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KOREAN SHAMANISM: ITS COMPONENTS, CONTEXT, AND FUNCTIONS

A DISSERTATION

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DISSERTATION

KOREAN SHAMANISM: ITS COMPONENTS,

CONTEXT, AND FUNCTIONS

Korean shamanism corresponds in all essential elements to the classical form of shamanism found in the northern regions of East Asia from which the name shaman is assumed to have been derived. However, after analyzing the historico-cultural factors in the formation of Korean shamanism, this study shows that Korean shamanism has undergone a synthesis with aspects of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, resulting in mutual sharing and diversification which may be described as syncretistic. Due to these eclectic influences, and the manner in which it has accommodated itself to Korean society, Korean shamanism has assumed specialized forms of expression.

A primary objective of this research is to place Korean shamanism in a functional relationship to the socio-economic systems of Korean society. Considerable attention is given to the impact of foreign socio-religious influences upon Korean culture. Nevertheless, grounded as it is upon important foundational myths, Korean shamanism has helped to perpetuate a strong nationalistic sentiment in Korean society.

Closely related to the common concerns of society, Korean shamanistic ritualism, on a contingent basis or a calendrical basis, centers around several functionally discernible types of shamanistic practitioners. In turn, these shamans are divided into two distinct classes: those who enter the vocation by inspiration, the mutang, and those whose profession is considered to rest upon hereditary principles, the tangol. While these two classes of shamans often exist side by side, historical precedence has tended to confine their activities to distinct geographical areas of Korea.

Korea is considered to be a male oriented society; however, this study identifies certain factors which contribute to a marked female dominance in matters of shamanistic religious practice. Further, a comparison with two other shamanistic complexes, reveals a relatively low incidence of sorcery and witchcraft in Korean shamanism, and an attempt is made to explain why ideas of sorcery play such a minor part in Korean shamanism.

KOREAN SHAMANISM: ITS COMPONENTS,

CONTEXT, AND FUNCTIONS

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PREFACE

The intent of this study is to present a comprehensive account of Korean shamanism. In order to illuminate the subject and keep it within the anthropological perspective, interpretations of shamanism from the anthropological literature are incorporated when they make a contribution to the understanding of the subject.

Having lived in Korea for a period of eleven years, I have gained first-hand knowledge of Korean culture and command of the spoken and written Korean language. During the 1971-72 academic year I carried out a field study which centered on the nature of the shamanistic complex in Korea. This inquiry, therefore, is based on available literature in English and the Korean language, and on the results of field studies.

While empirical in nature, this study attempts to go beyond the merely descriptive and historical aspects. It explores the functions and functional relationships of Korean shamanism, the role of Korean shamanism with respect to the individual and society, and the nature and character of changes which have occurred within it over time.

In order to provide a systematic treatment and analysis of Korean shamanism, the study proceeds along the following lines:

Chapter I consists of a clarification of the terms used in connection with Korean shamanism and the shamanistic complex as found in the literature. The formation of Korean shamanistic concepts is analyzed through a review of the myths and legends which have some bearing on its development. Since contemporary shamanism in Korea cannot be understood without knowing something about the contributions to it of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, changes arising from contact with these three religious systems are considered, providing insights concerning diffusion and cultural dynamics.

Chapter II is devoted to a discussion of the Korean shamanistic cosmology and the pantheon of supernatural beings who are believed to traffic with mankind. The development of this pantheon is seen to relate closely to the basic needs of the Korean people and suggests a functional relationship of shamanism in human experience.

Chapter III identifies and classifies the various types of Korean shamanistic practitioners, their roles in society, and the regional variations which exist among them.

Chapter IV provides descriptions and interpretations of shamanistic rituals within the Korean cultural context. Many shamanistic rituals are born of crises, but the study indicates that seasonal rituals also play an important role.

In Chapter V an attempt is made to illuminate Korean shamanism by comparing its shamanistic techniques with similar shamanistic behavior found among two other societies

from widely separated regions, one the shamanism of the Nyoro, a Bantu-speaking people who live in western Uganda, and second, the shamanism of the Chiricahua Apache of the American Southwest.

Chapter VI focuses on certain distinctive features of Korean shamanism and offers theoretical considerations regarding their origin, functional nature, and persistence in Korean society.

I am happy to acknowledge a major debt to Dr. Stephen I. Thompson, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology. After reading one of my seminar papers on the subject, it was his original suggestion that Korean shamanism would be an appropriate subject for a doctoral dissertation.

Thanks are due to Dr. Joseph W. Whitecotton, not only for his constructive criticism of the manuscript, but for his initial persuasion that studies in cultural anthropology would provide me with unusual opportunities for professional and personal fulfillment.

I have been fortunate to have Dr. Richard A. Pailes of the Department of Anthropology, and Dr. Sidney D. Brown, Professor of History, as members of my committee. As a specialist in East Asian Studies, Doctor Brown has shown particular interest in my research project and has made valuable suggestions.

I wish to express my sense of obligation and my gratitude to Dr. Morris E. Opler, my Committee Chairman.

The care with which he has read and commented on the manuscript, his continual interest and support, and his insistence on accuracy and completeness have given me the direction and inspiration needed for completing this dissertation.

I welcome this opportunity to thank the many congenial Korean people who took me into their confidence and shared with me facts and insights concerning their culture and the hospitality of their homes.

My final acknowledgment is to my wife, Adeline Owens, translator, typist, and long-suffering companion, without whose support this project could not have been completed.

THE ROMANIZATION OF KOREAN WORDS

This work uses, with some modifications, the McCune-Reishauer system of transliteration of Korean words; however, diacritical and other marks provided under the system to differentiate the Korean pronunciation have been kept to a minimum. The sign ' indicates aspiration. Hyphens have been used in personal names and for setting apart words based upon Chinese characters with specific meanings rather than sounds. Personal names, unless the owner's preference indicates otherwise, follow the usual Korean pattern with the surname first and the given name last.

Pronunciation Guide

Consonants

k	As k of "kite"
kk	As g of "goal"
n	As n of "night"
t	As t of "tight"
r	As r of "radio"
l	As l of "live"
m	As m of "mine"
p	As p of "put"
s	As s of "sit"
sh	As sh of "shall"
ng	As ng of "sang"
ch	As ch of "Charles"
j	As j of "jar"
ch'	More aspirate than ch of "church"
k'	More aspirate than c of "cow"
t'	More aspirate than t of "tea"
p'	More aspirate than p of "pea"
h	As h of "hot"

g	As g of "go"
d	As d of "dog"
b	As b of "bad"
ss	As ss of "Mussolini"
tch	As tch of "pitch"

Vowels

a	As a of "father"
ya	As ya of "yacht"
o	Between u of "put" and u of "hut"
oo	As oo in "boo"
u	As ue in "true"
i	As i in "sit"

Dipthongs

ae	As a of "sat"
yae	As ya of "yam"
ue	As ee of "sweet"
e	Between e of "set" and ai of "air"
ye	As yea of "oh Yeah"
oe	Close to eu of French "peur"
oe	As we of "wet"

CHAPTER I

THE FORMATION OF KOREAN SHAMANISM

Korea is often referred to as a Buddhist or Confucian nation, permeated with the influence of Taoism. These three religious systems are said to compose the "three legs of the kettle" of Korean thought. They have all received a good deal of attention by both Korean and Western scholars. However, there is yet another religious system in Korea which has not received much attention but which has maintained a consistent and enduring place in the society through the centuries. This is a religion that is known as mu, mutang, musok or shinkyo in Korean and which is easily distinguished from the more formal and structured religious systems. The best English equivalent for the Korean term mu is, for reasons that will be made clear, "shamanism." Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are indigenous movements of the East, each with a long history in Korea. Shamanism has been present in Korea for as long or longer. Syncretism has taken place through time, with mutual sharing and significant modifications occurring as a result of these contacts.

A Korean educator has made the statement that "Modern science and popular education have expelled shamanism from the lives of the people to a great extent" (Yu, 1970:295).

In contrast to this opinion, Mr. Lee Choon-wha, a reporter for the Korea Times, writes, "Some 60,000 shamans, unofficially estimated at 200,000 in Korea, are still available to cure the sick, soothe the spirits of the dead, and summon good spirits for your household" (Lee, Korea Times, Dec. 11, 1966:4).[1] In another article in the Times, Mr. Nam Johng-ho reports that there are over 1,000 shamans active in Seoul alone. Mr. Nam also asserts that in a survey by Dr. Kim Kwang-il, a psychiatrist, it was found that 39.6 percent of the residents of the Seoul outskirts depend entirely upon shamans to cure diseases when members of the family fall ill or are involved in some mishap (Nam, Korea Times, Feb. 14, 1971:6). Such evidence indicates that shamanism has a significant place in Korean society and is important enough to merit study and consideration.

The origin of shamanism in Korea is uncertain. It is often assumed that universal components of culture rest upon some basic physical or psychological needs which are common to all mankind. Whatever cultural elaboration of form these universals take, they apparently persist because they serve to fulfill certain needs inherent in all mankind (Malinowski, 1931:621-646). When culture traits of geographically isolated societies manifest similar themes and components without identifiable intersocietal diffusion of those elements, it seems reasonable to suppose that similar circumstances may have produced similar results (Norbeck, 1961:14).

Where diffusion may be substantiated, the question of origins moves to the issues inherent in culture change. Eliade has concluded that it is difficult to determine the origin of Korean shamanism because of the diversity of its expressions throughout the Korean peninsula (Eliade, 1964:462). Lee Jung-young concurs by saying that the difficulty lies primarily in its complexity. "The diversification of shamanistic practices according to different provinces makes it difficult to find the unifying source of its origin" (Lee, 1973a:135). In discussing the "origins" of the Korean people, Sohn Pow-key declares that this matter is yet to be settled by further scientific research, but "the prevalence of shamanism, bear cult, sun cult, and ancestor worship reveals the link with the cultures of Central Asia, Siberia, and Manchuria" (Sohn, 1970:6). While these resemblances are suggestive, they must still be regarded as tentative until more evidence and comparative studies become available.[2] Concerning the origin of shamanism in Korea, the data for formulating a verifiable hypothesis are lost in an ancient past from which no reliable techniques for recovering them are available at present. Moreover, Korean shamanism has undergone a synthesis with Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, resulting in a diversification which may be described as syncretistic (Hulbert, 1906:403). This syncretism compounds the difficulty in tracing origins through an investigation of contemporary

forms of Korean shamanism. The paucity of detailed ethnographic accounts of Korean shamanism precludes speculation as to origin of this religious system within the geographical and cultural context of Korean society. Lacking data, any attempt to make absolute statements regarding origin seems premature. However, the issue of origin is neither crucial nor primary in this study of contemporary shamanism in Korea.

In discussing shamanism as a research subject, Gustav Ränk makes the following observation:

> But ethnology and the study of religion are not only a sort of historical account, in which the primary objective is the question of origin and development. Equally important in research is the functionalistic view-point which when we investigate details helps us not lose sight of the structural unity. All our efforts would be in vain if we were not able to place shamanism in a functional relationship with human existence in its widest sense, that is, with its social-economic system and religious ideas. Without such a holistic view of the matter, the question of origin and development is left floating in a theoretical vacuum, lacking any contact with reality (Ränk, 1967:21).

