

A STUDY ON KOREAN FOLKWAYS

By

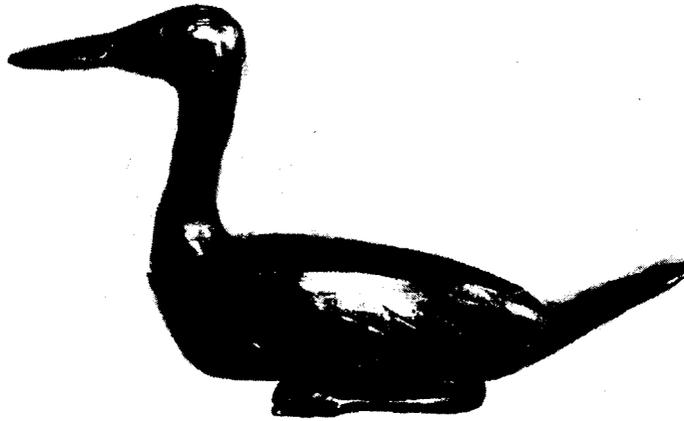
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Litt. D.



1) Female Shamans and Sacred Dance by *Hyöi-uön*

A female Shaman in the ceremonial dress is dancing a sacred dance to the accompaniment of a hand-drum and a flute. The housewife is attending it with her daughters and her son's wife. Perhaps it is a festival of *Söngji* (patron deity of the premises). *Hyöi-uön* is a *genre* painter who lived towards the end of the *I* dynasty.



2) **Wooden Wild Goose for *T'yōnan***

It is a ceremonial present from the bridegroom. He takes it to the family of the bride at *t'yōnan* (the ceremony of marrying into a bride's family). It is more proper to present a live wild goose.

FOREWORD

Towards the close of the year 1925, after I was back for some time from my studies in Europe, I found myself on a ferry-boat sailing from Shimono-seki to Pusan. I was on my way to the Keijô (Seoul) Imperial University, where a teaching position was awaiting me. It was during this voyage that a book I found on the shelf of the saloon of the boat caught my eye and aroused my interest in Korean folkways for the first time. The book was *A Collection of Korean Folkways* by the late Tomo-o Imamura. It can hardly be considered the scholarly work of an expert. It was, however, the only book available at that time for initiation into this field of study. So I remember how, on arriving at Seoul, I hunted for a copy of the book, at last got hold of one at a second-hand book-store, and how I sat up reading it all night.

From that time to the end of the War in 1945, throughout my twenty years at the Keijô Imperial University, I devoted myself to the study of Korean, Mongolian, and Manchurian folkways with the help of the subsidies received from the Imperial Academy, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Ministry, the Hattori Public Welfare Association and other institutions. The results of which have been published in the following: *Studies of Korean Shamanism* (under joint-authorship with Dr. Tomoshige Akamatsu), Vol. I, 1937, Vol. 2, 1938; *Folkways and Religions in Manchuria and Mongolia* (under the same joint-authorship), 1941; *A Monograph on the Manchurian People*, 1938; *Discourses on the Great Asiatic Races*—"The Northern Races," 1944; *Field-trip Researches in Korean Shamanism*, 1950.

Since my repatriation at the termination of the War, I have been devoting the rest of my years to the study of Korean folkways with the help of my old manuscripts which I was fortunate enough to get out of Korea and by the Scientific Research Grants received from the Education Ministry 1947-1950.

I am extremely happy that with the help of the Research Publication Fund granted me by the Education Ministry the results seem to have taken definite shape and are offered in the form of the present volume of *Korean Folkways*.

Further privilege has been reserved for the author to see the *Introduction* and the chapters of *Family Folkways* appear in English translation through the instance and courtesy of The Reverend M. Eder. Sincere appreciation is expressed to Prof. Ch. Kawashima of the University of Niigata who has undertaken the work of translation. The phonetic transcription of Korean terms was based on the system employed by J. S. Gale in his *Korean-English*

Dictionary, and Wade's system was followed in regard to the Chinese words. Last but not least the invaluable assistance given in this respect by Prof. R. Kôno of the Tôkyô Education University, Prof. T. Suzuki and Messrs. T. Ikegami and Y. Pak of the University of Aichi is acknowledged with sincere thanks.

July 1953

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I. INTRODUCTION

— The Outline of the *Korean Folkways* —

The main body of my work, *Korean Folkways*, is divided into four parts: I “Family Folkways,” II “Village Folkways,” III “Island and Mountain Folkways,” and IV “Comparison of Folkways.”

i Family Folkways

(1) Separation of sexes

In the first place, as an introduction to the *Family Folkways*, I have taken up the custom of separating the sexes, analysing its various aspects as seen in the physical and the moral culture of Korean society. For instances of sex separation presented in physical forms, we have *salang*, which is a men's room in distinction from *anpang*, a room exclusively for women's use, and the custom among women of hiding their faces with *changot* and *laeul* when they go abroad. As instances of sex separation to be found in moral or social life, we can give the custom which binds the visitors and the mistress of the house to talk through an imaginary servant, men's adherence to Confucianism as against women's belief in Shamanism, men's Chinese characters in contrast to women's *ummun* (the Korean syllabary), and various taboos that restrain the relation of the male to the female in their family life, especially one which governs the relationship between the elder brother and his younger brother's wife—all testifying to the strictness with which sex separation is observed in Korea.

On the other hand, occasions of sexual liberation are by no means rare. They will be set down in order of annual functions: ‘playing at seesaw’ from New Year's Day to the fifteenth of January, ‘greeting the full moon’ (on an evening of the first month of the year), walking on the bridge, tugs-of-war, ‘swinging on a trapeze’ at the May Festival, and the merry-making of all kinds on the evening of the harvest moon—these are all occasions for liberation of women.

Shamanistic festivals observed in all of the seasons play more or less the same role. Especially the Extraordinary Grand Festival, which is called *Pyölsin* and is celebrated in respective villages, is an occasion of such extreme abandonment with prostitutes walking the streets so boldly and betting and gambling running so high that it is regarded a festivity which gentlefolk do well to stay away from.

Lastly, in order to investigate the reasons for the existence in man's

society of the apparently contradictory phenomena of separation and liberation of the sexes and to see what are the features that make them particularly Korean from the standpoint of cultural sociology, a comparison was made of the processes by which animals and human beings form families. Meanwhile, special attention was given to the cultural meaning of the tabooing and liberation of sex in human society. Thus the fact was brought under light that the institution of sex separation which prevails in Korea is closely connected to the cultural history of Confucianism. As a result it has been proved that a difference exists between the intellectual upper classes and the common people in their social attitudes towards this folkway.

(2) Types of marriage

This chapter deals with six types of marriage—marriage by exchange, marriage by purchase, marriage by services, marriage by capture, marriage for love, and marriage by go-between—and attempts were made on each of them at description and explanation.

Instances of marriage by exchange are found in exchange of sisters practised in Seoul and vicinity and triangle marriage found in Pyonngan-pukto. They are found only among the extremely poor, and fall far short of the ideal type of marriage in the thinking of the Koreans.

As for marriage by purchase, the custom of *sönb'ai*, which requires a price for the bride, may have a full meaning of purchase, but this, also, has been regarded as a shameful practice from long since, the bride thus obtained being despised as 'bought maid.' There is also found a form of infant betrothal, called *minmyöнали*, and often entailing prices. Under these types of marriage by purchase that carry the full meaning of purchase, wives are treated as their husbands' property, and when widowed by the death of their husbands, they are liable to be inherited by the next-of-kin. It seems also that early in the days of Kokulyö levirate was practised.

There are some scholars, however, who stretch the bounds of marriage by purchase beyond such strict cases of purchase and regard all the marriages accompanied with any kind of presentation as survivals of marriage by purchase. The present writer modified no words in pointing out the unjustifiableness of this view. Instead, he stressed that neither the current practice of *i'yönan* (presentation of a wild goose) nor the usage recorded in old documents that 'the family of the groom makes a presentation of viands and beverage' signifies the payment of a price for the bride, but that it simply means a friendly gesture, the food taken by the wooer to the bride's family, to her father in particular, being nothing but food for feasting together and establishing warm, human relationships.

Marriage by services, too, will not be completely explained away in terms of economic labor, for in most cases it purposes to test the groom. The

tongsanglŏi and *changat'ŏk*, Korean customs of 'ill-using the groom' after the ceremony of his marrying into the bride's family, are commonly regarded as relics of marriage by capture, but that is far from the truth. They are in reality formalities of initiating the groom.

As for marriage by capture, there are found practically no real cases.

Most of the Korean customs that are apt to be regarded as relics of marriage by capture are in fact either rituals of exorcism, or manifestations of the spirit of equality or rivalry at marriage ceremonies, or cases of initiating the groom as mentioned before. Even the practice of *pakkoa* (widow capture) for the most part assumes the form of capture merely in order to keep down the wedding expenses.

As for marriage for love, old documents testify that it was despised as hedge-marriage. With the rise of Confucian culture under the I dynasty, it was relegated to a place far below the ideal type of marriage.

Marriage by go-between, on the contrary, which is held to be the ideal mode of marriage, is a practice born of the large family system based on the principle of separation of sexes aforementioned. It developed on the strength of the Confucian precepts of marriage. Naturally it was first adopted by the upper classes, and gradually found its way down among the lower classes, till in the days of the I dynasty marriage by without a go-between came to be regarded as a vice.

(3) *T'yŏnan*

In the next place, as a study of marriage ceremonies, *t'yŏnan* and *tongsanglŏi* are selected. *T'yŏnan* is one of the six marriage ceremonies of ancient China. The custom was imported into Korea. It is interesting to notice that this old usage of presenting a wild goose at a wedding still survives in Korea, while in China it has passed into disuse. Not only that, but the custom is so widely popular and prevalent in Korea that, while it is still proper for the groom to go accompanied by a 'goose man' with a live goose to the bride's house on the day when he is married into the family and to present it on the table set for the purpose with an obeisance, a more informal form has been devised by using a wooden substitute. You will find a number of wooden geese on display at the shops of the lessors of wedding outfits.

So, after describing customs and traditions found in Seoul and various other districts, research was made through old documents into the old Chinese form of *t'yŏnan* and its original meaning. As the result it was found that *t'yŏnan*, though it is apt to be regarded as a bride price surviving from the days of marriage by purchase, is in reality nothing like it but that it means more than a practice of a mere economic nature and that it is a presentation of a social nature, a friendly gesture meant to create warm, human relations, by the two contracting family groups at the marriage of their members.

Corresponding to the goose of *työnan* presented by the groom's family we find the pheasant sent by the bride's family at *ukui*, that is, the ceremony of marrying the bride into the groom's family. *Napp'yöi* is a present for the bride from the groom's family, consisting mostly of her clothing, but the courtesy is returned in the form of *ch'ichang*, which is an even more costly present, containing the groom's clothing and other goods. Thus a series of events and practices relating to marriage—courtesy calls, presentation and counter-presentation, formalities and services, etc.—form the *système des présentations totales*, promoting the intimacy of the two families and bringing them into a closer social relationship.

Moreover, both the wild goose of *t'yönan* and the pheasant of *ukui* were precious food which could be obtained only by hunting, and in ancient China they were the most proper and popular presents. From this I presume that *työnan* initially meant the usage of the wooer's taking a wild goose as a present of food to the family of the courted and feasting together particularly with the woman's father.

Now, in Kokulyö the custom had existed from long before for the groom's family to present the bride's family with a pig and wine as a wedding present. It is very likely that this went a long way to make easy the importation of *työnan* and its transmission to the present day.

On the other hand, *ch'inyöng*, one of the Six Formalities of Marriage of ancient China, according to which the groom goes in person to fetch the bride, could not fit into the folkways of Korea in spite of all the efforts of Korean Confucianists. Of the Six Formalities of Marriage, those that were actually accepted by the Korean populace were the following three: *napp'yöi* (betrothal present), *t'yönan* (the ceremony of marrying the groom into the bride's family) and *ukui* (the ceremony of marrying the bride into the groom's family). Of these the greatest importance was attached to *t'yönan*. Thus, *työnan* is the predominant feature of Korean marriage in contrast to the Japanese usage which holds the groom's receiving the bride into his home as a standard practice. But we can say that *t'yönan* would have found its counterpart in old-time Japan where matrilocality prevailed.

(4) *Tongsanglöi*

This is a custom of ill-using or initiating the groom. For its crudeness it makes a striking contrast to *t'yönan* which is a most solemn and elegant ceremony. It is popularly called *sillang-talugi* (literally, wringing the groom). The pretentious appellation of *tongsanglöi* was the doing of Korean Confucianists' adoration for China.

Tongsang, with a historical allusion to Wang Hsi-chih, means 'son-in-law.' *Tongsanglöi* (*löi* meaning 'ceremony') is a festive occasion which takes place while the groom is staying with the bride's family for some days or

sometimes even for months between *t'yönan* and *ukui* (respectively, the ceremony of marrying the groom into the bride's family and vice versa). In-laws of the bride's family, youths of the village, and the groom's friends gather and tease the groom, tying him up or hobbling and swinging his legs, till the rough joke is brought to a happy end by the hospitality of meals by the bride's family.

This is apt to be regarded a relic of marriage by capture, but, as I mentioned before, it is a ceremonial or festal form of initiating the groom. Therefore, the greater the number of the participants in this violent formality, the higher rises the prestige of the household, and the more the groom is liked, the more celebrators he has at *tongsanglöi*.

Customs of initiating the groom similar to this are found everywhere in Korea, among which *sasön*-capture in the South of Korea and *jokabei* in the North are the most widely known. According to the former, on his way to the bride's house on the day of *t'yönan*, the bridegroom protects his face with a crimson fan, called *sasön*, allegedly hiding it from the stare of the 'Evil Eye.' Young men of the village waylay the procession, snatch the fan from the groom and keep it until they are given the hospitality of meals by the bride's family.

Jokabei is the custom for young men of the village to go to the bride's house on the day of *t'yönan*, present, on the groom's being seated at the banquet table after his presentation of the wild goose, a poem, asking the groom for one in return, and get invited to a feast. *Joka* and *bei* mean 'the house of *changin* (father-in-law)' and 'rice-cake' respectively. Therefore, *jokabei* will mean the hospitality of rice-cake meals given by the father-in-law.

These customs also are apt to be regarded as survivals from the age of marriage by capture or relics of communal marriage. There is, however, no need to regard them as survivals of some particular custom. They are merely ceremonial forms of testing the bridegroom, and are playing their proper social functions.

Thus we have seen Korean communities repeating with elaborate care various functions relating to marriage whether they be an elegant and solemn ceremony of *t'yönan* or a coarse practice like *tongsanglöi*. There is seen the spirit of respect for matrimony which has resulted from the family-centered system of Korean society. The family system holds the multiplying of the posterity, especially of the male issue, as the primary object of marriage. So, when unfortunately no child is born to the young couple, the family resorts to all kinds of prayers and magic rites for conception.

(5) *Keuija* (Prayers and magic rites for conception)

This folkway is often seen accompanying the marriage ceremony proper out of mere convention. However, it is only when the married couple has

been blessed with no issue for some years that they resort to fervent prayers and deliberately practise magic rites for conception.

The object of these prayers to be mentioned first is Buddha. The custom of praying to Buddha for issue is found since the Silla era. On the grounds of the Buddhist temple in Korea are usually found shrines dedicated to the Mountain Spirit and Charles's Wain, and prayers for issue are directed to these, too. You will find all over Korea temples claimed to have actually granted wishes for conception. They are particularly numerous near Kaisöng, which was once a flourishing centre of Buddhism in the days of Kolyö.

Quite often, too, stones and rocks of an unusual shape are made the objects of worship, and sometimes an issue is prayed for by rubbing a pebble against a sacred stone. Often, the child born by praying to a sacred stone is given a name attached with the character *pau* (stone), and the sacred stone itself is called his *tol-aboji* (stone-father).

It is not unusual to pray for issue to sacred trees, especially one with a hole at the base. This also is a very old practice, as, for example, is proved by the *Legend of Tankum*, which tells of a 'Bear Woman' who prayed under a *tan* tree for conception. Praying to a sacred spring also seems to be an old custom.

Of the magic rites for conception, the transfer of the family grave is the most characteristic of Korea. The Korean people, who select the site of the family grave by geomancy, ascribe all their calamities and misfortunes to the unlucky location of the grave of their ancestors. Thus they hope to raise a large family by removing the cemetery to a lucky place.

Sterility is sometimes ascribed to the unlucky aspect of the house. In that case, either the aspect may be changed or the house may be abandoned. However, the removal of the grave and a change of residence both entail a heavy financial burden and are not to be attempted by everybody. Consequently a number of very simple forms of magic have been devised, such as wearing without being seen the underwear or loin-cloth stolen from the mother of a large family or a small hatchet made from a kitchen-knife stolen from the home of a prolific family and slung from the waist.

Thus, it will be easily understood that the wide prevalence of prayers and magic devices for an abundant production of issue reflects familism, which is a characteristic feature of Korean society. Side by side with this are found the tradition of respect for age and that of ancestor worship which likewise characterize Korean society.

(6) *Sip-changsaing* (Ten symbols of long life)

This folkway is to be regarded a tradition of respect for age. It is constituted by ten objects attributed with long lives, such as sun, mountain, water, rock, cloud, pine, herb of eternal youth, tortoise, crane, and deer.

These objects are often painted and hung on the wall, or engraved on the stone ink-well and kept near at hand, or embroidered, again, on the chopstick-sheath and used every day, so that the users may be blessed with their spiritual qualities.

Apparently, the name of *changsaiing* (long life) was suggested by the conception of 'divine hermitage' borrowed from China. Thus, the composition of the *changsaiing* picture reminds you at a glance of the Hôrai (the land in Chinese tradition of eternal youth). However, there is found in China neither the term, *sip-changsaiing*, nor the practice of grouping the *sip-changsaiing*. Therefore, the assorting of ten objects of long life was presumably a Korean invention though the basic idea was suggested by the Chinese conception of the divine hermitage. In point of fact, there had existed in Korea a folk belief that served as a stock upon which the Chinese conception of divine hermitage could be easily grafted. The animistic view of Nature of the Korean people and their habit of Nature worship made it easy for them to accept the ten natural objects that make up the *sip-changsaiing* as things endowed with eternal youth. After giving a detailed description of each component of the *sip-changsaiing*, I concluded that the usage was established towards the end of the Kolyô dynasty.

(7) Two types of family ceremony

In the last place, as conclusion to the *Family Folkways*, I distinguished between the two types of family ceremonies and saw their relations. Old Korea, before it was exposed to the floods of Western civilization, can be comprehended as a dual organization of the bearers of Shamanistic culture, represented for the most part by the female, and the upholders of Confucian culture championed mostly by the male. Duplexity of organization is more plainly demonstrated by the family ceremonies which comprise the ceremonies of ancestor worship, modelled on the Confucian precepts of formality and ministered by the male members, and the rituals of the *chipsin* (patron deity of the homestead) tended by the mistress of the family and her female supporting members or very often presided over by professional female Shamans. Thus, we find the varying ways and traditions of each family express themselves in the multiplicity of physiognomy of the total schemes of the family ceremonies in respective homes.

Ancestor worship, observed more or less in conformity to the Confucian precepts of formality, embraces the ceremony of the family shrine, which means the family ceremony in the narrow sense, and the ceremony of the grave. These ceremonies do not necessarily follow the rules set down in the *Book of Ceremonies*, but they have developed around such folkways as *chalôi* (strictly, ceremony of offering tea), *keuijôi* (anniversary of the dead), and *myôjôi* (festival of the grave), and the right of ministration has been

transmitted down the male line of descent.

On the other hand, *chipsin-ku* is the festival of the primitive deity of the homestead worshiped from ancient times, and the manner of worshiping it is also very crude. A sacred pot filled with new rice or an osier basket containing lengths of cloth are placed in the house or somewhere on the ground and worshiped. This makes such a marked contrast to the ceremony of the family shrine which uses ancestral tablets written with characters. The male members of the family regard this crude practice with contempt and stay out of it. Therefore, it is handed down from mother to daughter, from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law, and sometimes even introduced by the bride to the family into which she has been married. Thus, we see that the transmission of this tradition is matrilinear, while the transmission of the right to minister the Confucian forms of ancestor worship follows the male line of descent. Yet we see that these two types of the family ceremonies, which exist so divided and repelling each other in the same family, serve at the same time complementary one to the other and sometimes even achieve a measure of compromise. That is for no other reason than that thus the traditional ways of respective families find expression there.

ii Village Folkways

(1) *Changsaing* (Symbol of long life)

You will often find at an entrance to a village a pair of tall wooden posts carved with human figures and bearing inscriptions such as 'Grand General under the Sun' and 'Amazon of the Hades.' They are called *chansun*. The term is probably a corruption of *changsaing* derived from such compounds as *changsaing*-sign, *changsaing*-post, and *changsaing*-monument of Silla. It is supposed that in the days of Koryŏ there were also found *changsaing* of wooden plank, stone, and stone-heap. Nowadays the *changsaing* of wooden post is the commonest type, and stone ones are not unusual. But the sacred heap of stones is called *sŏnghoang* instead of *changsaing* in most places. Also, in some places we find sacred poles capped with figures of birds, called *susaltai*, set up on the same spot with *changsaing*. These, too, placed at entrances to a village, protect the community. Thus, *changsaing* are sacred metes that stand at the entrances to a village or on the bounds of the temple grounds, and they often serve as mile-posts and interdictory signs.

There are many interesting folk traditions told about their origin, but, needless to say, they are groundless fancies. Two theories have been advanced by scholars about their origin. One maintains that they have their

origin in the metes set up on the demarcation lines of the rice-fields belonging to the *changsaing* storehouse of the temple. The other theory ascribes them to the conception of the divine hermitage of eternal youth. In fact, however, these theories argue about the origin of the appellation of *changsaing*, and they do not concern the origin of the practice of setting up *changsaing* posts.

The present writer's view on the origin of this practice is that the custom is traced to the old days before the introduction of Buddhism into Korea, and that *changsaing* at the temple came into use as the result of the practice adopted by the temple in conformity to the native folkway, setting up wooden or stone posts on the bounds of the precincts as boundary signs.

(2) Two types of village festivals

The duplexity of organization of Korean society that we have seen in regard to the two types of family ceremonies is found again in the two types of village festivals. Namely, on the one hand we find the old festival of *kolmagi* (defence of the village) presided over by professional male and female Shamans or conducted in a simpler manner with musical services of exorcism, while we have, on the other hand, the ceremony of *tongj'ai* run by men after the Confucian manner of formality. Yet these ceremonies, which are ordinarily observed separately and exclusive of each other or found together but antagonistic to each other, are often celebrated in co-ordination, indicating the characteristics of several villages. We should not overlook, however, that the festival of *tongj'ai*, which follows the Confucian tradition, is in fact a usage either based on Shamanistic culture, which is an even older culture than Confucianism, or framed by replacing a portion of the older culture by Confucian formalities. For, although the benediction read at *tongj'ai* by the ritualist chosen by the villagers is apparently Confucian in form, the names of the spirit of the sacred heap of stones, the mountain spirit and many others cited from the text are entirely alien to Confucian culture. Not only that, but the tree in which the tutelary god of the village dwells, the altar of piled stones, and the bell-and-drum music put on by the youth of the village after the benediction all remind us of the ancient custom described by the following passage from the "History of Ma-han" in the *Wei-chih*: "They set up a tall tree, hang it with bells and drums, and worship the spirit." There is also found the custom of removing the old *changsaing* at the entrances to the village at the ceremony of *tongj'ai* and dedicating new ones. That, needless to say, has nothing to do with Confucian culture. Therefore, if we allow ourselves to be carried away by the Confucian aspects of the festival of *tongj'ai* and overlook the features of the earlier culture in it such as the idea in which the spirits cited in the ritual are conceived, and the sacred tree, post, and stones of the altar as well as primitiveness of the festival of *kolmagi* (defence of the village) accompanied

by the beating of the bells and drums, we shall fail to get at the truth about *tongj'ai*. Hence I recognize the importance of the Shamanistic principles in the dual organization of Korean society.

(3) *Tano-kut* (May Festival) of Kanglung

Although village festivals in Korea are now at a low ebb, they have once seen much better days, often celebrated in a grand style by the authorities. Among these the May Festival of Kanglung in Kanguon-do was the most famous. It was started with the brewing of sacred wine on the twentieth of the lunar month of March, followed up with the offering of wine and female Shamans' dances on the first and eighth of April. On the evening of the fourteenth through the fifteenth, the spirit of Mt. Taikoan-lyöng was reverently transposed to the shrine in the town and worshiped. Again, Shamans' dances were offered on the twenty-seventh. Finally, sacred poles were set up on the first of May, and from then on masks were put on until the festivity culminated on the fifth, with the burning of all the stuff used at the ceremonies on the next day. It was a grand festival celebrated over a period of three months, but it has been discontinued since the Korean Reformation of 1894.

In the summer of 1928, I betook myself to various places in Kanguon-do in search of survivals of this festival. I spent a week in Kanglung, visiting old people and Shamans and trying to reconstruct the configuration of this old religious function. But my attempt did not succeed completely, because there were many things that had escaped from the memory of those old folk. Particularly, I could not find any trace of the old tradition as recorded in old documents: "Not an inch of mat should be allowed to one who does not celebrate." However, I could make a fairly detailed investigation over a wide range of who ran the festival, what preparations were made, and what the process of the festival, its features, traditions, and the faith itself were like. It is most regrettable that my description of the masks, which had been devised to add to the festivity of this occasion, had to be based on the inaccurate accounts furnished by those old folk whose memories failed most on this subject.

(4) *Sandi-noli* (Mask)

We have seen an instance of presenting masks at a 'Grand Festival' in our description of the May Festival of Kanglung. Korean masks—'mask dance,' 'lion dance,' 'five artists,' and 'stage play' respectively of the West, North, South, and Middle of Korea—all have distinct characteristics as simple forms of popular entertainment or as sweet and simple folk art.

Sandi-noli (literally, stage plays) are outdoor comic masks accompanied

by dances and music, and the masks are made of either gourd-shell, paper, or wood. Of course these masks do not compare with those used in the Japanese Noh dance in artistic qualities, nor is the execution of the masks so refined as that of the Noh dance. Originally, the performers were men of the lower classes in the menial services of the Court, and like the Japanese actors in old days they were given a cold shoulder by ordinary people.

The shows have many comic scenes as well as dances accompanied by six wind, string and percussion instruments, proving that they are strongly marked with the element of fun. It is particularly significant that, of the twenty-two masks, as many as ten present priests and their appearances on the stage and priest dances are very frequent and that the stories, too, often satirize or make fun of the misconducts of priests. Also, scenes are many in which the arbitrariness and arrogance of the two high privileged classes are satirized and their blunders and stumblings are made fun of. They all serve to alleviate the rancor of the masses by giving them opportunities to let off the steam.

The numerousness of the priest-masks shows also that this folk custom is descended from the priest dances of Silla and Koryŏ. Probably these priest dances developed the priest's comic dances when the temples had become the recreation centers of women and the two privileged high classes during the period from the heyday of Buddhism under the Koryŏ dynasties to its decline under the I dynasty, and eventually the priest's comic dance grew into the burlesques of the *sandi-noli* directed at the priesthood.

(5) Villages of consanguineous families

That Korean society is family-centered can be seen from the number of villages of consanguineous families, too. In March 1943, I made a field-trip to the Village of Chiktongli, commonly called the village of Pak families, in order to investigate the actual conditions of the community. The place is in Sokŏl-myon, Po'ch'on-kun, Kyonggido. You leave Seoul by bus, drive north along the P'och'on Highway, pass Euijongbu, get off the bus at the top of the Ch'uksŏk-lyŏng Heights, walk east about five miles, and you will find yourself in the village in question sheltered among hills. It is divided into six small wards, and of the hundred and thirty-five families, which is an unusually large number for a mountain village, sixty-three are called Milyang-Paks, that is, Pak families descended from the stock of the same name in Milyang, Kyŏngsang-do. The ancestral Pak is said to have come to Chiktongli four hundred and fifty years ago, and his grave is found on a hillside. All the Pak families meet once every autumn at the house of the head family, worship the ancestor of the Chikton Paks and visit his grave. They have as common property about two acres of rice-field, and the revenue therefrom is spent for the expenses of the services in memory

of their common ancestor. They used to have an association which they had organized for mutual aid, and even today their spirit of mutual help is very strong as is expressed in their saying: "Kith and kin work while the guests are enjoying big meals," which means that only the families of the same stock can be depended upon in times of emergency. When I visited the village, re-thatching was under way at the house of a Pak. Of the fifty villagers that had gathered to help, as many as forty were Paks.

After analyzing the differentiations by blood, regional differentiations, traditional and modern stratifications of the people of Chikongli, I investigated the communal integrity of the village distinguishing between traditional integrity and modern integrity, and thereby tried to indicate the process of change of a communal body. As the result, the following facts were discovered:

1. The social standing of the head Pak family, though descended from the pioneer of the village by a long line of descent, is not very high.
2. The Paks number half of the entire families in the community, scattered all over, and form the largest consanguineous group.
3. The Paks are diligent farmers, forming the richest element of the village.
4. The Paks are more up-to-date in education than others.
5. The Paks are on very friendly terms with other families and have contributed toward the integrity and well-being of the community.
6. The usage among the Paks of branching off in the community and their habit of industry have promoted the prosperity of the village.

iii Folkways of Islands and Mountains

(1) Myths on Quelpart Islands

In the villages on Quelpart Islands there are shrines called *ponhyangdang* and dedicated to their tutelary gods. At the village festivals, legends of these deities are narrated by the ministering Shamans. These narratives are called *ponpuli*, which means 'true history or origin.' In October 1931, I was able to collect sixteen myths told by these Shamans. Among these I found two myths relating respectively to the shrine at Sökui on the southern coast of the island and that of Tosan-dang, its neighbor to the east. The former is full of grandeur with the gigantic forces of Nature for the background—the clouds and mist of Mt. Hala, the raging monsoons and angry seas in the months of January and February mingled with the stories of passions and implacable complications of love of masculine women before they were placed under the taming influences of Confucian formalism. Herein is witnessed a clear distinction between the mountain spirits con-

ceived by the inhabitants of the mountains and the dragon god of the inhabitants of the sea-side villages. Besides, in the myth of Tosan-dang we see that the constant danger of the many mountain snakes found in this place has developed the faith of worshipping the snake spirit known as the Spirit of Tosan-dang, and the mood of the entire myth is that of awe of the Snake Spirit and the Dragon God. There is seen a wide difference in the attitudes towards these spirits between the higher officers who have been influenced by Confucian culture and the uneducated common people.

The legend that the goddess of Tosan-dang, who is a Snake Spirit, is a transfiguration of the great Dragon God of Yöngju in the southwest of the Korean Peninsula, who spanned heaven and earth but was cut into pieces, is in line with the direction of the monsoon, showing at the same time that from long since, both men and culture found their way inland by the same route from the southern parts of the peninsula.

(2) Snake spirits of Quelpart Islands

The islands have a mild climate, and a large portion of them is mountainous and uncultivated, so that since ancient times many kinds of snakes are found there, causing the islanders much danger and fear. As a result, the worshipping of snake spirits has been developed on the islands, creating what might be called a unique snake culture zone. Chongui-myon in the southern parts of the islands is its center. Especially the Tosan-dang spirit is the most feared by the inhabitants of the other parts of the islands, so much so, that they avoid marrying women of this place for fear that she would be followed by the snake spirit.

