Hata District, Tanokuchi Village, when somebody has been bitten by a dog, he gets *miso* that has been made in the house of the dog's owner, and this *miso*, applied to the wound of the bite, will cure it, people believe. In Higashimurayama in Musashi, when somebody has contracted a swelling on his eyelid, he goes into the kitchen of somebody else; if he succeeds in licking *miso* there without being noticed, his swelling will be cured. The above examples show us how *miso* is believed to carry magical power.

Mogami Takayoshi: Farewell Ceremony for the Soul of the Dead (最上孝敬：靈送り)。—

We have here to do with a ceremony connected with funeral. In Chiba Prefecture, Inba District, Yatomi Village, a custom, called *kamasu* exists. It is practiced in the following way: before somebody leaves to join funeral rites, rice, 1 *shô* (1,585 quart) and 2 *gô* (1 *gô* = 1,1271 gill) or 2 *shô* and 4 *gô*, is put into a straw-made bag called *kamasu*, and taken to a temple together with a sedge-hat and a straw rain-coat, and placed there. Though divergencies exist in its details, this custom is still largely practiced in Chiba Prefecture. Furthermore, in Saitama Prefecture, near Honjô Town in Kodama District, Kitaizumi Village, in the whole region of Kurosaki, a similar custom is known, called there *konida* (小荷駄). A small grandchild, attended by adults, carries there a bag, called *minakawa* (皆川) and made of a mat with white meshes that has been tied up on both ends and contains rice, corn, soy beans, millet and other cereals. This bag is brought to a temple before people go to attend a funeral. When the coffin is carried through the door-gate of that temple, people retire through another exit and go home. In Saitama Prefecture, Honjô Town, money is wrapped in paper on which 小荷駄 (*konida*) is written, and brought to the temple. Of other regions no details of similar customs have been reported. As far as we know this strange custom is practiced from the Southeast to the Northwest of the Kantô plain. In the study of the meaning of this, our attention is drawn to the fact that the custom is carried out before the coffin leaves the house. First, the soul is seen off. That much is known, but it is still a question whether or not practices exist concerning the disposal of the corpse.

Next we have to mention two related customs, the *makurameshi* ("pillow-rice") and the *makura-dango* ("pillow-dumplings"), both known all over Japan. Soon after the death has occurred, rice is cooked and dumplings are made, both rice and dumplings serve as offerings to the soul of the dead. There are various names for this offering in different provinces, all denoting that the dishes are made immediately after death; for instance, *baya-ogoku* (lit. "quick cereals," Fukuoka Prefecture, Chikujô District); *baya-dango* ("quick dumplings," Kagoshima Prefecture, Kimotsuki District; Aichi Prefecture, Kitashidara District; and Chiba Prefecture, Kimitsu District). For preparing the *makura-meshi* and the *makura-dango* the ordinary fire-place or the hearth are not used. The cooking methods are also different. The one who cooks is either the family-head or a grandson, according to fixed regional customs. In other places a person is called from outside to do the cooking.

In Ehime Prefecture, Kitaura District, Mimaki Village, the offerings to the dead are called *shini-bentô* ("death lunch"), in Nagasaki Prefecture, Kitamatsuura District, Tairashima, they say *michi no meshi* ("road rice"); both terms imply that the dead is seen off. The custom seems to be generally practiced to place the offerings of rice and dumplings into the grave together with the coffin or on the closed grave.

Omachi Tokuzô: The Position of the Married-in Women before Childbirth in Tsushima (大間知篇三: 對馬のテボカライ花嫁).—

1) The ceremony of coming of age of girls.—In Tsushima the ceremony of coming of age of girls is of great importance even in our days and marked with

solemn rites. The ceremony of coming of age of boys is generally called *gempuku*, a word which means the investiture of a boy as an adult; only in Toyosaki Town, Waniura they call it differently, namely *sumiru*. There were villages where boys were subjected to these rites at the age of fifteen (Waniura, Itsukaramachi Makari), but the common practice was to perform them when the boys have reached seventeen or nineteen years. Nowadays, however, the custom has fallen into oblivion in many villages. The ceremonies for girls are called *kanetsuke-iwai* ("festival of putting on holiday costumes," the latter are called "kanetsuke") or *hazome-iwai* ("teeth painting festival"). They take place at the girls' fifteenth year in some villages, mostly, however, at the seventeenth. The time for the festival is commonly the fifteenth of the eleventh month (*shimotsuki*). The festival was for the girls the greatest in their whole life. The first holiday clothes of the girls are called *kanetsuke-kimono*, their first use was made the occasion for a festival.

If we take the *hazome-iwai* of Sasu Village, Hare, as an example, we find that the date for it is not the 15th of the 11th month, but a day between the 9th to the 18th day of the 12th month when the harvest has been entirely brought in. In all families with a girl of seventeen years of age the festival is celebrated in the same way. For it an uncle and an aunt or a distantly related couple are asked to take over the function of *moraioya* ("adopted parents"), with whom the girls remain related for lifetime as closely as with their natural parents. In the forenoon of the day of *hazome*, the girl, accompanied by a closely related married couple, proceeds to the house of her adopted parents. She takes along with her presents of rice-cakes, millet-cakes, buckwheat-cakes, dried cuttle-fish, tangle, which she carries in a bucket on her head. Girls, whose teeth have been painted, gather all at one place, form a line in the order of their month of birth, and start on a round, visiting all families to show them their new costumes. It seems that since olden times on the occasion of the teeth painting festival, boys and girls exchanged gifts. The day following the festival was called *futsukagane*, the word meaning: the second day of wearing the holiday clothes, and marked by a feast in the morning.

2) Endogamy and laundry washing.—The institution of regional endogamy seems to have been strongly established. In selecting a mate birth was kept in higher esteem than personal character. A marriage concluded with this orientation was called *iekata kekkeon* ("family marriage"). Formerly marriages were all of this type.

Local endogamy.—In villages with early marriages, a marriage was decided by paternal authority, many people say. The idea was strong that a marriage is concluded for the benefit of the family. There were also villages where a girl of a good family standing was promised in marriage in her early childhood.

3) Sleeping homes (*neyado* 寝宿).—In Ase two types of sleeping homes existed, old folk say. One type was called *oumiyado* (meaning not clear). It was used to make in it the hempen ropes used for weaving. Five or six girls to be married in the near future form a group and retire into the sleeping home from the second to the 20th day of the New Year's month to work in it. The other type of shelter is called *kobiki-yado* ("flour grinding shelter"). Several girls gather there from the

29th of the sixth month to the 12th of the seventh month to grind the flour that is to be used at the Bon festival. These two shelters are only used by girls and only for a short time, and it seems that the custom required that the girls went home over night.

In analyzing the word *tebokaraiyome* (テボカライ花嫁), by which the married-in women are called before childbirth, we find that *tebo* means a basket that is carried on one's back; *karai* means hard, trying. Accordingly a bride called this name is a girl that is strong enough to carry heavy baskets, is fit for trying work. The festive costumes of the girls are kept in their family home. When they move to their future husband's home, they wear their ordinary clothes in which they go about their daily work, fuel collecting in the forest included. We must admit, however, that in recent times brides begin to wear holiday clothes at their wedding. The word *tebokaraiyome* with the meaning of a bride in her daily working garment is used in the villages of the North only. In the Central and Southern villages people say nowadays *karite yuku* ("to get hired") or *tetsutai ni kuru* ("to come to help") instead of *yome ni morau* ("to take a girl as a bride") or *yome ni dasu* ("to give a girl in marriage to somebody").

[To be continued]