Even if the factors which gave rise to Korean shamanism were clearly known and understood, much else of greater importance about the system would remain unclear without the holistic approach and the application of the concept of culture (Durkheim, 1961:20). Korean shamanism, like culture itself, consists of rather systematic patterns of beliefs, values, and behavior. These patterns may be regarded as systematic because their manifestations are regular in occurrence and expression. They are understood and

shared by great numbers of Korean people. However, regularity is not to be confused with uniformity. There are some important differences in manifestation and practice within the total shamanistic complex which often reflect historical and geographical elements as well as interpretation of principles.

Korean Language Equivalents for Shamanism

At this point it seems necessary to clarify our understanding of shamanism in Korea in its cultural context. The origin of Korean literature seems to have been in the songs used in the early religious festivals. Yi Ha-yun observes:

> At the beginning and end of the cultivation season sacrifices were offered to heaven at which ecstatic songs were sung, and we surmise that in these songs lie the roots of Korean literature.
>
> However, for various reasons, we have no texts on which to base our knowledge of these early songs. Before the rise of any sense of nationality there was no form of writing, and time has obliterated any possible traces of such songs, except for a few precious references in the ancient Chinese chronicles (Yi, 1963:23).

It appears clear that shamanism existed in Korean culture prior to the infiltration of Chinese culture, and that the Koreans possessed the capabilities and terms necessary to perpetuate the system. However, the impact of Chinese culture on the peninsula was extensive. During the period of Chinese history known as the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220), the Chinese writing system had

progressed from simple pictographs of the Shang period into an elaborate writing system (Mintz, 1972:10). It was this Han writing system that spread to Korea and Japan. The "Three Kingdoms" (Silla, Koguryo and Paekje) were being developed in Korea during the Han period.[3] The early Koreans and Japanese who were yet to develop literature of their own appropriated the Chinese characters for written expression of their thought. Most Korean scholars agree that the Korean language belongs to the Altaic family together with Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungus (Kim, 1963:6). Korean, an "agglutinative" Altaic language, contrasts sharply with the tonal and non-inflecting Chinese, in spite of the close geographical proximity. This linguistic difference has been one of the major elements in maintaining the cultural distinctiveness between the Koreans and the Chinese (Joe, 1972:108-109). Korea developed its own distinctive syllabary under the tutelage of the talented King Sejong in 1443, and it was promulgated in 1446. It is now known as han-geul, and consists of 28 phonetic symbols.[4]

Not having their own letters or characters for writing purposes, when the Chinese characters were introduced into Korea the ancient Korean people immediately made use of these alien writing symbols to record their own language. They took advantage of the pronunciation and the meaning of a Chinese character to represent what the modern Koreans describe with han-geul. Idu and hyangchal were two systems

for writing Korean words by means of Chinese characters devised by the ancient Korean people. Hyangchal is a system that requires all Korean words to be written in Chinese characters, while idu describes substantive words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives in Chinese characters in their proper meaning but has relatives and adverbs put in Korean phoneticized Chinese characters which have nothing to do with their proper meaning. The idu had greater general use than hyangchal, especially in the various official letters of the government (Kim, 1963:11).

In identifying shamanism, the Koreans generally use the Chinese derived character mu (pronounced wu in Chinese). Etymologically, mu means "one who performs miracles" or "the performance of miracles" (Lee, 1973a:136). Charles Allen Clark translated the Chinese character mu as "deceiving" (Clark, 1932:184).[5] Apparently among the Chinese, the concept wu must be of very ancient vintage. Noss says that the "aboriginal Chinese wu (shamans), like their counterparts in central Asia, attracted or exorcised the spirits or visited them in trance states induced by dancing, drugs, and incantations" (Noss, 1969:257). It appears that this single term alone was used to designate shamanism in the earliest writings (Park, 1970:13). However, at a much later date, the word tang was added, resulting in the combination of two Chinese characters, mutang. When and why the word tang was added to the mu in the development

of Korean shamanism is uncertain. From a purely historical point of view, there is a Chinese document, the San Hai Kyen (written during the 1st century A.D.), which mentions the existence of a cult called mu in the Paiktu San (White-topped Mountain) area located on the northern tip of the Korean peninsula. The term mu appears again in one of the earliest Korean documents, the Samkuk-Saki (History of the Three Kingdoms), which was written in the 12th century A.D. In that account, King Ruri of Koguryo calls a priest designated Mu to find out the cause of his illness (as quoted in Lee, 1973:136 and Park, 1970:13). The term mutang appears for the first time in the third year of the reign of King Kyong-yang of the Koryo Dynasty (A.D. 1391). In a passage from the history of the Koryo Dynasty, a minister reports to the king, "From the beginning of your kingdom a religious temple has been introduced into the palace of Your Majesty and without intermission sacrifices are offered. Now this Mutang transgresses and disturbs all things . . ." (as quoted by Park, 1970:13). From that point on during the Yi Dynasty, the use of mutang prevailed over the word mu. Park identifies the word tang with "temple," but there are two other words more commonly used for temple, jyul and sa. Lee Jung-young seems more correct when he says that tang refers to an altar rather than a temple (Lee, 1973a:136), but the evidence is not conclusive. Throughout Korea, on the hills behind some

villages, one can find crudely built sheds which are called tang-chip (altar house or shrine). It is the altar that is central, for it is there that the spirits meet the shaman. It is possible that the location of the shamanistic altar came to be identified with a shaman herself, for the Chinese characters for mutang applies to the altar or shrine of the mu or shaman (Ibid.).

The Origin of Korean Shamanism

Thus far we have been assuming that the term mutang is based upon the Chinese character wu. This may not be the case at all, but instead it may be a unique Korean word to indicate a shaman. The word mutang might possibly be derived from the Ural-Altaic people who called the female shaman utyyan or udayan (Hastings, 1928:441). It is difficult to resolve this issue at this time due to lack of data. However, it seems obvious that shamanism in Korea must have been in existence much earlier than the first Chinese contact. Kija (in Chinese, Ch'i Tzu) is said to have migrated from China in 1122 B.C. and to have brought with him the literature of China as well as its music, ceremonial forms, medicine, magic, and fortune-telling. Clark says that the religious practices brought by Kija mingled with the aboriginal shamanism of the Koreans (Clark, 1932:176).[6] A tentative resolution of this issue may lie in recognizing that the ancient

religion of shamanism in Korea was assigned a Chinese character wu because of similarities in the concept. There are also other general terms used to designate shamanism in Korea. Some of these are shinkyo (religion of the spirits), mishin (belief in spirits), and musok (custom or system of shamanism). There is a sense in which shinkyo refers to a generalized system or religion on the one hand, and the mutang complex which has a subtle but specialized tradition on the other. Shinkyo may be considered to be animism in the sense in which E. B. Tylor used it when he writes, ". . . all nature is possessed, pervaded, crowded with spiritual beings" (Tylor, 1871:185). At the same time, in the shinkyo tradition there is a veneration of sacred mountains and the sun. Many Korean scholars insist that the veneration of the sun was one of the earliest expressions of Korean religious life. Professor Paul Y. U. Park reports the findings by archeologists in the Paiktu Mountain range of the vestiges of ancient temples dedicated to the "God of Heaven" and the "God of the Sun" (Park, 1970:14-15).

Max Müller held the view that religion sprang from the spontaneous emotional reactions of wonder, awe, and fear evoked in many by natural phenomena such as the sun and the moon (Müller, 1856:1-87). Although these natural phenomena do not universally evoke the same religious

attitudes, the sun is a prominent theme in Korean folklore and shamanism.[7]

Kyung Cho-chung equates shinkyo with shamanism when he says, "Shamanism [Shinkyo] signifies one God [Hanunim], which embraces the idea of one supreme mind" (Chung, 1961: 53). Lee Jung-young says that "faith in Hanunim or the Heavenly King is the most important characteristic of Shinkyo or traditional shamanism" (Lee, 1973a:152). Park suggests that the earliest Koreans were monotheistic, and had a concept of a "high god" which preceded, and later co-existed with and mingled with shamanism (Park 1970:15). Kim Deuk-whang asserts that the essence of shinkyo is the belief that the "heavenly god" is the highest of all gods, but because this faith did not always contribute directly to the solution of such problems as poverty and disease, there arose an uneasiness within Korean society over this national faith (Kim, 1963:1-17). Shamanism gained popularity among the masses because it dealt with these practical issues. This is highly significant because Hananim, who is generally regarded as the supreme supernatural by the Korean people, does not figure as an important part of the cult of the mutang. Noss notes that quite often so-called high gods are not deeply involved with the daily lives of the people, and for that reason primitive peoples are not too concerned about them. They are in the nature of a deistic postulate rather than an ever-present religious

reality (Noss, 1969:26-33). Korean scholars like Kim Deuk-whang seem to recognize that shinkyo is much broader than shamanism, although shamanism is regarded as being intrinsic to the shinkyo system (Kim, 1963:1-17). Lee Jung-young believes that the "cult of the Mutang" is a deteriorated form of shamanism in the Korean tradition (Lee, 1973a:139). These two Korean scholars indicate that shamanism in the mutang tradition is grounded in the ancient animism of Korea, but elaboration has taken place over time to such a dimension that the two movements appear to take on distinct orientations. A Japanese scholar suggests how this may have developed:

> From records contained in the Samguk Yusa (Reminiscences of the Three Kingdoms) or from present-day practices of shamanism, it is safely concluded that Korea's shamanism during the period from the neolithic age to the establishment of the Three Kingdoms was based upon animism or pre-animism (mana) which recognized the spirit as a supernatural being. The ancients must have thought that their happiness or welfare depended solely upon a supernatural power emanating from the spirit and, in an effort to control the spirit, they needed magic and taboos. As these means became complicated, there emerged a shaman whose role it was as a professional to act as an intermediary between his helpless compatriots and the super-natural being, as a conjurer expelling devils, as a physician curing diseases, as a fortune-teller, or as a foreseer (Miyoji, 1963:7).

This statement presents a point of view that may not only account for matters of development and elaboration but also for the persistence of shamanism in Korea. The functions of shamans were usually directed toward practical ends. They sought to extend control over nature, disease,

and a spirit-world which often contained malevolent spirits.

Origin Myths of Korean Shamanism

One approach to a study of a religious system is through its myths or legends. In many instances this is the only literature available to the ethnologist, particularly among nonliterate people. Myths are generally composite creations, and normally embody the accretions of many generations. Modifications through borrowing from other cultures, or by intra-cultural changes as a result of innovating individuals within the group do occur, but they endure as a part of the social heredity of a society (Kluckhohn, 1942:79). By selecting a few well-known and reliable myths or legends, and by analyzing them in their historical and cultural contexts, it is possible to throw some light on the formation of Korean shamanism. In resorting to a study of the myths in the formation of Korean shamanism, we are not discussing the issue of whether the myths developed to justify rituals or rituals developed as enactments of myths. Kluckhohn has shown that there is a tendency for the two processes to be intricately interrelated and to have important functional connections with the social and psychological life of a particular people (Kluckhohn, 1942:144-158).