That at one time snake worship prevailed all over the islands is evident from the number of the 'snake caves' found everywhere today as well as from the old records. I suppose that the spreading of culture from the north to the south coast of the islands gradually drove the practice of snake worship into the mountain areas in the South-east where the custom is now confined. That is symbolic of what might be called an old culture of the mountain community, while the worship of the dragon spirit imported by sea route *yongdeung-balman* (female spirit of winds and rains), who is now conjoined with the former, symbolizes a newer culture of the coastal community. From the manner in which the old snake worship on this island is replaced by a newer belief in the dragon spirit, we shall see a process of culture change.

(3) Sacred poles of Kojöi Island

We have seen that a custom of setting up sacred posts prevails all over the Korean Peninsula. On Kojöi Island an old custom survives of setting up sacred poles called *mul-tai*, *yujibong*, and *pyölsintai* respectively.

Mul-tai (literally, water pole) is the sacred pole set up at the festival of

the ' Spirit of Wind ' on the first of February It is customary in the southern parts of Korea to plant sacred bamboos near the kitchen, hanging them with colorful strips of cloth and paper, and make offerings and prayers. On Kojöi Island, however, *mul-tai* (water poles) are set up in order to offer clear water to the Spirit of Wind, with the tips of the poles split and small vessels containing clean water inserted. The vessels are refilled with fresh water every morning from the first to the nineteenth of February. Offerings and prayers also are made the same as in the South of the Korean mainland.

Yujibong (literally, rice pole) is a long pole set up on the evening of the fifteenth of January of the lunar calendar near the gate of the front yard or on some other clean spot. The top of the pole is capped with a straw-wrapper containing rice-ears, which on its side is appended with a sacred straw festoon. It is needless to say that the pole expresses people's wishes for a good harvest. However, the *yujibong* of Kojöi, like *suo-lun-kan-tzu* of Manchuria, is associated with a legend of a sacred bird.

Lastly, *pyölsintai* is a sacred pole topped with a bird figure, but it is called by this name because it is used as the object of worship at the Grand Festival (*pyölsin* and *tai* meaning ' grand festival ' and ' pole ' respectively).

(4) Female Shaman's Songs on Kanghoa Island

The name of ' *köllip* song ' (song of begging for grains) is attached to the song sung by the female Shaman while she goes about the village asking for donations of money or rice before she—who has been bewitched, confined herself in a room shunning society and food, thus growing extremely nervous and falling a victim to hallucination and crying that a spirit has entered her—is ordained Shaman by her instructress. The ' begging songs ' on Kanghoa Island, when compared with those of the Seoul area, show distinct features of the rural community. As for the custom of the female Shamans on the island of stamping their left foot as they chant, we may say that it is just like bewitched women.

(5) The Three Sacred Mountains

From early days Diamond Mountain, Mt. Chili-san, and Mt. Halla-san have been called the Three Sacred Mountains of Korea, and interesting legends are told about them. But I have chosen on purpose three mountains other than these—Tonmul-san and Sohak-san on the outskirts of Kaisöng and Kyöilyong-san in Chungshöng-namto. None of these is so high or famous as the other trio, but on the summit of Tonmul-san is a village of female Shamans, and Sohak-san, too, was at one time a busy scene of Shamanistic festivals, while Kyöilyong-san has been regarded a sacred mountain of geomancy and is a site of the headquarters of all kinds of religions.

(6) *Sanjin* (Mountain Man)

In Korea the priests and Taoist ascetics are called *sanjin* (*san* and *jin* meaning 'mountain' and 'man' respectively), and visiting a temple is phrased as 'visiting a *san*.' Other than these Buddhist and Taoist *sanjin*, they have 'holy men of the mountain.' The female Shamans of Tonmul-san mentioned a while back are the most conspicuous examples. There are also found, in the mountains in the North of Korea, villages of *changaseung*, priests who ordinarily live in their own houses and are engaged in secular occupations. The *sani* (same as *sanjin*) of the South of Korea, too, seem to have come initially from Mt. Chili-san. We have seen that there are sea-side inhabitants and mountain inhabitants on Quelpart Islands, and that the latter are bearers of a terrible snake culture. The lives of the people who dig up 'mountain carrots' in the deep mountains in the North of Korea, too, are extremely pious ones. First they offer fervent prayers to the Mountain Spirit and receive divine messages in their dreams as to where to search. Before they go into the mountains they make a point of worshiping the Mountain Spirit and praying for safety. Once in the mountains their devoutness is such that they refrain from using their ordinary daily speech but adopt a special language of the mountain. It is only natural that the mountain carrot is called 'sacred herb,' and nothing is so singular as the way they relish it as holy medicine.

(7) *Yanmul* (Healing Water)

The sacred springs that run in the mountains are called 'healing water' from the belief that if you drink of it you will be cured of all diseases at once. It is, so to speak, an elixir of life. Consequently each sacred spring carries a story of its own history and virtues, either curing the eye diseases, healing the wounds, making the body strong, giving the legs a staying power, making a woman conceive or even changing the girl in her mother's womb to a boy. Therefore any act that desecrated the springs is believed to incur the wrath of its spirit, and it is guarded from the approach of the unclean. In most cases the spirit is conceived to have the form of a snake, dragon, 'old water man or woman.'

iv Comparison of Folkways

(1) Korean folkways and folkways among the Northern Asiatics

The practice in contemporary Korea of setting up posts carved with human figures or sometimes posts capped with bird figures at the entrances to the village is a very old one and seems to be bound by a common cultural tie to folkways of the Northern Asiatics. In order to demonstrate this I,

after quoting various old documents concerning the sacred posts carved with human figures in the days of Kokulyö, compared the practice with the folkways among the Ural-Altaic races in Northern Asia such as (1) the sacred wooden posts carved with human figures and those carved with bird-figures found among the Goldis of Tungus extraction that live on the lower reaches of the Sonhoachang in Manchuria, (2) the natural trees carved with human figures and called the sacred trees of *aoli-borkan* by the Orochons who live in the Hsingan Mountains, (3) the sacred human-figure posts and bird-figure posts of the Orochee race that lives in Primorskaya in Siberia, and (4) the human-figure posts and bird-figure posts of the Ostchak of the Finn race that live in the basins of the Obi and the Yenisei in Siberia. I found close affinities among them in form, structure, and function, and I concluded that they, as cultures of the Ural-Altaic races, all belong to the same culture.

Again, I compared the *obo*, which is found in every part of Mongolia, whose inhabitants also belong to the Ural-Altaic race, with the sacred stone-heap of Korea, and found a trace of a cultural tie between them. *Obo* is originally a Tibetan word, and the custom itself seems to have originated in Tibet where stones are found in abundance. Therefore the commonness of *obo* which look like big mounds of dirt on the Mongolian prairies will be due to the scarcity of stones.

(2) Korean *keum-chul* and Japanese *shimenawa*

A sacred (straw) rope with tufts of straw or paper

As some of the Korean folkways are closely linked with those of the Northern Asiatics, so no small number of them bear a close affinity to those of the Southern races, particularly of the Japanese. Especially, we find striking resemblances between contemporary Korean folkways and those of old Japan. Saving an overall comparison of the folkways of the two peoples for the last discussion, I made here a comparison of the Korean *keum-chul* with the Japanese *shimenawa*, and after pointing out their resemblances in form, function and meaning, and particularly in view of their geographical distribution, I concluded that they belong to the same culture, we find a wider use of the sacred rope in southern parts of Korea which are closer to Japan. The practice is general over the areas covering Kyöngsang-do, Chölla-do, and Ch'ungch'öng-do, about half as much in Kyöngkui-do and Kanguon-do of Central Korea, and as we go farther north, very little in Hoanghai-do, and all but none in Pyöngan-do and Hamkyöng-do. We may say roughly that the sacred rope is widely used south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel now at issue.

(3) Korean folkways and Japanese folkways

When we observe the contemporary folk beliefs in Korea, we realize

that a good many of them remind us of old Japanese customs. In the first place, regarding the sanctuaries, we can see that the divine mountain tree, post, stone, and sacred heap or pile of stones of Korea remind us of the holy places or objects in ancient Japan, such as *iwakura* (the seat of the Holy) and *himorogi*, i.e. the seat of a god made by enclosing a divine tree, grove, or a mountain with fences of evergreens.

In the second place, as we have already noted, the custom of stretching sacred festoons in holy places presents another common practice. Likewise, the custom of those who worship divinities practising ceremonial ablutions is found in Korea as well, and the Korean custom of worshipping sacred trees at mountain passes by fastening cloth or paper cuttings reminds us of an old Japanese poem in the *Manyôshû*. The brewing of sacred wine as well as the offering of rice-ears, unhusked rice, cooked rice, and rice-cakes are common to Korea and Japan. Even the female Shaman's dances, the bells, tabors and fans at Shamanistic rituals are like ours.

Lastly, as to the divinities worshiped, as we can see from the fact that the female Shaman is called *mansin*, which means a person who administers to many gods, their faith is polytheistic just like our Japanese worship of 'myriads of deities.' In regard to the kinds of deities, too, the two peoples are the same in having 'nature gods', such as mountains, rivers, trees, and animals as well as human gods like ancestral spirits, spirits of the deceased heroes and other non-descript spirits. Passages of portable shrines at festivals, too, resemble the Japanese practice. However, the Korean festival shrines are more primitive, the usual practice being that the spirit is invoked down onto a sacred post, which is borne down the mountain to the place prepared in the village for worshipping. Sometimes the post is carried about through the village streets.

Also I made a general statement calling the reader's attention to the fact that Chinese culture has infiltrated almost every phase of Korean life, to say nothing of the far-reaching influences of the Confucian precepts of rituals, marriage and other ceremonies on Korean folkways, and that traces of the Buddhist culture of Silla and Koryô as well are still found in no small number.

II FAMILY FOLKWAYS

i Separation of sexes

— Sexual taboos and liberation —

One of the points which Chinese people of old times brought up frequently in describing the manners and customs of the alien was, as they put it, a proper separation between the male and the female. To glean instances from among their references to the Northern and the Southern people, the two elements which constitute the main body of the contemporary Korean people, the *Wei-chih* contains the following in Section Pyön S'öi of 'Tung-i-chuan' (Eastern Barbarians): "Marriage is a ceremonial institution. Men and women are subject to distinction." The section on *Ma-ban* of the same book says: "Their house looks like a mound with a roof of thatch, a floor of dirt, and its doorway cut at the top of the dome. It is shared by the whole family regardless of age and sex." Again, a passage on Kokulyö reads: "A custom prevails in the villages of the country for men and women to turn out after dusk and sing and dance together."

However, there is no ascertaining in a hasty way what things of a vague and remote past were actually like. So far as the folkways of modern Korea are concerned, we may safely conclude that on the whole the separation of sexes is observed with surprising strictness, although its varying degrees and manner of prevalence according to urban and rural communities, or differences in wealth, occupation and educational background, do not allow us to make a hasty generalization.

The present writer had the pleasure, once, of being among the guests of a fairly progressive Korean family at its so-called 'new-style' wedding, which took place in a Christian church. When at last it was time for the wedding dinner, the male and the female members parted company and each group dined in a separate room, so that my wife, who found herself in a gathering of Koreans for the first time, was quite confused.

Then, too, at the annual garden party on the grounds of the Government-General of Korea in celebration of the Emperor's Birthday, the Korean peers, diplomats and University men, who showed up with their wives were observed to be parted from their devoted consorts when at last it was time for them to proceed to the garden. The members of each sex formed a line by themselves and filed into the garden by separate gates. At home, also, men and women do not eat at the same table. In the middle or lower class homes women usually eat in the kitchen.

We shall see how it has affected the living quarters. The *anpang* is strictly the lady's chamber. The ladies of the upper classes confine themselves to this room and never appear in the presence of male visitors. Even in the two-room residence of the poor, the room next to the kitchen is assigned as the *anpang*, and the other for the *salang* (men's room) and parlor.

Until quite recent times it was the custom of the ladies of the *lyangban* (the two privileged classes whose male members inherited the right to serve as civil or military officers) to go out in covered sedan-chairs in the daytime accompanied by servants and to cover their bodies and faces with petticoats on night outings, their servants with lighted lanterns leading the way. This general disinclination on the part of women for going abroad in the daytime makes an interesting contrast to the Japanese tradition which regards women's night outings with disapproval. Wives of common people, too, when they went out, used to wear long coats called *changot*, which covered their heads and bodies and reached to the knees. This custom is now all but dead in Seoul, but in Kaisöng area women still cover their heads with petticoats. The *ch'önot* worn by the geisha-girls is very much like the *changot*. A current fashion among women is to carry parasols instead of wearing the *ch'önot*. The purpose is not so much to protect their faces from the sun or make them look more elegant as to hide their faces from observation, so that you will see a most singular sight of women walking abroad at night holding their parasols over their heads.

Under the I dynasty, women of the *lyangban* classes used to hide their faces with *laul* when they went out on horseback. This is what is mentioned in *Chosin's Soalok* (adversaria): "Women of the gentry in Korea go out wearing round hats hooded with black cloth which hangs a good foot all round. The purpose is to hide their faces. Probably it comes from the *myöklachagmo* (a kind of Chinese hat hung with cloth) of the Tang period. It is sometimes called *kaidu*." Further back in the Kolyö era, according to the Sillö (the Court records of the I dynasty), women wore a *mangus* or *lipmo* outdoors, with the front of its brim rolled back and hiding the face with a fan. The practice was forbidden, however, in the fourteenth year of T'aichong of the I dynasty, a decree being issued forbidding the use of the fan but ordering women to wear the *lyömmo* (a hat hung with veil) instead. At present the geisha-girls in Pyöngyang and Haiju are seen hiding their faces out-of-doors with large sedge hats, and the current practice in strict use among women of Pyöngyang is that of *moribo*, i.e. covering their faces with white cloth. They all seem of the same purport.

Up to this point, we have seen how the social regulation of sex separation has made itself felt through various forms of physical culture, such as food, clothing and habitation. Now we shall see how it is reflected in the non-material realm.

In the first place, when you make a call in Korea, you shout from outside of the gate to the house, "Come out, there!" Foreigners would misunderstand the custom and think that it is impolite to shout 'Come out' at someone's house, but the caller is really addressing himself to the servant of the house. If it is the dwelling of a family of the *lyangban* rank, the servant, who lives in the lodge by the outer-gate, will answer the call. However, at the houses of common people who can not afford to keep servants or of the poor families, in particular, whose masters have to work outside, the mistresses themselves have of necessity to answer even male visitors. Then their manner of answering is most extraordinary. The woman of the house is heard to answer from behind the closed inner gate, "Tell him that the master is not at home." This is an instruction meant for the servant. Namely, both the visitor and the visited pretend that they are speaking through an imaginary servant. This singular practice is no other than a case where the principle of sex separation has been carried to an extreme. Thus, a girl who has been looking furtively out of the window of the house will close it hurriedly on seeing a man coming her way. A male foreigner who sees a woman squatting in the doorway and tries to ask her his way will be disappointed at her flurried disappearance. When a woman comes across a man on the road, she turns her face aside and makes way for him in a most rigid manner. There is circulated a story of the blunder committed by a Japanese, who, in ignorance of this custom, offended his Korean host by asking him to be remembered to his wife.

Besides, men adhere to Confucianism, while women believe in Shamanism. Hence, Confucian rites and rituals either exclude women completely or are mainly men's affairs, whereas Shamanistic events are occasions of worship, social gathering or merry-making for women. The learning of Chinese characters used to be men's privilege, while women who knew them were criticized and considered to lack in womanliness; hence they only learned the *ummun* (the Korean syllabary).

These are all illustrative of the distinctive attitude toward sex which underlies moral culture. However, those which draw our attention most are sexual taboos in home life. Among which the relationship of the younger sister to her brother-in-law and that between the big brother and his younger brother's wife are considered to be extremely subtle ones. The former, in particular, has even passed into a common saying: "Young sisters' paramours are their big sisters' husbands." Fortunately, however, thanks to the predominance of patrilocal marriage in Korean society, they seldom live in the same house. It is different with the case of the oldest brother and his brother's wife. Since they live in the same house, the forms of sexual taboos are extremely complicated. Even in the two-room house of the poor in the north-western parts of Korea, where sex separation is considered to be

less strict, the oldest son eats alone in the *salang* so that he may not sit at the same table with his younger brother's wife, while the rest of the family eat together in the *anpang* which adjoins the kitchen. If an occasion arises which compels the younger brother's wife to carry a meal or the like to the big brother's room, she performs her duty in a most frigid manner in strict silence and with her eyes downcast. On the contrary, the wife's elder sister and her husband's younger brother are not subject quite so much to the rules of sex repression, but are allowed rather too much liberty.

Another important point for consideration is the relationship between father and daughter-in-law and that between mother and son-in-law. The former, owing to the supreme authority of the father-in-law and the low position of the daughter-in-law, is regulated by means of an attitude of reverence, which is a modification of the concept of sexual taboo. In contrast to this, as the common saying goes—"It is the mother-in-law that loves the son-in-law"—the relationship of mother-in-law to son-in-law seems to involve a fairly high possibility of complications. Fortunately, again, owing to the prevalence of patrilocal marriage, they seldom live in the same house.

As for the rule of 'no marriage between families of the same name,' we may say that it is thoroughly established so far as the families of the same name and stock are concerned. Thus in the era of the I dynasty, if some female member of the royal family was married into another family of noble lineage, it was expressly set down in the Court Registry, to wit, 'Married to So-and-so, but they are not of the same stock.' It is observed that, even among the present young generation with its modern educational background, they seldom feel urges of sexual affinity toward individuals of the same stock. To these can be added diverse norms of relationship between the sexes meant for safeguarding matrimony and family integrity, such as the transmission of the stories of the vice of incest, punishments of intrigues and adultery by forfeiture and banishment, and the social prejudice against widows who marry a second time. The above are a brief picture of the strictness with which sexual tabboos are observed in Korea.

We should not overlook, however, that, side by side with this stern separation of sexes, there are found numerous occasions upon which those prohibitions are overridden and women, in particular, are allowed freedom. To investigate it first in regard to the annual events, the *Tongkuk Söisikeui* (the Korean Chronicle) says in its section on New Year's Day: "In the Capital it is customary on this day for kinswomen to send each other a maid dressed up with season's greetings and good wishes. The maid is called *munanpi* (inquiry maid). Koan-lö, an official at the Court of Li, poeticised: "Who sent thee, *munanpi*? Whither goest thou?" which shows that the maid done up prettily pleased the poet's eye. But this practice is limited to the *munanpi* of New Year's Day. As a rule, women in general do not walk abroad on

this day. Just the same, this is a day of jubilee for women, and the sight of girls attired in new dresses of red and yellow and playing *nolt'uiji* (a kind of seesaw) in the yard is still one of the attractions of Seoul at New Year's time. Thus even young and attractive girls, who ordinarily do not dare to expose themselves to the stare of men, are seen playing *nolt'uiji* in a most lively manner, leaping from the board all but as high as the comparatively low eaves of their Korean-style houses with their skirts flying in the breeze, and ignoring the young men who stand outside feasting their eyes insatiately. The sport is what Lyu Teu-kong recounts in his *Kyongdo-chapchi* (Glimpses of the Capital): "On New Year's Day, women of the Capital have hilarious times playing *ch'opanbeui* (same as *nolt'uiji*, meaning 'seesaw'). They balance a white board on a bundle of straw, balance themselves at its ends, and with a violent spurt fly up alternately in the air several feet to the merry accompaniment of their jangling trinkets." It is similar to what is referred to by Chou Hoang in his *Lyukukuk-Kuilyak* (Sketches on the Loochoos): "Women dance on boards. It is called a 'board-dance.' Probably the Loochoo people who visited our land in its early days must have liked our custom and introduced it into their country."

As *Sanguon* (the fifteenth of January) draws near, women's outings grow quite frequent. For instance, there is recorded in the *Tongkuk Söisikeui*: "The North Gate of the metropolis is called Sykuchöng-mun. At ordinary times it is closed. In the valley near by runs a clear and serene stream. The downtown women who visit the gate thrice before the fifteenth of January are believed to escape ill luck. On the fifteenth, when dusk sets in, they climb to high places carrying torches and welcome the full moon. It was called *yonguöl*." *Yonguöl* is what is now called *talmaji* (welcoming the moon) and still survives in every part of Korea. This custom is sometimes associated with the belief that a son will be born to one who catches the sight of the full moon first. In some parts, however, women do not take part. On the other hand, it is written about *tapkyo* (walking on the bridge) of the evening of the fifteenth of January that "all the townfolk turn out in the 'Belfry Street' after moonrise, stroll on the bridges listening to the bells, and deliver themselves of their leg troubles. *Tali* (bridge) is a homonym of *tali* (dialect for 'leg'). So it is based on the pun. The popular belief holds that by doing so one will be able to ward off leg diseases throughout the year. The Koangteung bridges and the Sup'yo bridges of varied sizes are the most popular and most crowded. It is customary on this evening to ease the ban on the night-time crowding of the bridges. Crowds surge and tumultuous music dins your ears."

This custom seems to have originated in China, for Ong Nak says in his *Lyöngilok*: "In the days of the Tang dynasty, men and women made outings in a few evenings around the fifteenth of the first month, vehicles

and horses blocking the streets." Lyuk Kyöing's *Puk-kyong Soiboakui* has: "On the evening of the fifteenth of January, women leave their house together and betake themselves to bridges." U Önhöng writes in his *Chai Kyöng Kyöngmullak* (Brief Accounts of the Feature of the Capital): "On New Year's Day, women go out together at night and cure themselves of illnesses and diseases and ward off a hundred ailments." Last but not least, Chin Pang narrates in his *Öansochapki* that, on the sixteenth evening, women roam in flocks and they cross every bridge within their reach in two's and three's and the practice is called *toyak* (escaping from evils). Also, Li Su-Koang's *Chibong-lusöl* narrates: "The fun of *tapkyo* on the day of *Sanguon* (January, 15) starts early in the morning. It is quite popular at ordinary times, too. On this particular day, men and women mill around into late hours till the officers of law resort to arresting them." From that we can well gather what a lively event it was. Even at the present time you will see the custom surviving in Seoul, people thronging the Sup'yokyo bridges and their neighborhoods on that evening. Moreover, this custom is not limited to the Capital only; there is found everywhere the custom of the 'human bridge,' which is mentioned in the *Tongkuk Söisikeui*: "A custom in Antong. Crowds of women, both young and old, go outside the walls of their village on the evening of the fifteenth of January and crawl on all fours arranging themselves in an unbroken line like a string of fish skewered head to tail. A little girl helped by the hands treads on the procession back and forth representing the sight of *tapkyo* as they carry on a responsory, the girl singing first, "What bridge is this?" and the crawling procession underneath responding in unison, "Ch'öngkoi-san Tongkyo." In this manner they measure their way now east, now west, along the main roads until it is brought to a close towards dawn."

Another New Year's pastime found everywhere is the *sakchon* (tug-of-war), which is often joined by women. For instance, in Chölla-pukto they use a rope made by linking a 'male rope' and a 'female rope' together; to this main rope are attached many thinner ones. Then the young men of the village divide themselves into two teams and tug at the rope while women look on. If the female-rope side wins, the year will bring a good harvest. In Ipsöki on the outskirts of Kimjai in the same province stands a stone seven feet high entwined with a big rope, which was used at the tug-of-war of the previous year. On the fifteenth of January the young men of the village on one side and the women and children on the other side had the contest, the former invariably giving up the match. After the game the rope had been carried to the stone referred to and wound around it. The explanation given about this is that the stone is big at the top and resembles a penis, so that they bind the rope around it for fear the people of the neighboring village, seeing it in the nude and fearing for the morals

of their womenfolk, would knock it down. It is also believed that if they do not play this game, their village will be visited with epidemics. The old rope is burnt up after it has been replaced by the next year's rope. Thus we can see that the usage is Shamanistic in nature and is at the same time closely connected with sexual life. Accordingly, *nolt'uigi*, *tapkyo*, and *sakchon* sports centering round the first and fifteenth of the month of the New Year, provide opportunities for feminine liberation.

A second occasion of women's emancipation comes around at *Tano* of May when the May Festival is celebrated on the fifth. It arouses our interest by the contrast it makes to the Japanese custom which celebrates the Boys' Festival and the Girls' Festival separately in different months, thus turning the May Festival exclusively into the Boys' Festival. In Korea the May Festival is celebrated with men's wrestling matches and women's *keumeui* (swinging on a trapeze). The latter is a far more sprightly sport than *nolt'uigi* (seesaw) of New Year's time, because the swing is often made tens of feet high and girls make a full swing on it among the trees in young leaf, soaring high up against the blue sky with their trappings trailing and fluttering in the breeze. It is written in Kim Mansun's *Öiyang Chronicles* that "at the May Festival both men and women, young and old, have fun playing on the swing. It is the same in the countryside as in the Capital. In the West of Korea it is carried on with even greater gusto, people being dressed up in gay costumes, feasting sumptuously and making merry together." Even today the swing festivals of Kaisöng and Pyöngyang are great events which attract large crowds of spectators from all around. In Seoul, too, we can see the sights of men and women crowding the front yard of the East Shrine or the South Shrine of the Kankai Shrine and celebrating the May Festival around a tall swing.

Vying, so to speak, with the swing festival of the West of Korea, we find in the South of Korea August festivals variously called *kabai*, *cb'usök*, or *paluol poleummal*. These are celebrated with even more zest. We will quote from 'Yuli-nisakeum' of the 'Book of Silla-ponki' of the *Samkukusiki*: "The King has six groups organized; again divides them into two main divisions. Two royal princesses are made leaders of the women in each division, dividing them into unit groups. From the sixteenth of the seventh month of the lunar calendar they gather early every morning in a large yard to spin threads out of hemp until late at night. On the fifteenth of August they compare which side has spun more; the losers congratulate the winners and treat them to a feast; then they all make merry together with singing and dancing; this is called *kabai*." Even now we find in Kyöngsangto a similar custom, which is encouraged by the Government officials as a women's side-job. However, those to be regarded as representative of the August events in the South of Korea are *sakchon* (tug-of-war) and *kakchai* (wrestling)

and women's *nolt'niigi* (seesaw) celebrated in a grand way, to say nothing of the festivals of ancestor worship and of the grave which are observed in all parts of Korea.

It is said that in some places women are seen to dance in the moonlight, which reminds us of the Japanese folk dances at the Lantern Festival. According to Mr. Chöng Yön-söp's article published in Vol. 9, No. 1 of *Folk Arts*, in Hiyang, Kyöngsang-namto, which is the writer's native place, they have a three-day period of women's liberation following the ordinary functions of the fifteenth of August. On the sixteenth, people rise very early in the morning and climb Hoachang-san, a legend-enshrouded mountain which lies a short distance to the north; there is a cave on its side, and a sacred spring runs inside the cave; women and little urchins hasten to the spot striving to outstrip one another, so that the hillside looks as if it is strewn with flowers of various colors. The cave is large enough to admit about two hundred people. On its floor stands a stone image of Buddha, about three feet high. A tradition has it that if you succeed in tossing a pebble, making it stay on its head, your first child will be a boy, so that everyone has a try. Then, on the seventeenth, young men and young women visit the valley of unique scenic beauty called Sökch'onchai and let go of themselves completely, taking in the beauty of the rocks and the clear murmuring rill, or losing themselves in the vociferation of the excited crowds. Mellow women start dancing in the restaurants and the near-by hillsides are alive with tipsy young men. Some go home after the moon has risen and some make merry until midnight.

Again, on the eighteenth, women set out for a spot called Pultang, where a stone statue of Buddha is set up. They grind the stone-mill placed beside the statue praying for conception. If the concave upper mill-stone becomes unmovably stuck to the convex lower stone as they grind on absorbed in fervent prayers, their prayers have been answered. After this they retrace their steps homeward half drunk, singing and dancing on the way. By the time they get to town after dark, preparations have been made for the tug-of-war, with songs and drums beating the air astir. They also take part in the game, now holding to the ends of the main rope or to the baby ropes fastened on to the former, or again sitting on them with their skirts filled with cobbles; and excited young girls hurl abusive language at their opponents. So the night wears on.

Thus, the people who have been confined in the *emdol* (room heated from under the floor) during the rigorous winter, young women in particular who are at other times afraid of being seen by men, have New Year's time as their first opportunity for enjoying freedom. The number of women who walk around the streets are increasingly numerous during the period which follows the fifteenth, the day of jubilee for women.

The second main occasion of liberation comes, in North and Central Korea, at *Tano* of May (May Festival on the fifth) and in the South of Korea at the harvest moon. This custom of Southern Korea is an unusual festival which corresponds to the Lantern Festival in Japan. These by no means exhaust the opportunities for liberation, for, even if we exclude the custom of visiting the grave on the day of *hansik* (cold meals) toward the end of March, there is a custom for women to visit their temples at *teungsök* (Feast of Lanterns) of the eighth of April. The present writer had an opportunity to see the Lantern Festival of Kaisöng and was much impressed by its gorgeously. Then, too, springtime excursions into the countryside are quite frequent, especially among women. They go to hillsides in the flowering season when peaches, damsons, apricots and plums all break into blossom. They gather azalias, mix them with dough and make 'flower-crackers.' The fifteenth of June is called *lyungdongil* (head-washing day). According to the *Tongdo-Euisok* (Relics of Old Customs in the Eastern Capital) in the *Kim Koki Chip* (Collected Works of Kim Koki), "it was the custom on the fifteenth of June to bathe in rivers which flow east and clean the body first, and then celebrate the occasion. This was called the feast of *lyungdong*." Today we find the custom of washing the hair in the stream of the waterfall on the same day. In some parts there is found the custom called *t'akcbok*, according to which those who climb mountains in the summertime dip their feet or wash their bodies in the mountain stream. The *Ch'ülsöngmaji* (the Weavers' Festival) on the seventh of July is a women's festival administered in the main by female Shamans. Excursions into hillsides or into mountains in September to see the autumn tints called *tanp'ung*; *kuk-hoajon*, i.e. the tasteful custom of baking chrysanthemum petals in oil; visits to sacred springs of healing made from spring through autumn, etc.—all provide the populace with various means of pastime from season to season. Then, in October, the female Shamans' festivals called *taikamnoli* are held extensively, so much so that many a wife will go into debt keeping it secret from her husband. These occasions, however, fall far short of the other three given above in the scale of liberation and of participation of young people. On the other hand we can mention the village festival as an even greater occasion of liberation.

It is a fact that Koreans in general have a strong sense of blood-relationship, and the feeling of intimacy they show even towards their mere namesakes is indeed something which goes beyond our comprehension. I believe that this extreme fraternity of kinship bears to a certain extent causal relation to the facts that Korean history abounds in party strifes and clan rivalries, that even today villages of consanguineal families are by no means unusual and that the tutelary gods around which communities would be organized show such imperfect development. That is due, I believe, to the fact that Korean people had little incentive for fostering the concept of 'comfortable

native place' because of the precariousness of their lives and properties. They were exposed from old times to the tyranny of the invaders and oppressors from the mainland and of the pirates and plunderers who came over from the coasts of Japan and ravaged the coastal regions of the peninsula, besides suffering from maladministration at home. So it happens on investigation that many of the old families in the countryside prove to be comparatively recent settlers and immigrants from other areas. We find also that peasants, once visited with a lean year, will give up their lands and home with little sense of attachment, remove into the hilly country and start all over again, engaging themselves in crude methods of agriculture, and working patches of land cleared by means of bush fires. So it might be said of Korea that the weakness of the ties to the land has strengthened the ties of kinship rather than that the strong ties of consanguinity have led to the weakening of love for the land.

At any rate, factual evidence shows us that the events of religious nature in the rural communities of Korea have not developed to the stage comparable with Japanese festivals nor do the places wherein their gods are enshrined compare with Japanese shrines. As it is, in all parts of Korea are found what are called 'shrines' of *Sönghoang* or *Kuksu*. They stand usually on the village limits or at the tops of mountain passes and consist of a tree hung with cloth and a mound of small stones. (*Sönghoang* is a name given to a tutelary god. Initially it was given to the spirit of a noble personage who had rendered great services to the people of his community). In the South of Korea, too, are found sacred monuments which consist of old trees, called *tangsan-nam* or *tang-mok*, and big stones. Occasionally you will find *sönghoang* trees by the side of a sacred spring or pool. These are referred to in I Ki-kyöng's *Ojubyöngmun-Changchönsanbo* as follows: "In our Eight Provinces we have, at the top of a mountain pass, a *sönoang-dang* (*dang* means a shrine or a sacred place), which is a misnomer of *sönghoang-dang*. Its original meaning was probably 'bush shrine.' It corresponds to the *Kanch'ök* shrine of China, which is build on the top of a mountain. Now it is a shrine, now it is a heap of sand or stones in a thicket or under an old tree. People invariably bow to it and spit at it as they pass by. Sometimes it is hung with ropes and strings, and at other times with paper strips. The heap of hair and stones which has been dedicated may be interpreted as a survival of the practice to dedicate *soto* to the spirit of *Ma-han* in the *T'ung-tien*."

Now, some of them have developed into something like village shrines, and of their festivals, those called *Sönghoang-kut*, *Kuksudang-kut* and *Tang-kut* occasionally indicate characteristics of such festivals as *Taidong-kut*, *Tongnai-kut*, *Tadang-kut*, etc. Specifically, the *K'un-sönghoang* of Kanflung is a case in point, being called *Eup-sönghoang* and clearly suggestive of the conception of a tutelary god.

Besides, in Central Korea and regions further north, villages often have two gods, one being encountered near the mountains and the other on the level ground, and sometimes they are god and goddess and even a married couple.

For instance, the village called Eungbong-do in the countryside of Pakchön in Pyöngan-pukto is divided into two wards, and each of them has an 'Upper Shrine', which stands on the hillside, and a 'Lower Shrine' which stands near the river or the hamlet. Yet the deities enshrined in them are not distinguished between a god and a goddess. Whereas, the shrine of the town of Kanglung is sacred to Kim Yusin and stands on a hill, while the shrine by the side of the Namdai-chön River is dedicated to the Dragon Goddess of the river. As for the deities enshrined in a couple of shrines at Okeui-li on the outskirts of Kanglung, they are definitely regarded as a god and a goddess consort, and the villagers even claim that at night they can hear them in the act of sexual union. Some of these deities are worshiped with festivals annually on the fixed days, as are exemplified by the festivals of the 'female' *Sönghoang* and *Kuksu* Shrine at Yangju on the eighth of April and of the 'male' *Sönghoang* on the fifth of May, which are celebrated respectively as the festival of the entire village with female Shamans' dances and music.

About up to the time of the Kabo Reformation of 1884, which is called the Korean Restoration, there were areas where festivals of this kind flourished. A case in point is the May Festival of Kanglung which was said to be the grandest in the eastern parts of Korea; it took three months for the festival to run through its course, beginning on the twentieth of March of the lunar calendar with the brewing of the sacred wine, which was followed on its part by the orchestral rites of the first and eighth of April; then throughout the period from the afternoon of the fifteenth to the evening of the sixteenth, long processions of a mounted column of ten bandsmen, *hojang*, *pussaik* and other officials, scores of male and female Shamans in vans, pious men and women, of whom the rich carrying their loads on their horses and the poor on their own backs and heads, set out to the *Sönghoang* Shrine on Mt. Taikoang-lyöng, and walked through the night to transport the Mountain Spirit to the town shrine in Kanglung; again this was followed up with the offerings of religious music on the twenty-second; at least the festivities got into full swing on the first of May, and the celebrants made the rounds of the shrines carrying the sacred post named *Sönghoang* God and tassels raised on poles, put on masks and held fairs until the festivities reached their climax on the fifth to be concluded on the following day with the ceremony of sacred fires. At the festivals of the two *Sönghoang* shrines of the god and goddess at Yangju, referred to a while back, a dozen or so of male and female Shamans used to perform boisterous

dances as in frenzy in front of the *Sönghoang* trees until the grove resounded with their singing; at the same time on the lawn atop the mountain was build a stage for the Pyölsandi masks, which was the pride of Yangju, and people would relieve their grudges against the privileged classes by having a good laugh over the simple gourd-shell masks which satirized the corruption of the priests and the arrogance of the two privileged classes.

As for the *Pyölsin*, which can be regarded as extraordinary grand festivals as against those mentioned above, they were occasions of complete abandonment with gamblers and prostitutes turned loose. These festivals, which primarily aimed at pacifying gods by setting up big trees, sacred objects of worship, and tables laden with offerings of food and beverage, with bands of Shamans performing the rituals of singing and dancing, were at the same time the greatest occasions of liberation from sexual restraints.

With these we conclude our survey of various forms of separation of sexes in Korea, that is, prohibitions and restraints on sex, and opportunities of liberation therefrom practised in Korea. We will now proceed to the study of the social functions which these apparently conflicting social facts play. Here lies the problem of getting to the bottom of facts and finding the meaning which lies underneath them.

Now, the tradition of sex taboo is not restricted to Korea only, but naturally it is found in China which has had a great influence on Korean culture, and, for that matter, among the nations of Europe and America as well as on the Japanese Islands. For instance, even in the European countries, where men and women are said to have much freedom in their relationship with individuals of the other sex, men in general stand on ceremony in the presence of women, and the strictness of etiquette which binds men in their relationship with women is something which surpasses our imagination. This alone will bespeak a good deal on the point in question. Again, it is known to everybody that their dance parties and annual festivities give them opportunities of courting and love-making. Then why does the tradition of sex taboo exist in the society of human beings; why the opportunities, as its corollary, of contradicting the principle? A comparison of the society of man with those of animals will help us solve this problem.

If we take a higher animal species, whose social life is closest to that of human beings, and observe the process of forming families, we shall notice that their courting begins more or less regularly with the physiological changes on the part of the females which take place in certain seasons, and the automatic reactions on the part of the males, such as beautiful features, attractive voices, physical strength, skill in fighting are all determined by hereditary factors as well as they are standardized according to species. Therefore, those physically handicapped by natural selection are subject to degeneration and extinction. In the case of the animals, the shortness of

their periods of sexual excitement keeps down the danger from the attacks by their enemies at the time of mating and conception—which are the greatest threat to the preservation of their races or species. Human beings, however, have no such distinct periods of sexual excitement, but are given opportunities for courting throughout the year, although it should be conceded that reports have been made testifying to the tendency of accelerated sexual appetite in the springtime among some primitive tribes. This and the fact that birth-rates among the civilized peoples run the highest in autumn to winter, and again the fact that the Chinese terms *ch'un ch'i* and *ch'un ch'ing* (literally, vernal impetus and vernal feelings) mean sexual appetites, all suggest that man's sexual excitement culminates in the springtime. Hence the famous passage from a poem in the *Shik-king*—"Peaches are clad in lovely blooms and leaves thick; my pretty one is married and has a happy home,"—implies the custom of spring marriages. But it goes without saying that all these do not compare with sexual urges of animals.

Man, who is subject almost constantly to the urges of sexual appetite, shows an inclination to have hindered all his interests other than sexual connections. So, if he had allowed his impulse to have its own way, if he had acted, so to speak, in submission to the decree of Nature, he would never have been able to come out on top in his competition with other favorably circumstanced animals. Actually, he can at the same time regulate his sexual impulses; that is, he can apply certain restraints to his outbursts of sexual impulses and impose prohibitions . . . Such was probably the separation of sexes in its primitive stages. Herein we find a difference between human beings and animals, and likewise understand the old Chinese way of thinking which exalted their own culture, assuming a superior attitude towards other peoples that made no separation of sexes and relegating them with contempt to the level of the beasts. In reality, though, there is no race that has failed completely to regulate the relationship between man and women; only they did not meet the standard of the Chinese in the extent and manner of their practice. That is to say, that the extent and manner of sex repression varied according to time and race.

Accordingly, sexual taboo does not draw its strength from the so-called impulse itself. The human being has on one hand a tendency to show a sexual reaction almost under any circumstances, but at the same time he obeys the fixed restrictions imposed, so to speak, artificially upon the reaction. In this sense it will be said that Chinese rebel against Nature and that man through culture restricts his appetites. Confucianism in China marks a high degree of development in regard to this point, and under its influence the separation of sexes came to be carried to an extreme in Korea. Even at the present time, particularly in the South of Korea, where, along the line of policy of the I dynasty, the *hyangban* classes (two privileged classes), which

exalted Confucian teachings, exerted great influence, the relationship between men and women is regulated with much greater strictness. Contrary to this, the same relationship is maintained with less strictness in the North and West of Korea, among the inhabitants of which the policy of the same regime closed the door to high positions in the affairs of the State, and where Confucianism which in the main had its adherents among the *lyangban*, gained little influence. For instance, in the North and West of Korea, men and women working together on the farm, women's vigorous activities in the market, and male and female members of the family eating at the same table—all these are viewed with more tolerance, while in the South men and women seldom work together on the farm and the principle of the men and women of the family eating at different tables is observed with more strictness.

It is, however, a plain fact that too extreme a suppression of the sexual appetite brings about the degeneration and extinction of the human race in the same way as yielding blindly to its continual sexual appetite endangers its subsistence. Hence, in contrast to the animals whose periods of sexual excitement are determined by nature, man makes attempts at stimulating his appetite rationally by dint of culture. So the aforementioned periodical liberation from sexual restraints and prohibitions, the unbridling of the youthful impulses before the suggestiveness of the apparent profanities, vulgar manners and practices attaching to *Sönghoang* festivals and extraordinary grand festivals, the love scenes in the Pyölsandi masks branded as eye-sores to 'virtuous gentlemen', singing and dancing, bouts of eating and drinking, nocturnal darkness and tree-inclosed nooks, all these are indeed social practices which in the name of culture liberate sex, breaking down the restrictions and prohibitions which culture itself has imposed on it. Therefore, there is no need of regarding these as survivals of the primitive custom of promiscuity, but we should recognize the importance of the social functions which these customs play. Although it happened that they came to be regarded as wanton and vulgar customs which corrupt good manners and public morals, that itself proves that man's manner of courting also changed, representing one phase of the overall changes and development of his culture. It should prove that, while the courting of the animal is a spontaneous phenomenon determined by nature, the manners of courting of the human being are of the cultural nature. Therefore, in regard to the social functions played by the bustles and jostles of *Tapkyo* (walking on the bridge) and the Feast of Lanterns, swings at the May Festival, dances on August evenings, tugs-of-war participated by both men and women, abandonments on the nights of festivals and all, which played their due roles in the past societies of Korea supplying them with opportunities for courting, we should rather recognize their merits in the past instead of stigmatizing them merely as dashes and whims of the hot blood which primordially run counter

to the ways of the virtuous. In Korean folklore the swing of the May Festival traces itself back to Yang Kuei-fei who first thought it up so that she could see her lover, An Lu-shan, from her palace. Even if the story came from China, when we turn our thought to the reason why it proved so acceptable to the Koreans and has been transmitted through ages, we shall have a general idea of the social function invested in this tradition. Again, in regard to the *sakchon* of the southern parts of Korea, we should understand that this pastime, with its religious function as a divination of crops, employs on purpose male and female ropes, thus giving occasions to the populace to enjoy the excitement over a contest between men's and women's team, and that, thereby, it serves spectators as well as contestants as a social occasion which liberates them socially from the restrictions on sex the society itself has imposed on them. It will be precisely for this reason that the swing of the May Festival was celebrated in such a style as moved the poet, while the tugs-of-war on summer evenings were great events women and children waited for burning with expectation. Although the times have changed and their culture changed withal, and the manner of courting of the Korean people, too, are going through great changes, we can by no means conclude that the rampant prostitution and gambling on the evenings of the grand festivals existed solely for the purpose of poisoning the society of the human being.

Thus we cannot but admit that, as our repressive attitude toward sex is a necessary social institution for the preservation of our species, so its liberation is a custom which plays an equally important role. Repression of sex is a practice of a negative nature which brings the natural impulses under the control of culture and regulates them negatively, whereas their liberation is one of stimulating the same impulses positively by means of culture. In summary, one is a culture which runs counter to nature, while the other is one that co-operates with her. Herein we find that restrictions and liberations of sex are acts of regulating man's elastic impulses by means of culture. It follows then that they are fundamentally different from the relationship found between male and female animals that meet or part according to the urges of nature. Thus human marriages and families are possessed of the quality of culture, which makes them totally different beings from those of animals.

Culture, of necessity, is variable from time to time and place to place. Consequently, we have followed, up to this point, various phases of the practice in Korea of repression and liberation of sex, directing our attention to its characteristic features and variations. Now, while it can be established from their present functions as well that the various occasions of sex liberation referred to are not to be regarded as survivals from the primitive usages of promiscuity, we should not overlook that, in Korean communities which

are based on the family system, the general tendency of early marriage prevailed, that girls of the upper classes, in particular, were married mostly before they reached puberty, and that for that reason those customs which used to furnish occasions of sex liberation at one time ceased to play their functions except for the common run of people. From this, finally, they came to be regarded as vulgar and immoral customs by the privileged classes that exalted Confucian culture. In this sense we can realize the existence of class-distinction among the folkways in Korea.

ii Types of marriage (I)

— Marriage by exchange; marriage by purchase;
marriage by services —

Marriages can be classified into two types from various points of view. When classified on the basis of the methods of obtaining the spouse, they fall into two main categories: (1) marriages by consideration, which embrace marriage by exchange, marriage by purchase, and marriage by services, and (2) marriages which involve no consideration, such as marriage by capture, marriage for love and marriage by go-between. I should call those in the second category 'marriages by non-consideration.' It must be admitted, however, that what are called marriage by exchange, marriage by purchase, and marriage by services respectively do not necessarily involve actual compensations, and likewise what goes by the name of marriage by capture often assumes a sham form of seizure as has often been pointed out by scholars before us.¹⁾ So these terms, as indices to the mode of marriage, have often caused ambiguity and misunderstanding among scholars. Also, any attempt to arrange these types of marriage according to their stages of development will end in a mere play of logic, for it is utterly unbelievable that all the human races have the same history of obtaining spouses. Yet, to our surprise, we still find scholars who use such an expression as 'the age of marriage by capture.'²⁾

I have no intention, however, to make an issue here of the possibility or impossibility of establishing a historical law governing the modes of marriage in the society of the human species. Facts lead us to say only this much: that is, the means of acquiring the spouse employed by a particular race are not necessarily uniform nor is their social valuation. According to

1) Westermarck, E., *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th Ed., Vol. II, Ch. XXI, XXIII.

2) T. Nakayama, *A History of Japanese Marriage*. He divides the evolution of human marriage into four stages: the Age of Common Marriage; the Age of Marriage by Capture; the Age of Marriage by Sale and Purchase; the Age of Marriage by Contract.

Lowie, Crow Indians have, as means of marriage, wife capture, inheritance of the deceased brothers' widows, marrying the sisters of their bought wives by sororate, wife capture by storming the camps of Dakota Indians, claiming their former lovers legally, who are now married to other persons, etc. Of all these, marriage by purchase is held in the highest social approval, enjoying the privilege as authentic marriage, and the wives obtained thereby can always look the world in the face. Therefore, if one investigates the history of a typical Crow Indian, he will learn that his records of marriage show several cases of marriage by love and one legitimate case of marriage by purchase, the latter often being polygamy by sororate.¹⁾ At the same time, the ideal mode of marriage in the society of a particular race, that is, the ideal means of obtaining the spouse, does not necessarily mean the most widely followed practice in that society. For example, it is reported that, among the Crow Indians who hold marriage by purchase as the ideal form, sixty per cent of their marriages are of other types.²⁾ Therefore, it will not be possible for us, unless we first define the sense in which the term is used, to label the Crow Indians as a tribe of purchase marriage.

We will now turn to the study of the types of match-making in Korea which prevail or prevailed at one time and of the form held as ideal among the people, and see how they affected the structure of their social organization.

(1) Marriage by exchange

According to Brown, women in Kariara in the western part of Australia are treated as property, and marriage by exchange of sisters as a consideration is normal. There prevails the rule of preferential mating, and men are not only forbidden to marry their own sisters and women of certain degrees of kinship, but on the other hand are obliged to marry certain cousins or other women who come under the same designation. So they seek other men whose sisters fill the terms of preferential mating for them, and exchange their sisters.³⁾ Ascribing this custom to their extreme poverty, Frazer holds that to the husbands their wives are the most valuable property, but having nothing to offer as considerations in obtaining their spouses, they came to exchange their kin.⁴⁾ However, as Westermarck has already pointed out, this cannot be regarded as its sole reason when we realize that, among the tribes equally needy or even more so, there are many that show

1) Lowie, R. H., *Social Life of the Crow Indians* (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, IX, pp. 179-248).

2) Idem, *Primitive Society*, p. 24.

3) Brown, A. R., *Three Tribes of Western Australia* (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XLIII, p. 156).

4) Frazer, J., *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II, p. 195.

no sign of this practice.¹⁾ Thurnwald, for one, states in regard to the custom of marriage by exchange on the Solomons that it originated in the practice of exchanging women as a friendly gesture when an amicable relationship was established between two social groups.²⁾

Now, in regard to Korea, we have no old documents which indicate the prevalence at any historical time of marriage by exchange among its inhabitants. But, according to Ch'oi Pyönghyön's report, what may be termed 'triangle marriage' is found today among the needy in certain parts of P'yöngan-pukto: the way they go about it is somewhat as follows: A, B, and C each has a son and a daughter of marriageable age; A's daughter is married to B's son; B's daughter to C's son; and C's daughter to A's son. This will be regarded as a kind of indirect exchange marriage. The fact that it is found only among the proletariat leads us to believe that it is far from the type of marriage held as ideal by the upper classes and is probably due to their needy circumstances. The same custom is also found near Kimpo in Kyoggeui-do, being called *othonin* (mutual marriage) and in some places *mullöi-honin*, which means 'marriage by rotation' because *mullöi* means 'spinning wheel.'

Again, according to a report made by Mr. Han Työiyöng, not only the triangle marriage but the custom of two men marrying each other's younger sister is found among the paupers in Hamkyöng-namto and its neighboring areas, though on very rare occasions, and similar marriages seem to take place once in a while and secretly in Seoul and vicinity, too, being called *neui-pakum* (exchange of young sisters). This has a complete form of marriage by exchange. It is doubtful, however, if the sisters exchanged are really to be viewed as considerations. It would be nearer the truth to say that it is practised among friends and acquaintances as an expediency to keep down wedding expenses. However, it cannot be attributed entirely to a motive of financial nature, for it is said that, in Seoul, sister exchange is more common when their brothers are in homosexual love with each other.³⁾

At any rate, marriage by exchange, either direct or indirect, is found only among the people of the lower classes, and rarely at that; whether they are actuated by motives of economic nature or of abnormal homosexuality, it is not difficult to imagine that the relationship between the two families linked by such marriage ties will be marked with an unusually close intimacy. But we cannot tell merely from these data if they are survivals into our days of the old-time practice of marriage by exchange based on the principle of consideration.

1) Westermarck, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 359.

2) Thurnwald, R., *Forschungen auf den Salomons-Inseln und im Bismark-Archipel*, Bd. III, S. 101.

3) Kim Tongp'il's talk in Seoul.

(2) Marriage by purchase

Marriages classified under the general designation of marriage by purchase are actually of diverse forms and we should never confound them indiscriminately with the conception of sale and purchase of women. To begin with, of the custom of marriage by purchase in the literal sense we find a typical example among the Kirghis: a Kirghis, when his son becomes ten years old, seeks a man who has a daughter matched in age with his son, arrange a contract of marriage between the two children; then he starts saving for the bride price and pays it up by instalments; the price is often as high as eighty-one heads of cattle; it is so timed that the boy reaches a marriageable age when it has nearly been paid off, and is allowed to visit the girl's home for the first time; on the conclusion of the payments he marries the girl, after which she severs all her relationship with the home of her parents; the wife becomes her husband's property and is owned on his death by his younger brother.¹⁾

Marriage by purchase of the Tonga Islands is accompanied by compensation in either cattle or ploughs, the goods being called *lobora*: A sells his daughter to B, and buys from C a wife for his son with the same price he obtained in exchange for his daughter—if he is of marriageable age; if, unfortunately, the girl that A sold to B should elope with her paramour, B can demand of A the return of the *lobora* he has paid to the latter; but A has already spent it on the wife of his own son, so he resorts to the expediency of turning over his son's wife as the spouse of B's son. This is a practice which treats women as property in the full sense, and here again the widows are owned in order of precedence by younger brother, sons of the sisters, and sons of the other wives respectively of their deceased husbands. Yet, *lobora* is not a bride-price only; it is at the same time a price for potential children, for the husband, whose wife has died without bearing a child to him, can recover the *lobora* he has paid, while the children born of a marriage without fulfilment of the *lobora* belong to the family on the mother's death.²⁾

Up to this point, we have dealt with cases of marriage by purchase in the strict sense of the word. In Korea, too, there seem to be found some cases which are highly suggestive of the element of purchase. For instance, quoting from and commenting upon Dr. Kawai's *Sketches of My Visit to Diamond Mountain*, Dr. Asami writes: “ ‘ In Hongju-gun area in Kyonggi-do, marriages do not require prices, while in Kanguon-do they do range from two hundred up to five or six hundred *yang*, with a hundred and fifty

1) Czaplicka, M. A., *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day*, pp. 50–51. Radloff, W., *Aus Sibirien*, 2 Aufl. Bd. II, S. 485.

The present writer, *Marriage by Purchase among Nomadic Tribes*, (*The Sociological Magazine*, No. 3.)

2) Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol. I, pp. 102–125.

yang for a widow with encumbrance and a hundred *yang* in marrying an heiress ; this practice prevails over wide parts of the peninsula ; however, the union of a couple by infant betrothal does not follow suit.' This information is reliable."¹⁾ The practice here mentioned will probably mean *sönchöi* (elegant name given to consideration). Kuon Chikchu reports that, among the people of the lower classes and the peasantry in Hanheun District, marriages are arranged between families by the groom's side making monetary presentations to the other, and the same practice is prevalent in Söntök District particularly. According to the investigations made by Im Sokchai, it is customary in Koch'ang and its adjacent areas in Chölla-pukto for the family of the courted woman to make a request for payment of sixty *yang* up to a hundred *yang*, and even a family quite well off follows the custom as a matter of course. These cases are to be considered to involve in a good measure the element of purchase. Now in Hoanghai-do this money is covered up to appear on the surface as a measure of security against the bride's possible future emergencies, but all the same it is nothing less than a price paid for the bride ; it is called *ʔalsaneun-ton*, which means 'money to buy a girl with,' and is figured out at the rate of ten *yang* per each year of age, which is sufficient to convince us of the presence of an element of purchase. To give, in this connection, a couple of terms used synonymously to denote this practice, *pyjö-ton* and *pong* are used in Chölla-namto and Seoul respectively, *sönchöi* mentioned before meaning the same thing except that it is a more elegant term. However, these usages are found for the most part with the marriages of women of the lower classes, and are subject to social disapproval. Therefore it goes without saying that we cannot conclude that Korea is a country of marriage by purchase.

The infant betrothal referred to which is not accompanied by a monetary consideration seems to point to the custom called by the name of *mitmönuli* or by euphony *minmönuli*. *Mönuli* means 'wife' ; *mit* will be the same, for instance, as the second element of the compound *sulmit* (liquor base) ; hence *mitmönuli* means, it would seem, something which is basic to making a future wife.²⁾ At the present time this custom prevails in the main among the people of the lower classes, and as for its origin we can trace it back as far as the custom of the Tung Wochii. It is recorded in the *Wei-lüeh* : "The procedure of this form of marriage permits them to come together when the girl reaches the age of ten ; the household of the groom takes her in ; rears her up for long years and then makes a bride of her." Again, a little further on, appears, "On becoming of age, she is returned to her parents ; a request is made of them for money ; on fulfilment of the payment she is

1) Asami, R., *Annals of Korean Legislation*, p. 100.

2) This interpretation is based on the supposition advanced by Chöng Inbo.

returned once more to her bridegroom.” This will argue that it was a marriage by purchase pure and simple. In modern times, it would seem, the rule of ‘man senior in age to woman’ was not necessarily observed strictly, but often women were much older than their men. For instance, it is set down in Chöng Tongyu’s *Chuyöng-p’yön* : “A custom among mean people in rural areas ; before the man is of age yet, a woman of full age is mated with him ; she is taken into the man’s house and helps with agriculture ; when the man has gained further in years, they are made husband and wife ; this is called *yöbu* (placing a woman under one’s care). It often follows, therefore, that the woman is older than her husband by a dozen or more years ; this is a practice of the humble classes and among those who have no regular means of living.” This custom, now called by several names, *yöby*, *yöibu*, *yangbu*, etc., is not completely free of payment of a price. According to Mr. Kudo’s talk made about thirty years ago, the prices at that time were about fifteen *yang* for a little girl of six or seven and ran as high as three hundred *yang* for a mature woman.

It has already been referred to that, in areas where marriage by purchase prevails, wives are treated as their husbands’ property and therefore they are apt to be owned by the kin of their husbands when they turn widows. Chinese classics have the following to relate about the Fuyu, probably a race closely related to the Tung Wochii : “On his brother’s death, the younger brother marries his bereaved wife, following the same custom as the Hsiungnu” (*Wei-chih*) ; “On his elder brother’s death, he marries the wife of the deceased ; the same custom as that of the northern barbarians” (*T’ung-tien*). Again, referring to the manners and customs of Kolyö, the *Nan-shih* relates : “They are a loose lot, men and women indulging in wanton intrigues. Wives bereaved of their husbands are matched with their brothers-in-law.” This will argue that levirate prevailed in Kokulyö. In this connection I Neunghoa¹ directs our attention to the narrative on the Emperor Sangsang in Section Four of the Book of Kokulyö of *Samkuksiki* : “When the Emperor Kokuch’ön died, Us’i, the Queen Consort, withholding the announcement of his death, went to the house of Palgi, the Emperor’s younger brother after nightfall, saying ‘The Emperor has no heir ; you should succeed him.’ Palgi, not knowing of the Emperor’s death, replies : ‘Heavenly decrees predetermine one’s course, and it should not be discussed lightly, to say nothing of the impropriety of a woman making a call at night.’ The Queen Consort, thus put to shame, betakes herself to the house of Yönu. Yönu clothes himself in full dress, meets her at the gate, shows her into the house and entertains her. She says : ‘The Great Emperor is dead, leaving no heir ; Palgi is next in order to the throne ; his succession would be a

1. I Neunghoa, *Folkways among the Korean Females*, p. 15.

proper course, yet he accuses me of perfidy with such ill manners and insolence. That is why I am here.' Hereupon Yönu grew even more courteous toward her. He took it upon himself to carve the meat, and cut his own fingers; the Queen Consort made a bandage of her waist band and dressed up his wound. On taking her leave, she said to Yönu, 'The night is grown late, and there might be some mishap on the way. Please see me back to the Palace.' Yönu obeys her; she showed him by the hand into the Palace. In the morning the Court was summoned, amending the late Emperor's request and establishing Yönu as new Emperor . . . Since Yönu was made Emperor by Us'i's favor, he kept her as Queen Consort instead of marrying a new wife." From this we know that it constitutes a sort of junior levirate.

However, it will be an extremely hasty act to assert the existence of levirate in Kokulyö on the basis of this abstract and distorted description of one example supplied by the *Nan-shih*. If any, it would seem, that it was one solitary example of a much decayed and disintegrated practice. Then it is not clear, either, if its origin lay in marriage by purchase. At any rate, it can be said that the latter practice was given a low place in social valuation: for instance, it is stated in the chapter on Kokulyö of the *Pei-shih* (History of the North Dynasty): "There exists no practice of bride price. If there is anyone who takes it, people will all be ashamed of him, and say that he has sold a maidservant." In the *T'ang-shu*, too, we find passages referring to Kokulyö: "Marriage does not involve compensation; one who takes it is a disgrace to the community he belongs to." Yet again the *Chou-shu* has the following to say about Kokulyö: "The ceremony of marriage is not accompanied with compensations in goods and property; if there is anyone who receives them, his daughter is called a 'sold maid,' and social customs deem it a great shame." From these we will be able to derive that marriage by purchase in Kokulyö fell far short of the ideal standards of orthodox marriage, so to speak, and was limited to the lower classes of the society. This is just a reversal of the attitude of the Crow Indians and the Hidatsa Indians who regard marriage by purchase as the ideal form. Thus we see on the one hand that, among the Tung Wochii, marriage by purchase was perhaps held as the normal form, and on the other hand that in Kokulyö the same practice had already come to be looked down upon as a shame, and in modern Korea, too, *yöbu* is confined to the lower classes and even *sönchöi* is incurring social disapproval. On this ground I presume that the modern practices of *yöbu* and *sönchöi* have their origin away back in the ancient institutions of *yangbu* and the bride price of the Wochii.

Yet there are some scholars who hold a far-fetched view of marriage by purchase, regarding all manner of marriage accompanied by presentations of any value as survival of marriage by purchase. Many of them at least group them under the head of marriage by purchase for convenience sake.

In the light of facts, however, the theory which regards marriage involving presentations of any economic value as survivals of marriage by purchase, along with the theory which interprets the marital practices with a visage of capture or militant nature as survivals of marriage by capture, is a complete fallacy based on the hypothesis that the same motives give rise to the same phenomena. For example, the betrothal present in Japanese custom is apt to be regarded as a survival of the bride price in marriage by purchase, as is suggested in fact by Kuchler.¹⁾ This is clearly an example of the kind of mistake we are apt to make in our appraisal of alien cultures. The prototype of betrothal present had no signification of bride price, but as Mr. K. Yanagita has already pointed out, it was a present in wine and food from the wooer, taken very likely by himself to the family of the bride, of which he partook with the members of the household, thereby establishing a special relationship between the two families. As is suggested by such synonyms as *yanagitaru* and *surume*, it is nothing more than wine and food for feasting together, and on that ground it should not be construed merely from the economic side of its function.²⁾

The importance of feasting together in marriage can be seen from the fact that the practice accompanies the matrimonial functions among the great majority of the races and tribes of the world. As those who drink blood from the same vessel form special blood ties between them, so persons who partake of food and drink from the same vessel at the same table share one with another in the same spirituality and establish cooperative and friendly relationships between them. Particularly, drinking and other forms of feasting together on matrimonial occasions are, needless to say, intended not only to clinch the unity of bride and groom but also to enhance friendliness among their parents, kindred, friends, and other people of the community. Describing Silla, the *Pei-shih* and the *Sui-shu* give us: "Marriage ceremonies are eating and drinking pure and simple varying in degree according to the economic status of the family." This plainly means wedding dinners, and in contemporary Korea, too, it is a well-known fact that, to say nothing of the day of marriage, especially at *t'yönan* and *ukui* (respectively, the ceremony of marrying the groom into the bride's family and vice versa), but for several days, for months and even years, all sorts of dinners are given so frequently wasting so much money and property that their evils have come to be resented.

It has already been mentioned that the wedding present in Japan seems to have its origin in the food and drink for feasting together sent from the

1) Kuchler, L. W., *Marriage in Japan* (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XIII).