There are many different legends or myths dealing

with the origin and formation of Korean shamanism, especially those which pertain to the mutang or female shaman.[8] There are variants of the same stories, but a consistency with regard to some of the more important points. Some of these stories are retold in the chants and pantomimes of the present-day shamans in certain phases or steps of their ritual. One of them deals with a "Holy Mother" as the ancestress of all female shamans. The story of the Sungmo or Chunwang (Holy Mother or Heavenly Goddess or Queen) is connected with a man by the name of Bupu-Whasang. It is generally held that this man was a Buddhist priest who lived in the Kowumchun temple on Mt. Chiri during the middle of the Silla Dynasty. One day as Bupu-Whasang was taking a walk near the temple, he suddenly saw a mountain brook overflowing with water and becoming a mountain torrent, even though no rain was falling. Becoming curious, the monk climbed up the mountain to seek the source of the water and was suddenly confronted by a giant woman. The woman told the priest that she was none other than the Heavenly Queen. Casting a spell over the priest, and assuming the form of a human being, she induced Bupu-Whasang to marry her. The marriage took place after they had resorted to the techniques of divination performed with water.[9] The couple bore eight daughters who were instructed in the various techniques of shamanism, and were taught to praise the Amida Buddha and to call upon the name of Bupu-Whasang.

Each daughter went to one of the eight provinces of Korea to establish herself as the founder of shamanism there (from Lee Neung-wha's Chosen Musock Ko [Studies in Korean Shamanism] as quoted in Lee Jung-young, 1973:139, and from Kim Ick-dal, 1970:295). Lee Neung-wha further indicates that this "Holy Mother" is the "Holy Mother of Heavenly King," or the Goddess of Mt. Chiri. Many of the mountains of Korea have become personified deities, and are visited regularly by Korean people in quest of some spiritual aid. Mt. Chiri in South Kyungsang Province is one of the most sacred mountains. (Ibid.) In this legend we note the symbol of the mountain and the fact that the "Holy Mother" was divine before becoming human. She also taught her daughters the art of shamanism. These factors give possible credence to the assertion by Akiba Tokashi that the founder of shamanism in Korea was a woman (Akiba, 1963:7). There has been a definite tendency among shamans to consider that their profession was inherited mainly through the maternal line, though this is not totally true for the Cheju Island Province where the male shaman is given a more important place. In the "Holy Mother" story there is a reference to the Amida Buddha, and the fact that Bupu-Whasang was a Buddhist priest. These factors indicate that the story is recent or has changed since Buddhism made its appearance in Korea. Buddhism was introduced to the Koguryo Dynasty from China about A.D. 372, and since it seems certain that

shamanism was a force in Korea much before that time, it seems apparent that syncretism has taken place.

Another story has to do with a princess who became the precursor of shamanism in Korea, especially as it pertains to the mutang. Again it differs according to different areas of the country, but it is one of the most popular and best-known stories among the mutang. In the Kyung-gi Province, where Seoul is located, this legend is known as the story of Awhang-Kongchu or the princess of Yao, whose father is believed to have reigned in China during the period 2357-2255 B.C. This princess is reported to have had unusual power in prayer and intercession for her country. Because of her prayers, China often enjoyed peace and prosperity, and many national disasters were averted. Since the King was aware of her power, he sent her among the people to assist them in any way she could. Her fame became so great that the people gradually came to look upon her as an object of worship. Soon altars were erected and dedicated to her by her followers. Some of these followers sought to continue her helpful work by giving themselves to the practice of shamanism. Women became her most notable followers. Thus, in this story the founder of the mutang cult was a princess of a mythical King of China.[10] The princess of Yao is honored at seasonal occasions by the people of Chungchun Province. At these times, the mutang wears the yellow and red costume which

is regarded as Awhang-Kongchu's robe. However, in the Chungchun area, the princess is most often regarded as the daughter of a Koryo King rather than the off-spring of Yao in China (Lee, 1973:140).

There is a modification of the same story in which the princess is known as Pali-Kongchu. In the northern provinces of Korea she is known as Chil-Kongchu or "Seventh Princess." In other areas she is referred to as Mama-Kongchu or the spirit who controls the disease of smallpox. Smallpox has always been a very dread disease in Korea, quite often fatal, and always blemishing the individual who survives. The story of Pali-Kongchu not only appeals to the shamanistic complex in Korea, but contains the motif of one of the best-loved stories of the country. It is the story of a rejected princess.[11] According to this tale there was a king who did not have a son to be his heir, he had only daughters. When the seventh daughter was born he became so angry that he placed her in a stone box and cast her in a pond. However, "Heaven" sent a Dragon King to rescue her from the pond and take her to heaven. When the daughter was about fourteen years of age, she came down to earth and learned that her mother was critically ill. She went far away to the Western sky and brought medicine water which saved her mother from death. She had acquired the sacred water by slaving nine years for the god Majong. She had spent three years

carrying water, three years making fire, and three years gathering firewood. Because of her sacrifice, the grateful king offered her lands and beautiful jewels, but she declined them all in order to become the goddess Mansin Sinju (the mistress of ten thousand spirits). In this story the medicine water or yaksu represents shamanistic power. In fact, the princess is often identified with the spirit of this medicine water. Thus, people frequently visit a spring of medicinal properties to bathe and listen to the running water as though it were the voice of the princess.[12]

In South Kyungsang Province the princess is known as Kongsim. According to the legend in this area, the princess went insane. She was expelled from the palace and came to Nam-san (South Mountain) in Seoul. Because her conduct disturbed so many people in Seoul, the king decided to send her off with a maid and enough food to reach the highest peak of the Diamond Mountain which is located in the northern Kangwon Province. In a dream she had a vision of a crane with blue and white wings which flew directly into her mouth. She closed her mouth tightly so that the crane could not escape. Later she conceived and gave birth to twin boys as a result of impregnation by the crane. The twin boys grew up and became famous ministers in her father's court. Both of them married and each had four daughters. All eight of these girls became mutangs and

were sent in different directions to assist the people through healing and teaching. Because of the mighty works of these mutang, the rejected princess, their grandmother, was honored as a progenitor of all mutang. In this legend, the number eight and the eight girls represent the eight provinces of Korea and account for the presence of shamanism all over the country. The story also illustrates the important role of women in Korean shamanism.

Another story has to do with a princess who went insane as a result of some illness. Her name became Kongsim. The father called all of the well-known doctors of his kingdom to treat her, but there was no apparent cure for the unfortunate princess. Finally, the father confined her to a room with drawn dark curtains so that no one would notice her odd behavior. Kongsim remained alone in the room except for a maid who was to take care of her personal needs, and occupied herself with prayers and meditation. The maid, inspired by the devotion and prayers of Kongsim, learned to pray herself. Later the maid began going out among the people and provided many benefits to the people by her prayers. The King, recognizing the spiritual power of his daughter, released her from confinement. Through the maid, shamanism was spread throughout the country, and the princess Kongsim was honored as the ancestress of all mutang. In this story there is the emphasis on women and on Kongsim's strange behavior during a time of illness

which would not respond to ordinary cures (Lee, 1973a:143-144). The significance of some of these factors will be discussed later in a summary of these legends.

We conclude this section on the myths and legends of Korea which contribute to our understanding of Korean shamanism with the story of Tan'gun, the mythical founder of Korea. The story of Tan'gun was transmitted by word of mouth for many generations before it was finally recorded in the Samguk Yusa (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea) and the book of the Buddhist monk Ilyon, which was written toward the end of the 13th century A.D.[13] This work has been translated by Ha Tae-Hung and Grafton K. Mintz into the English language. The Tan'gun story that follows is taken from this English version:

> In ancient times Hwan-in (Heavenly King, Chesok or Sakrodeveendra) had a young son whose name was Hwa-ung. The boy wished to descend from heaven and live in the human world. His father, after examining three great mountains, chose T'aebaek-san (The Myohyang Mountains in north Korea) as a suitable place for his heavenly son to bring happiness to human beings. He gave Hwan-ung three heavenly treasures, and commanded him to rule over his people.
>
> With three thousand of his loyal subjects Hwang-ung descended from heaven and appeared under a sandalwood tree on T'aebaek Mountain. He named the place Sin-si (City of God) and assumed the title of Hwang-ung Ch'onwang (another title meaning heavenly king). He led his ministers of wind, rain and clouds in teaching the people more than 360 useful arts, including agriculture and medicine, inculcated moral principles and imposed a code of law.
>
> In those days there lived a she-bear and a tigress in the same cave. They prayed to Sin-ung (another name of Hwan-ung) to be blessed with incarnation as human

> beings. The king took pity on them and gave them each a bunch of mugwort and twenty pieces of garlic, saying, 'If you eat this holy food and do not see the sunlight for one hundred days, you will become human beings.'
>
> The she-bear and the tigress took the food and ate it, and retired into the cave. In twenty-one days the bear, who had faithfully observed the king's instructions, became a woman. But the tigress, who had disobeyed, remained in her original form.
>
> But the bear-woman could find no husband, so she prayed under the sandalwood tree to be blessed with a child. Hwan-ung heard her prayers and married her. She conceived and bore a son who was called Tangun Wanggom, the King of Sandalwood.
>
> In the fiftieth year of the reign of T'ang Kao (legendary Chinese emperor Yao, traditional date some time before 2000 B.C.) in the year of Kyong-in (if it was Kyong-in, it must be the 23rd year) Tangun came to P'yongyang (now Songyong), set up his royal residence there and bestowed the name Chosun upon his kingdom.
>
> Later Tangun moved his capital to Asadal on T'aebaek-san and ruled 1500 years, until King Wu of Chou (ancient Chinese dynasty) placed Kija on the throne (traditional date 1122 B.C.). When Kija arrived, Tangun moved to Chantangkyon and then returned to Asadal, where he became a mountain god at the age of 1,908 (Ha and Mintz, 1972:32-33).

Ilyon recorded this account of the Tan'gun myth during the 13th century A.D. at a time when the myth was used to foster Korean national identity in the cultural struggle with the Mongols. However, the essentials of the story are illustrated in carved stone reliefs on the walls of a shrine of the Wu clan of Chia-hsiang in Santung, China. The work was done during the Han Dynasty in an area which in prehistoric times belonged to the same cultural region as Korea. The dates for the Han Dynasty are 206 B.C. to A.D. 220. This means that the Tan'gun story existed at least a millenium earlier than Ilyon (Han, 1970:16, and Rutt, 1972:323). Thus the Tan'gun legend is very old.

According to some ancient Korean writings, Tan'gun was born on the third day of the tenth month in the year 2457 B.C., and from that day he traveled throughout the country teaching the people about god and the laws regarding human relations. On the same day of the month in the year 2333 B.C., or exactly 125 years after his birth, Tan'gun founded the Korean nation. For many centuries the Koreans have considered October 3rd as "World-Opening Day." It is still an occasion for worshipping Heaven and one's ancestors.