2) Yanagita, K., *A Study of Marrying an Heiress* (A Collection of Dissertations in Celebration of Dr. Miyake's Seventieth Birthday, p. 581).

groom's family or often carried by the suitor himself to the house of the bride. It seems that a very much similar custom prevailed in Kokulyö, as the *Pei-shih* puts it: "The groom's family makes a presentation of pigs and wine." The practice of *t'yönan* in contemporary Korea is, needless to say, a borrowing from China, so it is a futile task for us to dig into its genesis in Korean society. However, *t'yönan* itself (presentation of wild goose) was primarily a present of food sent from the wooer to the bride's house, and it was customary, perhaps, for him to partake of it together with the bride's family. If so, it would have been a sufficient cause for developing various traditions attached to the wild goose as a bird of good luck in match-making and readily passed into an ideology which regards it as a sort of sacred bird and discountenances the eating of it on ordinary occasions. On this point I would like to go into further details later.¹⁾

Thus, although we do not think that there is any historical relationship among the practices of presenting pig and wine of Kokulyö, food and drink of Silla, and *t'yönan* of China, yet we can see a common psychological inclination among them. From this we can presume that the people who had been accustomed to pigs and wine as wedding presents would have found it comparatively easy to adopt the practice of *t'yönan* in following the culture of China which they greatly admired. So it has happened that this peninsula appended to an eastern corner of the mainland has come to play the role of a shelter for relics of the old culture of the mainland, because this Chinese custom of *t'yönan* became extinct long ago in its native land while it still prevails all over the peninsula except in P'yöngan-pukto.

Thus we have seen that the food and beverage sent to the family of the bride is not a bride price but is meant to establish friendly relations between the parties concerned by sharing it together, but how about another wedding present called either *naph'ai* or *napp'öi*? Incidentally, it is rather surprising that these two names are used indiscriminately in popular usage, but actually the practice is a mere formal copy of its equivalents in China. It means the custom of making to the bride's family a present of *bonsöji* (formal marriage contract) and bolts of blue and red cloth or blue and red threads prior to *t'yönan*. As a matter of fact, these are meant for the bride's wedding costume, and in that sense will go towards relieving the bride's family of their wedding expenses by so much, but actually, in return for the clothes received from the groom, the bride's family has to make *chijang*, a far more costly present in bedding and clothing, so much so that it has given rise to an axiom that three daughters spell ruin to the family. This will give us an idea of the crippling blow even a Korean family of substantial means suffers in marrying off its female members.²⁾ This is a practice in which one receives more

1) The present publication, 4 *Työnan*.

2) Takahashi, T., *A Collection of Korean Proverbs*, p. 175.

than one has given, presenting a typical example of the rule of exchange of presents, and for that reason precludes the groom's present from being assigned to the category of regular bride price. On this ground I cannot yield to Dr. Asami's view that the practice of *ch'öichon* (bride price) of the Wochii prevails today in amalgamation with *napch'ai* or *napp'öi*, one of the six rites of marriage of the Han race.¹⁾

Presentations do not end with *napp'öi* and *chijang* only; against the live goose from the groom, the bride, at her wedding, presents jujubes to the father-in-law and a dried pheasant to the mother-in-law. The latter has a symbolic meaning, giving play to the wish that bride and groom may ever be united in wed-lock until the dead pheasant comes to life again. All the same, it must primarily be a present in food just as much as the jujubes, both being meant for the feasting together of the members of the two families. Making presents of prepared meals from one to the other of the two families in the form of *öisang* will also be readily understood in the light of the same principle. Thus we see that already in Kokulyö the strict form of marriage by purchase mentioned above was regarded with contempt, the bride so married being called *maipi* (sold maid) and that in contemporary Korean society it is barely holding its last stronghold among the lower classes; contrariwise the practice of ceremonial presentation, which is quite wide of purchase in its primordial form, holds its own as an indispensable element of an ideal type of marriage.

There are some practices in which men obtain wives by making presents, and which presents are of too trifling a value to be considered bride prices. For example, among the Sakai on the Malay Peninsula, a single hatchet or knife presented to the father of a girl will induce him to meet the wooer's request. Huitotos in South America present the chief of the tribe with a little tobacco and the mother of the woman they want to marry with some faggots of fire-wood and thereby obtain permission for marriage.²⁾ However, as I have no knowledge of the existence of this type of marriage at any historical time in Korea, I should not like to dwell further on this point now. I have only attempted to analyse how widely those classed under the head of marriage by purchase differ actually in their contents and meanings, and thereby tried to distinguish the similar practices in Korean society between two main types; that is, the type of marriage which is accompanied by exchange of presents and considered as legitimate marriage and that in practice among the lower classes, regarded as a survival of 'exacting of prices' and a shameful practice.

1) Asami, R., *A History of Korean Legislation*, p. 99.

2) Westermarck, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 375, p. 378.

(3) Marriage by services

As Thurnwald regarded marriage by exchange on the Solomons as a forerunner of marriage by purchase,¹⁾ so we find a theory which maintains that marriage by services stemmed from marriage by purchase. That is, it holds that in the lands of marriage by exchange those who have no women to give as considerations offer labor,²⁾ which practice constituting marriage by services. Facts, however, do not support such a simple conclusion and seem to hold it as a mere abstraction. It is true that in a society where marriage assumes a nature of a group contract and womenfolk are an important source of labor, the family which marries off a daughter suffers a setback in its labor efficiency by as much, and it will perhaps be natural for it to request a compensation in kind. Actually, however, the practice of the Koryaks, among whom marriage by services is the norm, reveals that the affianced groom lives with his bride's family so that the family not only loses no man power but adds to it by that of the groom, while the groom has not only to offer labor useful to the family but also he has to be resigned to the helplessness and humiliation which his humble position in the household entails.³⁾ His position is very much like that of the son-in-law in Japan suggested by the popular axiom, "Put out of your mind all thoughts of marrying into the family of an heiress as long as you have a few handfuls of rice bran." From this we can gather that his term of service at his bride's house is not to be explained away merely in terms of labor as an equivalent of bride price, but it is a period of testing his character and ability.

This practice of trying the wooer or the groom is executed sometimes not merely from a secular motive of economic labor or testing him, but as a devout act of self-mortification on the part of the groom in preparation for his appointment to a new social position. Indeed it would rather seem that the latter is the most fundamental function of the practice. That will suggest that we should not limit our observations merely to the economic functions of marriage by services. Myths and folk stories in many lands supply us with instances of various other meanings underlying this type of marriage.⁴⁾ For example, a story told in the Book of the Age of Gods of the *Kiki* (*The Ancient Chronicles* and *the Japan Chronicle*) about God Ōnamuchi marrying Princess Suseri, the daughter of God Susanoh, presents a typical case of marrying by service in the sense of self-mortification and trial, namely God Ōnamuchi calls on God Susanoh; Princess Suseri appears at the door;

1) Thurnwald, R., op. cit. s. 101.

2) Spencer, H., *Principles of Society*, Vol. I, p. 721.

3) Jochelson, W., *Material Culture and Social Organization of the Koryak* (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Mem. X, p. 739 seq.).

4) Matsumura, T., *A Study of Mythology*, pp. 226-227.

she exchanges enamoured glances with him and becomes betrothed to him ; and announces to her father that an extremely beautiful god has called ; her father meets the young god and anon shows him inside, putting him up in the Cave of the Snakes. The snakes appear and try to bite him. The young god fends them off waving the magic scarf, which the Princess had given him ; the snakes succumb to its spell, and grow tame and quiet, leaving the young god to peace and undisturbed sleep. On the morrow, he shows himself again quite unscathed. On the following night, he is put up in the Cave of the Centipedes and Wasps ; again he escapes harm owing to the magic power of the centipede-and-wasp scarf given him by the princess. Yet again, the father shoots a whooping-arrow far into a wide plane and sends the young god after it to restore it for him ; then he sets fire to the plane. When the young god, surrounded by the fire, loses his way out, he is rescued by a rat. He returns with the whooping-arrow and presents it to the Great Father God. Whereupon the Great God summons him into the Hall of Many Chambers and tells him to pick lice from off his head. On looking at the head, the young god finds that it is swarming with centipedes, so he crunches *muku*-nuts (nuts of *Aphananthe aspera*) given by the princess, mixes them with red clay in his mouth and spits them. In his heart the Great God is well pleased with the young god, thinking that the latter is crunching and spitting the centipedes and goes to sleep. Whereupon Ōnamuchi-nomikoto, the young god, ties the hairs of the Great God to every rafter of the hall, blocks up its door-way with a huge rock of *iohiki* (requiring five hundred men to remove) ; then he carries the princess on his back, giving her father's sacred sword, sacred bow and arrows and treasure, and finally makes an escape. The Great God chases after them to the hilltop of Yomotsuhira, and calls out from afar to Ōnamuchi-nomikoto : " With the sacred sword and the sacred bow and arrow of thine, press thou they step-brother close to the foot of the slope and chase them off into the river ; then be thou God Ōnamuchi and again be thou God Utsushi-kunitama ; take Princess Suseri thou now hast with thee to wife, build thou a palace at the foot of Mt. Ukano, with the columns set firmly on the solid base of rock underground ; let the roof and the cross-beams atop the gables tower as high as the heavens and live therein, thou rascal ! "

The latter half of this story is often construed as indicating a survival of the practice of marriage by capture. Personally, I consider this act of carrying away the princess along with her father's sacred objects—sword, bow and arrows and lyre—as proof of the groom's apotheosis rather than an act of seizure, thus forming a chain of trial along with the ordeals undergone in the cave of the snakes, the cave of the centipedes and wasps, the flames of the plane, and the hall of *yatama*. At least, it seems to me, the type of marriage by services, which requires the groom to live in the house-

hold of the bride for a certain period and undergo various forms of testing, constitutes an important background of this mythological story.

Here the often-quoted passage out of the history of Kokulyö in the *Wei-chih* is cited again: "It is the custom in the land, when a marriage has been agreed upon, that the bride's family build a small house at the back of their 'large house', calling it the 'groom's house'. The groom comes and kneels in the evening in front of the main house announcing himself, and asks to be allowed to live together with the daughter of the house. Only after he has repeated this formality three times, the girl's parents grant him his request and let him come and live with her. He stores up money and silk and takes her back to his own house when their child has grown quite big." Nowhere in this quotation do we come across evidences that the groom rendered the household of the bride any labor service nor that he is subjected to any form of trial. One will be hasty, therefore, to regard this as a record of marriage by services. Incidentally, there prevails in contemporary Korea a custom very much like the practice of 'groom's house' of Kokulyö. That is, after the ceremony of *ŷyönan* (the ceremony of marrying into the bride's family) the groom, as a rule, stays for a certain period at the bride's house, and the *uksui*, the ceremony of marrying the bride into the groom's family, takes place a few months or sometimes even years after the *ŷyönan*. Moreover, we see a quite rude practice called *tongsanglöi* take place during this period of the groom's residence at his bride's:—relatives of the bride's family, young men of the village, and the groom's friends gather, bind him up and hobble and swing his legs, taking it out on him for having caught the bride, questioning him about the proceedings of his courting and, in an extreme case, even cross-questioning him about the privacies of conjugal life, and if he is suspected of any equivocation, he receives a sound thrashing on the soles of his feet; then they all get served with meals and drinks by the bride's family.

This also is apt to be regarded by some scholars as a survival of the practice of marriage by capture, but it is not so in reality. The truth is that this harsh treatment of the groom is merely a form of festal event,¹⁾ and consideration of the fact that the bride's family as well as the groom himself goes up in social esteem in proportion as the latter is subjected to this rough treatment, and that, contrariwise, unpopular grooms have none to do them this, will preclude the view that this practice has prevailed as a disciplinary measure against wife capture. This point will be discussed later in more detail.²⁾

As for the widely prevailing practice of requesting the groom to com-

1) Munyang-sanin (I Tökmo), *Tongsanggi*, Sect. IV.

2) The present publication, the chapter on *Tongsanglöi*.

pose a poem, its prototype seems to be of Korean origin, although it may have been influenced by the Chinese custom of 'talent test'. To cite an example, in Hanheung this practice prevails by the name of *changgat'ök*; at the time of *työnan*, when the groom has taken his seat at the banquet, young men of the village present him with a poem and ask of him one in return; the failure on his part to return the courtesy is considered a great shame; not only that, but it involves his bride's family in an obligation to entertain the donors of the poem. An extreme case of the practice is that of *tansbi*, according to which they press the bride's family for entertainment, giving the groom a slip of paper, with a sum of money written on it which should go towards paying their food and drink. Thus it may possibly be that those apparently barbarous customs of *tongsanglöi*, such as teasing the groom or lashing him on the soles of his feet, may be survivals of usages of a similar nature practised in the 'groom's house' in the days of Kokulyö, as, for instance, is suggested by *changgat'ök* (rice-cake meals given by the bride's father), which is currently practised in Hanheung area.

We will now proceed to the study of a contemporary practice among the lower classes of Korean society, called *t'alil-sani* (or *t'elil-sani, tolil-sani*). According to this practice, a man in want takes up his quarters in the house of a woman under promise of marriage and furnishes her family with labor for some years. It corresponds to the account given in the *Wu-wan-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*: "After two years' menial services at the residence of the bride's family, he is rewarded handsomely, being allowed to have his bride in his quarters, with the household goods and property furnished entirely by the bride's family." This should be considered a practice very close to marriage by labor services. Here, too, as in the case of marriage by services among the Koryaks mentioned before, we should not be oblivious to an element of testing involved, for the bride has to put up with his ignominious position of menial as well as he has to assist his bride's family with labor. A point for further consideration is that *t'alil-sani* is not necessarily limited to a person physically fit for supplying labor from the very first. The *Chuyöngp'yön* mentioned before relates that "in the reign of the Emperor Kochong of Kokulyö, Taltal of Uon wished to find a bride for his son from the land of Kokulyö, but she had to be of a rich family of minister's rank. The family, which had been recommended, proved to have adopted a *yösyö* (groom entrusted to one's care) before, who, however, had run away for fear." Discoursing and expanding upon this, Chöng Tongyu, the author of the work just quoted, writes: "It was their custom to adopt a small child and bring him up in their home till he reached a proper age. This was called *yösyö*. Today people scoff at the low practice of *yöbu* (bride entrusted to one's care) even among the petty classes; ministers are out of the question. *Yöbu* is bad enough; *yösyö* is the limit! This practice in Kokulyö still walked in

the steps of barbarism. It is only in our own era that the practice has been done away with completely. How delightful!" Yet the custom exists even now in solid fact. The infant betrothal, too, mentioned as *yösyö* by Chöng Tongyu, is not born of the young couple's own initiative. It is probably a form of marriage prompted by dominant family interests through the exercise of the paternal authority. Just the same, it is quite conceivable that this little fiancé, too, as he gained in years, had to help the family in its work and was made to feel the indignity of his position in the family consistently with the practice among the lower strata of society. If that should be the case, this practice, too, is not simply a contract of marriage between two infants, but is possessed of a regular form of marriage by services.

Up to this point, I have made an inquiry into the three elements of the Korean form of marriage by services, viz. the groom's matrilocal residence, offering of economic labor, and testing of the groom's fitness and stamina. It is not clear, though, if the type of marriage, whose pronounced feature was labor services, as that found in Wu-wan, existed in Kokulyö as well. But we may safely assert this much: *t'alil-sauü* of the present is a survival of the institution of 'groom's house', while the testing of fitness is to be found in the custom of ill-using or rather initiating the groom at *tongsanglöi*, which, on its side, is probably a survival from very old times, and in the usage of *tansbi* (slip of paper requesting drink money), which is a modification of the former through Chinese influences. The groom's matrilocal residence is indeed a very old Korean custom tracing itself back far beyond the time of Kokulyö. Even the all-out efforts of the fervent disciples of Confucianism in modern times could not wean the people away from their adherence to matrilocality to revert to the Confucian practice of *sinyong* (the ceremony of the groom going in person to the bride's house to bring her to his house). Yo Haingwon, for one, deplors its indignity in his *Pangöi-sulok*: "Officials in Government services are stubborn and negligent; its consequence is matrilocality. Therefore marriage ceremony is called 'taking a son-in-law' instead of 'taking a wife.' This is the positive yielding to the negative, much to the detriment of the correct relationship of male and female." But it was all in vain. Personally I do not think that this Korean custom of the groom's taking up his quarters in the bride's house is such a singular practice. With our own ancestors, too, it was the regular form of marriage, and it is indeed a modern development that 'marriage' has come to mean 'taking a wife' in Japan. Then why is it that *t'yönan*, the ceremony of marrying into the bride's family, did not pass into the custom of the surrounding peoples, especially that of *sinyöng* of the Chinese people, whom the Koreans worshiped so much or the standard Japanese form of marriage, namely, bride-taking, but has guarded its old tradition so stubbornly? In this regard we should mark the fact that in Korea the presentation of petticoats to the bride's

mother constitutes an equivalent to the *t'yōnan* (presentation of a wild goose) in China to the father-in-law. Consequently there may be some inter-relationship between the maternal position in the family group and the practice of matrilocality.

Attempts to clarify this point will run against a very tough problem of whether matrilocality prevailed or not in the Korean society of old times. It shall be a theme for my future study, but for the present I shall have to be satisfied with stating that marriage by labor services in Korea is confined to the lower social strata, while *tongsanglōi* and other forms of initiating the groom are practised even among the higher ranks of society and as for matrilocality it has an extensive following at every social level in defiance of the influences of Confucian culture.

iii Types of marriage (II)

— Marriage by capture ; marriage by love ; marriage
by go-between —

(4) Marriage by capture

In the history of the study of human marriage, very few theories have been advanced with so much exaggeration and consequently committed such gross errors as that concerning the survivals of marriage by capture. I mean the theory which is based on the hypothesis that there once existed in human society an age of marriage by capture and explains any feature of matrimony which bears a visage of seizure as a survival of this primitive practice of wife capture, concluding farcically enough that even honeymoon is a survival of the same practice. I do not know of any aborigines among which wife capture is accepted today as a normal means of marriage. I think that the majority of the practices regarded as survivals of wife capture by a school of scholars can be explained away more appropriately in other lights.

For instance, there exists in Kanguon-do, Kyōngsang-pukto, and other parts of Korea a custom called *haipoji* : namely, at a wedding, when the groom is going to enter the bride's house, men, most of whom are connected with the bride's family, throw pellets of ashes at him. There can be found nothing in it, however, which feeds the imagination of a scholar who champions the theory of wife capture, for it is said to aim at driving away the terrible spirits which are believed to follow the groom to the bride's house. So it is a sort of magic rite. The conception which regards the status of a newly married couple as a special one, vulnerable to harm especially by evil spirits, is quite common among primitive races, and, in Japan, too,

such custom as *isbiuchi** and *mizuiwai*** have already been explained by scholars as rites of purging and casting out the evil spirits.¹⁾ Therefore this belief that *haipoji* keeps off evil spirits comes from animism, and we shall need nothing further than this traditional belief among the natives to explain the significance of the practice. It precludes any such strained theory that it is a survival of wife capture. The custom for the groom to discard his horse at the door of his bride's house and alight onto a straw-bag of ashes is also attributed to the same motive. Likewise, at *ulöi*, the ceremony of marrying the bride into the groom's family, beans or cotton-seeds are cast at her as she enters the house. I once witnessed, in Seoul, people throwing millet seeds at a bride's sedan chair. These are also meant for rites of chastening and keeping evil spirits away. I believe, therefore, that all these cases can be cited as circumstantial evidence for proving that *haipoji* is not a survival of a predatory practice. It is reported that as late as twenty years ago this custom prevailed so actively in Kyöngju area that they even went to the length of opening the door of the groom's sedan chair and throwing in *haipoji* till the carriage was full of ashes.²⁾

The bridegroom on the way to the bride's house hides his face with a *sasön*, a piece of red cloth held by a blue stick fastened to each end. This is believed to serve as a charm against the 'Evil Eye'. It is the custom in many parts for people to snatch the *sasön* away and return it to the groom only upon their being entertained by the bride's family. This practice is apt to be taken amiss as a survival of a predatory practice in that it presents the form of intercepting the groom's procession to the bride's house, but it is really nothing of the kind. If the groom were a captor forcing his way to seize the bride, it does not stand to reason that, after winning the *sasön* by intercepting his raid, they should restore to the terrible enemy of the bride and her family the object which does him a great service by protecting him from the stare of the Evil Eye, not to mention the hospitality of meals to him. I would rather regard this as a means of subjecting the groom to trial till the last minute. Of course nowadays people practise the custom oblivious of its original meaning and follow it merely out of habit or regard it simply as an entertaining practical joke. But it is not to be believed that such a peculiar custom as this should have been started and handed down for no reason. So I conclude that this is also a development initially out of a serious

* Throwing pebbles on the night of the wedding into the house where the ceremony is being celebrated.

** The custom for the groom's relatives to visit him with beverage and viand on the first New Year after his marriage and throw water on him and his bride.

1) Shimoide, J., *A Study of Mizuiwai (Shakaigaku-zasshi or The Sociological Magazine, Vol. 40)*.

2) Mr. Kim Kuansöngju.

impulse of groom-test.

Another form of intercepting the groom's procession is a quarrel between the two families. Im Sokch'ai of Koch'ang in Chölla-namdo reports that, as the groom approaches the bride's house, a functionary of marriage called *taiban* comes out to meet him. He is a married man of the same or nearly the same age as the groom, and related to the bride by marriage or lateral descent. He comes indeed to meet the groom but he also demands of him to show civilities first. The groom's attendants call him a rude and insolent fellow and demand in turn that he show courtesy first. Thus they keep up a sham skirmish for a while, until the *taiban* yields reluctantly; the groom returns the courtesy duly, and proceeds to the wedding-room in great state. Here is another phenomenon in the form of skirmish apparently favorable for the theorists of wife-capture survivals. But again I hold that it is more sensible to attribute it to the same motive mentioned above of subjecting the groom to a test till the last minute. It argues that the same practice of groom-test found in Kyöngsang-pukto in the form of *sasön* seizure exists in Chölla-pukto in the form of wrangling.

A very important point of consideration in this regard is the sense of equality involved. Although I have never seen or heard of this sense of equality having been made a subject of discussion in the study of matrimonial institutions, I believe that many of the matrimonial practices are not to be explained completely barring the consideration of this psychological factor. By that I mean equality of bride and groom, of the families of the couple, of the relatives of the two families, and even the equality of the communities to which the parties belong. It expresses itself in the popular saying that an ill-matched marriage leads to a divorce, proving that marriages are organized on the prerequisite that bride and groom and their families are well-matched. Where this balance is much wanting, marriages do not follow an easy course.

Now this parity-mindedness, or desire for equality, will assume more or less an aspect of rivalry. It can be seen in the social tension found in the silent criticism by each side at the wedding. The skirmish between the *taiban* and the groom, which is now posing itself for our review, is, in my opinion, a manifestation of this spirit of rivalry. It would follow then that, if the groom were not capable of holding his own against the *taiban*, he would prove himself to be disqualified to claim the bride, and the marriage would be thwarted. Thus we can infer the significance lurking underneath this practice.

A further event marked with a conspicuous spirit of parity or rivalry is *köchon* (literally, torch fight). For example, according to the custom which prevailed at one time in Seoul area on the evening of *napch'ai*, the presentation made by the groom to the bride prior to *t'yönan*, men of good prestige were

sent by the groom's family as *kögum* (torch bearers) in the guise of menials; they were met by the *kögum* on the bride's side and challenged to a sham fight. This was confined to an occasion when the groom himself was in the group attired in full dress, and as a rule the torches changed hands as the two hordes came together. The torch fight over, they betook themselves to the state room where the ceremony was to take place. In the centre of the room would stand a table with lights burning on both sides to receive the box of *napch'ai* presents. Two dressed-up maids with long burning torches of splinters wound with red paper stand by so that the embers of the torches fall into the brass basin. Now the *napch'ai* box is placed on the stand, while the groom who has advanced into the front yard stops there and does not enter the state room. By contrast, the relatives and friends of the bride's family stir up a great revelry, even making rude comments on the groom. The groom takes leave of the company first and starts for home. This is an opportune juncture for his *kögum* to act consistently with the tradition and seize the brass basin. Hence the above-mentioned measure of precaution of the part of the bride's family of burning the basin with live embers. If the *kögum* manages in spite of this to carry it away, the rule was that the bride's family had to recover it by treating him to a feast.¹⁾ This is obviously a demonstration of the tense feeling of equality or rivalry of the two contracting groups, and there is no need for us to regard it as a survival of wife capture.

It has been referred to, in the chapter on marriage by services, that *tongsanglöl* is not a survival of wife capture. This practice is not limited to the home of the bride, but sometimes takes place at the groom's house as well. I presume that the latter case is mere copying of the original custom limited primarily to the bride's house, just as the rites of taking a wife are mostly imitations in form of those of groom-taking. Sometimes this practice of *tongsanglöl* does not stop at the groom, but is extended to the bride as well, or, to put them all into the shade, ends by tying together all the couples on the bride's side—parents and concubines as well as relatives.²⁾ These are all to be regarded as variations of the original form of *tongsanglöl*, and carry the symbolic meaning of uniting man and woman together. They are

1) Mr. Chang Hosik's Talk in Seoul.

2) The present writer was once invited to a wedding ceremony by a certain family in Seoul. A lady, a friend of the bride's, who was connected with all the functions of this marriage, related to me later that, from seven o'clock on the morning of the following day, the groom was served with a meal of non-glutinous and glutinous rice, after which withdrawing into the bride's room. Toward nine o'clock, the guests began tearing up the paper-screen door of the room and, throwing aside the folding screen in the room, tied up the bride and the groom together with a cloth girdle. Then they proceeded on to tie up the bride's father, his first wife and concubines as well into a bundle, then last but not least the groom's younger brother and his wife. The party broke up about ten o'clock. She added that it was the custom with the groom not to pay courtesy to his parents-in-law that night but to do so for the first time the following morning.

practised now merely out of habit partly for fun and and partly for celebration, giving us all the more reason to regard them as events alien to marriage by capture.

Is it to be concluded then that marriage by capture did not exist at any historical time in Korea? We will quote T. Imamura: "In part of Kyöng-sang-namto the custom prevails among men to abduct young women when their love grows uncontrollable. In Kyanguön-do it is told that at a certain time a band of peddlers who had their homes in the mountains of Rinch'ekun would lay siege to a hamlet and carry all the widows away for their wives. This is what they call *pakkoa* (widow capture). The practice seems to have been fairly common in Hamkyöng-do, too."¹⁾ This is an infringement of the law, so it is obvious that it did not prevail as a legal form of marriage. In point of fact, however, widows who harbored secret wishes for capture were by no means few. Consequently it was seldom made a legal issue. In case a family should make it a point of honour and go to law over it, the shrewd officers of the law would offer their services as peacemakers. It is told that in some instances the widows recovered by the police ran back to join their captor-husbands again. These cases are frame-ups by those who have been carrying on secret liaisons, and therefore not real cases of marriage by capture. We should at least distinguish between the strict form of marriage by capture and that which merely assumes a show of it.

As has been indicated by T. Imamura, this practice of widow capture has its main cause in the dissonance between the repressive Confucian doctrines, such as evinced by the maxim, "A virtuous woman will not marry a second husband," and the morals of the lower classes. Lack of marriage funds and loss of balance in population of males and females owing to the prevalence of concubinage seem to have been other contributory causes. At any rate, it is a positive fact that this is a later development among particular social strata and not a survival of the practice of wife capture from the primitive ages, as maintained by a group of scholars. Mr. Ch'oi Pyönghyön reports that up to a recent time a very singular form of marriage by capture was connived at in Pyöngan-pukto. Namely, if a man abducted a woman whom he was forbidden to marry, such as his sister-in-law or aunt, anyone could recover her and make her his wife without provoking any social censure. Whereas, the following passages from the *Chin-shih* shows us that wife capture was so rampant in the early days of Chin as had to be suppressed by decrees: "The old practice of Pohai dispensed with marriage ceremony; on most occasions men abducted women and absconded; so in the seventeenth year of Tating, the practice was forbidden by an Imperial decree." So it is possible that this practice spread into the northern parts of Korea and con-

1) Imamura, T., *A Collection of Korean Folkways*, p. 288-294.

stituted a contributory cause of widow capture in Hamkyöng-do and wife-capture of Pyöngyan-pukto.

We see thus that what should be regarded as marriages by capture in Korea are all peculiar developments under special social circumstances among special social levels and that there are no indications that marriage by capture was a generally accepted form of marriage at any time.¹⁾ Nor are there found any usages to be deemed as relics of the said practice. Indeed, as Lowie pointed out, seizure presupposes reprisal, and for that reason was not to be attempted haphazardly even in primitive civilization. Circumstances most favorable for it are created by warfare. Militant Plains Indians often seize women of belligerent tribes. Nevertheless, the majority of their marriages is endogamous. Thus we may conclude that in any society recourse to force is seldom sanctioned.²⁾

(5) Marriage by love

As mentioned before, the social valuations of the various forms of marriage of a race are not necessarily standardized. Likewise, a different race often has a different valuation of the same type of marriage. For example, the Crow Indians regard purchase as the ideal means of marriage, whereas in Kokulyö the same practice was despised as 'maid sale'. Americans hold love as the highest condition of marriage, whereas the Han race of ancient China disdained it as hedge-marriage. Hence we shall see what Korean love marriage is like and how it has been regarded.

We will take the San Han (Three Han) first. The *Wei-chih* relates: "In Ch'en-han, marriage is consummated with solemnities, and separation of sexes is established." "Pien-ch'en closely resembles Ch'en-han in language, rules, and customs." But it says on Ma-han: "There is no separation of age or sex." From these references we can gather that there was some difference in their conception of sex taboo, but these descriptions are far too brief to give us an idea of the real situation.

In regard to Kokulyö, we have the following in the *Wei-chih*: "Its populace is fond of music and dancing; in all parts of the land men and women gather together after dusk and sing and dance, jostling against one another." The *Chou-shu* relates: "Friends and strangers alike bathe in the same river, and even sleep in the same room. Their morals are lax and they have no sense of shame over it." From these we can infer that the separation of sexes was not very strict, and consequently that this night-time prac-

1. Gross maintains that all the marriages by capture were an offense against the law and never tolerated by customs as well as law (Gross, E., *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, p. 105).

2) Lowie, op. cit. p. 22.

tice of men and women mixing together in singing and dancing gave them chances for love-making. Nevski, construing the Japanese words *metoru* (to take a wife) and *odoru* (to dance), explains that the former implies 'the bride taken by a man by force', while the latter means 'woman's captivating man's heart with enticing songs and dances.'¹⁾ Setting this significant etymological analysis aside, it is well known among many races that singing and dancing give occasion to love-making. Sure enough, after its description of the gregarious singing and dancing, the *Wei-chih* relates in its section on Kokulyö: "Marriage is arranged for those who have taken a fancy to each other." The *Nan-shih* and the *Liang-shu* say: "Their customs are marked with wantonness, men and women indulging in intrigues." Further information is supplied by the *Samkuksiki* that the Emperor Sansang, mentioned before, not only inherited the wife of the Emperor Koluch'ön, his elder brother, but spotting a fair country girl about twenty years of age from the village of Chut'ong, would visit her at her house surreptitiously in the night. His consort, Us'i, in her jealousy thought of killing the girl, but changed her mind on discovering that she was with child by her husband. The boy succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Tongch'ön. We only make a guess from these that the people of Kokulyö both high and low seem to have enjoyed more freedom to marry for love.²⁾

As regards Paikchai, the *Sui-shu* contains: "Marriage ceremonies are the same as those of China." The *Pei-shih* and the *Chou-shu* corroborate this statement with the following passage: "Marriage ceremonies are nearly the same as those of China." They seem to indicate that sexual taboos were exacted more strictly in Paikchai.