After the Republic of Korea was liberated from the Japanese in 1945, the nation adopted the calendar of Tanki, which started from the year of the national foundation by Tan'gun in 2333 B.C. The present calendar of Korea recognizes both this system and the Gregorian calendar of the West. For instance, the year 1974 A.D. is Tanki 4307. October 3rd is National Founder's Day (An, 1963:9-10). In many respects, the Tan'gun legend may be compared with the Jimmu Tenno legend of Japan.[14] The Tan'gun legend is under serious study by a number of Korean scholars and by leaders of such religious sects as the Tae-Jong-Gyo, an organization in which Tan'gun is a central figure. On the national level, the legend has a bearing on the identity quest of the Korean people, who feel that their own long and rich history has been greatly neglected as a result of living under the shadow of China and Japan. Such contemporary nativistic Korean religious movements

as the Tae-Jong-Gyo consider Tan'gun to be the founder and great teacher of their indigenous faith. It is possible that Tan'gun commemorates a culture hero of neolithic times, but the dates regarding him are more likely a simple matter of an emulous desire for national identity. The question here is not a matter of trying to establish a reality behind the myth, but to place the figure of Tan'gun in the shinkyo and shamanistic complex characterized by the mutang.

The meaning of Tan'gun's name can only be conjectured at this point. As now written in Chinese characters, it means either "sandalwood-king" or "altar king," but the first syllable may be a translation of a non-Chinese word meaning "nation." Some have suggested that Tan'gun is a transliteration of an Altaic word meaning "shaman king." There is a large stone altar on the south end of Mari Mountain on Kangwha Island where Tan'gun is supposed to have held shamanistic rites. In some forms of the Tan'gun story, he is not the progenitor of the Korean people, but a divinely appointed ruler and lawgiver. In other accounts, he is born of the granddaughter of "Heavenly King" (Hananim rather than by a bear-mother. The traces of a bear cult in the story suggest either a special relationship to the bear or a reverence for the bear as an earth god (because it hibernates in the winter, but comes to life in the spring), and links prehistoric Koreans with other people of northeast Asia.

In the story, the tigress failed to remain in the cave for the allotted period of time, possibly because it is not the nature of a tiger to hibernate in caves and eat vegetables. But the tiger figures rather prominently in Korean shamanism. The San-shin (Mountain Spirit) is one of the most lovable supernaturals identified with Korean shamanism. His picture is often painted on the outside walls of Buddhist temples or shrines, and he is always accompanied by a tiger. The Buddhists have found it beneficial to incorporate "the old man of the mountains and his tiger" into their own religious system. Of course, in the Tan'gun story, it is the bear which is most prominent, and the reverence for the tiger arose at a later stage of shamanistic development. The reverence for the bear spirit among the peoples of Siberia and the Ainu of northern Japan is well-known. Moreover, there is a myth among the Ainu which is very similar to the Tan'gun story, as the following version of it demonstrates:

> In very ancient times there lived two people who were husband and wife. The husband one day fell ill, and soon after died, leaving no children, so the poor wife was left quite alone. Now it happened to have been decreed that the woman was at some future time to bear a son. When the people saw that the time for the child was right at hand, some said, 'surely this woman has married again. . . But the woman herself said that it was a miracle.' And the following is an account of the matter: 'One evening there was a sudden appearance in which I was sitting. He who came to me had the external form of a man, and was dressed in black clothing. And turning in my direction he said . . . 'O woman, I have one word to say to you, so please pay attention. I am the god possessed mountains (i.e., a

> bear), and not a human kind at all, though I have now appeared to you in bodily form of a man. The reason of my coming is this. Your husband is dead, and you are left in a very lonesome condition. I have seen this and come to inform you that you will bear a child. He will be my gift to you. When he is born you will no longer be lonely, and when he is grown up, he will be great, rich and eloquent.' After saying this he left me.' By and by this woman bore a son, who in time really became a mighty hunter as well as a great, rich and eloquent man. He also became the father of many children. Thus it happens that many Ainu who dwell among the mountains are to this day said to be descended from a bear. They belong to the bear clan, and are called Kimun Kimui sanikire, i.e. 'descendent of the bear' ([as related by Kim Joe-won in his Dan-Gun Sinwhahe Sin-Yunku] An Investigation of the Tangun Folkstory, and quoted by Lee Jung-young, 1973:156-157).

This myth of the Ainu has much in common with the story of Tan'gun. Even though such cross-cultural similarities suggest the common influence of Siberian shamanism, just how extensive it was remains to be determined. In any event, the myth of Tan'gun is not unique, and its basic orientation seems to be well within the Siberian complex of shamanism. Lee Jung-young insists that the traditional shamanism of Korea, or shinkyo, which is based on the myth of Tan'gun, is more than just shamanism or the cult of the mutang. He maintains that the mutang represent a radically deteriorated form of the national faith of Hananim as a result of the influence of Taoism which came to Korea at the end of the Koguryo Kingdom in the middle of the 7th century A.D. (Lee, 1973a:157-158). Let us attempt to make some observations concerning the myths or legends dealing with the development of Korean shamanism and the mutang.

Common Themes in Foundation Myths

In all of these stories which we have reviewed, there is an implication that the progenitors of the mutang were not self-styled practitioners, but mediums or intermediaries of the highest form of spirits. In the story of Chil-Kongchu, she was rescued by the "Heavenly King" (Haneul) and carried to a heavenly place. She later came down to earth as a mutang, with the power to restore her mother's health. She did not have this power until after her "celestial journey." The phenomenon of the celestial journey or power "quest" are common motifs in the shamanistic complex (Eliade, 1970:127). We also notice the significance of the "Heavenly King" in the story of the "Holy Woman" at Mt. Chiri. She appeared at the top of a mountain, which had the divine title of "Heavenly King," and called herself the "Holy Mother" of the "Heavenly King." She became a human being and married according to directions set forth in a divination ritual, and gave birth to eight girls who became mutang. Again, in this story, the mutang are regarded as direct descendants of the "Heavenly King." In the story of Awhang-Kongchu we observe that the prayers of this princess were used to protect her people from disease and suffering. She was also acknowledged as a factor in the peace and prosperity of her people. Thus we see another characteristic theme and function of Korean shamanism; the shamans are not only direct descendants

of the heavenly spirits, but they carry out helpful and beneficial deeds for the people.

Another characteristic, which is also related to the first, is the royal origin of the mutang and her male counterpart, the pansoo. In Korean society, the mutang and pansoo are regarded as representatives of the lowest class of people. In general, they are looked upon with some disfavor by the average Korean. Of course, many of them rise above this disdain by the very impact of their services in society. In the stories just noted, the shamans are usually descendants of divine or noble people, and, as a consequence, should rightfully enjoy a rather high status in society. That this is denied them may account for an air of arrogance and condescension often displayed by the shamans as they perform ritual for the people. They demand, and usually receive, a rather generous honorarium for their services. They insist on the respect and reward they feel is owed them.

A third characteristic of the mutang complex has to do with the close association with mountains. As we have already noted, the "Holy Mother" was identified with Mt. Chiri. The outcast princess went to the South Mountain first, and finally made her way to the Diamond Mountain where, in her dream, she conceived her twin sons by the crane. The close relationship between mountains and the mutang is further demonstrated by the fact that shamanistic

altars or shrines are located on the mountainsides. Specific mountains have become well known because they are closely associated with spirits and shamanistic altars. Annually thousands of Koreans visit the large altar that has been erected on a peak of Mt. Mari on Kang-wha Island where Tan'gun is supposed to have erected an altar and worshipped. Some of the mountains have been assigned female names, such as Mt. Sungmo (Holy Mother), Mt. Mo. (Mother), Mt. Dalmo (Great Mother), Mt. Jamo (Benevolent Mother), Mt. Sunnyu (Good Woman) and Mt. Nogo (Old Dame) (Kim Chol-choon, 1963:8).

A fourth characteristic of these legends is the predominance of women. In nearly every case it is not men but women who become the ancestors of the mutang, and these are royal or very famous women. The number of female shamans (mutang) has always been greater than the number of male shamans (pansoo). It must also be observed that the pansoo often dress as women while performing certain rituals. However, this is not unique to the pansoo, for the mutang also practice what appears to be transvestism. Korean society is decidedly male-oriented, which makes this phenomenon all the more interesting. There are some scholars who assumed from the Tan'gun myth that there existed in ancient times a matriarchal or matrilineal society in Korea (Ha Tae-Hung and Grafton K. Mintz, 1971: 17-18). The interchange of dress, or sex, between men and

women is an obscure and complex problem. It seems unlikely that any single solution would be applicable to all cases. Czaplicka prefers to call this phenomenon "change of dress" rather than "change of sex" in some cases. "Change of sex" is found chiefly among the Palaeo-Siberians (Czaplicka, 1914:248). There may be some genetic relationship between the shamanism of Siberia and Korean shamanism in this particular regard. Clark refers to small round disks of iron which are sewn on a male shaman's dress. These are supposed to represent a woman's breasts (Clark, 1932:183). It may well be that Korean shamans of earlier times obtained this practice from the Yakut shaman of Siberia, but this practice is not referred to in the recent Korean literature nor does it appear in the ritual of the shaman in these days. With regard to the iron ornaments of Siberia, Czaplicka says, "In modern times, there are no longer any 'magical smiths' to make these magic iron ornaments, so new shamanistic garments cannot now be made" (Czaplicks, 1914: 199). It seems clear that the mutang of Korea dresses in a man's costume only when she is playing the role of the particular male spirit or cultural hero during a specific phase of her koot (rite or séance). When she changes to the uniform of an ancient warrior-general, she is playing the role of this figure in order to impress both the spirits with whom she has to communicate, and those who are observing the ritual. The costume announces the incarnation of the

mythical person or cultural hero. As Eliade describes this, "For its part, the costume transubstantiates the shaman, it transforms him, before all eyes, into a superhuman being" (Eliade, 1970:167-168). While a type of transvestism seems to be taking place, there seems little suggestion in this of a matriarchal society in past Korean history which may have influenced this phenomenon (Sohn, 1970:28-29).

A fifth theme to be found in these stories deals with the tragic and unusual experiences of those who are initiated as mutang. In one of the stories we have related, the daughter of the prince goes nearly insane during a time of illness.[15] One princess was cast out by a tyrannical father simply because she was his seventh daughter and he had wanted a son. In interviews with present-day mutang, many of them tell of having been chosen by the spirits to become shamans during a time of illness or crisis. Much of the literature regarding shamanism in other parts of the world discusses the painful process of shamanistic initiation. Lee observes, "In most cases those who are becoming mutangs have to go through a kind of psychic turnover through a serious illness or vision" (Lee, 1973a:147). Eliade, we remember, defines shamanism as a "technique of ecstasy" (Eliade, 1970:4).

A final emphasis to be found in these legends has to do with matters of healing and health. In the

Chil-Kong-chu story she came down to earth as a mutang in order to restore her ailing mother to health after all other treatment had failed. Awhang-Kongchu was honored for protecting her people from disease and suffering. Princess Pali is associated with the dread disease of smallpox, both as the personification of the disease itself and the curer of the disease.[16] Matters related to childbirth and illnesses peculiar to women are also found in many of these stories. These issues are still very important in Korean society although advances in medical technology and changes in the status of women are increasingly apparent. Responsibility for barrenness is most often attributed to women, and remains a major justification for divorce in Korean society. It seems natural for women to turn to the female shaman in such times of stress and concern.