In Silla, the position of marriage for love seems to have been rather low in social valuation. That, however, does not imply in the least that marriage for love was completely absent, for it is recorded that Söhyöng, father to Kim Yusin, met Malmyöng, daughter of Sukheulchöng, on the road, and his heart coveted her and his eyes courted her, and they were united without go-between. Now, Sukheulchöng, learning for the first time that her daughter had jumped over the broomstick with Söhyöng, was carried away by jealousy. So she locked her daughter up in a separate house, placing her under guard. If this record in the *Samkuksiki* is reliable, we can read

1) Nakayama, T., *A History of Japanese Matrimonial Institutions*.

2) On the ground that, among the lower classes of contemporary Korean society, is found the practice for the wooer to see the woman sometimes before marriage and cancel the contract despite the parental rebuke if the affianced have an unfavorable opinion of each other, Ross goes on to conclude that marriage by free choice was the usual practice in old-time Korea, but I believe that he is too hasty in jumping to this conclusion on the strength of the argument based merely on this phenomenon. (Ross, J., *History of Korea, Ancient and Modern, with Descriptions of Manners and Customs, Language and Geography*, p. 315).

between the lines that the so-called practice of 'hedge marriage' was not held as an ideal type of marriage. In the same book is related: "In the reign of Taichong, the Great, Kangsu in Sayangbu, Chunguöngyöng, would indulge in illicit union with the daughter of a blacksmith of Pukok, the couple being deeply devoted to each other. When he turned twenty, his parents chose for him a fair and refined girl in the village and were about to marry him to her by a go-between, when Kangsu declined saying that he could not marry a second time." This account, too, if it is reliable, shows that marriage by free choice often took place in spite of parental interference as well as the establishment of go-between marriage as the ideal institution. But these fragmentary documents will be far too inadequate to help us form a sound idea of the social attitude of that day towards marriage for love.

However, in modern times the Confucian ideal of marriage, that is, marriage by proper mediation came to exert increasing influence till free union and liaison came to be regarded as extremely improper and sinful practices, so much so that, at a time, the house master was permitted to bury alive the perpetrators of the vice in a corner of his premises. Even today, marriage without a go-between is generally regarded as a loathsome practice, besmeared with such derogatory names as *nunchöng* or *mokchöng* (lustful eye), *p'ulpat-katyöng* (bush and yard) or some such phrase as 'rendezvous behind a bush'.

(6) Marriage by go-between

The type of marriage in contrast to that for love is marriage by go-between. We find various ways and means of go-between among uncivilized peoples.¹⁾ Among the Kaffirs, it is the custom for the courted woman to give her answer through her brother to the wooer. Among the Yao, courting is done through the god-parents of the women sought after. Malaysans mostly apply to the parents of the women by proxy. Iroquois custom is for the mother and daughter to call on the mother of the man and make her a present, which, if reciprocated, constitutes a contract of marriage. My own investigation made in Bretagne, France, has revealed that among the Carnac farmers marriage by free choice is almost completely absent, but the overwhelming majority of marriages are arranged on the basis of mercenary considerations, the usual practice being that two *conzirs* (go-betweens) call at the man's house at night and recommend a suitable girl, enumerating the advantages the union will bring about, stressing in particular the wealthiness of the girl's family and her beauty. As is attested by an axiom current

1) Most of the European scholars of matrimonial institutions confine themselves to marriage by contract. I have not seen anyone dwell on marriage by go-between. However, the realities in Korea convinced me of the necessity of making a special study of this type of marriage. That is the reason why I have a separate section devoted to it.

in the locality, "On Carnival Tuesday, the price of a napkin goes up as high as three hundred francs," when spring, the match-making season, comes around, everything is exaggerated by grandiloquent go-betweens. They get served with cider by the man's family, and on obtaining a request for favor from the family, go to the woman and recommend their candidate lavishing praises on him. If they receive from the girl's family a treat of cider, two slices of butter, and an omelette, that means that the bargain has been closed.¹⁾

Korean terms for 'go-between' in current use are numerous—*chungmai-in*, *maibu*, *chungmai-jang*, *chungmai-bu*, etc. The standard term in Seoul area is simply *chung-mai* (old female go-between). Actually, *chung-mai* may be males as well as females, relatives as well as friends or acquaintances. Or they may be obliging persons of wide connections or professional female match-makers who go peddling around from boudoir to boudoir. In P'yönggan-pukto, the professional match-makers are called *chungmai-chiang*. They may be either males or females, but they are of a low social standing and engage in match-making on the side of farming, which is their main occupation, with a view to obtaining tenancies or other economic benefits as well as getting invited to the wedding parties. However, they do not charge or take any fees for their services.²⁾ Contrariwise, the *maiba*, who makes a profession of match-making and peddling, takes regular brokerages. Those in Seoul area are known to intercede even for concubinage or prostitution.³⁾ Now these intermediaries act either by request or on their own initiative. In either case, they are the ones who perform the act of making a proposal for one to the other of the parties. It is their conventional practice to come between the two families and try every means to 'fix it up,' almost invariably overselling one to the other in regard to lineage, property, family ways and traditions, number of brothers and sisters, personality, looks and talents. Considering this along with the ways of the Bretagne *cozjirs*, we see that the go-betweens are the same everywhere.

Then, by what motives has this marriage practice been actuated, and what social meaning does it carry? To give the conclusion first, its imply boils down to this: in Korea it stemmed from the ideology of separation of sexes and has been sustained by its large family system. Viewed in relation to the history of ideologies, it is due, in the main, to the influence of Confucianism.

As was described in detail,⁴⁾ separation of sexes is exacted with a strictness

1) The present writer, *A Tour of Bretagne (Shakaigaku-zasshi, or Sociological Magazine, No. 45)*.

2) Talk by Mr. Ochipöm of Pakchöngan-pukto.

3) Talk by Mr. Kato, Kankaku.

4) The present publication, II, i Separation of sexes.

which almost supercedes our imagination in nearly every aspect of social life in Korea: women's chamber inaccessible to the male, women's practice of hiding their faces with veiled hats, repressive attitude towards women's going abroad in the daytime, as well as separation of the male from the female at table, work, game and sports, the difference of language, letters, thought, faith, and such between the sexes. This ideology is embodied with even greater vigor in various sexual taboos found inside a family, between elder brother and sister-in-law, and between groom and mother-in-law, as well as in the prohibition of intermarriage between members of the same stock, which is a peculiar development in the course of application of this ideology to determine the range of matrimonial prohibitions. There is reason to believe, however, that at early times the sexes were not separated with such strictness; references have already been made to the absence in Ma-han of the distinction of age or sex and the easy morals in Kokulyö as demonstrated by the practices of promiscuous bathing and sleeping in the river and room by friends and strangers alike, and men and women singing and dancing shoulder to shoulder in the dark. Even if we ascribe this singing and dancing of the populace to special occasions of religious nature, we shall have to admit that separation of sexes was extremely mild. As for intermarriages of the royal families of Silla, as many as twenty-five cases are recorded during the reign of fifty-six rulers.¹⁾ Therefore, the *Chiu T'ang-shu* relates on Silla: "Kim and Pak are the two commonest family names and they practise endogamy." *The Hsin T'ang-shu* also contains: "They take in marriage their nieces, aunts, and cousins on both paternal and maternal sides indiscriminately." Thus instances of endogamy are indeed too many to enumerate. I do not mean by this that there was a complete absence of sex separation in the early days of Korea; I rather think that the Han people of China overstated the fact because the Korean practice fell so far short of their own standard. In this connection we might recall once more those passages stating that in Ch'en-han the sexes were separated, that in Hoi consanguineous stocks did not intermarry, or that the matrimonial institutions in Paikchai were about the same as those of China.²⁾

At a later date, even under the Kokulyö dynasty, virtually consanguineous marriages were by no means rare and often they were polygynous in the form of sororate, even half-brothers and half-sisters being mated. Although these were natural steps taken for the preservation of the purity of royal

1) According to I Neunghoa's *Folkways among the Korean Females*, the cases of intermarriage between members of the same stock under the Silla dynasty are three Paks, and three Sök, and nineteen Kims. However, we cannot accept this unquestioningly, because the Royal families did not have these Chinese names from the first.

2) It seems to me that the records left by the Han on the early settlers in the South of Korea sing their praises too high.

blood, in case of half-sister marriage the principle of no intermarriage was guarded by requiring the prospective queen to bear the family name of the mother's side. From this we can conclude that, even in the days of Kokulyö, the conception to regard intermarriage of near relatives with disapproval had reached a high stage of development at least among the higher ranks of society. Yet it was farther down in the I dynasty, when Confucianism attained its height, that the ideal was realized completely. So it does not take any stretch of imagination to understand that Confucianism contributed a great deal to the development of the conception of sex separation. Yet we might endorse this hypothesis with facts; namely, as mentioned before, the separation of sexes is marked with a higher degree of strictness in the South of Korea where Confucian doctrines once flourished, while it is rather moderate in the North, where the *yangban*, who were the chief bearers of Confucian culture, were not many.

Now it will be necessary for us to have a general view of the development of marriage by go-between and the history of the large family system in Korea. Both marriage by go-between and the large family system follow more or less parallel courses of development along with the idea of sex separation aforementioned, and patriarchal authority and the ideology of holding marriage by go-between as the ideal form of matrimony seem to have reached the zenith under the I dynasty. Then what is the inter-relationship between the trio—the separation of sexes, the large family system, and the ideal of marriage by go-between. Psychologically, sex separation is based on a complex of attraction and repulse stimulated by the other sex. Analysed from a magico-religious point of view, it stems from a conception of glorifying the other sex in its dual nature of purity and uncleanness. From a sociological standpoint, it is a system of regulating the relationship of the sexes, by which the family as well as society maintains itself, and for that reason we have no race that is possessed of no system of sex separation in their sense.

Now, to begin with the mutual attraction of the sexes, sex appeals free from seasonal restrictions and found among parents and children, brothers and sisters are a phenomenon peculiar to the human species. If they indulged in sexual commerce with one another as their unguided impulses led them, the family would not be able to hold together because of the disintegration of the authority of government, and by that end by obliterating human society. However, man is capable of creating a culture which represses and counteracts this very urge which attests to the plasticity of human instincts.¹⁾ Taboos on incest exist for this reason. Their development is empirical, so to speak, in accordance with their culture and social environment. That accounts

1) Malinowski, B., *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, pp. 225-228.

for the wide diversity of marriage taboos among various races.

The taboo that has the most extensive range of application in Korea is that on the intermarriage of individuals of the same stock. If this should not be an extension of the principle of incest taboo, the Korean mother, who is invariably of a different stock from her son, should be permitted to marry him. But that is by no means the case in actual fact. The Koreans are just the same as all other races in their abhorrence of intermarriage within the same family group, stigmatizing the practice '*sangp'i*.' Thus we should admit that this separation of sexes in the family group is a very basic condition for the preservation of human life.

Then what is the determining factor of the growth or disintegration of this Korean conception of sex separation? It seems to me that the large family system in Korean society is closely related to this. As mentioned before, the horror of incest is the fundamental law of family existence. The extension of this conception means the extension of the conception of consanguineous community, and by its nature the extension of the range of marriage taboos, which is an ideology adaptable to the social life of a larger consanguineous community. Conversely, the social life of a large consanguineous group will naturally promote this ideology of sex separation inasmuch as the laxity of the ideology will cause splits in authority and ultimately bring about the disintegration of the consanguineous society. It would seem that such was the relationship of the large family system to the ideology of sex separation in Korea.

Now we will see the relationship between sex separation and marriage by go-between. It is only natural that, in a society where contact between the sexes has come to be regarded as a dangerous thing and separation of the sexes is exacted with more strictness, we find many preventive measures providing against the direct union in arranging a marriage which is the most serious and therefore most perilous form of contact between the sexes. The numerous events accompanying marriages of Koreans are for the most part rites of a magic nature meant for guarding marriages against their attendant evils,¹⁾ and it will be said that they have their psychological ground in no other than the fundamental conception described above. And this conception, in my opinion, is closely connected with the feeling of bashfulness or coyness which is peculiar to human beings. Hence, the go-between comes in between the sexes which have developed this fundamental conception, and brings bride and groom to a safe union instead of leaving them to the risks which accompany their direct union. So it follows that the go-between should be a person who is psychologically of a neutral sex or

1) Crawley was the first to regard the marriage ceremony as a magic rite. (Crawley, E., *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902).

even transcends the sex. That is why a young woman as a rule cannot be a *maiba* or go-between. As a magico-religious institution, it should be considered to play the function of interceding between the sexes, which sanctify each other in the sense of cleanliness and uncleanness and therefore deny themselves access to each other, and bring about a clean union by keeping the mated couple clear of the uncleanness of direct union. For that reason, intermediation often embraces elements of a religious nature. The custom on Quelpart Islands which requires the presence of female Shamans at marriage ceremonies will throw some light on this point.¹⁾

Finally, we shall see the relationship between go-between and the large family system: it follows inevitably that in a family under powerful patriarchal government other members of the family will not as individuals count for much. Accordingly, the female members are not allowed to marry by free choice but are apt to be married or divorced by the arbitrary decision of the patriarch. This is very often the cause of child marriage or infant betrothal. The affiancing of infant *yöbu* (future bride entrusted to one's care) or *yösyö* (future groom entrusted to one's care) is also to be understood in the same light. It can be inferred, likewise, that the current practice of early marriage, which is one of the major social problems in Korea, stems primordially from the same cause. At any rate, there is seen under the large family system a tendency that its female members can hardly marry by their own choice. In so far as this system is allied to the conception of sex separation in such manner as described above, and as long as marriage by go-between is based on the practice of sex separation, this type of marriage should be considered as being sustained by the large system.

Thus we have seen various ways of obtaining a spouse in Korea. Now we will take a glance at them and see the interrelationship among them and the signification they bear on the organization of Korean society. However, the source materials available on the early inhabitants of the South of Korea are scanty. Consequently, our knowledge about these people is extremely limited and inaccurate. This, I am afraid, is liable to make us attach unduly great importance to the facts relating to the Northern people in our study of the early manners and customs of the land.

Korean society in recent times presents itself to me as a dual organization, constituted by the upper stratum, which is the bearer of Confucian culture, and the lower stratum, which is the bearer of Shamanistic culture. It is dual, also, in structure in the sense that it embraces two cultures, old and new, and separate cultures for men and women. To observe how those forms of marriage given heretofore have installed themselves at these social strata, the Wochii customs of *yangbu* and *ch'oichon* (respectively, infant be-

1) Talks by Mr. Chijo Akamatsu on his investigation of Shamanism on Quelpart Islands.

trothal by which the girl is adopted into the boy's family and the price requested for it by the girl's family) have been relegated in modern Korea to the lower social strata and there survive as *yöbu* and *sönbhöi* (different names for the former practices), while the 'groom's house' of Kokulyö survives similarly among the lower classes as *t'alil-sani* (the custom for a poor youth to live with and work for the family of a girl on condition that he will eventually marry her).

On the other hand, marriage by go-between, which had developed out of the Confucian ideal of marriage, seems to have prevailed first among the higher ranks, and then spread down to the lower classes. In this way, marriage for love dispensing with a go-between sank low in social approval at an early date, till under the I dynasty it came even to be regarded as a vice.

As for marriage by exchange and marriage by capture, we have no evidence or proof to establish their existence in early times, and on that basis I suspect that they are comparatively modern developments. At least, marriage by capture in the form of widow capture seems to be an unusual form of marriage developed under special circumstances created by the discrepancy between the ideology of the lower classes and the Confucian ideal forced upon them from above.

Have all the early usages come to be buried among the lower classes? By no means so, as is testified by the instance given above of the part played by the Kokulyö practice of presenting pig and wine for the spreading of *työnan*. The Silla custom of 'feasting together' or social meals came to be blended with the Confucian formalities of *tongloyön* (sharing the same table) and *ch'olöi* (drinking to the wedding); presentations and counterpresentations, which are in a wider sense a form of marriage by purchase, were practised in the guise of *napch'ai* and *napp'yöi* (groom's present for the bride's outfit); *sillang-talugi* (wringing the groom), probably a survival of the old usage of groom-test, has been given the Confucian name of *tongsanglöi*; ash-pellets, *sasön* seizing, 'torch fight,' and almost innumerable other events of magic nature survive under the guise of or blended with Confucian culture, or even betraying their figure intact under the cloak of Confucian culture. We have seen also that the old practice of matrilocality since the days of Kokulyö held its own against the Confucian precepts of patrilocality, flouting the efforts of a number of Confucian scholars who advocated the Chinese usage of *singyöng*, (the ceremony of the groom's fetching the bride in person). In the light of these facts I cannot help thinking that, after all, Korean society is essentially Korean. It is for the same reason that I have previously said that Korean society was of a dual nature on the surface. Yet, in the lone case of love marriage, it had to be brought under repression as a matter of principle since it ran counter to the ideal of marriage by go-between, and was relegated to an extremely low standing in social valuation, and thus

marriage by go-between came to reign supreme.

Would it not seem that disillusionment was the lot of the adherents of Confucian culture who were brought to realize the fickleness of man's criteria of propriety? Now a third wave of culture is washing the shores of the land, bearing along with it new concepts, such as 'love and marriage', 'birth control,' 'trial marriage,' 'companionship marriage,' 'double sexual life,' etc. And it is the youthful minds that react most sensitively to this new tide of culture. I am watching with keen interest how the young Korean generation will conduct itself placed between these new concepts of marriage and the traditional practice of marriage by go-between.

iv T'yönan

— Matrimonial Presentation —

The *Handbook of the Four Formalities* in circulation among the people of Korea expounds the four ceremonies of coming of age, marriage, funeral, and ancestral worship in accordance with the *Family Ceremonies* formulated by Chuja. The fact that such a book of ceremonies is circulated among the people will show the magnitude of the role played by the Confucian formalities imported from China in the life of the Korean people. However, the celebration of the coming of age has passed into disuse, probably ceasing to be an important function a fairly long time ago. On the other hand, to the marriage ceremony, along with the rites of funeral and ancestral worship, is attached supreme importance, and it is not uncommon that wedding expenses reduce the families to destitute circumstances. The reverence and exorbitant expenses with which they observe the family ceremonies in general as well as funerals and wedding ceremonies will mean that their society is of the nature of the large family system. Korean society has developed in a marked degree consanguineous organizations which find their principles of spiritual unity in ancestral worship, so much so that one will be astonished at the great number of villages of consanguineous families. Thus the primary object of marriage is to multiply the family and obtain an heir who will guard the rites of ancestral worship. At the same time, bachelors and spinsters are not treated as full members of the society, and if they die before their parents, they have failed in their filial duties and are not even given decent funerals. This ardent desire of the parents for the increase of their issue and heirs to guard the tradition of ancestral worship, together with their love of children which makes itself felt in their impatient wish to see their children grow up into full respectable members of the community, has paved the way for the custom of early marriage. The custom prevails more widely among the higher classes, or families of good lineage. As the result, Korean

society is devoid of the generation of youthful and dreaming minds, but they step from childhood right into married life. This accounts for the discontinuance of the practice of celebrating coming of age.

Marriage ceremonies are now undergoing considerable changes and Christian marriages are not uncommon, but many people, especially old people and women, are not completely satisfied with this new form of marriage, but augment it by marrying the couple over again with the traditional rites just as the peasants celebrate the New Year twice, by the solar and the lunar calendar.

Marriages given in the *Handbook of the Four Ceremonies* are those based on Chuja's *Family Ceremonies*, commonly called 'the Six Marriage Rites,' namely, *napch'ai*, *munmyöng*, *napkil*, *nappch'i*, *ch'onggeui*, and *sinyöng*. However, the current marriage practices found it extremely difficult to adapt themselves completely to this system of ceremonies, and all attempts of Confucianists at persuasion and indoctrination would not win them over to adopt the system in its entirety. Hence the revised edition of the *Handbook of the Four Ceremonies* is supplemented with accounts of the traditional marriage ceremonies, dividing them into *napp'öi*, *t'yönan* and *ulöi*.¹⁾ This means that Chuja's system was reorganized to suit the actualities of Korean marriage practices and has been handed down to the present time. Of those three ceremonies, *napp'öi* is the presentation of the betrothal presents, *t'yönan* and *ulöi* are marriage ceremonies proper, meaning respectively 'being married into the bride's family' and 'being married into the groom's family.' *T'yönan* is the most important of all, constituting the most marked and characteristic feature of Korean marriage. This is just the opposite of the contemporary Japanese practice of patrilocality. Yet Japan, too, in her old days regarded matrilocality as the normal form. This seems to indicate that Korean marriage has something in common with old Japanese customs. *T'yönan*, in its narrower sense, means the presentation of a goose by the groom to the bride's family at his wedding. This, too, has its origin in an old Chinese custom. It should be noted also that the practice has passed into disuse on its homeland, while it still survives in Korea. Mr. Wei Chien-kung, one of my colleagues at the Seoul Imperial University, once described for me customs in Ju-kao, Kiangsu Province in China, where he was brought up. There all the formalities from *napch'ai* down to *sinyöng* are accompanied with presentation of a couple of chickens and a pair of hams, which are supplemented with ducks and geese as the financial circumstances of the families advise; *sinyöng* (bride's going in person to fetch the bride), however, is no longer performed in its literal sense, but he sends for the bride instead of betaking himself to the bride's house and presenting the goose. Kobai Inoue writes

1) Hong Sungp'il, *Handbook of The Four Ceremonies, Revised and Supplemented*, pp. 325-332.

in his *Talks on Chinese Folkways*: "The bridegroom goes over to the bride's house and performs the ceremony of *t'yönan*." This actually refers to the mere formality of the groom's worshiping at the Marriage Writ (or Contract) with four courtesies on the knees and four kowtows, and so it still keeps the name of *t'yönan* without being accompanied by presentation of a goose.

On the other hand, in Korea, this old practice of *t'yönan* is observed in all parts of the land. The following is a record of my own observation: On January 4, 1928, a cold day with sleet and snow, a marriage took place between Mr. I's daughter and Mr. Pak's younger brother at Mr. I's house in Yangju-eup, Yangju, Kyönggeui-do. About three o'clock in the afternoon—Koreans avoid nighttime for marriage ceremonies—the groom and his procession approached the gate of Mr. I's house. The occasion was a *t'yönan*. The procession was led by a pair of porters each carrying a red gauze lantern, unlighted because it was daytime. Behind them followed the 'wild-goose man' dressed in red and carrying a wooden goose. Then came the groom astride a horse besaddled with a rug, which was a replica of a tiger's fur, with a parasol held over him. He was dressed up in a uniform of the civilian official, with *tanlyöng* (a gown with a round collar), gauze hat and shoes. Two relatives brought up the rear as his attendants. The groom looked quite happy and proud showing no sign of embarrassment under the gaze of so many curious eyes. The procession moved at a good pace, and upon arriving at the gate, the groom dismounted onto a sack of husks placed there on purpose. Then walking on the mats spread along the path, he entered into the inner yard. The yard was covered with mats, and in the middle of the yard stood a table spread with a red cloth. It was enclosed with an awning and screens to avoid the Evil Eye of the *chintyo* (a kind of poisonous bird). Here the groom took the wooden goose from the goose-man, placed it on the table and made an obeisance of two and a half bows. At this moment the mother of the family came in, and holding the wooden goose in her skirt as if she were hiding it from something, took it into the bride's room. Then the screens and the table were removed, bringing the ceremony of *t'yönan*, presentation of the goose, to a close. Now the site of ceremony was changed to the parlor, where the high-lights of the ceremony, namely, mutual obeisance and drinking of nuptial cups took place.

I will add to this a few more accounts I learned from other people. A live goose is more strictly in line with the proper tradition, and there are some people in Hoängju area in Könggeui-do, who keep wild geese for the specific purpose of presenting geese a hundred years old. Generally speaking, people borrow a live goose from a lessor of wedding outfits, wrap it up in a red cloth, tie a red string around its neck, and have a goose-bearer take it to the bride's house. The woman in attendance on the bride takes the goose and puts it on the table set in the ceremony hall. Yellow candles are standing

at both ends of the table, on the far side of which lies the red wooden *nappōi* box containing skirts for the bride and a catalogue of wedding presents delivered from the groom's house in the early morning, and on the near side in front of the wild goose is placed a basin of clear water. Now the groom makes obeisance three times, which is called *ch'ōnsangbai*, whereupon the bride's mother receives the bird in her skirt, takes it into the *eundol*, the room heated from under the floor, and feeds it with noodles. If the wild goose lets out a cry in the meantime it augurs ill, for it forebodes that the first issue will be a girl. Then she puts the goose in a steaming-pot, takes it to the warmest corner of the heated room, which is a seat of honor and right over the furnace, and covers it with another steaming-pot. In Seoul area, too, the correct form is to present a male goose, and they make elaborate work of it tying a red string round its neck, wrapping it up in a red square cloth with its four corners tied together and wound with white paper, which in turn is sealed with letters 'Sealed respectfully'. Then a lucky old man with many sons is chosen for the goose-man to take the bird to the bride's house with its head and tail showing out of the red cloth wrapper. He wears a red dress and red hat just as specified in the *Book of the Four Ceremonies*. In the wedding room a red table is set with a pair of yellow candles, and underneath lies a huge rice cake symbolizing the hope that the couple be tied by a bond as sticky as the rice cake. The groom sets the wild goose on the table, and makes an obeisance to Heaven, bringing the ceremony to a close. Then the bride's mother takes the bird in her skirt, carries it into the *eundol* as is done in Hoangju areas and feeds it with noodles, but it is not placed at the far end of the room, which is a seat of honor, but on the table at which bride and groom make obeisances and drink nuptial cups.

Thus, in Korea *tyōnan* has been well preserved and enjoyed such a wide popularity even to the point where people observe it even using wooden geese. We will see how it compares with its prototype in early periods of Chinese history. The *Book of Formalities* contains the following passages in its description of Marriage Ceremonies of the Gentry: "At *napch'ai* a wild goose is used." "At *munmyōn* a wild goose is taken." "At *napkil* a wild goose is used, the same as at the first ceremony." "*Ch'ōnggeui* makes use of a wild goose." "At *sinyōng*, the last of the formalities, the host seats himself on the west side; the guest goes up to the north side, offers the goose with two bows and retreats with the head bowed." From these quotations we can see that five out of the Six Formalities of Marriage, i.e. excepting *napch'ai*, were celebrated with the goose. Hence Cheng writes: "The marriage consists of six formalities, five of which are accompanied by a presentation of wild geese." However, of the five formalities, only *sinyōng* is referred to with the term *tyōnan* (offering of a wild goose), while with the rest less pretentious names are used such as 'using a wild goose,' 'taking a wild

goose,' etc. This suggests variance in the importance or significance attached to the occasions. In the *Hun-i* (Marriage Ceremonies) of the *Li-chi* (Book of Ceremonies), *t'yönan* is applied exclusively to *sinyöng*, with the commentary that "probably its original meaning was 'receiving the bride personally from her parents' ". *T'yönan* initially meant the act of offering wine vessels on the table, and so it will be construed that the goose at *t'yönan* presented personally by the groom on the table carried greater significance than that at *napch'ai* which was hung between the pillars. However, the geese presented at these five ceremonies are the same in that they are all essentially ceremonial presents, *t'yönan* distinguishing itself from the rest by the more pretentious manner in which it was executed. Then, why is it that the wild goose was chosen for a ceremonial present?

Many explanations have been attempted. *The Marriage Ceremonies of the Gentry of The Book of Formalities* gives: "The wild goose was adopted as *napch'ai* present for its coming and going in accordance with the positive-and-negative law of Nature." That is to say that the bionomical instinct of the wild goose, which migrates north and south with the coming and going of spring and autumn in accordance with the positive-and-negative principle of Chinese philosophy, was interpreted as a symbol of the harmonious commerce of the human male and female. Ao Chi-kung states: "Earlier Confucian scholars' explanation that the geese came to be used for their mating for life is a valid one." This is based on the belief that the geese are persistent monogamists, and this, along with their habit of flying abreast wing to wing, passed into a symbolism well matched to the doctrine that 'a chaste woman never married a second husband.' Ch'en Kao, commenting on marriage ceremonies in his *Collected Articles on Formalities*, explains: "Ch'eng-tzu says that geese are presented as gifts for their habit of never changing their spouses. Chuja says that they were adopted for their coming and going in accordance with the positive-and-negative law of Nature." Commenting further, he quotes Chuja as stating that people of the highest class used pheasants while the middle class uses wild geese, which goes to prove that presentations varied in kind as well as in value according to the social level at which they were made; that, yet at marriage ceremonies, the lowest classes as well as the highest, prompted by their preference for sumptuousness, followed the practice among the middle class of presenting wild geese; and further that since dead animals could not be used for wedding presents, thus barring pheasants, the wild geese were a natural choice. Ch'in Hui-tien, the editor of *Wu-li t'ung-k'ao* (*General Review of The Five Formalities*) concurs in the last mentioned explanation of Chuja, rejecting as forced and ungrounded the positive-and-negative theory and the constancy theory advanced by Confucian scholars before him.

It seems, however, that *työnan* in current use in Korea admits more

readily of the theories advanced by Confucian scholars, bearing in general the symbolic meaning of magic nature for strengthening the marriage ties, for it is believed among the common folk that *t'yönan* is observed because the wild goose serves a good medium for bringing man and woman together. There is a folk story in this connection circulating among the people. A long time ago a man was condemned and sentenced to exile. He pined day and night for his wife, gazing east where she lived. Suddenly a wild goose came swooping down from on high. He kept the bird, tending her tenderly, till one day he bared his sad heart to her, begging her to take his message home to his wife. Now his wife saw a wild goose alight near her place and was puzzled that it would not fly away. At last her eyes rested on a slip of paper fastened on to its leg. She took the paper and was at once surprised and pleased to learn that it was a message from her dear husband. She lost no time in sending a reply, which the bird carried to her husband. Thus the bird continued to serve as bearer of tender messages between them, till the man was released and returned to his wife. Another belief is that *t'yönan* prevails as a marriage rite because wild geese are known from of old to make devoted couples and if either of the pair dies the other pines away to death. The account that wild geese are used as matrimonial presents because of their habit of flying in a file will mean that they make faithful and devoted couples always keeping together and flying wing to wing.

So the popular traditions of modern Korea as well as the arguments of early Chinese Confucianists regard the rite of *t'yönan* as a development of the magical nature based on the ideology that holds the wild geese as birds of high morality, exemplifying the human ideal of conjugal life—birds embodying the harmony of the positive and negative powers of Nature, birds mated lovingly and faithfully till the end of their lives—and the wish that the marrying couple may be blessed with the same virtues. Here, I believe, we find a clue to the essential meaning of *t'yönan*. I admit that the view which regards the wild geese as birds of match-making or conjugal accord is probably a later development than *t'yönan*, and that it will be an afterinterpretation to explain the origin of *t'yönan* with this ideology which is of a later origin. Yet why is it that such interpretations have been attached to *t'yönan*?

It is obvious, in the first place, that *t'yönan* is a presentation of the ceremonial nature. It seems that, in ancient China, game or, more particularly, game birds were the usual presents, and as is shown by the quotation, "Personages of the senior class present pheasants, while the subordinate classes use wild geese," the ceremonial presentations varied in value and kind according to the social standing of the person who made them, the pheasant being regarded as a present of the highest order. So Chuja explains that marriage ceremonies were the exceptional cases on which presentations of

wild geese were a general practice, from the highest ranks down to the common people, the purpose being to lend sumptuousness to the occasion. That is to say, since marriage is the greatest occasion of man's life, people of low social standing as well celebrated the occasion with the first class presents, which on other occasions were limited to the higher classes. What is presentation, then? At this juncture, we are more concerned with the meanings it carried in earlier days.