Synthesis of Korean Shamanism with Aspects of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism

Any consideration of the formation of Korean shamanism must include a discussion of changes resulting from its contact with more formalized religious systems. Homer B. Hulbert makes this observation concerning the matter:

> In no department of Korean life is the antiquity of their civilization so clearly demonstrated as in the mosaic of religious beliefs that are held, not only by different individuals but by an single individual. We have no choice but to deal with these separately, but the reader must ever bear in mind that in every Korean mind there is a jumble of the whole; that there is no antagonism between the different cults, however they may logically refute each

> other, but that they have all been shaken down together through the centuries until they form a sort of religious composite, from which each man selects his favorite ingredients without ever ignoring the rest. Nor need any man hold exclusively to any one phase of this composite religion. In one frame of mind he may lean toward the Buddhistic element and at another time he may revert to his ancestral fetichism. As a general thing, we may say that the all-around Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophises and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble. Now, if you want to know what a man's religion is, you must watch him when he is in trouble. Then his genuine religion will come out, if he has any. It is for this reason that I conclude that the underlying religion of the Korean, the foundation upon which all else is mere superstructure, is his original spirit-worship. In this term are included animism, shamanism, fetichism and nature-worship generally (Hulbert, 1906: 403-404).

Palmer has stated:

> The primitive ethos of the Korean people derives from Shamanism, a polytheistic and polydemonistic religion based on nature worship. Although the religious forces of Confucianism permeated the social and political life of the people, particularly at the top levels, Shamanism has traditionally retained the most powerful religious influence upon the population as a whole (Palmer, 1967:5-6).

Jones makes the same type of observation:

> A Korean personally takes his own education from Confucius; he sends his wife to Buddha to pray for offspring; and in the ills of life he willingly pays toll to Shamanist 'mootang' [sorceress] (Jones, 1901: 39).

David Chung states that in east Asia one finds a principle of syncretism which poses no problem for the Oriental, although Westerners find it difficult to understand. Chung calls this the "Han-Sam-Wei-I" (Three Religions Are One) principle (Chung, 1961:95). Chung indicates that the three dominant religious movements have a common stem.

Similar elements are especially discernible in Confucianism and Taoism. He says

> In spite of their antithetic ontological themes of the universe and ethical attitudes, and in spite of their roots in different social strata, they were inseparably united by the fact that they shared the same animistic ideologies as well as identical religious vocabularies (Ibid., 101).

As Buddhism passed through China, in the process of the translation of Buddhist literature into Chinese, the same type of syncretism took place. The result of this syncretism was the "Han-Sam-Wei-I" which found a gradual reception in the shamanism of Korea. As Palmer says, "Shamanism absorbed from Confucianism and Buddhism nearly everything of a supernatural character possessed by them" (Palmer, 1967:6).

These statements indicate that before the Koreans could fully develop their own religious system, highly developed foreign religions made their way into the peninsula and were gradually transformed into a new religious and cultural synthesis. The early elements of shamanism involved nature worship, ancestor worship, and the worship of personal spirits, and these served to assuage man's fear of unusual natural phenomena and to give certainty in matters connected with agricultural activities. There was no systematic doctrinal framework. As seen in the Tan'gun legend, the Koreans early came to appreciate wide service to mankind, chastity, filial piety and other virtues which pointed to universal harmony and peace.

Confucianism, the first foreign body of thought which the Koreans slowly assimilated, was to provide the indigenous religious ideals and social relations with metaphysical framework and organizational rationale.

Confucianism did not strongly emphasize the existence of spirts or a spirit world, even though the system gave some recognition to them. Confucianism offered to Korea an idealized society in which the people were bound by ethical relations and a set of virtues, with Tien (heaven) representing the unseen yet purposeful force of nature beyond man's control. The basic human relations for the foundation of the ideal society were five: loyalty of the ruled for the ruler, filial piety of the children toward the parents, obedience of the wife toward the husband, respect of the younger toward the elder, and trust between friend and friend (Joe, 1972:97).

Confucianism also taught the cosmological theory of um-yang (in Chinese yin-yang). Um, representing the female principle, and yang, the male principle, are thought to produce all universal phenomena through their mutual interaction. From this principle developed a system of divination. Confucianism taught that man should not try to control nature, but should conform to what Confucius called T'ien-ming (the will of Heaven). To know the will of Heaven was to acquiesce in one's fate or to accept the limit of one's capacity or social status. The Korean people generally accepted the more formal implications of

Confucian morality, especially those related to the ye (li in Chinese) or social decorum. However, the philosophical system of Confucianism was embraced only by the intellectuals and aristocracy, the yangban class. The lower classes, the sangsaram, were not satisfied with such a cold, compassionless system, and continued to rely upon shamanism in matters of religion while conforming to the social restraints of Confucianism. The two systems mutually influenced each other. Ancestor worship was already widely practiced in Korean shamanism before the advent of Confucianism, but Confucianism provided a more systematic rationale for it.

Through the application of the um-yang and the "five-elements" theory, a wide variety of pseudo-sciences developed in Korean society, such as numerology, astrology, and geomancy. The geomantic theory of p'oong-soo (in Chinese feng-shui) became a widely practiced art. The central idea of p'oong-soo, (literally, wind and water), is that man as part of the universe must conform to the cosmic workings of um-yang and live in harmony with the five elements, namely, wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. Almost all aspects of life and death were related to these principles, including residence, marriage, ancestral rituals, exorcism, and burial. Many of the shamanistic prayers are couched in Confucian style and terms (Park, 1970:18-19).

Next to Confucianism, the most persistent Chinese

philosophy that prevailed in Korea was that of Taoism (in Korean Tokyo). Taoism, with its mystic and naturalistic inclination, was more appealing to the early Koreans than Confucianism's dry formalism. Like the will of Heaven, (T'ien-ming) in Confucianism, the Tao (Way) of Taoism is an impersonal force, lacking in purpose. Taoism fosters a society which is static and inactive. In China, after a lively beginning as a philosophy, Taoism changed in the direction of geomancy, thaumaturgy, and religion. In time, the mythical and supernatural aspects, rather than philosophical centralization, attracted the imagination of the common people. Taoism absorbed the yin-yang dualism and the "five-elements" of Confucianism. In this form Taoism was introduced into Korea and became popular in the Koguryo and Paekche Kingdoms. During the 4th century A.D., Paekche established the paksa system for teaching Confucianism and Taoism. Paksa means "scholar" and is the term used for a doctor of philosophy today (Joe, 1972:109). Lee points out that in the Pyungyang area the male shaman is often called paksa-mutang or "doctor-mutang." In other words, paksa or doctor was used to distinguish the male shaman from the mutang or female shaman. Lee advanced the hypothesis that paksa and pansoo are Korean names for the male shaman adopted from the shamanistic traditions of the Ural-Altaic people (Lee, 1973a: 137-138). Any possible connection between the paksa of

shamanism and the intellectuals of the Paekche period remains to be demonstrated, but the linguistic relationship between the paksa and pansoo is on firmer ground. Since most Korean shamans are considered to have had little formal or classical training, the paksa may be a title used to bolster their sagging image. Taoism contributed the Taeguk or "first principle" theory from which the um-yang evolved. Eventually the symbol of Taeguk was incorporated into the Korean national flag, the Taegukki. The central thought in this dualism is that while there is constant movement within the sphere of infinity, there is also balance and harmony (Daniels, 1971:8). As in Confucianism, the philosophical aspect of Taoism appealed only to the upper class. Taoist dragons and spirits however, were incorporated into Korean shamanism, as was the emphasis on the chilsung, or the seven stars of the Big Dipper or Big Bear (Ursa Major). The chilsung tang is a Taoistic shrine consecrated to the Big Dipper. The chil-sung p'an is the bottom lining board of a coffin and has seven holes arranged in the pattern of the Big Dipper. The body is tightly wrapped in white linen cloth and bound with seven strands of rope which symbolize the Big Bear. Ok Hwang Sang Jeh is the highest of the heavenly gods of Taoism. He is often appealed to in shamanistic ritual. Women invoke blessings upon their family by consecrating a cup of clean water to him each morning.[18] Thus we see that there are a

great many Taoist elements in Korean shamanism.

Buddhism was officially introduced into Korea during the Koguryo period, around A.D. 372. Buddhism took rapid root in Korea, due partially to the fact that it was already reworked by Chinese hands and contained elements easily accommodated to the indigenous religion of shamanism. Mahayana (The Greater Vehicle) Buddhism taught that Bodhisattvas (posal in Korean), a group of believers having built up reservoirs of merit great enough to entitle them to the full status of Buddha, indefinitely postponed their entrance to Nirvana in order to help suffering humanity. Thus Bodhisattvas (posal) responded to needy people. Buddhism found little difficulty in bringing the gods of shinkyo under its influence. Some of the various nature gods were taken over as Bodhisattvas. Shinkyo, for its part, remained much the same as before, only having reinforced its theological contents under the influence of Buddhism. The doctrines regarding paradises and hells chanted about by shamans have Buddhist origins. Some mountain god shrines (sandang) were given recognition by Buddhism. In fact, some of Korean Buddhism's most famous temples have been constructed on sites associated with shinkyo's mountain gods. Shinkyo's mountain-spirit and tiger are usually found on the walls of Buddhist temples and sometimes on tapestries within the temple itself. In time, Buddhist monks began to perform shamanistic ritual

for the inhabitants around their temples.

Buddhism's pessimism regarding human happiness and the fact of suffering did not appeal to the common people. Its moral codes were too austere, and the philosophical aspects too difficult for the common people to grasp. In the declining years of the Koryo Dynasty, the scandals involving Buddhist monks with political corruption and moral lapses led many to abandon their fidelity to Buddhism; as a result, they fell back on the spirits of shamanism for religious consolation, but retained aspects of Buddhism as well (Park, 1970:17). Buddhist prayers became shamanistic prayers. The present shamanistic rite to the Harvest God, Che-suk shin, is a Buddhist ritual in origin. Some shamans are referred to as posal, which means a priest or Bodhisattva (Lee, 1970:3).

The three platforms or levels of a shaman's altar may be a modification of Buddhist altars. The great Palkwan (eight parts) festival had been practiced by the Koreans for centuries. The festival was characterized by feasting, singing, dancing, athletic competition, and sacrifices to shinkyo spirits by sovereigns and people. The songs and instruments were mainly of shamanistic origin and association and were used to manipulate the spirits (Kim, 1963: 56-57). King Taejo attempted to preserve the Palkwan festival as a national event by leaving this injunction to his successor: "My wishes are that with lighted lanterns

and the Palkwan we serve the Heavenly Spirits, the five mountains, the famous mountains, the great river and the dragon god" (Ibid., 58). Buddhism and shamanism merged in the rituals that were celebrated at this annual event.

We have noted that Korean shamanism has never been characterized by a systematic or organized body of beliefs and practices. It has always been a popular religion of the common people, though it has been occasionally encouraged by high officials.[19] Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism have made a number of contributions to Korean shamanism by adding concepts, deities, and a degree of metaphysical content and rationale for this indigenous faith. As we have seen, shamanism has been able to accommodate itself to changing circumstances and the introduction of new components of faith. It has been comparatively devoid of systematic doctrines and ethical content, but has persisted through time by seeking resolutions to realistic problems through supernatural power, rather than through spiritual ideals and ideologies. We turn now to a discussion of the pantheon of shamanistic deities with which the Korean practitioner must deal in his role as an intermediary between the supernaturals and the society which is served.