Human relationships in terms of presentations present an interesting subject of study in sociology. F. Tönnies, in his famous work, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, distinguishes between two forms of presentation, that of society or *Gemeinschaft* and that of community or *Gesellschaft*. M. Mauss, too, in his *Essai sur le don* has pointed out the magical element which characterizes presentations in early societies, and thereby clarified that the primitive forms of give-and-take were not wholly of the economic nature. According to Tönnies, awards are presentations from the higher to the lower in a society of people of unequal social standings, whereas tributes are those from the inferior to the superior: yet both are based on the recognition and recollection of warm friendships formed in a communal society and give expression to the donors' appreciation of the good they received. However, as human relationships become equalized and contractual, that is, *gesellschaftlich*, presentations also become optional, losing the element of appreciation which is characteristic of *Gemeinschaft*, and turn into non-descript objects of exchange calculated in mere terms of quantity, thus leading to the disappearance of human relations in terms of discrepancy in social standing. In other words, Tönnies distinguishes between two sociological patterns of presentation, explaining their historical relations and emphasizing the sense of gratitude on the part of the presenter as the deciding factor. On the other hand, what distinguishes Mauss' essay is that, after making a survey of presentations in early societies, he carried investigations as to what virtues involved in the presentation led the recipient to make a counter-presentation.¹⁾

According to Mauss, the most primitive forms of presentation now found in uncivilized societies are not those found between individuals but those between friendly groups (such as families and consanguineous groups) and the objects of exchange are not confined to goods of economic use only but include compliments, entertainments, ceremonies, services, wives, offsprings, dancing, festivals, fairs, etc. Although they are usually made in the form of voluntary presentations, in reality they are strictly obligatory. Mauss names this 'Système des présentations totales'. There the objects are regarded as semi-spiritual beings and men as semi-material beings, and

1) Mauss, M., *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques.* (L'Année Sociologique, N. S. Tome I).

objects and their owners or places of production are believed to be linked with spiritual ties. For instance, the Maori call the soul of an object *hau* and believe in the spirits of an individual's possessions, of the products of woods and forests, especially of the game caught therein. The latter corresponds to the Japanese conception of *yamasachi* (blessed mountain products or manna) and the Korean belief in the spiritual nourishment of the 'mountain carrot.' Thus presentations are supposed to be accompanied by part of the manna or spiritual qualities of their presenters or places of production and therefore attended with danger for the magic influences they exercise upon the recipients. The spirits of the gifts are believed to be ever hankering after their previous owners or homes or to be desirous of making good for them the losses caused by their absence. This has led to the practice of counter-presentation. Thus his studies mark an epoch in that they reject the theory of 'natural economy', which regards presentations as a phenomenon of a mere economic nature, but have directed out attention to its conspicuous element of a magic nature.

With these preliminary considerations we will proceed to the study of *työnan*: it is characterized more or less with what Tönnies would have termed *gemeinschaftlich* in that it is a ceremony shared by two family groups which are or wish to be on terms of mutual trust, but above all it is characterized by a spiritual meaning in that the goose it employs is such an exalted and noble marriage present of the ceremonial nature. Although the presentation is on the surface from the family of the groom to the bride's family, it is intrinsically a presentation from an unmarried youth to his married superior. And the formalities on the part of the groom of presenting it on the table and making an obeisance to Heaven are an expression of piety and a proof of the spiritual nature of *t'yönan*. Furthermore, as has been suggested by Mauss, it has prompted, by virtue of its spiritual nature, a counter-presentation in the form of the dry pheasant at *ukui*, the ceremony of marrying the bride into the groom's family. These and *ch'ijang* versus *napp'yöi* and various other presentations and counter-presentations constitute a series of events which complete the *système des présentations totales* of courtesy calls, entertainments, formalities and services, and promote the intimacy of the two family groups, bringing them into a closer social relationship.

In passing, we note that *ch'ijang* or *ch'ichang* is sometimes called *changlyöng*, and is the bride's trousseau, but it contains the groom's garments as well, which are a counter-presentation corresponding to the bride's dresses included in the *napp'yöi*. The dry pheasant is a ceremonial present from the bride to her parents-in-law at her wedding. This also is a counterpresentation corresponding to the wild goose presented by the groom to his parents-in-law at *t'yönan*. As for the fact that the bride presents a pheasant which used to be relished by the highest officials, while the groom gives a wild

goose which was the usual present among the subordinate ranks, we may ascribe it to the difference of social status of bride and groom.

It seems, however, that the old Chinese usage was for the bride to present a pig instead of a pheasant, as can be gathered from the passage from the Book of Ceremonies on marriage ceremonies: "The bride makes a present of a pig; that is in order to be in keeping with her social status." The marriage of the bride in Korea takes place some days or even years after the *t'yönan*, the ceremony of marrying the bride into the bride's family, and in extreme cases the bride moves her quarters to her husband's only after their child has grown quite big. On that day the bride's family presents her parents-in-law with food and wine in addition to the dried pheasant; they also present jujubes (Chinese dates) as a lucky symbol for producing male off-springs. The pheasant is cleaned and drawn, and then dried and decorated with artificial flowers. It is then put in a wicker basket with strings of jujubes. I Ok writes of the bride: "The groom presents a wild goose carved of wood; the bride's gift is a dried pheasant; the goose soars high to the warbling of the pheasant; for once love ever new holds the twain ever true."¹⁾ This, too, will show that the wild goose of *t'yönan* and the dried pheasant of *ukui* are ceremonial presents meant to match each other. Through exchange of such ceremonial presents, marriage relationships, such as those between bride and groom, groom and parents-in-law, and bride and parents-in-law are fostered with care and sincerity.

Yet it should be noted that both the wild goose at the groom's marriage and the dried pheasant at the bride's marriage were primarily presentations of food. Our own knowledge and experience of the acute food shortage in the days immediately following Japan's surrender enables us to imagine what effect such presents of food must have had on the recipients in early societies where a dearth of foodstuffs was a constant menace. The main reason the wild goose found favor as a wedding present was presumably that it was excellent foodstuff. The fact that it is the custom with many people to celebrate most of the marriage rites and ceremonies by sharing meals together will indicate the people's attitude toward feasting together. A passage in the *Pei-shih* and the *Sui-shu* says relating to Silla: "At the house into which one has been married, eating and drinking are all that there is to the ceremonies, varying in degree accordingly as the family is rich or poor." It is obvious that the reference is made to the feastings connected with marriage. In contemporary Korea, too, marriages give occasion for various forms of feasting as well as the wedding parties on the day of *t'yönan* and *ukui*, and it is scandalous the way money and property are wasted, and consequently its vice has come to be resented. In old days it used to be the custom in

1) Neunghoa, *Folkways among the Korean Females*, p. 48.

Japan for the groom's family to send over to the bride's family food and beverage to be shared together. Often they were delivered by the groom himself. This is supposed to be the origin of *yuino* (betrothal present). A similar custom prevailed in Kokuryō, as is indicated in the *Pei-shih*: "The household of the groom sends over pig and wine." So it is probable that the Chinese *t'yōnan*, too, was originally a presentation of food, that is, the wild goose that the wooer caught and took over to the bride's house himself; there it was shared very likely at the table by the members of the bride's family and the groom together, this practice of partaking of the same manna, so to speak, fostering a warm and trustful relationship between the parties. So it will be only quite natural that *t'yōnan* as a rite of presentation of a sacred meal found a ready acceptance in Korean society, where the practice of presenting a pig and wine was already prevalent, and was preserved for many generations among the adherents to Chinese culture.

Now matrimonial ceremonies can generally be divided into two main groups, negative ones such as the coaxing or dispelling of spirits and influences of evil nature, and positive ones such as mystic rites for love or conception. It is self-evident that the ceremony of nuptial cup and other rites of feasting together connected with marriage in Korean society are ceremonies of positive nature aimed at fostering amicable relationship among the parents-in-law, relatives and friends as well as the unification of bride and groom. They are the means of adjusting and augmenting the marriage ties, and, for that very reason, the means of enhancing the solidarity and prestige of the family life. This is precisely what I meant a while back by 'the essential meaning of *t'yōnan*.'

Now, supposing that the ceremony of *t'yōnan* at its initial stage played a great role of adjusting and strengthening the marriage ties through feasting together, it should be natural that, when at a later date it drifted into a mere formality, it retained its ceremonial aspect of presenting the bird, but lost the custom of feasting on it together. Particularly, when it came to be replaced by a wooden substitute, people began to fancy that *t'yōnan* had its origin in the ideology of the wild goose as traditionally held a sacred object of presentation as a lucky bird which would exert good influences in bringing about a match between man and woman, or to consider it as a bird with a high degree of conjugal affection and faithfulness, which virtues men hoped to share. It is natural, because the wild goose, which had lost its use as food, can perform its essential function, i.e. the strengthening of marriage ties, only by assuming such magical or moral meanings other than feasting. We can say the same thing about the dried pheasant of *ukui*. Originally, it was a presentation in food for feasting from the bride's family to the groom's. As the ceremony grew more formal, meals were prepared for entertainment, apart from the pheasant. As for the custom of using a dead

pheasant at *ukni* in contrast to the live goose at *t'yönan*, and contrary as well to the matrimonial tradition to keep out the idea of death, it has been attached with a mystic meaning or wish that the bond of marriage may last until the day the dead pheasant comes to life again.

That various magico-religious or ethical meanings are attached to the goose and pheasant used at marriage ceremonies, and that thereby marriage ties are augmented, is because there is a demand in that society for the strengthening of marriage relations in such a manner. Although it will seem an inconsistency to the rational mind of today that a dead pheasant should be used on an occasion where dead things are taboo, unsophisticated minds are quite capable of an ardor in practicing this as a magic art to unite man and woman for weal or woe until the dead bird is restored to life. Herein we can reconfirm the family-centered organization of Korean society. Sumptuous marriage ceremonies, wedding expenses which often sap entire family fortunes, complicated developments of ideologies, moral views and folk faiths concerning marriage—these should be comprehended as a cultural whole, i.e. the family system of Korean society.

Now our discourse seems to be tending towards methodology, but this is not a proper occasion for it. Still a brief remark along that line at this juncture will not be amiss. There was a time when the survival theory was much in fashion among the scholars of human marriages. At the slightest excuse they would apply the theory to the phenomena which could be explained away quite sufficiently without any consideration in terms of survival. Most singular cases are found, for instance, in the view that regards the honeymoon as a survival of wife capture, and the wedding ring as a relic of marriage by purchase. For their popularity of appeal, smart ideas of this kind exerted no small influence on the thoughts of the general public who are partial to simple and tangible theories. Consequently, we find even among us some scholars who regard *t'yönan* as a survival of wife purchase in the age of hunting and argue that it carried initially the meaning of bride price.¹⁾ However, both 'purchase' and 'bride price' are later conceptions symbolized by the currency system of modern society. Therefore it is a self-contradictory argument in itself to suppose marriage by purchase as a general practice in a certain society at this early stage of development, and it will precisely be a double error to explain a current practice as its survival. We need not explain *t'yönan* as a survival of marriage by purchase; it can be thoroughly explained by treating it as a ceremonial institution which is actually playing its own part in a social and cultural whole, and by that alone can we realize its true meaning. In the study of social phenomena both historical and comparative methods of approach are important, yet it will be even

1) Ch'en Ku-yüan, *A History of Marriage in Ancient China*, p. 21.

more important for us to comprehend the position of a given fact in the actual whole to which it belongs, instead of comparing an isolated fact directly with a fact or facts in a remote society or jumping into a hasty conclusion that it is a survival of an old practice. It is for this very reason that I have set great store by the intensive system as well as the historical and comparative approaches. But then the best methodology will be to show a concrete method of study by concrete achievements, but the day is nearly spent and there is a long way yet to go up the laborious path of study.

v Tongsanglői

— Ill-treatment of the bridegroom —

It has been already mentioned that the *Handbook of the Four Formalities*, which was written for the Korean people in accordance with Chuja's *Family Ceremonies*, had to be supplemented with a chapter on the traditional Korean marriage practices dividing them into *napp'öi*, *t'yönan*, and *ukui*,¹⁾ because the six marriage ceremonies it had expounded fell short of the current marriage customs. However, respect for lineage and high regards for the marriage ceremony, which are pronounced tendencies deeply rooted in the family system of Korean society, found these new devices unsatisfactory and developed many and diverse forms of marriage rites and ceremonies. *Tongsanglői* is only one of them.

The name sounds so pretentious that one will be led to think of a ceremony of a very formal nature. Actually it is nothing like a proper and elegant practice, such as *t'yönan*; but it is a practice of annoying or initiating the bridegroom, which is not even mentioned in the supplement to the *Four Formalities* among the traditional marriage practices. The impressive name reflects the partiality of the Korean Confucianists for ceremonials and their craze for Chinese culture. *Tongsanglői* simply means 'bridegroom' with a historical allusion to Wang Hsi. According to the *History of Wang Hsi-chih* in the *Chin-shu*, a certain Hsi-chien at Ta-wei told his disciple to select a groom for his daughter from among the sons of a Wang family. So the disciple brought over the Wang brothers to the *tongsang* (east house) and studied them closely, till at last he returned to Hsi-chien announcing that they were all fine young men, but knowing that they were being examined for a groom, they put on their company manners except one young man. He lay on his stomach on the *tongsang*²⁾ (east *eundol* or hypocaust) of the

1) Chapter 4, *Työnan*.

2. Chinese residences are usually built so that the main building stands on the north end of the ground, with east and west wings facing each other and a courtyard between them. Most of the rooms have on three sides a hypocaust, whose top is a little higher than the floor. The floor is of dirt so that you can keep your shoes on. *Tongsang* is the hypocaust at the east-end of the room.

tongsang (east house), helping himself to the refreshments all the time, and seemed to be quite indifferent to what was going on. Whereupon Hsi-chien declared that this last one would make a fine groom, and went to the young man, who proved to be Wang Hsi. Finally he married his daughter to him.¹⁾ That is how *tongsang* came to mean 'bridegroom' in later years. Incidentally, *tungt'an* (*tung* and *t'an* meaning 'east' and 'flat' respectively) is another name by which the bridegroom is called, its origin being ascribed to Wang Hsi's 'lying flat on his stomach (*t'anfu*) on the east *tongsang* (*eundol*).²⁾ At any rate, the word *tongsanglői* is not found in the Chinese language, so it is very likely that it is a name tacked on to the native folk custom of teasing the bridegroom by Korean Confucianists, who flattered their own vanity by coining a fancy name of the Chinese style, *tongsang*, and turning it into a ceremony by suffixing *lői* (ceremony). *Tongsanglői* is sometimes denoted by a homophone (but strictly a homonym meaning 'east house'), which is of course due to the fact that a bridegroom was selected in the east house from among the Wang brothers, but it is not applied to a bridegroom. Sometimes the second element, *sang* in the orthography of *tongsanglői* is replaced by a character which is a vulgar form of the former. Another popular name for *tongsanglői* is *sillangtalugi*, which means 'wringing the groom.'

We will stop delving further into terminologies, and see what kind of ceremony it is. We can deal with it in a plain manner, for as mentioned before, in spite of its pretentious name it is in reality nothing but a practice commonly called 'teasing or initiating the bridegroom.' That, however, is not all there is to it, and that is the point of study in the present chapter.

To describe the actualities of the practice to serve our purpose, there is a considerable interval between the ceremony of *t'yönan*, by which the groom is married into the bride's family, and the day the bride is married into the groom's family by means of *ukui*, which takes place in some cases some months or even years after *t'yönan*. It is the custom with the groom during this interval to betake himself to the bride's for the night. It is a period of hardship for the groom, for the custom prevails during this period for relatives of the bride's family, the groom's friends, and young men of the community to gather at the bride's house, tie up the groom, hobble and swing his legs, and tease him with embarrassing questions about the details of the process of the matrimony and even about the privacy of the nuptial bed, lashing him on the soles of his feet at the slightest sign of equivocation on his part, till at last they all get treated to a feast by the bride's family. Written material on this practice is found in Munyang-sanin's *Tongsanggi*, an adaptation in

1) "The History of Wang Hsi-chih," in the *Chin-sbu*.

晉書·王羲之傳原文「大尉郗鑒使門生求婿於王，導令就東廂偏觀子弟·生掃謂鑒曰·王氏諸少竝佳·然聞信至咸自矜持·惟一人在東壯坦腹食，獨若不聞，鑒曰，此正佳婿·訪之乃羲之也，遂以女妻之」

comedy of the story of Kim Hichip and Sin Tökpın, who were married with donations from the State coffers in the reign of Chöngchong (1777-1800) of the I dynasty. Act IV of the play depicts in full details the scene in which groom Kim is given lashings on the soles of his feet by his friends along with words of congratulation. However, the areas where harsh treatment of the groom is dressed up in this affected appellation of *tongsanglöi* are limited to those of Central Korea centering around Seoul, which have been strongly influenced by Chinese culture. Customs analogous to this are *changga-t'ök* in the North of Korea and *sasön* capture in the South. For instance, in Hamheung district of Hamkyöng-namdo, it is customary for young men of a village to present a poem to and request one in return from a groom after he has performed the ceremonial presentation of the wild goose and has been seated at the table. If he fails to extemporize one in return, he has been put to great shame. Not only that—the custom requests his bride's family to give the young men a treat. A most crude practice is that of pressing the bride's family for a treat by handing the groom a slip of paper written with nothing but a sum of money for drink. As mentioned before, this is called *changga-t'ök*. *Changga* is 'the house of the bride,' that is, the bride's father, and *changga-t'ök* is a treat given by the bride's family. *Sasön* capture mentioned in passing is a practice found in the areas extending from Kyöng-sang-pukto to Koanuon-do. The *sasön* is a rectangular piece of crimson cloth, each end fastened to a blue stick. On his way to his wedding at the bride's house, the groom hides his face with a *sasön* supposedly to be protected from the stare of the Evil Eye. Young men of the village waylay him and embarrass him by grabbing the important *sasön*. The bride's family recovers it by treating them to a feast.

Now it should be marked that these three customs bear common features, i.e., teasing of the groom in the first place, and treats by the bride's family in the latter stage. The first stage is marked with trying situations for the groom, such as exposure to embarrassing questions, *sasön* capture, tying and lashing the feet, thus creating an extremely tense and unstable relationship between the groom and the participants in those practices. In marked contrast to this, in the second phase the relationship between the two parties is cleared of the tension and pains and is replaced instead by a complete sense of stability. Now the first phase, for its conspicuousness, has prompted advocates of the survival theory to contend that the initiation of this kind has its roots in the customs or institutions supposed to have existed at certain stages of the development of human marriage. For instance, we find a view which supposes a hypothetical age of wife capture at a certain time in the history of marriage and regards all the current practices of teasing the groom as relics of the forms of punishment imposed during the age of wife-capture upon the groom who had come to seize his bride. Another instance is

found in the theory which presupposes an age of communal marriage where all the young women of a social group belonged to all the young men in common and that a man who possessed a particular woman for himself was given a discipline, eventually surviving as a practice of teasing the groom.¹⁾

However, these theories cannot but remain mere hypotheses since they try to explain current usages of our days as survivals of past usages on the basis of early hypothetical stages of the development of marriage practices which in no way can be substantiated. The age of wife-capture or of communal marriage is a hypothesis which science of today cannot support. For that reason the author rejects the view of this school, and in explaining a current practice, he adopts for himself what might be termed a sociological and analytical approach to the roles played by the same practice in the whole of its social and cultural environment.

Now the initiation of the groom at *tongsanglői* is a rough practice, but as depicted in the *Tongsanggi*, those who perform it do so in the spirit of celebration, so that the more the practice is indulged in the more honor and felicity it is to the family as well as the groom. Naturally this privilege is not extended to unpopular grooms and families, making them feel extremely forlorn. This shows that *tongsanglői* is not a mere act of practical joke or malice, still less a survival of the reprisal for seizure or the discipline for exclusive possession of a woman.

Then why is it that the groom came to be congratulated in such a rough way? I conceive that marriage, like birth, is an occasion of a kind of 'rite of passage' and a rite of passage is often accompanied by rigorous forms of trial. According to Van Gennep, marriage is a rite which marks the critical moment of passage from unmarried to married life, and at this juncture the bride and the groom have to submit themselves to many and diverse hard sexual taboos and trials.²⁾ The course of man's life, both physical and moral, is punctuated with numerous barriers to be passed. Among our own people, too, there are found numerous rites of celebration or of casting the evil observed at various stages of life. The element of trial in the rite of passage is most conspicuous in the rites which accompany the celebration of coming of age in primitive society, which marks the passage from adolescence to adulthood. It is a matter of common knowledge that this rite in primitive civilization held at a critical juncture of life is accompanied by cruel practices such as making cuts in the body, extraction of teeth, operation on the genital organ, etc. Even our anniversary of the seventh birthday is a rite of passage as is plain from the children's song which tells that they are not to pass the lane to the Tenjin Shrine unmolested on their visit to the shrine to offer

1) Nakayama, Tarō, *A History of Japanese Marriage*, p. 97 ff.

2) Van Gennep, A., *Les rites de Passage*, pp. 165-207.

prayers on the day of their seventh anniversary but they are challenged and even get a slap on the haunch. Then how much more thorny must be the path from adolescence to adulthood. Only those who have borne up under trials imposed upon them are given a proper social standing as young adults. Likewise, a groom who would pass the gate to matrimony must endure grave trials. That the rough treatment of the groom at *tongsanglői* is an ordeal of this kind can be known to some extent from an informal name attached to it, i.e., *sillangtalugi* (wringing the groom). Really it is a celebration in the form of trial meant for annealing the groom's character and power of resistance, thereby making him an even worthier groom. For the very reason that it is a form of celebration, it assumes a magical significance. It resembles in purport as it does in manner, that is, in its dual character of celebration and chastisement, the magical rite practised by Japanese children, who on the fifteenth of the New Year, go the rounds of the fruit-trees on their estates hitting them with luck-sticks as they chant, "Do you bear fruit or not? If not, I will cut you down with my shears." It also reminds us of our magical forms of congratulation, such as *mizuiwai* (celebration by throwing water) and *ishiuchi* (pelting pebbles), which were applied to the newly wed until up to the early years of Meiji.¹⁾ Only in this way can we comprehend the spirit of celebration which lies underneath this externally crude practice of *tongsanglői*. It will follow naturally, then, that, so far as it is a congratulatory gesture, the number of the celebrants adds to the prestige of the bride's family and the groom, while unpopular ones are not given this favor. So if we give something like 'ill-using the bridegroom' as an equivalent of the Korean term *tongsanglői*, we fail to do justice to the full meaning of the practice. It might be better to put it as 'congratulating or initiating the bridegroom,' though I am abiding by the traditional terminology in use among the Japanese.

In the manner described hitherto the bridegroom who has undergone the ceremonial initiation has his new social position recognized. While both the groom and the bride's family grow in honor and felicity in accordance with the number of the participants in the occasion and the zeal with which it is celebrated, yet at the same time there is no denying that it causes the groom great pains and it gives the bride's family considerable distress. So the hospitality and entertainment by the members of the bride's family relieves the groom of his pains. That is to say, the hospitality extended by the bride's family serves as a ceremony of recognition of the new status gained by the groom who has stood the test, while by feasting together the tense relationship between the groom and the celebrants is dispelled completely, proving that the groom's new social standing has been consolidated. So

1) Shimoido, Junkichi, (*Shakaitakugaku-zasshi* or *Sociological Magazine* No. 40).

we should conceive that the groom-test in the first stage and the entertainment in the last phase of this ceremony constitute an organic whole, and that it would be a methodological error to take out only one phase, for instance, the groom-test, and explain it as a relic of some bygone custom.

Turning now to the participants in *tongsanglői*, they are either the bride's relatives, the groom's friends, or young men of the community. This groom-test is born of the interest and concern shared by the relatives of the bride's family at a marriage of a member of their consanguineous group and will signify in the first place the serious view they hold of matrimony. Marriage is a very important occasion to themselves as well as it is to the parties directly concerned, so much so, that the position of a son-in-law should be guarded with jealous care for a worthy young man who can qualify himself for it by their own test. It also signifies their wish to express their congratulations in a ceremonial form conducive to training a worthy groom. As for the interest shown by young men of the community and their participation in the rites of trial, it can be said that they are due in part to the tradition in the community of attaching great importance to marriage. But above all, they are due to the fact that, whether or not the custom prevails of marrying within the community, the young men were each a potential groom of the said bride, and now in the presence of this exciting event, they cannot remain indifferent spectators allowing one of them to prove an easy winner. The tension will run even higher when the groom is married from outside their community. Yet it is not a relic of the custom of communal marriage as is attested by the fact that chances of sexual release for unmarried youths are by no means incompatible with institutionalized marriage but rather they are found to co-exist, augmenting each other functionally. And thus the young men do not come into *tongsanglői* as administrators of punishment or discipline, but they are to the last well-wishers who perform the rite of trying the groom. Lastly, if the groom is a member of the same social group, other young men of the community are mostly his friends, and under such a circumstance it is quite natural that they should show interest in their friend's marriage and congratulate him on it.

In summary, neither relatives, friends, nor men of the community tease the groom from any malice. They are his well-wishers, pure and simple, who attach great importance to his marriage and wish to toughen him against possible untoward future events. If there is occasionally someone, such as the groom's rival, who takes this occasion to work off his personal grudge, or one whose sole interest is in the treat, it is merely a deviation from the standard situation, which is true to human nature.

Thus, because marriage was a very important event to the relatives of the bride's, the whole village, especially to the young people and the groom's friends as much as to the mating couple, there grew, apart from elegant and

graceful rites of marriage, a rough practice through which they could express their feelings in a more direct and vigorous manner. This practice, in turn, developed into an elaborate custom involving the rite of trying the groom and recognizing his new social position consequent to an entertainment by the bride's family. However, it is not a general, formal and compulsory institution like those enforced by the Government, such as the range of marriage inhibitions, legal age of marriage, or conditions of divorce. Nor is it like a refined procession, to put it figuratively, such as *napp'yöi*, *t'yönan*, and *ukui*, which pass through the main street of orthodox marriage rites. It is, so to speak, a stir in a by-street which has been set off by the imposing procession passing down the main street or is a spontaneous reaction of the parties whose appetites are not quite satisfied by exquisite cuisine. To use another figure, the marriage laws are the leading character in a Noh play, the ceremony is the supporting actor, and *tongsanglöi* is at best the supporting character's second.

Yet each, through its own role, gives us an impression of the respectful attitude of Korean society toward marriage together with an idea of the family system of the society. Thus we see that even *tongsanglöi*, which is a pendant, local, and more or less optional and spontaneous native custom not even mentioned in the *Manual of the Four Formalities*, is playing its own—if humble—part in modelling the socio-cultural structure of Korean society.

vi Keuija

— Prayers and magic for conception —

We can prove from many angles that ruralism is a distinct characteristic of Korean society and that consequently the society holds the ethos of familism, which is the spirit of rural community. I made a study of this point in other works of mine with regard to family ceremonies and various marriage practices¹⁾ as well as Shamanism²⁾ in Korean society. It is the purpose of this chapter to corroborate my contention further by studying another Korean custom, *keuija*.

A Korean saying, "Offspring before twenty, fortune before thirty," will give us a good idea of the prevalence of early marriage in that society, men marrying usually before they reach twenty. Not very long since, you could often find 'child-fathers' even among the senior pupils in elementary

1) The present writer, *Field-trip Studies in Korean Shamanism*.

2) The present writer, "Family Ceremonies in Korea" (*The University of Aichi Literary Bulletin* Vol. 3, pp. 41-48).

The present publication, Chapters on *Työnan* and *Tongsanglöi*.

schools. Such being the case, if a man should remain childless even in his mid-twenties, that would be a great problem to the entire household as well as to himself and his wife. From about this time magic rites and prayers for conception take place more increasingly apart from the magic rites of fertility which accompany marriage ceremonies. While they are still at a stage where they are divided between anxiety and hope, comparatively simple and less expensive forms of invocation are used, but as the wife turns thirty and gets on toward her late thirties, they often give themselves fervently to exorbitantly expensive forms of *kenija*, squandering almost their entire family fortune, while at the same time the tendency is for the husband to keep a number of concubines if the family can afford it. It is natural, therefore, that magic rites and prayers for conception are offered with a greater fervor by the wife herself, whose position in the family and the community is determined by whether or not she bears issues, males in particular, and that she is often joined in her prayers by several members of the family as well as by her husband.

The practices current in Seoul area are of two main types. One is *sanjöi*, a practice of going into a sacred mountain and praying to its 'Mountain Spirit' for conception; the other is *pulkong*, a practice for a woman to confine herself in a temple for a certain period to pray to Buddha. However, *sanjöi*, which is indigenous to Korea and has the Mountain Spirit for its object of worship, and *pulkong*, which is definitely of foreign origin, are not necessarily alternative,¹⁾ for those who worship at a temple of Buddha make offerings at the same time at the shrine of the Mountain Spirit built on the same ground or up in the mountain behind the temple. Thus as a common saying goes, "Offsprings are prayed for through repetitions of *sanjöi* and *pulkong*." The indigenous practice of *sanjöi* and *pulkong*, which is Buddhist in nature, form a series of co-ordinated functions. We see the rural nature of Korean society in the manner in which faiths and events of different cultural backgrounds are accepted together or even merged with complete tolerance or rather indifference. On the other hand, these functions provide the temple with good means of income, so that the priests are keen to preach miracles, and some of the temples have come to be known by the name of *kenija-chöl*, a temple for praying for pregnancy. It is even believed that some of the priests seduce women who are staying at their temple wishing to have miracles happen to them.

To mention a few temples famous for efficiency for conception: the Ch'anglyo-sa temple at Chiktong, Ch'ungju-gun, Ch'ungchöng-pukto is commonly called *kenija-chöl*, for the stone image of Buddha enshrined in the

1) R. Linton, in his distinguished work, *The Study of Man* (1936), classifies Cultural Expectancies breaking them into three divisions: Universals, Alternatives, and Specialities.

inner temple is credited with divine virtues which work miracles instantly on those who pray for conception; the Top'ian-sa at Koanuli, Tongsöng-myön, Työluon-gun, Koanguon-do, which is sacred to an iron image of Buddha inscribed with the date of its dedication, the sixth year of Söngt'ong (865 A.D.), is known for its rites for conception, recovery from illness and requiems. However, its services for conception seem to involve a great coast in offerings, such as vegetable ambrosia, candles, lights and incense. The Simuon-sa Temple in the same area is also well-known for its statue of Buddha whose divine influence on conception draws a large number of worshippers. It is natural that many *kenija-chöl* are found near Kaisöng, the site of the ancient capital of the Kolyö dynasty, under which Buddhist culture reached the height of bloom: for example, the wayside sedent image of Kaska-pul which survives at Sin-chön, Tong-li, Chinpong-myön, Kaisöng-gun, Kyönguei-do; the quintuple iron statues of Buddha at the top of Mt. Chaiöök in the same county; the Mileuk-pul Buddha at Kaja-li, Taisöng-myön of the same county—these are all said to answer the prayers of the childless, and are visited by crowds of women. Usually a flat stone is placed in front of the statue of Buddha to receive offerings. Worshippers rub a small pebble on it as they say prayers, and if the pebble gets stuck to the stone immovably their prayers have been answered. We can give any number of instances of a similar nature. Shortly after his arrival in Korea, the present writer noticed these pebbles before the triple Buddhas in Kyongju, the ancient capital of Silla, during his tour of Southern Korea. He was also informed that one who worshiped the stone image of the Sökkul-an (stone-cave temple) and drank of the sacred spring therein would be granted a male issue. It should be mentioned, however, that these faiths in stone rubbing and holy wells are not of Buddhist origin. This point will be discussed later in more detail.