NOTES

Chapter I

[1]The apparent discrepancy between these two figures may be resolved when one recognizes that there are more shamanistic practitioners than the number reported by local administrative officials.

[2]A paleolithic culture of hunters and gatherers seems to have existed in the peninsula by 25,000 B.C. Neolithic cultures which have left various kinds of pottery, existed from 3,000 B.C. onward. The bronze age, associated with the dolmens that dot the country, began around the 6th century B.C.; and ironwork, domesticated horses, and the heated floor system now called the ondol, have existed in Korea from the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. These features, coupled with a tie with the Altaic languages have led some scholars to conclude that the Koreans are linked with the people of central Asia, especially those of the Baikal region (Rutt, 1972:323).

[3]The "Three Kingdoms" developed on the peninsula, probably during the course of the 1st century A.D. The traditional founding dates are 57 B.C. for Silla, 37 B.C. for Koguryo, and 18 B.C. for Paekje. These dates are unsupported by contemporary evidence, however, and most scholars think they are too early.

[4]The formulation of this system of letters was shrouded in mystery until a record was found in North Kyungsang Province in the 1940's. The book was entitled Hunminjungeumhaerye (The Right Sounds to Inculcate the People). According to the book, two principles were applied in devising the form of vowels and consonants: the 17 consonants symbolize either the organs of speech or the manner of articulation and the 11 vowels are so devised as to symbolize heaven, earth, and man, the three elements in the Oriental philosophical view of the universe. These 28 vowels and consonants are developed from five principal consonants and three principal vowels. King Sejong hoped that his system would make it unnecessary to use the Chinese writing. There is still a great deal of dispute going on

between Korean scholars regarding the use of han-mun (Chinese characters) by the Korean people. However, although Chinese characters are the writing symbols of China, those characters introduced to Korea have been completely adapted to Korean and, moreover, the masses of Korea today use Korean words formed from Chinese characters with the feeling that they are part of the Korean language. One of the reasons for such a strong influence of Chinese characters on modern Korean seems to be in the fact that while the native language lacks vocabulary as well as flexibility to make compound words, Chinese characters are the very opposite of this in that every character of monosyllabic sound has several profound meanings so that it can be made into as many compound words as it has different meanings. For example, the Chinese character in, which stands for man, can be made into such compound words as inkan (man), insim (popular mind), inryu (mankind), injung (humaneness), inpum (human character), etc. However, the native Korean word saram, which also stands for man, cannot be made into compound words with such meanings.

[5]Lee Jung-young asserts that the idea of "deceiving" is not a good translation (Lee, 1973a:136). Clark may have been influenced by the shamanistic practice of legerdemain. Some shamans admit their use of sleight-of-hand in their ritual, and the practice of legerdemain itself is often common knowledge. The patient and other onlookers are probably not deceived, but the practice itself adds important benefits to the ritual. It is doubtful if a shaman could long practice his art on the basis of legerdemain alone.

[6]The story of Kija's (in Chinese, Ch'i-tzu) migration to Korea was first recorded by the Chinese historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his Shi Chi (Historical Records) in the first century B.C. (Reischauer and Fairbank, 1960:403 and Rutt, 1972:325). Although frequently quoted in literature about Korea, 1122 B.C., the date given by Ssu-ma Ch'ien for the migration, is not accepted by some historians.

Hatada reports that a Chinese state was established in northwest Korea about the third century B.C. by Chinese immigrants. The state was known in Chinese as Ch'i-tzu Chao-hsien-kuo (in Korean, Kija Chosen-guk), Ch'i-tzu being the name of the founder. Concerning this event Hatada writes:

> Traditionally, Ch'i-tzu Chao-hsien-kuo was established by Ch'i-tzu, a minister of the last ruler of the Chinese Shang (also called Yin) Dynasty. Ch'i-tzu is

said to have come to Korea in 1122 B.C. with five thousand followers, after the overthrow of the Shang Dynasty. While the author of this book accepts the existence of early Chinese influence in Korea, his wording in the text and his dating of Ch'i-tzu Chao-hsien-kuo indicate that he rejects the legend of Kija's arrival and Sinicizing of Korea as early as 1122 B.C. (Hatada, 1969:4).

Three Korean scholars, Sohn Pow-key, Kim Chol-choon, and Hong Yi-sup, assert: "The traditional Chinese account, according to which Kija, a subject of the Yin state, went to Korea and became its ruler, represents an attempt by Chinese scholars to explain the cult of Kija in Korea" (Sohn, Kim, and Hong, 1970:24). Rutt believes that the cult of Kija may have arisen as a China-worshipping mentality in Korea (Rutt, 1972:325). He also states, "There is no evidence for Chinese cultural influence in Korea as early as the traditional date of the Kija legend" (Ibid.).

Concerning the legendary figure of Kija and the date of his alleged migration to Korea there is some uncertainty; however, as Joe observes, "The cultural indebtedness to China of the early Koreans is symbolically found in the cultural myth of Kija" (Joe, 1972:91).

[7]The Samguk Yusa (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea) relates stories of women conceiving by the rays of the sun and giving birth to giant eggs (Ilyon, 1972:45).

[8]Even though mutang usually means the female shaman, it is not exclusively limited to her. It often refers both to the female and the male shaman, depending upon the geographical area within the country. In the Seoul area, the male shaman is often called sana-mutang, or "male mutang." In the Pyungyang area in north Korea, he is often called paksa-mutang, or "doctor-mutang." Generally the male shaman is called pansoo or chambong. In personal correspondence of December 8, 1973, Professor Lee Jung-young indicates that the term chambong usually denotes the blind male shaman.

[9]Divination is one of the necessary arts of nearly all shaman practitioners. The techniques vary with the individual, and some practitioners are sought more than others. In the city of Seoul some streets are lined with elderly men and women who divine and tell fortunes.

Well-worn charts, dice, cards, and bones may be seen in abundance. In many instances the practitioner claims no relationship with shamanistic practices, but maintains rather that what he is engaged in is a science.

[10]According to Korean legend, Yao was king of China and a contemporary of Tan'gun, the mythical founder of the Korean nation. Equally famous is Yao's son-in-law, Shun. Yao and Shun are credited with introducing the wu-hsiang or "Five Constant Virtues." These are: benevolence, uprightness of mind, propriety in demeanor, knowledge, and good faith. Yao and Shun are also said to have developed the wu-lun or "Five Right Relationships." They are: right relationships between king and minister, father and son, elder brother and younger, husband and wife, and friend and friend. With Yao and Shun begins Korea's calendar that measures the seasons of the year. In a sense it is very similar to the western world's farmer's almanac. It divides the circle of the sun into twenty-four divisions, each having a festival of its own and emphasizing the concerns of an agriculturally-based society.

[11]Many Korean folk tales, novels, and movies contain accounts of children making great sacrifices for their parents. In some, children have lanced their flesh in order to give their blood to suffering or dying parents. In a society where Confucianism is popular, such stories are greatly admired by young and old and are considered to provide a high idealism.

[12]A very talented music teacher living in Seoul, a man with whom I was well acquainted, consistently complained of weakness and physical problems. He heard about the healing properties of a certain spring located in the mountains which tower over Sajik Park. Sajik Park is the site of a great shrine where kings had offered sacrifices. This teacher began rising early each day in order to climb the mountain and bathe in the spring water. After two years of this practice he appeared to be in very excellent health. He made no allowances for the exercise and discipline involved, but maintained that his restored health was due to the magical properties of the spring water.

[13]The Samguk Yusa is one of the two foremost documents from ancient times which gives insights into ancient Korean history. The first of these, the Samguk Sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) was compiled by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151),

a high official of the Koryo court, as the officially sanctioned history of that ancient period.

[14]Jimmu Tenno, the first human emperor of Japan, is said to be a descendant of the sun-goddess Amaterasu. He established his capital on the central Japanese island, Honshu, in the year set by tradition at 660 B.C.

[15]Some mutang tell of their experiences in graphic ways. During times of severe illness or trouble they are visited by unusual persons or animals who give them specific directions on how to recover both their health and to gain unusual power to help other people. Some informants tell about being left by their husbands, mental problems or economic difficulties. At such times, many of them received power through the spirits while praying in the mountains.

[16]Among those who seek the healing powers of the mutang, illness is generally not regarded as a natural event. It is considered to be the consequence of supernatural actions or forces. In many cultures the diseases are personified gods or goddesses with specific names. Princess Pali is an example of this in Korean thought. Upon occasion these supernaturals may be helpful, or change their characters to become destroyers. Hinduism's Rudra and Shiva are examples of this phenomenon.

[17]The yin-yang (um-yang in Korean) cosmological theory was born during the vigorous intellectual period in Chinese history from the fifth century B.C. to the middle of the third century B.C. It was an attempt to explain the structure and workings of the universe in terms of certain cosmic principles. The yang force, meaning light, represents the male, heat, activity, hardness, etc., and the yin force, meaning dark, stands for female qualities, cold, inactivity, softness and so forth. In this dualism, these two forces are supposed to be in the eternal process of harmonious interaction through which all phenomena of nature are created. The way they interact is seen, for example, in the alternation of day and night or in the succession of four seasons. A burning piece of wood is the yang force in the wood overwhelming the yin at the moment. These cosmic forces or principles, which are also energy-modes, are thought to be coexistent, and at any given moment one force is dominating the other.

Another feature which developed somewhat independently of the yin-yang theory, but which merged with it, is the "Five Elements" theory. The five elements are wood, metal, fire, water, and earth. These are the primary elements or essences which, through their various combinations, make up the universe. They are supposed to work in a sequence, generating and destroying each other in accordance with natural law. Thus, fire creates earth, as in the case of burning wood, earth is to produce metal, metal to generate water, and water to beget wood, which in turn makes fire. The sequence can be turned back in a destroying order.

In the beginning, the five elements were thought to be physical substances, as, for instance, in five planets, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury, which were believed to have as their dominant elements wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, respectively. Later, the five elements were considered to be manifest in all matter and everything in the universe: colors, animals, grains, tastes, virtues, numbers, medicines, succession of rulers, and so on. Every object and aspect of life was assigned one or another of the five elements. Through the application of the yin-yang and five elements theories a wide variety of pseudo-sciences such as numerology, astrology, physiognomy, and geomancy were developed. The geomantic theory of feng-shui (p'oong-soo in Korean) was a widely practiced art, particularly in Korea. The central idea of the p'oong-soo (literally wind and water), is that man as part of the universe must conform to the cosmic workings of yin-yang and live in harmony with the five elements. One's house or burial place, for instance, must be properly arranged so as not to disturb the free flow, as it were, of these universal forces. This entire matter exerts great influence in Korean society.

[18]The practice of offering a bowl of clear water as an oblation is not unique to shamanism in Korea, nor do some of the Korean women who practice it more or less faithfully understand its significance. A bowl of clear water is often placed on the altars of Buddhist temples or shrines. In some cases a polished metal disk or even a mirror is used instead of the water. The mirror, of course, is a sacred object found in many of the Shinto temples of Japan.

[19]At the turn of the century Queen Min, the wife of the last king of the Yi Dynasty, elevated her favorite shaman mutang, Yi Chi-yong, to the rank of a princess. The queen was murdered by Japanese soldiers on October 8, 1895.

CHAPTER II

THE COSMOLOGY AND SUPERNATURAL PANTHEON IN KOREAN SHAMANISM

Korean shamanism has few documents with which to work, and none which attempt to formalize its belief system into a systematic and ordered general body of concepts. This does not imply that there is no general framework of ideology within this religious system itself, for one might seriously question if any religion could long survive without having some sort of ordered or central faith to be believed and perpetuated. Statements of belief express and perpetuate a people's world-view, set their lifestyle, and provide a degree of stability and meaning to their order of existence. In the case of Korean shamanism, as well as in many other religions, beliefs have been verbalized in its myths, folklore, and occasional propositional statements. In this perspective, myths may be considered one form of ideology. Quite often the myths become descriptive and are acted out in the rituals, and are thus very useful instruments in the transmission and implementation of the faith. As we have observed, the myths are often flexible enough to accommodate new data or concepts borrowed from other religious systems. Korean shamanism has borrowed considerably from Taoism, Confucianism

and Buddhism. However, while accommodation has taken place, Korean shamanism has been able to maintain a central core of themes and expressions which are both crucial to the system and shared by the Korean society. For example, sentiments regarding the objective reality of supernatural spirits and their affinity with disease and misfortune are essential to the existence and continuity of Korean shamanism. This is basic and intrinsic to the entire movement in Korea, and expresses itself in the mythology and ritual, as well as the behavior of the devotees and practitioners involved in the faith. In the interchange between the relationship of mythology and ritual, formalized statements of the values and attitudes of the religious system may be abstracted. With regard to specific details, as we have already observed, sectional differences are quite common, but these are not crucial differences, for the important features fit well within the general framework of the Korean shamanistic complex.

Korean shamanism and Korean folklore have been able to associate certain historically verifiable events with supernatural concepts which tend to reinforce and remind the Korean people of a spiritual dimension of life which is of great importance. Much of Korean folklore has to do with foundation myths of clans and dynasties. The supernatural premise is clearly seen throughout many of these foundation myths.

The following examples are cited from the Buddhist monk Ilyon's Samguk Yusa (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms). One story deals with the birth of Chumong, the first king of the Koguryo Dynasty. The traditional date for the founding of the Koguryo Dynasty is 37 B.C. Chumong was conceived in the womb of his mother when the bright sunlight fell upon the form of the woman while she was resting. However, when Chumong was born, he was actually hatched from an egg which was indestructible.[1] After years of warfare, Chumong conquered the land and called his kingdom Koguryo, from his family name Ko, which means "high."

In his book, Ilyon also tells how King Hyŏkkose, the founder of the Silla Dynasty, was born. He, too, was hatched from a large egg. This huge red egg was left by a white horse which flew away up to heaven along a rainbow. When the people cracked the egg, they found within it a baby boy whose noble face shone like the sun. The people named him Hyŏkkose, which means "bright ruler." Since the egg had been shaped like a common Korean gourd, called pak in the Korean language, Hyŏkkose was given the family name of Pak. This foundation myth for the Pak clan is incorporated in the official records and indicates that the first three Silla kings were of this clan. The name Pak is very common in modern Korea. The official records list Hyŏkkose as the first king of the Silla Dynasty, and

give his reign dates as 57 B.C. to 3 A.D. When Hyŏkkose completed his reign, he ascended to heaven with his queen. After seven days, the ashes of their bodies fell to the earth. All the people wept over the ashes and tried to bury them in a tomb. A large snake appeared and prevented this. Therefore, the royal remains were divided into five parts and interred in a tomb called the "Five Mausoleums," or Sanung (Tomb of the Snake).

The son of King Hyŏkkose was named Namhae Kosogan, but he was also called Ch'ach'a Ung, or "High Chief." However, Ch'ach'a Ung also means "sorcerer." This king was noted for serving the spirits and officiating at sacrificial ceremonies. The people honored him with the fear and respect due a high chief. It seems obvious that Namhae Kosogan was a shaman who has become a patron spirit for the ritual of contemporary shamans in Korea (Ha and Mintz [trans.], 1972:51-52). Ch'ach'a Ung is one of the leading figures in the Korean shamanistic pantheon of supernaturals, one who began as a cultural hero.

Also in his Samguk Yusa, Ilyon gives the foundation legend of the Kim clan of Kyungju, which eventually became the Silla royal family. A bright light in a forest was seen by a traveler named P'ogong. Upon investigating the strange light, P'ogong discovered that a golden box was hanging from a branch of a tree and the light was radiating from the box. Under the tree a white cock was crowing.

When the golden box was opened, out came a beautiful boy. This boy was given the family name Kim because this is written with the same character as keum (gold), and because he had been found in a golden box (Ha and Mintz [trans.], 1972:56-57). Kim is the most common surname in Korea. There are 500 different clans by the name of Kim, and 470 different clans with the name of Yi or Li (Gim Dong-hyeog, ed., 1971:38-44).[2]

These stories point out a central premise in Korean shamanism, the supernatural premise. To repeat the foundation story is to recognize the existence of supernatural power in the cosmos. In Korean shamanism, it has not been necessary to formalize a body of beliefs regarding the cosmology and the supernatural aspects within it, it is enough to know they exist and it only remains for the people to adjust themselves to this order of existence in a way which is functional and meaningful.

Korean shamanism generally associates the natural world, the heavenly bodies, and the forces of nature with personal supernatural power. As we have observed, Confucianism and Taoism have tended to posit the highest form of power in the impersonal, but in Korean shamanism, the cosmos, or oo-joo kwan, is charged with personal supernatural power. Among the shamans, there are differences of opinion regarding the exact order or nature of the oo-joo kwan. Some suggest that the universe is divided into

three worlds; there is an upper world (haneul, or heaven), the middle earth (jeegoo, or this world), and the lower world (jee-ha kyeh, or lower regions). The upper world is the bright heavenly world where the supreme god, Hananim, dwells. Hananim is the god of light and life, but occasionally appears as wind, clouds, and the storm. He is said to manage all human affairs. The middle world is inhabited by vegetation, human beings and animals. Human beings may go to the upper world or to the lower world, depending upon their deeds in this life. Since a basic thought in Korean shamanism involves the idea that faithfulness or neglect in worship brings its own rewards or demerit and misfortune, it seems likely that the idea of hells and punishment has been borrowed from Buddhism or from Christianity. In the lower world, malignant spirits dwell in perpetual darkness.[3]

Another informant says that the universe is divided into four worlds: heaven, earth, underground or nether world, and the sea. Again the idea seems to be that in heaven dwells Hananim, who has general and benevolent control over the affairs on the earth. In the nether world, there is a god called Ryum-ra Tae Wang (the king of hell or the underworld).[4] In the sea there is a dragon god called Ryong Wang (Dragon King). In this view, the gods jointly control all affairs in the universe, although Hananim is considered the highest god. There is a great

deal of rivalry and conflict of interests among the myriads of spirits who live in these categories of existence.

Still another view in shamanistic cosmology conceives of the universe as composed of three worlds: the heavens, the earth, and the underground, which includes the sea world. According to this view, in the heavens there is the great King Ok Hwang Sang Jeh, who controls birth, disease, and the death of all mankind. He also manages all affairs having to do with farming, wealth, and poverty. While very important in the Korean shamanistic religious system, this supernatural has been borrowed from Taoism. On the earth, there are many gods who dwell in the tang chip (village shrine), the surrounding mountains, large auspicious trees, the streams, and rock formations. The villagers are interested in these spirits because they influence the resources, productivity, and the prosperity of the community. Most of the tang chip are crudely erected sheds with very little maintenance in evidence. The shamans are invited periodically to come to these shrines for koots (rituals). It seems apparent that the villagers themselves avail themselves of the tang chip without the aid of a shaman. Offerings of rice, grains, bowls of clear water, and crude drawings of mountain spirits, horses, or oxen may be found on the simple wooden altar within the tang chip. Some of the villagers write out their petitions and paste them or pin them on the walls of the shrine, and

in most cases the requests have to do with economic, agricultural, or physical problems.

In the sea world, the dragon king controls all matters relating to fishing. The dragon king idea is probably of Chinese origin. At this point one might point out that in Korean shamanism, the myths and folklore of the people and the main concerns of the people are more concerned with agriculture than with hunting or fishing. Also, there are more myths about mountain worship than about ocean worship. There is little question but that the interests of the Korean people have been directed more to the continent and the land than to the sea. This is all the more significant when one considers the fact that Korea is a peninsula, surrounded on three sides by the sea.

The shamanistic cosmology includes beliefs about the heavens and the underworld, but Korean shamanism is much more concerned about the middle world, the natural, external world, and the affairs of this life. It has been the borrowed aspects of Buddhism and Taoism which have placed the greatest focus on an after-life. In one respect, the stories surrounding Ryum-ra Tae Wang, the god of the underworld, have a trace of Christian cosmology. This supernatural spirit is thought to be highly emotional and easily infuriated. Originally he was a heavenly god until he committed some sin in the heavenly world of light. For his sin, he was chased out of heaven and committed to

the world of darkness, where he has become a ma-shin (a demon or devil). Now he vents his wrath and frustration on the souls of the wicked dead who are sent to his domain.

In the middle world, life and vegetation are due to a spirit who is called tang-shin (shrine or altar spirit). His proper name is T'oo-joo Kwan. This supernatural is associated with agriculture and adequate food supplies, for he is the god of growth and productivity. He is thus deeply involved in the life of the farmer. When transplanting rice in the spring or harvesting the crop in the fall, the Korean villagers usually eat five times a day. The food is brought to the workers in the fields by the women and children in large baskets or pans. Before taking their first bite or sip, the farmers are often seen to flip a spoonful of rice or a side-dish of food into the air as an offering to T'oo-joo Kwan. The Korean farmer is usually very proud of his own skill and hard labor in the production of a good crop, but he cannot entirely trust his own efforts in this regard; this ritual is designed to ward off misfortune and to guarantee a good crop. Often dead chickens may be seen suspended from limbs of trees at the edge of the rice paddies. In most instances a shaman has offered the chicken as a sacrifice to T'oo-joo Kwan.

The fishing industry of Korea is not well-developed, but the Korean fishermen are very skillful in spite of

having meager equipment. The waters surrounding Korea abound with sea-life and edible sea-plants such as keem (laver). The Hae nyuh (sea-women) are women who are famous for their ability to spend long hours in the water and for diving to great depths for incredible periods of time in order to obtain shell-fish, sponges, and varieties of sea-plants. I have seen hundreds of these Cheju Island women swimming out to sea with an efficiency and zest born of long experience.[5]

Each of the women is supported by a gourd, or more recently a styrofoam, float. After diving for marine-life, the women rest while clinging to the gourd. The gourd also supports a net in which the shell-fish or sponges are kept while the diving continues. Much of their work carries these women hundreds of yards from the shore.

The men do not take part in the diving, but manage the fishing craft. Often a miniature boat, equipped with a small sail, a candle, and a rice offering, is dispatched beforehand as an offering to the Dragon King, who, it is hoped, will protect the fishermen and guarantee a fine catch.