It is conjectured that since the days of Silla and Kolyö, under which Buddhism had its heydays, the image of Buddha has been made the object of prayers for conception with priests taking part as ritualists. A passage from the *Samkukeuisa* will give you a quick idea of the practice; it tells about the Emperor Kyöngtök: "One day the Emperor called in Venerable P'yöhun, saying, 'Providence has granted me little grace, and I have no heir. I beg you to intercede for me and ask Heaven to grant me one.' Thereupon, the Venerable P'yöhun went up to the altar and communicated with Heaven. Upon returning, he said to the Emperor: 'An heiress, not an heir, will be granted.' The Emperor said, 'I humbly wish to have the girl changed into a boy.' Again P'yöhun ascended to the high altar and communicated the Emperor's wish . . . Thus in the fullness of time the Queen Consort gave birth to a prince." Again the book tells us that in the era of Ch'önsöng towards the end of the Silla dynasty, Ch'öngpo and

Ch'oi Euinsöng, who had not an heir born to them for many years, visited the Chungsaing-sa Temple in Tonggyöng, supplicating for divine grace. As the result, the wife conceived and gave birth to a son. Another passage from the same source tells that Chajang-taltök (Chajang, the Priest of High Virtue) was the fruit of the fervent prayers of his father, who, having no heir, turned a devout convert to Buddhism and visited the temple dedicated to Ch'önbukoaneun and there offered prayers for a son.¹⁾ It is true that it was not to Buddha but to Heaven that the Venerable P'yöhun prayed on behalf of the Emperor Kyöngtök and therefore the case cannot be regarded as a strict form of *pulkong* (praying to Buddha for conception), but we should not forget that priests in general of the days of Silla were disciples of both Buddhism and Taoism, which accounts for the pronounced feature in this instance which characterizes the integration of the two faiths. The other two cases have Buddha as the express object of worship, indicating the extent of permeation of Buddhist culture in those days.

Thus the practice of praying to Buddha for offspring, which still runs high, has its roots in a long and old tradition. Korean temples in general, with their huge main buildings on the premises proper, have attached shrines sacred respectively to the Mountain Spirit and the Great Bear usually located on the hillsides back of the main temples. Most of the visitors worship at these smaller temples as well as at the main temples, and sometimes we find smaller ones drawing more worshipers than the main temple. Consequently, those who pray for offspring follow the same practice as seen at *sanjöi* and *pulkong* of Seoul area. First they pray to Buddha and then worship at the temple of the Mountain Spirit. The custom in Ulchin area of Koanguon-do is for childless couples to pray to Buddha, climb to the temple of the Great Bear which stands on the same premises and worship its spirit, and then go back and sojourn several days in the temple of Buddha. Neither the Great Bear nor the Mountain Spirit is primarily of Buddhist origin, but the pictures of the Mountain Spirit now found at its shrines in various parts of Korea show a monk or an ascetic mounted on a tiger, the beast being regarded as the messenger of the Spirit or even as the Mountain Spirit himself. I suppose that the Korean faith which regards the tiger as a sacred animal or a mountain spirit has its origin in a remote past and that it came to be integrated with foreign cultures such as Buddhism and Taoism. The worshiping of the Great Bear is evidently of Taoistic culture, because the seven stars are invariably represented by seven ascetics. At any rate, the fact that these objects of faith are enshrined on the same premises of a Buddhist temple and are regarded as guardians of Buddhism as well as

1) *The Samkyeui-sa*, Vol. 3, passages on Samsokoaneun Chungsaing-sa ; Vol. 4, passages on Chijang-chönglyul.

patron deities of conception bespeaks how Korean society is rural in its essential character, and consequently how its religions and functions are characterized by rural tolerance and the ethos of familism.

Nor is it uncommon that rocks of unusual shape are worshiped for conception, often revealing marks of merger with Buddhism. For instance, there rise on the slope of Mt. Inhoang-san to the west of Seoul a pair of magnificent stones, diversely called 'standing stones,' 'married-couple stones,' and 'Buddha stones.' A temple of the Mountain Spirit stands near by. Childless couples come and offer prayers at the temple first and then present offerings to the stones and pray. We often find women in white praying on their knees, clasping their hands behind blind male Shamans who are chanting from a sutra. The supplicants have great faith in the contents of the incscription on the flat-topped stone placed in front to receive offerings: "The Mountain sends a divine spirit down to you and shows its miraculous powers: your issues will multiply and your fortune increase; luck will run high and joy and happiness be yours; prayers will be answered and requests be granted; praise his name with singleness of heart." Thus from the fact that the object of worship, which primarily seems to be the spirit of Mt. Inhoang-san, is called 'Buddha stones' and that the sutras are read either by Buddhist priests or blind Shamans, it will be conjectured that we have another instance of integration of Buddha with the Mountain Spirit, *sanjōi* with *pulkong*, and of Buddhism, Taoism and Shamanism.

By contrast, we have Putchimban (Sticking Rock) outside the gate of Changeui-men on the northern outskirts of Seoul. The stone is an object of stone worship pure and simple—completely devoid of any element of Buddhism, Taoism, or Mountain Spirit. You can take the street-car, which runs along the street on the west-side of the buildings of the former Government-General of Korea, to Hyoja-dong, the terminal stop. The road rising from there to the castle gate feeds your eyes with one of the most enjoyable scenes of the municipality as you go along the brook that runs between Mt. Inhoang-san, and Mt. Sankak. In early summer, especially, if one taking this road casts his glance towards the south from half way up the slope, one will have through the fresh green foliage most lovely glimpses of part of the city proper and Mt. Nansan over beyond, rising softly in the haze. You pass out through the gate and go north along the descending path a short distance before you come to a huge turtle-shaped granite rock crouching by the wayside. Your eyes will rest on over thirty blotches on its surface which is now turned grey from exposure to the assaults of the elements for many seasons. Upon closer scrutiny the spots will turn out to be dents left by 'pebble-rubbing,' some of which actually hold pebbles in them. It is hardly necessary to mention that the holes were made by the hands that prayed for conception. As for the belief that the prayers have been answered if the

pebbles stick on to the rock as they rub and pray, it is just the same as in the case of the triple Buddhas in Kyöngju and the Mileuk-pul in Kaisöng. But the analogy ends there, for the former is in no way given Buddhist names or characterized by functions of Buddhist nature, the name of the rock and even that of the village simply being Putchin-ban (Sticking Rock) and Puam-li (Village of the Sticky Rock) respectively. On this ground I conjecture that the practice of praying for offspring by rubbing pebbles on a sacred rock is an even more primitive custom, and that its chance inter-fusion with Buddhist culture developed the practice prevalent in Kaisöng and other areas of praying to Buddha as they go on rubbing pebbles on a rock at the same time. The women who have conceived by praying to sticking stones are said to repeat the rite of 'pebble rubbing' when they withdraw their supplications or again when their breasts go dry.

A practice somewhat similar to 'pebble rubbing' is that of 'tossing' pebbles. For instance, there is found a massive stone in the valley at the foot of Mt. Chuok in Ch'öngsöng-myön, Ch'öngsöng-gun, Kyöngsang-pukto. It is believed that if you toss up pebbles at its top and they stay thereon, you will be given an offspring. You see the same practice directed at the stone monument in front of the Tajunjön, the main temple of the Pulpuk Temple in Kyöngju. Both stones have a pit at the top, and some people associate them with phallicism. I wonder if that is really the case.¹⁾ Whatever may be the case, this practice as well as 'pebble rubbing' is highly significant of an act of divination, and seems more often than not to be executed as mere fun rather than a serious form of prayer.

A further example is a pair of colossal rocks in the famous Mt. Hai-Keumgang near the coast of Kosöng in Kanguon-do. These rocks stand locked together, one gnawing into the other at the point of contact. The petitioners for conception make offerings of boiled rice and a stone rod something less than a foot in length wrapped in white paper, placing them on the flat stone in front of the rocks. The children thus born are told by their parents that their father is *tol-aböji* (stone father); if they sicken, they are taken to the *tol-aböji* and prayers are offered: "This child is yours, so please help him grow up strong and robust." Although, in this case, too, the dent made in one by the other of the two rocks and the offering of the stone rod are rather suggestive of phallicism, all that we can be positive about is that the custom is rooted in stone worship and constitutes a rite of invocation for an offspring. It is my conjecture that this basic belief and the accompanying practice underlie all the local developments which are mere deviations from them.

For instance, the custom also prevails in Ulchin area of Kanguon-do

1) *Korean Deities*, "Keuija" p. 220-227, Compiled by the Government-General of Korea.

for a sterile woman to pray to rocks in the mountain. She chooses a lucky day, and leaving home in the evening goes up into mountains and purifies herself by bathing in the mountain stream. Then she presents offerings to the stone—white cotton cloth three, five, or seven feet long, a few dried cod-fish, a measure of white rice washed nine times in clean water, a coil of thread laid on the rice with one end of the string tied to the rock and the other to a branch of a tree near-by. Then she sits for hours in front of the rock absorbed in silent prayers till she receives a kind of inspiration, which she takes for a divine revelation of her conception and is overjoyed. If she does not receive an inspiration on the first night, she chooses another lucky day and repeats the same practice with greater fervor and thoroughness. The tree to which the string is tied on such an occasion is not an ordinary tree but it assumes the character of a sacred tree or is an incarnation of a spiritual being itself.

At any rate, this custom of praying to sacred trees for conception is actually found in all parts of Korea. For instance, in part of Kyanguon-do childless wives not only go into mountains to pray to tall rocks or those which look as if they were embracing each other; but they also go searching around for old trees with hollows at their bases and pray to them. It is said that they often burn those hollows in the old trees after they have anointed the inside with *gingili*-oil. The worshiping of the old trees with a hole in their trunks will signify *yoni* worship. They are sacred trees, being what would be called 'trees of genital powers,' and are found scattered all over Korea. I recall that a similar tree, named 'Pugun-nam,' once stood on the campus of the University of Seoul, and when it had to be removed to make room for a school building, the laborers made offerings to it before they cut it down. Again, at Hoatyöng-li in Yöngli-myön, Yöngli-gun, Kyöng-sang-pukto, stands a huge shade tree,¹⁾ called the Hoa tree after the name of the village, receiving the reverence of the villagers for its divine virtues claimed to have worked miracles with many a woman of the neighborhood who prayed for conception. Also, on the grounds of the Olyönsa Temple at Hyöngsan-li in Kyöngju-gun of the same prefecture stands an old tree with a sacred festoon stretched around its trunk, strips of paper and cloth tied to its branches, and an altar erected at its base. This tree is also parted in two at its base, symbolizing the female genitals. Though the tree is not easy of access, because the road leading to the hill-top where it stands is considerably steep, yet women who climb to it to pray for issues are very numerous. I suppose that the following story told in the *Legend of Tangun* can also be traced to the folk belief in the divine virtues of the tree

1) Most of the Korean villages have big trees standing at the entries to them. Old folk playing *go* and young people doing their work under the trees are common sights. Thus the trees serve as a sort of community center, hence the name of 'shade tree'.

as a medium of conception. "No one wanted to marry the 'Bear Woman,' so she betook herself continually to the Tan tree and prayed it to make her conceive. Hoanung in disguise took her to wife. She conceived by him, and the child born was named Tangun Oanghöm."

There is also found a custom of praying to sacred springs for conception. The belief and its accompanying rites referred to concerning the sacred spring of the Sökkul-an Temple (Stone-cave Temple) such as the belief that the sacred spring is efficacious for conception or turns a girl embryo into a boy, are magic rites for determining the nature of conception rather than acts of invocation for conception itself. There exist many other folk customs that reveal the relationship of sacred springs to conception. There is, for example, a pool called Molsanjai at Taisöng-myön in Yöngil-gun in Kyöng-sang-puto. A certain inhabitant of the place was worried because he had been married ten years with no offspring; so he collected a stalk of rice from each of his hundred rice-fields and prepared rice-cake. One night, under cover of darkness he took his wife to the side of the pool, and prayed to it making an offering of the rice-cake. His wife is said to have conceived in a few months and given birth to an heir. In Seoul area, too, people pray to sacred springs for conception. The usual practice is for them to put themselves through ritual abstinence or ablution, build an oven beside the water, drink, cook rice and make a kind of sea-weed soup with the sacred water. Then they eat them after offering them first to the spirit of the spring and other subsidiary spirits of the lower class. While engaged in this practice, they interpret the sounds of the spring as the voice of the Divine.¹⁾

Lastly, we will take up *ijang* (re-entombing) as the most characteristic of the magic rites of *keuija* in Korea. On the whole, Koreans are preoccupied with a kind of geomancy called *sansuchili* or *chilip'unsu*, and the tendency is to ascribe all manners of evil—from the fate of the State down to the family disasters, even the toothache of a member of the family—to the unlucky location of their ancestral graves. Sterility is no exception. They believe that the ghosts of ancestors, interred in an ill-located grave and unable to rest in peace, throw curses on their posterity by bringing sterility upon them. This has led to the practice of removing the remains of the ancestors to a new, lucky grave as a means of obtaining offspring. It is a development based on *intaiik*, the geomancy of the cemetery. Another practice, *yangtaik*, is what might be called a belief in the geomancy of the residence, according to which families without issues have divinations made as to the location of the ground, exposures of the residences, and dates of birth of the house-masters. They either change the aspects of their residences or remove their

1) The present writer, "A Glimpse of Sacred Water Worship," *Folkways* Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 315-316.

dwellings in accordance with the divinations.

However, removing either the grave or the dwelling involves a considerable economic burden and is not to be undertaken readily. Consequently there have developed simple forms of praying for conception, which could be called 'magic rites' pure and simple. Some of the charms in popular use are given below with brief descriptions:

(1) *Sok-kot* (petticoat or loin-cloth): One will conceive who steals and wears a petticoat belonging to an expectant mother or to one who has given birth recently. One, also, conceives who wears a petticoat made by stealing flags which, bearing pictures of dragons or tigers credited with superb vigor and strength, were used at tugs-of-war during the lunar months of January and February.

(2) Underwear: One can conceive by wearing underwear stolen from a mother of many children which she wore during her menstruation.

(3) Hinge: One can conceive by drinking the water in which was boiled a hinge removed from the door by stealing into a solitary house which has only one door and one window.

(4) Hatchet: One conceives if one steals a kitchen-knife from a couple with a large family, makes it into a small hatchet, and wears it on the hip without arousing any suspicion. A tiny hatchet made from the door hinge stolen from a family with an only child and worn in the same manner will be blessed with the same luck. Small hatchets are regarded as charms for conception and are owned by women; they are also believed to have a power to turn the girl embryo into a boy.

(5) *Choli*: One will conceive who breaks into the house of a man who has married three times, steals *choli* (a bamboo basket used for washing and sifting sands from grains of rice), and drinks the soup in which the basket has been boiled.

(6) Placenta: One will conceive who steals the placenta from the house where a child has been born recently, burns it with wood on the hearth, and cooks rice over the fire and eats it.

(7) Rare fruit: One conceives who eats the fruit from a pink or white peach-tree when the barren tree has rarely born one or two peaches.

Those are magic rites found in Kyöngsang area of Kyöngsang-pukto, but practices of a similar nature are found in all parts of Korea. A characteristic common to the majority of these practices is that certain objects possessed of magic power are obtained by means of stealing and that they are supposed to lose their power if one is unfortunately discovered in the act of theft. In other words, the charms, which easily lose all or part of their divine virtues by contact with profane or banal objects, can only maintain their integrity and give full play to their magic power by being used in secret.

Therein lies the secret or mystic element of this faith.

However, not all the magic rites for conception are practised in secrecy. Some of them are executed quite openly, as are the rites of praying for offspring which accompany marriage ceremonies. For example, it is customary in Seoul area to throw Chinese dates at the bride at her wedding. It is a magic rite for fecundity giving expression to the people's wish that the new bride may share in the fertility of this plant. The custom in Mokp'o area of Cholla-namto of throwing cotton-seeds at the bride's carriage is a practice of the same nature.

Thus we have seen that mystic rites for conception in Korea are observed surreptitiously and again overtly as part of marriage ceremony. The open observance of these rites at the very outset of conjugal life and their subsequent observance in secrecy but with fervent care will give us an impression of the intensity of desire for offspring among the Korean people and indicate the familism of Korean society.

We have recounted various forms of prayers for conception extant among the Koreans and noticed that they range from extremely simple forms of a magic nature to elaborate ceremonies developed out of the interblending of alien cultures. As has been mentioned several times, however, their apparent prolixity and the attendant familism which forms the pith of the rural community, will admit of a coherent and comprehensive view of them. The prolixity and diversity of *kenija* in Korea positively attest to the fervor of the desire for obtaining offspring, which is the primary function of the family, and establishes familism as the foremost characteristic of the practice. It should be added also that the family system in Korea is extremely patriarchal, so that praying for issues means in reality praying for male issues. The Korean ideal of a happy life is clearly set forth in a body of values catering to the family system, as expressed in the traditional stock phrase, "Happy and peaceful long life; wealth, rank, and many sons."¹ In practice the truism is set forth in the propitious characters embroidered on the red sack for chop-sticks, table spoons, etc., which are important items of the bride's outfit, and therefore carry the meaning of magic objects for conception.

vii Sip-changsaing

. — Ten symbols of long life —

Those who visit Korean homes will often notice hanging on the wall of the living-room a crude color print called *sip-changsaing*, painted with lucky objects which remind you of pine, bamboo, plum, crane, tortoise, and

1) The present publication, Chapter on "Sip-changsaing."

the like in Japanese life. It can be readily seen that it is a picture of good luck, wishing long lives to the members of the family, especially to the old folk, and is illustrative of the folk tradition of respect for the old. No one, however, seems to have dug deeper into the custom. So I am making a study of it as part of my research in Korean family folkways.

The record first to be mentioned on the *sip-changsaing* will be a series of poems on the ten components of the New Year's picture contained in Vol. 12 of I Saik's *Collected Poems of Mokeun*. The underlying theme is "New Year's Picture of *Sip-changsaing*, Sun, Cloud, Water, Stone, Pine, Bamboo, Herb, Tortoise, Crane, and Deer," followed with introductory lines, "Our household is possessed of *sip-changsaing*; now in October they are still as young as ever; in sickness one longs for nothing as for a long life; hence a legend is composed for each *changsaing*." Then are given ten poems, each extolling one of the ten symbols of long life. This record is quoted in Vol. 7 (under the caption *Sip-changsaing*) of the *Collected Gems of Taidongeumbu* as follows: "Mokeun says, 'Our household is possessed of a picture of *sip-changsaing*; in sickness one longs for nothing as for a long life; hence a legend is composed for each *changsaing*.' Then follow the poems, each describing Sun, Cloud, Water, Stone, Pine, Bamboo, Herb, Tortoise, Crane, and Deer respectively."

Again we find a passage by Oju referring to the *sip-changsaing* (to be found after the figure of 'Old man Namkuk' and the pictures of Eight Scenic Spots in Section *P'yöngjok.sokhoapyönjeungsöl* (*Dissertations on Genre Pictures*) of Vol. 60 of the same writer's *Thesaurus of Correct Information* (*Yönmun* (*Changehösanko*)). "Collected Poems of Mokeun I Saik: 'Our household is possessed of a picture of *sip-changsaing*; in sickness one longs for nothing as for a long life; hence a legend is composed for each *changsaing*.' Then a poem is given in turn on Sun, Cloud, Water, Stone, Pine, Bamboo, Herb, Tortoise, Crane and Deer.'"

Both Kuön Munhai, the author of the *Collected Gems of Taidongeumbu* and I Kyöng, the author of *Oju's Thesaurus of Correct Information* give 'a picture of' *sip-changsaing*, which is a misquotation of '*sip-changsaing*,' leaving out the passage, "Now in October they are still as young as ever." The coincidence is probably due to the fact that the latter borrowed what the former had misquoted from the original. Yet they both are quite accurate, even in point of order, in naming the ten symbols of long life.

However, both the *Dictionary of the Korean Language* compiled by the Government-General of Korea and S. Mitagawa's *Thesaurus of Korean Idiosyncracies* give Sun, Mountain, Water, Stone, Cloud, Pine, Herb of Eternal Youth, Tortoise, Crane, and Deer as the ten components of the *sip-changsaing*, Herb of Eternal Youth and Mountain replacing the Sacred Herb and Bamboo originally mentioned by I Saik. Most of the contemporary pictures of the

sip-chang-saing on sale at stationers' consist of Sun, Cloud, Mountain, Water, Herb of Eternal Youth, Pine, Bamboo, Crane, Tortoise, and Deer. The chop-stick sheath on exhibit at the gallery of the former Seoul Imperial University was embroidered with Sun, Moon, Mountain, Water, Herb of Eternal Youth, Pine, Bamboo, Crane, Tortoise, and Deer. Dr. Kim Tuhyön's Chinese inkstone was engraved with the same group. So we can see that the components of the *sip-changsaing* do not conform to any absolutely fixed rule but are subject to a certain degree of variation, with the seven constituents, Sun, Water, Crane, Moon, Stone, and Herb of Eternal Youth as standard members, while Mountain, Cloud, Moon, Stone and Bamboo are variable elements. Now, *changsaing* (long life) traces its origin to the Chinese conception of the abode of deific hermits, namely, Taoist hermits with supernatural powers. *Changsaing* pictures are often written with the legend, "Long life and eternal youth," and their composition as a whole reminds us apparently of Hôrai, a legendary land of eternal youth. The composition is more or less as follows: in the upper part of the picture, Sun and Moon shining through golden clouds, and a pair of cranes, one white and one blue, flying; underneath are found rocks of fantastic shapes, and threading them a clear stream runs with a gold and a silver tortoise playing in it; on the towering peaks grow thick pine groves and deer play near the Herb of Eternal Youth. It is quite obvious from this plan of *changsaing* that it has its origin in the conception of the Abode of Deific Hermits. However, the Chinese language does not have the term *sip-changsaing*, nor is found in that country an assortment of long-lived objects analogous as a whole to the Korean practice, although partial agreements are found as in the grouping of Sun and Moon, Pine and Crane, or Pine, Bamboo and Plum. Nor does Hôrai, the Land of Eternal Youth in Japanese legend, contain all the elements of the *sip-changsaing*. Therefore, although the idea of *sip-changsaing* is fundamentally of Chinese origin, it cannot be assumed that its composition as well is modelled on the Chinese prototype. We should think that the matter was borrowed from the Chinese conception of the Supernatural Hermitage, but that its conformation is Korean. Personally, I assume that there existed in Korea a religious foundation favorable to embracing and developing the matter of the Chinese legend, and that therefore the *sip-changsaing* is a reorganization of the Chinese conception of Hermit Land on Korean ground.

Then what is the Korean basis favorable to the development of the *sip-changsaing*? It is the religious feeling and attitude of the Korean people towards Nature. To consider the components of the *sip-changsaing*, we observe that Sun, Moon, and Clouds belong to the skies; Mountain, Water and Stone to the earth; and in between are arranged the animals, Crane, Tortoise, Deer, and then the plants, Pine, Bamboo, and Herb of Eternal

Youth. They are all natural objects or natural phenomena found in the air, sky and on land. Now the ideology which attributes eternal youth to such natural objects constitutes the philosophy of and the faith in the Abode of Deific Hermits. This is clearly an animistic view of the Universe, where even such inanimate objects as Sun, Moon, Mountains and Waters are attributed with souls and immortal lives. It is natural that Nature thus invested with such immortal powers of life should become an object of worship to man who wishes for eternal life; in other words, Nature worship.

Now this Nature worship is a folk tradition which has made itself felt strongly in the faith and practices of the Korean people for many generations. Outside of the practices mentioned in old records of worshiping Heavenly God, Sun Spirit, Moon Spirit, stars, mountains, waters, sacred trees, crows, tigers, etc., which we will not make a study of for a while yet, we can find in current practice no end of instances of Nature worship and animism in the life of Korean people. Here will be given only those which are directly related to the *sip-changsaing*.

In the first place, we have the human gods of Sun and Moon, who reign supreme over their respective realms. The Sun-god's spouse is Goddess Haiagis'i and Moon-god's is Goddess Talagis'i. They have under their command a subordinate deity. On the other hand, in the "Legend of Sun and Moon" told in the folk stories, the Sun is female and the Moon is male. For instance, a version current in Hamheung area tells us: "Away back at a very remote time there lived a brother and a sister who hated each other and quarrelled all the time. One day the brother thrust a needle into his sister's eye and killed her. The mother locked him up in a room, where he died of hunger. The young sister was turned into the Sun and her brother into the Moon. The sister, having had her eye pierced with a needle, even now sends out powerful rays and dazzle the eyes of those who try to stare at her."¹⁾

We very often find sacred mirrors called *Il-ol-myöngdo* hung up in Shamanistic temples as symbols of the radiant sun and moon. They are made of brass, round in shape with polished convex faces, and their backs are usually embossed with images of Sun, Moon, and the Great Dipper and sometimes have added the legend, *Il-ol-myöngdo*, in relief. I conjecture that the word *myöngdo* means 'figure of Sun and Moon,' and the concave back represents the heavenly dome, while the face, needless to say, symbolizes the radiant figures of Sun and Moon. It is also believed to represent the faces of the Sun-god and Moon-god. Actually, however, those mirrors are offerings of the mothers who prayed fervently that their children might live a happy and long life as Sun, Moon, and Stars. It is for the same reason that the

1) Son Chint'ai, *A Collection of Korean Folk Stories*, p. 9.

Shamanistic prayer-book contains such passages as 'Sun, Moon, and Stars in glory; lives prolonged and years fruitful,' or 'Man and wife in accord as Sun and Moon; companions of life as durable as the Universe.'¹⁾

Secondly, the deities of mountains and waters are commonly known by the name of Mountain Spirit and Water Spirit. The Mountain Spirit depicted in the picture hung in the temple of the Sansin (Mountain Spirit) is usually either an ascetic or a venerable old man in robes like a Buddhist priest recumbent on a tiger. The tiger, alias the Lord of the Mountain, is the messenger of the Mountain deity or is sometimes regarded as the Mountain God himself. Not uncommonly a mountain itself is regarded as the Spirit incarnate. For instance, at Mt. Tonmul-san on the outskirts of Kaisöng, even tearing sprigs off from the trees growing on it is condemned as sacrilege. Thus its trees are Sansin trees, the names of its rocks are prefixed with *Sansin*, and festivals are held in honor of the *Sansin*. The Shamanistic sutras contain formulae of incantations and psalms to the Mountain Spirit. The custom of holding festivals of the Mountain Spirit before people enter mountains to gather mountain products or to cut trees will be sufficient to give us an idea of the deep-rooted tradition of Mountain worship. The old and prevalent custom of making a tour of the Eight Provinces of Korea paying homage to the renowned mountains will also be understood in the same light. Thus the fans used by female Shamans in their sacred dances are for the most part painted with a mountain as well as the sun and the moon. In the sutra of the Mountain Spirits²⁾ appear the names of the spirits of various mountains, to say nothing of Diamond Mountain, the most celebrated throughout the Eight Provinces. The longevity of Mt. Namsan is the most of all craved.

The Water Spirits are called by the names of *Mul-kenisin*, *Mul-balmöni*, *Mul-balabyöi*, etc. *Yongoang*, *Yongsin*, and *Yonggang*, which are also applied to them, are plainly of Chinese origin. A most simple form of faith is found with the sacred well or spring which is referred to as *yammul*, medicinal water. It is based on the belief that the water of some particular place has mystic life-giving virtues. In spring or summer we often find people gather at some sacred spring, offer food to Mul-balmöni, and pray for longevity or recovery from illness. This practice is usually attended to by the housewife, who takes her daughter-in-law with her, or sometimes she takes her maid-servant, and offers wine, rice-cake, dried pollack, etc. Hence the water is credited with a life as long as the eternal flowing of the stream as well as a source of life. Thus in the songs of the Shamans or the Shamanistic sutras, we come across such passages as 'The Mountain on one side and the Water

1) The present writer, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Vol. 2, "Shamanistic Sutras" pp. 66-67.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

on the other; Mt. Namsan grants you a thousand years; The Han-kang is the water of eternity,' or 'Wedlock everlasting as the Han-kang and Mt. Namsan.'¹⁾

As for the Pine and the Bamboo, it is worth noting that the former is used as talisman against and for the purpose of exorcising the evil or unclean. For example, the custom of stretching a sacred rope stuck with pine needles over the doorway around the time a baby is expected is found in wide areas, such as Seoul, Ponghoa, Hamyang, Sanch'ong, Lonsan, T'aijön, Nöibo, Ch'ongju, Ch'ungchön, and Uonsan. The festoon of the same kind is also used at the rites of exorcism in clearing the homestead of evils and harmful spirits.²⁾ In some parts of the country, when people set out to pray to the Mountain Spirit, they plant pine branches in the mounds of red clay by the gate-posts. In some places, the family visited with smallpox plants pine branches in front of the gate or inside the house. These customs come from the belief in the powers of the pine which is perennially green, and by the virtue of which families hope to ward off the unclean lest they should incur the wrath of various deities, such as Sansin, Patron Deities of Birth and Homestead, Mountain Spirit and the Deity of Smallpox. Other means of preventing the encroachment of pestilence are to plant or pile up pine branches at the entrance to the village or to hang from the eaves bush-clover baskets filled with pine-needles. The pine is used also to keep away evils in general, its branches being placed at the gateway, on the roof, under the eaves, or its needles even strewn in front of the door. At the Shamanistic rites in late October for inviting Söngjin, pine-trees are used as sacred poles for the spirit and the Deity of Homestead to descend upon. In many parts of the country, sacred poles are made out of pine-trees, the Grand Marshal being one. Transportation of such trees from mountains is subject to a set of rules. So it is natural that the trees themselves are worshiped as sacred objects, and praying to them for offspring is no other than a belief that they are life-givers.

As for the bamboo, it is used in the South of Korea with sacred festoons as sacred poles of the god Songhoang or again in making the twelve gates of the Paradise at the Shamanistic rites for the dead—in the latter case slender bamboos with leaves are used. Compared with the pine, however, its use seems much more limited in scope and frequency. Yet pine and bamboo are the same in that people have faith in their vitality and longevity because of their perennial freshness. The pine, in particular, has become a symbol because of its long life. It is said in China that when a tree reaches a thousand years of age, its sap turns into amber; thus the pine coupled with the crane

1) The present writer, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Vol. 1, pp. 81-110, Vol. 2, "Shamanistic Sutras," p. 68.

2) Imamura, T., *Fan, Sacred Straw Festoon, Polo, and Gourd*, p. 183.

has come to be known as a happy symbol of longevity. In Korea, the 'Three Friends,' crane, bamboo, and plum, together with the 'Four Gentlemen,' orchid, bamboo, plum and chrysanthemum, have come to be cherished by the people. In passing, the Japanese trio, pine, bamboo, and plum, are their homologues and together with Crane and Tortoise and Hôrai, the Island of Eternal Youth, have been much played up in formal occasions, literature, music, drawing and painting.

Lastly, the crane, tortoise, and deer in China are considered lucky and sacred animals. The crane is held in high esteem second only to the phoenix. It is veiled in myth as the winged messenger of the deities and divine hermits, made at the same time a symbol of longevity as is indicated by the phrase, "Pine and Crane, the life prolongers." The crane as a legendary figure seems to have permeated folk consciousness at an early date, and many tales have been transmitted, such as follows: "In my dream today I was carried off by a crane to the Palace of the Hermit-land" or "The woman conceived after she had a dream that a pair of cranes flew into her bosom." Sacred songs of India as found in Seoul area contain: "Beyond range after range of lofty peaks enshrouded in clouds, a strip of land was cultivated. A herb of elixir was planted near and far in the Three Sacred Mountains, and Fairy Officers were seen to pass and repass the gate."¹⁾ A Sönghoang hymn in Osan area in Kyonggi-do has a passage which reminds men levelling grounds for a building that on the four corners of the site are buried blue, white, red, and black cranes, a pair of the same color for each corner, and warns them to take care not to injure their heads.²⁾ It is said also that if you set a crane free in your dream, you will come into a large fortune; if you have a crane fly into your bosom in your dream, you will have a boy born to you; or if your dream brings to you the cries of cranes, your fortune will increase.³⁾ Such are the ways in which the crane is revered, and people do not eat its flesh. *The Korean Thesaurus of Victuals* describes the crane as follows: "Its Korean name is *tuimi*. The name is imitative of the cry of the bird. It is not eaten in Korea." They believe that if you eat the crest of a crane, you will die instantly. The ground where cranes have landed is regarded as a blessed place, and the people of the community to which the land belongs interpret it as an omen that someone from among them will pass the examination for Government services.

The tortoise is held, in China, to be a sacred creature. It is said to have helped P'anku with the dragon and the phoenix to create the Universe and that it lives for three thousand years. So it is considered a symbol of the Universe as well as of life and vitality. That is, its round back is supposed

1) The present writer, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Vol. 1, p. 92.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 174.

3) Maruyama, T., *Divination and Prophecy in Korea*, p. 296.

to bear marks of constellations representing the heavenly dome, while its front represents the earth floating on the water, and the two crusts together symbolize the great dual forces of Heaven and Earth. But in contemporary China the tortoise has come to be regarded as an inauspicious animal, with only its 'sacré impure' qualities emphasized in marked contrast to the Korean conception which classifies it together with the crane as a lucky object of the highest order. The tobacco tray among the collections of specimens of Korean folkways at the Seoul Imperial University is inlaid with figures of cranes and tortoises in silver. Also the savings pot baked in the days of the I dynasty is drawn with figures of crane, tortoise, pine-cones, and peppers. In the Shamanistic hymns handed down in Seoul area is found a passage: "Looking into the lady's chamber, I saw Mt. Sunyang in resplendence, symbolic of the parents' long lives; on casting my eye into the old couple's chamber, I saw tortoises and phoenixes promising their posterity lives of ten thousand years."¹⁾ A ground-breaking song from the same source tells us that blue, white, red, and black lions live on the four sides of the building lot, a golden tortoise sleeps at the centre, and that it must not be disturbed in its sleep. A folk story about Kimyusin in the *Samkuk Chronicle* relates that a tortoise, carrying a rabbit on its back, went to the Palace of the Dragon King to cure him of his illness. Legends of the Founder of Shamanism contain a story of a tortoise which carried Princess Pöli-kongju on its back from the Sea of Blood, where she had been discarded, to the Eastern Seas. It is also said that if you dream of a tortoise being caught or killed, someone will die, while if you save a tortoise in your dream, you will be blessed with a son. The story is circulated of a man who actually saved a tortoise and seven sons were born to him in a row.²⁾ The custom of affixing the character for tortoise to the children's names comes from the belief in the life-giving powers of the creature. In some homes the eating of tortoise flesh is taboo on the grounds that it brings a curse on them.

In China, the deer, too, is regarded as a symbol of long life, and the skin-covered horns of young deer are considered an elixir of life. There the deer came to be attached with the symbolic meaning partly due to the fact that it is homophonous with the character 'fortune'. The Korean tradition of valuing the horn buds of the young deer and regarding the deer as a lucky animal is for the most part an adoption of the Chinese conception.

As for the Herb of Eternal Youth, it is nothing but a copy of the Chinese conception of Divine Hermitage, except that in China it is usually called *ling-chih*, *ts'en-chih* or *chih-ts'ao* (roughly, sacred herb or grass) but not by the name of *pulno-ch'o* (Herb of Eternal Youth). In Korea the Herb of Eternal

1) The present writer, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Vol. 1, p. 240.

2) Im Sökchai's Talk.

Youth is a widely accepted appellation and is cited side by side with other symbols of good luck. In sacred songs of Korea we find passages such as "Herb of Eternal Youth, Herb of Immortality, Wine steeped with Deer's Horn in the Skin and Sacred Carrot;" and "Herb of Eternal Youth, Herb of Immortality, Flowers of Longevity and the Blossom of the White Peach." "The Psalm of Remedial Powers of Sacred Herb," (*Sönyak-sönb'ö-kupyöng-ch'ugön*) contains: "Herb Immortal of the Three Divine Mountains; Herb Eternal of Mt. Ponglai-san; *Manmulch'ö* (a kind of sacred herb) of Mt. Keumgansan; Ten herbs of longevity in Heaven and on Earth."¹⁾ The sacred herb of longevity thus conceived is depicted as a kind of fungus growing in the Land of Hermits, looking rather like the Japanese mushroom, *shiitake* (*Cortinellus shiitake*) with a longish stem, and light-brown or pale-yellow in color. It is connected with a legend characteristic of China that a man who eats it will enjoy a long life of a thousand years and that its sprouts are the ambrosia of the Supernatural Hermits. On the other hand, a more realistic view prevails fairly widely that it is the mountain carrot.²⁾

Thus we can see that each element of the *sip-changsaing* shows an inter-fusion of the Chinese idea of Hermit-land with native folk beliefs in Korea, some of which indeed preserve the original forms of Chinese tradition. The reason that these elements were adopted with such ease and spontaneity should be found after all in the old and traditional attitude of Nature worship among Korean people. In other words, the Chinese idea of Divine Hermitage, transplanted to the rich soil of primitive Korean faiths, took root and developed in a fair manner. From this we can assume that the composition of the *sip-changsaing* materialized towards the close of the Koryö dynasty, when the belief in the Hermit-land in Korea reached its climax. At least it is certain from the *Collected Poems of Mokeun* that it found great favor in literary circles of the day as New Year's decoration.

We have dealt briefly with the relationship between the basic concept of Hermit-land, which sustains the *sip-changsaing*, and the worship of Nature, which served as a moral basis for their conformation and development. A further investigation into the social foundation of such Nature worship will disclose that the faith reflects the ruralism which characterises Korean society. The peasantry live close to Nature. They are concerned in the main with producing crops and raising livestock through the inexhaustible life-giving powers of Nature. Their environments are animated with life. They are a class of people who are surrounded with life and labor for multiplication of life, ever dealing with animate things. Therefore all the objects of their foremost concern are living things, and consequently even inanimate

1) The present writer, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Vol. 2, "Shamanistic Sutras," p. 70.

2) Chang Hosik's Talk.

things tend to be given life in their thinking. This engenders a view which regards Nature as an entity permeated with great and eternal life, which in turn generates the fear of offending Nature and of glorifying her for her graces.

Now, as for the uses of the *sip-changsaing*, the most representative are that of embroidering them on the chop-stick container, which the bride takes with her at her wedding, and the hanging of the *sip-changsaing* picture in the room of the old folk. Although, on occasion, the chop-stick container is embroidered with lucky words, such as "Long life, good fortune, many sons" or "Long life, good fortune, happy homes," or simply bears one or two of the ten lucky objects, a strict observance of the usage requires that all of the ten components of the *sip-changsaing* be shown. Furthermore, the *sip-changsaing* picture is hung up in the living-room or more often in the old couple's quarters and never in the guest-room. Shamanistic songs relate: "In the old couple's room lived the Tortoise and Phoenix, propitious to the long lives of the posterity; on the south wall the three hermits of the Three Sacred Mountains were seen playing *go*; the north wall was resplendent with the *sip-changsaing*."¹⁾

Here we see the relationship of the *sip-changsaing* to marriage, family, and old folk, which, it would seem, through their proper and specific use present us with glimpses of the complex of Korean conceptions and ideologies concerning marriage, family, and old folk. In other words, it is a manifestation of the familial moral system as it is an expression of a familial faith with a view to the longevity of the family members. Therein we can discern familism which is the guiding principle of rural society. However, it does not mean that the *sip-changsaing* are in wide use in the homes of the peasantry of our days. Actually they are found for the most part among the intellectual classes in the areas around Seoul, and many of the farmers living in out-of-the-way corners are not familiar even with the name of *sip-changsaing*. I conjecture that the fact is illustrative of the process of adopting foreign culture—the *sip-changsaing*, being founded on the concept of Divine Hermitage, which is of foreign origin, found its way first among the people of the upper or intellectual classes of the urban communities. That it is a culture fostered among the upper and intellectual classes is known from the frequent use of the *sip-changsaing* with writing materials, such as the brush-case embroidered with their figures or the Chinese inkstone carved with them. They used to say that the royal I family possessed a folding screen of the *sip-changsaing* in embroidery, but I have no means of determining its whereabouts now.

Thus, from the standpoint of sociology, we may comprehend the *sip-changsaing* as a culture of the upper strata of rural society. In contrast to

1) The present writer, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Vol. 1, p. 240.

this, a similar Chinese concept of Hermit-land introduced into Japan developed into Hôrai.¹⁾ In comparison with the Korean *sip-changsaing*, the Japanese Hôrai is far more popularized into something of a traditional national culture, till it has come to be integrated in a most colorful way into variegated forms of ceremony and art, such as New Year's celebrations, wedding ceremonies, paintings, literature, plastic arts, music, dance, etc. So *sip-changsaing* and Hôrai would make a very interesting subject of comparative study, but it will have to be deferred to some future time.

viii Two Types of Family Ceremonies

We have seen through our studies of various problems that Korean society is characterized by ruralism, and that consequently it is marked with a pronounced feature of familism, which is the guiding principle of the rural community. The abundance of family ceremonies plainly reflects these social and cultural characteristics. Broadly speaking, it seems that the traditional Korean society, that is, old Korea before it saw the influx of Western Civilization in the forms of capitalism, scientific techniques, Christianity, Marxism, etc., is comprehended as a dual social organization of the female who is the bearer of Shamanistic culture and the male population who is the upholder of Confucian culture. This is clearly demonstrated by the rites and ceremonies observed by the Korean family. Namely, the ceremonies observed by a family within its own family circle fall into two categories: (a) the ceremonies of ancestral worship along the line of Confucian formalities upheld by the male members of the family, and (b) the ceremonies of the Chip-sin, the Spirit of the House, whose chief votress is the housewife and which are often ministered by professional Shamans. These constitute the dual organization of the family ceremonies. The ways in which they are adjusted or co-ordinated determine and characterize respective family traditions.

In the first place, the ceremonies of ancestor whorship based on the Confucian precepts of formality comprise the ceremonies of the *kamyo* and of the cemetery. *Kamyo* means 'family shrine'; so, strictly speaking, the ceremony of the *kamyo* is the *kachôi* (house ceremony) proper in distinction

1) Korean people believe that the three sacred mountains mentioned in Lich-tzu, Ponglai (Hôrai in Japanese), Pangjang and Yôngju, are Diamond Mountain, Chilli-san, and Halla-san respectively. Diamond Mountain, in springtime particularly, is referred to as Ponglai. In Japan, too, Mt. Fuji and Mt. Kumano have been likened to Hôrai from of old, Fuji, in particular, being held as an immortal mountain. However, Hôrai is more popularly conceived in Japan as an island, a conception not found in Korea.

from the *myōjōi* (the ceremony of the grave). However, we will apply the term 'family ceremony' in its broad sense to both *kachōi* and *myōjōi*.

The 'house shrine' was originally called '*sadang*' (shrine), and is found on the grounds of some old and noble families which had devotees of Confucianism among their ancestors. In it are enshrined the Buddhist mortuary tablets of the four generations of forefathers immediately preceding the present housemaster, that is, the present housemaster's parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and great-great-grandparents. Furthermore, of the ancestors traced back by more than five generations, those celebrated for their wisdom or for their exploits and loyalty in the services for the State are acclaimed as *pulch'ōnui* ancestors, whose memorial tablets are not interred but enshrined for ever in the family shrine, sometimes with the rite of *pulyo* which declares that they are not buried in the ancestral cemetery. The rest are all buried in the family grave. At the present day, families which have separate shrines are extremely rare. More often one of the rooms of the house is set aside for the shrine or a more simple expedient is adopted in the form of a little altar on the shelf put up in the corner of the great hall. In most homes this kind of altar is missing. Instead the family buries all the memorial tablets in the family grave, and makes paper tablets at the time of the family ceremony, burning them after the function is over.

According to the *Manual of the Four Ceremonies*, which is called the Code of Korean Formalities, "One reports at the family shrine every time one goes out or returns home; visits the shrine on New Year's Day, the winter solstice, and the first and fifteenth of the month; offers viands of the season on ordinary anniversaries and reports when a calamity visits the family." Then it describes the family rites and festivals of ancestor worship, such as the Sasijōi (the Four Seasons' Festivals), the festival of the father's shrine in the lunar month of September, and the anniversary of the last four generations of forefathers, following these with the description of the model pattern of the March festival of the grave. In practice, this model as well as the rules stipulated for those other occasions are not followed strictly. Even the families which still have separate shrines could hardly be said to abide strictly by the rules which require them to report at the shrine at every out-going and home-coming, although they almost invariably pay visits of worship on New Year's Day, the winter solstice, and the first and fifteenth of the month, and report on births, marriages, appointments to Government offices, and changes of address, and also offer viands on popular anniversaries, such as *hansik* (the hundred and fifth day from the winter solstice on which the whole family eats cold meals), *tano* (the May festival of the fifth), and the harvest moon. Likewise, many of the families which have no regular family shrines make paper mortuary tablets at certain popular anniversaries and offer viands of the season. Scholars differ, however, in specifying the popular

anniversaries,¹⁾ and naturally, too, because these are not the sort of things to be defined by a hard and fast rule. The principal among the popular anniversaries in current practice are New Year's Day, *sanguon* (on the fifteenth of January of lighting tapers), *nobi-il* (servants' day of the first of February), *hansik* (cold meals of the hundred and fifth day from the winter solstice), *chungsam* (the March Festival of the Peach on the third), *teungsök* (the Lantern Festival on the evening of the eighth of April), *tano* (the May Festival of the fifth), *yudu* (Hair-washing of the fifteenth of June), *chungguön* (Buddhist All Souls' Day on the fifteenth of the lunar month of July), *chusök* (the Harvest Moon or the fifteenth of August by the lunar calendar), *chungyang* (the Feast of the Chrysanthemum on the ninth of September), *oil* (the first 'Horse Day' of October), the Winter Solstice, *labil* (the third 'Dog Day' after the winter solstice), and New Year's Eve, etc. Principal viands of the season are 'rice-cake soup' on New Year's Day, 'rice cooked with herb' on the fifteenth of January, the day of *sanguon*, 'flower cracker' of March, 'steamed rice-cake' of April, 'mugwort rice-cake' of the May Festival, 'dumpling soup' of *yudu* (the Hair-washing on the fifteenth of June), *inpyöng* (a kind of rice-cake) of August, 'chrysanthemum cracker' of September, 'stuffed bun' of October, 'rice and bean gruel' on the winter solstice, meat of *labil*, the third 'Dog Day' after the winter solstice, etc. Besides, there is a kind of cake called *kangjöng*, which is an indispensable offering at all of these festivals. Offerings of viands on the family altar almost invariably practiced are *chalöi* (primarily, ceremony of offering tea, though, in practice, tea is not used) and 'early products of the season' on New Year's Day, the day of 'cold meals,' the May Festival on the fifth, and the Harvest Moon. Also there are many homes which offer viands on *sanguon* (the fifteenth of January, the day of offering taper lights), the March Festival of the Peach on the third, the Hair-washing day in June, the Winter Solstice and the New Year's Eve.

However, *sasijöi*, the Four Seasons' Festivals, to which the Confucianists attach the greatest importance, are seldom observed. This is lamented by I Chai: "*Sijöi* are the most proper and authentic ceremonies, and no other festivals equal them in importance. Yet in recent times very few families observe them. This is indeed to be regretted."²⁾ The *Ljölyang*

1) For instance, I I gives in his *Kyökmongyogyöi* (Secrets of Enlightenment) the fifteenth of January, the third of March, the fifth of May, the fifteenth of June, the seventh of July, the fifteenth of August, the ninth of September, and *labil*. Hö Chön gives in the *Saui* (*Ceremonies of the Ascendancy*) *ch'öngmyöng* (the fifteenth day from the vernal equinox), the day of 'Cold Meals,' the May Festival, *chungguön* (Buddhist All Souls' Day on the fifteenth of July), the Feast of the Chrysanthemum on the ninth of September), with a note, "The custom is also to celebrate New Year's Day, the fifteenth of January, the Harvest Moon, the Winter Solstice, *labili* (the third 'Dog Day' after the winter solstice), and the Hair-washing Day.

2) I Chai, *The Manual of the Four Ceremonies*, Book VIII, Note to "The Four Seasons' Festivals."

Chronicles relate: "It is our national tendency to attach great importance to the mortuary anniversaries and neglect the Seasons' Festivals.¹⁾ This goes to show that the nation's culture is still at a low ebb." Thus, in practice, the mortuary anniversaries which are not found in the ancient Chinese system of formalities are more widely accepted. The ceremonies of the grave which are also given no place among the old Chinese ceremonies show indication of an extensive following. For instance, the *Tongkuk Chronicles* contain: "The custom in the Capital is to visit the ancestral tomb and make offerings on the four anniversaries, namely, New Year's Day, the day of 'cold meals', the May Festival of the fifth, and the Harvest Moon, presenting wine, dried meat, salted fish-gut, rice-cake, vermicelli, meat broth and roast meat. To these they apply the name of 'Festivals of the season'. The ways in which they are celebrated vary from family to family according to their family traditions. The 'Cold Meals' and the Harvest Moon are given the greatest prominence, both men and women turning out in large numbers."²⁾ And again the *Lyölyang Chronicles* say: "The high officials celebrate the festivals of the grave on the four anniversaries, i.e. New Year's Day, the Festival of the 'Cold Meals', the Harvest Moon, and the Winter Solstice, sometimes dispensing with the first two and giving a greater emphasis to the latter, of which the Harvest Moon is celebrated in an even more grand style. This is the day that Yu Cha-hu referred to when he wrote: "This is the day when even the menials can visit their ancestral tombs and celebrate the festival."³⁾ At the present time the festivals of the grave on the four popular anniversaries, in particular, the 'Cold Meals' and the Harvest Moon of Central and Southern Korea and the May Festival and the Harvest Moon in the North and West, are in general practice. Presumably the mortuary anniversaries and the ceremonies of the grave, which are branded by the Confucianists as unauthorized practices, should in fact be recognized as customs deeply rooted in the tradition of the people. I Koang writes: "Mortuary anniversaries and the ceremonies of the grave are minor occasions, and yet very close to the hearts of the people."⁴⁾ I Chai concedes: "The festivals of the grave on the four popular anniversaries have been observed by our people for many generations, and are not to be changed overnight."⁵⁾

On the other hand, the Four Seasons' Festivals as advanced unanimously by successive generations of Confucianists as the proper and authentic ceremonies seem to have gained no ground in practice but remained in the

1) Kim Nansun, *The Lyölyang Chronicles*, passages on March.

2) *The Tongkuk Chronicles*, passages on *Hansik* (Cold Meals).

3) *The Lyölyang Chronicles*, passages on August.

4) I Koang, *T'aiköi-Sanggöi-tapmun* (*T'aiköi's Dialogue on the Funeral Rites*, the "Answer to Cho Chin."

5) *The Manual of the Four Ceremonies*, Book VIII, Note to *myöjöi* (the ceremony of the grave).

thinking of the people a mere ideology of foreign origin. Therefore, even I Chai, who never deflected from regarding the Four Seasons' Festivals as the regular and legitimate formalities, while lamenting the dim hope of their finding favor with the common people, came to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the popular usages and cultural standard. He explains his view as follows: "In so far as it gives expression to their genuine love and respect, even a meager offering of a little rice and broth by means of unauthorized popular ceremonies should be tolerated."¹⁾ Not only that, but nowadays 'sijöi' has almost completely lost its original meaning of the 'Four Seasons' Festivals' of the separate family shrine and is applied to the ordinary ceremonies of the grave held to the memories of the ancestors five or more generations back, thus proving that even the term, *sijöi*, has been corrupted to mean a kind of festival of the grave.

In short, the Korean family ceremonies on the lines of the Confucian precepts have a pronounced characteristic in that they have developed through adapting themselves to such traditional folk ceremonies as *chalöi* (rites of tea), mortuary festivals, and ceremonies of the grave.

The position of keeper of these rites of ancestor worship belongs to a successive line of male descendants, and the right of succession to it is the most important of all the rights of inheritance. The heirship consists of the rights of succession to custodianship of the family ceremonies, family property, and headship of the family. The successor to the custodianship of the family ceremonies is at the same time invested in the headship of the family, inheriting a major portion of the deceased's property in marked contrast to the successor to either headship or property who does not necessarily succeed to the right of ceremony. The line of descent is constituted only by the male custodians of the family ceremonies, to the exclusion even of the female head of the family or the female successor to the family property. Thus women are not recognized as keepers of the family ceremonies under any circumstance.²⁾ We see, therefore, that those rites of ancestor worship before mentioned are entirely administered by men and that women, if they should take part in them, are allowed to play only subordinate roles.

However, the ceremonies upheld by the male population do not comprise the entire range of the Korean family ceremonies. On the contrary, as has been touched upon, we have pretty primitive forms of faith in the Spirits of the House, which is primarily concerned with the house wife and other female members of the family and which is often ministered by professional Shamans. These ceremonies, being so old and primitive, leave us in the dark as to their objects of worship. They are comparable in their

1) *The Manual of the Four Ceremonies*, Book VIII, Note to *sasijöi*.

2) Reports of the Government-General of Korea on *Investigations of Korean Customs* (1911), pp. 343-344.

evasiveness to the little Shinto altar in a Japanese home or the *mafa*¹⁾ of the *shen-pan-txu* at the home of a Manchurian flag warrior, which is not defined clearly one way or another except that it is thought of as a kind of deity, now presenting features of the ancestral spirit of the stock, now worshiped as a patron deity of agriculture or again as benefactor of conception. For instance, in Seoul area people hang up in the women's chamber a paper bag of coins and grains capped with a pyramid-shaped paper hood. This they call *työisök* or *samsin-työisök*, worshiping it as a patron deity of the children, or a giver of long lives or good fortune. In Pyöngan-do you find families with a pot of grain placed in some corner of the storage room. They call it *nong-työisök*. That its festival is called *nongjöi* leads us to believe that it is a deity of agriculture. You come across similar sacred pots almost in all parts of Korea, placed more often in a corner of the great hall, variously called *työisök*, *saijong*, and *t'yönoang*. Hardly distinguishable from these is the sacred pot called *chosang-tanji*. There are some which are clearly emblematic of the ancestral spirits. In some parts they worship an osier basket containing the clothing of the forefathers, called *chosang-koli*. In the dialect of Pyöngan-do it is called either *chosang-maul* or *chongsang-tangjigi*. In Hamköng-pukto they hang up a *työisök* between the kitchen and the cow-shed, calling it *söngju* sometimes. *Söngju* is usually thought to be the god of the homestead. In Seoul area they worship it by plating the girder of the hall with a sheet of paper onto which are pasted grains of rice.

Those are the most prominent of the spirits of the house enshrined inside the house and very much analogous to the deities enshrined in the household altar in Japanese homes. There are, however, many families that worship *T'yöju*, the god of the residential ground, installed outside, which reminds us of the Japanese god of the residential ground. It is more popularly called *t'yöju-kali* or *taikam-chujöli* and is embodied in a pot of grains covered with a straw hood and placed mostly in the backyard or near the storage for pickles and soy sauce, the pot itself being called *t'öju-hanali*.²⁾ Some families have side by side with it several similar straw hoods, each containing a sacred pot for Öp. Öp are for the most part beneficial deities such as snakes or weasels, analogous to the Manchurian *mang-hsien* (snake) and *huang-hsien* (weasel).³⁾ Thus we see that the Korean spirits of the house, whether they are installed inside or outside of the house, are for the most part em-

1) The present writer, *The Family Festivals of Manchurian Shamanism*, (*The Study of Religion*, New Series Vol. I, No. I).

2) Asakawa, Takumi, *A Study of Korean China and Porcelain*, p. 24.

3) Clark, Ch., A., *Religions of Old Korea*, Ch. VI, Shamanism, VIII. I Nenghoa, *Korean Shamanism*, "Deities of the House."

Akamatsu, C., *Religious Traditions of Korean Shamanism*, "Deities of the House," (*The Study of Religion*, New Series Vol. I, No. I).

bodied in the form of a sacred pot. The crudeness of this form of worship is sufficient to mark it in contrast to the Confucian practice of consecrating in the family shrine wooden tablets inscribed with the names of deities, thus showing that they are of entirely different cultures. It will be concluded, therefore, that the very fact that a household with a family shrine of the Confucian tradition at the same time possesses sacred corners for the primitive spirits of the house reveals that the very physical structure of family life is culturally of a dual nature.

Now, for these primitive spirits of the house they have Shaman festivals such as *työisök-kut*, *chosang-kut*, *söngju-baji*, and *i'ökosa*, in addition to those more important forms ministered by professional Shamans for the welfare and prosperity of the family (Illustration I) and the simpler ones at which the house wife officiates as 'Family Shaman.' Male members are mostly left out of these rites nor do they generally concern themselves with them, viewing them with contempt. At any rate, we find here a body of female culture in the form of festivals of the spirits of the house as contrasted to man's culture embodied in the family ceremonies along the line of the Confucian doctrines, and we find therein the dual structure of the Korean family ceremonies in both social and cultural senses. As a typical case illustrative of this dual organization, I will take you to the household of a certain G in Hanheung, Hamkyöng-namto, and show the ways and traditions which govern the faiths of the family. The G family boasts of a high lineage in the neighborhood of Hanheung, living in an impressive mansion with over twenty rooms. The genealogical table is hung in the treasury room; the family shrine is installed in the 'chamber of the family shrine' adjacent to the great hall; and the equipment for worshiping the ancestors by Confucian formalities is kept in another ware-room next to the 'chamber of the family shrine.' At the same time, on the shelf of the store-room adjoining the kitchen are ensconced more than ten *chosang* pots and *chosang* baskets, four *kanji-toni* and *son-kak* boxes. These pots and osier baskets have found their way onto the shelf as the results of divinations on the illnesses of members of the family. The pots are dark unglazed earthen ware and the osier baskets contain unhulled rice, millet, hemp cloth, etc., each pot and osier basket being specified as a grandfather or grandmother of such and such a generation of the family line. *Son-kak* is believed to be the patron deity of the male, and actually one of those at the G family is a patron deity of the housemaster. The name of *kak*, which is an archaism for 'girl infant', indicates that it is a female deity. *Kanji* is also a female spirit, an ancestral spirit which accompanies a bride to the family into which she is married. Of the four *kanji-toni* at G's, three came from the homes of the three women who were married at various times into his family, and the other is said to be the spirit of a woman who was married off from his house and died later. In Seoul

district it is called *malmyöng-kanji*, or simply *malmyöng* for short. The practice there is to pack the sacred clothing in a box and have a Shaman take over its custody. Anyhow it is thought to be a female ancestral deity. In either case, it would seem, we sense an indication of matrilinear tendency.

The festivals of these crude ancestral or patron spirits are held annually on the seventh of July by the housewife herself or an old matron with good knowledge and experience is called in to assist. The Grand Festival called *chosang-kut* is held every five years. Upon this occasion professional Shamans add to the festivity of the occasion. The animals offered have been raised with great care specifically for this, being called *chosang* cow or *chosang* pig. The Shamanistic festival held in accordance with the divination on the sickness of a member of the family is called *kanji-puli*. There the housewife is the chief sponsor, with female relatives rallying to assist her. They prepare rice cake and other offerings, repair to the riverside of the Sönghe-kang, which runs through the outskirts of Hanheung, and hold a grand Shamanistic festival with songs and dances in which the housewife herself takes part. Thus we have seen the ways in which the ceremonies of ancestor worship at the G family divide themselves into two types—Confucian ceremonies administered by the male members and Shamanistic rites sponsored by the female members.¹⁾

Another important ceremony of the spirit of the house is *chisin-jöi*, the festival of the god of the residential grounds. It is celebrated from season to season each year. It is also a women's festival. Wise old dames and professional female Shamans are called in and joined by the women connected on the mother's side and the daughters who have been married off all come home to join in the festivity. The principal offerings are rice cakes, such as *talt'ök* (specifically, cake offered at the harvest moon) and *chöngpyöng* (steamed cake). A folding screen is set up along the kitchen wall above the *eundol* (central heating device described before). A table is placed before it with huge rice cakes piled one on top of another and stuck with willow sprigs decorated with small rice-cake cubes and flanked moreover by *talt'ök* stuck with millet stalks hung with paper slips. Then, the main room, front and back yards, gates, toilets, storerooms, and well—all receive simple offerings. Presumably that is a practice meant for the family welfare, corresponding to the festival of *T'ö-kosa* of Seoul area which, for example, is celebrated in some homes on the first and fifteenth of each month with the offering of unrefined wine. Again they celebrate the Grand Festival in spring and autumn. The autumn festival, in particular, which falls in October when

1) In Seoul and vicinity the spirits of the homestead are conceived as *chipsin* of the front-yard and of the backyard, but they have no ceremonies which go by the name of *chisin-jöi* (festival of the residential grounds), and the ceremony of *t'yökosa* prevails.

harvests are done,¹⁾ is carried out in the most grand style. The rites of thanksgiving and prayers for heavenly graces are preceded by such preparations as putting new straw hoods on the sacred pots, stretching sacred ropes hung with clean paper festoons, making steamed rice-flour cakes of new crop rice, preparing sacred wine, new fruit, and the *kosatoyajji* or *taikamotoyajji*, that is, the pig reared on purpose for this occasion. Yet it is not merely a festival of the god of the residential ground installed outside, but is dedicated to all the spirits and deities of the house as well as to the pots of *työisök*, *chosang*, and *söngju*. Therefore, not only the women's room and the great hall but also every other room, yard, gate, toilet, and well are presented with some kind of offering by the housewife herself with silent prayers. Sometimes professional female Shamans are employed to incant prayers and put on Shamanistic dances. All the same, it is exclusively of women's concern and on the evening when the ceremony is held, the male members are often seen to excuse themselves and leave the house to the women.

These ceremonies of the house gods are not only handed down from mother to daughter, mother-in-law to daughter-in-law in the same family, but are sometimes taken by its female members into other households into which they are married. This presents us with a totally different tradition from that of the Confucian ceremonies strictly transmitted through the male line of descent. Since the contemporary law of succession completely ignores these matrilinear ceremonies of the house which are mainly the concern of the female members only, they do not constitute objects of succession in the legal sense, yet as a social practice, this folk custom is governed by a fixed principle of succession, the rights of ceremony passing from mother to daughter, and from mother-in-law to-daughter-in-law.

1) October, called *sangtal*, is a holy month, and the festival of *Söngju* also is held in this month. The *Tongkuk Chronicles* say: "People call October *sangtal*, call in Shamans and invite God *Söngju*. They pray for peace and longevity of the family, offering rice-cake and fruit."