In each of these areas, we have noted how Korean shamanism pulls the three worlds together in a practical and pragmatic way. There seems to be no phenomenon without its relationship to supernatural implications. On the island of Cheju, a shamanistic order (shin bang) asserts

that there are 18,000 spirits who are active in the three levels of the cosmology. Kim Deuk-whang implies that this three worlds' concept makes this world one vast battleground for the spirit world (Kim, 1958:20). In the center of this cosmic arena stands the Korean shaman in a unique relationship to this spirit world.

In Korean shamanism the view of man is based somewhat on the myth of Tan'gun. There is a spiritual essence called hon (soul), and the physical body (mom or shin ch'eh). Kim Deuk-whang says that the ancient ancestral worship of shinkyo (spirit worship) was motivated by a concept that the soul was immortal, and although the flesh would perish and decay, the soul would remain imperishable. As long as the soul is present, according to this doctrine, there is life for the body, but when the spirit leaves the body, the body begins to decay (Kim, 1958:38). Lee Choon-bang writes:

> The relation between God and man is like a master and a servant. The relation between the body and the soul is of the same order. The spirit is master, and the body is the servant. As long as the spirit is in the flesh, the body can act, but when the spirit leaves, the body dies. So the main element of life is the spirit. The length of a life and the birth also is determined by the length of the joining of the flesh and the spirit. The length of a life is God's jurisdiction, and it matches with the length of the joining of spirit and the flesh (Lee, 1970:11).

It becomes obvious that in this dichotomous relationship, it is the spirit which is central and important. At the same time, it is the gods who have the last word

regarding disease and death. The Korean shaman is looked upon as having the power to influence the gods in these important matters. Korean shamanism also holds that a spirit can invade the body and possess it. This spirit is not only capable of changing the life-style, but also the personality. If the burial site has not been chosen well, the spirit of the deceased may visit the surviving relatives with a message or an act of malice. The spirit of a dead father may come back in the form of an unfamiliar person to comfort the elder son or rebuke him. One of the important functions of the Korean shaman is to contact these spirits in a koot in order to determine the fate and attitude of the deceased.

Another indication of a general belief in continued existence after death is the practice of including items of furniture, saddles, cooking utensils, and other necessities in the tomb of the dead.[6] Gale says that the custom of burial of the living with the dead as practiced in China was adopted by the Korean royalty and continued until A.D. 502. He writes that it was the usual custom to have five young couples placed in the sealed tomb of an important person at his death (Gale, 1927 [edited by Rutt, 1972:113]). Korean mutangs often call for great quantities of food during their rituals because "the spirits are hungry." Kim T'ae-gon has given us the following thought and meaning on man and his relationship to the

shamanistic complex of Korea:

> Shamanism views that man's birth and death, rise and fall, happiness and disaster, and diseases affecting him all depend on the will of gods. Originally there had been no human being until the virgin goddess named Tanggum Aegissi residing in the heaven married a divine priest and gave birth to three brothers, who, according to a Shamanist myth, became birth gods and produced men on the earth. These gods are believed to be discharging the function of predestining child birth and bringing it up. They are enshrined at the top seats in the living room, and exorcisms dedicated to them are considered important. A similar function of giving birth to and rearing up children is attributed to ch'ilson god. It is believed that death is given by the gods who govern the other world and when a man dies, their messenger takes him with a rope on the neck. There are 10 royal gods who govern the Hades, and when a man dies, his soul is taken to other world, where he must visit their 10 palaces, one after another, in order to be tried for his virtuous or evildoings in this world. Those who did good are brought to the paradise and entitled to eternal life, and those who did wrong are brought to hell and subjected to all kinds of hardships. This view of life in the other world was perhaps influenced greatly by Buddhism and underwent transformation to a considerable extent. There are gods who govern man's wealth and happiness. It is believed that man's wealth, honors, rise, and fall depend on the wish of those gods ([sic] Kim, 1972:23).

In an article entitled "Mudang Still Popular," Mr. Nam Johng-ho points out that due to the great influence of these supernaturals over the lives of those who practice shamanism, the worshippers feel helplessness, and understandably turn to the shaman and fetishes for protection and accommodation (Nam, 1971:6). Herein lies a very important factor which has become increasingly obvious during this discussion of the cosmological features of Korean shamanism. The shaman generally directs his services toward therapeutic goals, and tends to focus on

rituals of a functional nature. However utilitarian these services are, they are based upon an ideological presupposition which has been shared by a society for many years, that is, a belief in a transcendental force or power which permeates the human scene, providing problems and solutions at the same time. In Korean society, this orientation toward an existing system of supernatural relationships is regarded as being neither pathological nor merely superstitious. The core of Korean shamanism seems to lie in the way the Korean people have chosen to interpret their universe. As Norbeck so well states the case:

> It is a very old idea: man interprets his universe in two principal and different ways and on the basis of these interpretations he is afforded patterns of behavior with relation to that universe so that he may know how to act. One of the kinds of interpretation we call naturalistic, the other supernaturalistic. Naturalism and supernaturalism are both ways of adjusting to the universe (Norbeck, 1961:12).

The Koreans have generally chosen the supernatural premise. Let us now consider the Korean shamanistic pantheon of supernaturals whom they believe effect their daily lives.

Even though the Koreans refer to their country as Chosen (The land of the morning calm); Korean shamanism postulates a universe which is swarming with spirits. These spirits range from benevolent "high" spirits to spirits which inhabit inanimate objects. As we discuss this pantheon of supernaturals, spirits, and fetishes, fine distinctions between them are not easily made. In some sections of Korea certain spirits and rituals involving

them are known by different names, and are considered qualitatively different in their essential natures. Many Korean people simply lump this legion of spirits into two classes: the benevolent gods and spirits which bring good fortune, and the malignant spirits which harass and bring misfortune (Chang, 1970:301). However, this would not place these supernaturals in their proper perspective, since some spirits are helpful on certain occasions, but become dangerous and intimidating at other times. As a matter of fact, while there are benevolent spirits, these appear to be in the minority; therefore, the Korean people are more concerned with measures to avoid trouble with the malevolent spirits than in maintaining some communication with a beneficient spirit on a regular basis. At the risk of becoming too exclusive or too inclusive, it seems necessary to provide some system of classification or arrangement of the Korean shamanistic pantheon. Osgood makes the following observations:

> Korean animism seems to focalize on some half a dozen conglomerations or groups of spirits. There are those, for example, which cluster around the house and are attached to its parts or juxtaposed constructions. There are the spirits of old trees, the spirits of mountains and other elements of the terrain, and the spirits of water and the sea. Finally, there are the more personal spirits which may be divided into two principal categories, the heroes of heaven, ranging from deities to the immortalized great whom time has hallowed, and unnamed uncertain spirits of the unhappy dead who haunt dark places to find both vengeance and escape by preying on the careless villager (Osgood, 1951:122).

Kim T'ae-gon has published the results of his own survey of the Korean Shamanistic pantheon, with the following results:

> Gods worshipped in Korean Shamanism can be classified into two types: natural gods and human gods. The former have their origin in nature worship, while the latter in ancestor and hero worship. These gods, according to this writer's survey, number 273, and they can be subdivided as follows.
>
> I. Natural gods
> - (1) Heavenly gods
  - a. Heaven god
  - b. Sun god
  - c. Moon god
  - d. Star god
- (2) Earth gods
- (3) Mountain gods
- (4) Road gods
- (5) Water gods
  - a. Water gods
  - b. Dragon gods
- (6) Fire gods
- (7) Wind gods
- (8) Tree gods
- (9) Stone gods
- (10) Direction gods
- (11) Gate gods
- (12) Warrior gods
- (13) Demons
- (14) Hades gods
- (15) Disease gods
- (16) Animal gods
- (17) Agricultural gods
- (18) Birth gods

> II. Human gods
> - (1) Royal gods
  - a. King god
  - b. Queen goddess
  - c. Princess goddesses
- (2) Commander gods
  - a. General god
  - b. General's wife goddess, or other goddesses
- (3) Lord gods
- (4) Madam goddesses, Bride goddesses

(5) Shaman ancestor gods
(6) Buddhist gods
(7) Taoist gods
(8) Miscellaneous gods
(9) Others

> There are 22 categories in natural gods, 11 in human gods, and another category--34 in all. The ratio of composition is that 63.6 percent held by natural gods, 33.3 percent by human gods, and 4.1 percent by gods falling under other categories. Among natural gods, earth gods occupy 9.8 percent, mountain gods 9.5 percent, water gods 9.5 percent, warrior gods 9.1 percent and heavenly gods 4.7 percent. In other words, the order in the category of natural gods is the earth, water, mountains, and the heaven which are most closely connected with daily human life. In the category of human gods, the order is the warrior gods, royal gods, Buddhist gods, and shaman ancestral gods (Kim T'ae-gon, 1972:22).[7]

This inventory of supernatural beings found in the Korean shamanistic complex is an indication of the great sweep and utility of this religious system. Rank and social standing are important aspects of Korean life. Matters of age, occupation, clan, and class distinctions are crucial issues in social relations. Easily defined stylized forms of behavior grow out of these issues and relationships. However, while nature gods and culture heroes may exist in the same system, the importance of the rank of the supernatural powers is based more upon utility than upon metaphysical considerations. The earliest Korean people may indeed have worshipped the heavenly bodies and personified them as creator deities, but contemporary shamanism accords them little importance for everyday life as far as ritual is concerned. It is true that the

heavenly bodies are important in matters of divining, planting, and harvesting crops and selecting auspicious dates. The powers which are believed to be responsible for common aspects of daily life loom much more important in the thinking of the Korean people than the transcendent deities of the past. As might be expected, rituals in honor of the former are much more frequent.

Annemarie de Waal Malefijt makes the observation, "While the term god is best applied to those supernatural powers of nonhuman origin that are individualized and personally known, the term spirits would refer to those that appear collectively. The spirit population is too numerous to be counted, and, as a consequence spirits are not usually named individually but referred to by category" (de Waal Malefijt, 1968:154). If this criterion is accepted, gods are individualized and the spirits are collective supernatural entities. De Waal Malefijt has made an innovative attempt to arrange supernatural power into understandable and consistent categories, but unfortunately it is often difficult to assign great multitudes of supernatural beings or powers within these categories in an explicit manner. There is a great deal of overlapping within the Korean shamanistic pantheon, and its attributes are not always clear even to the shamans themselves. Therefore, Korean shamans tend to divide all supernatural power into two classes; that is, the benevolent spirits

which bring good fortune, and the malignant spirits which harass the people. Within Korean shamanism there appears to be a division of labor among the supernaturals. Certain spirits are associated with some particular activity, and specific names are assigned to these spirits upon this specific occasion. A major part of the shaman's ritual involves diagnostic methods for identifying a disease or problem area. Since evil spirits are generally associated with human dilemmas, it becomes necessary to identify the particular spirit or spirits involved. Some shamans have formed a firm association with a specific spirit or groups of spirits in connection with their own religious experience. These spirits might be called familiar spirits. Generally the need of the moment determines the nature and role of the spirit which is summoned for the occasion. The following attempt to classify the deities of Korean shamanism must be regarded as tentative and somewhat incomplete, not only because of the great number of supernaturals involved, but because further study in different areas of Korea will doubtless reveal many more which are not included in this study.[8]

I. The Heavenly Spirits

As we have noted, there are evidences which indicate that the Koreans practiced rituals directed toward powers in nature centuries before they were exposed to the teachings of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Kim Deuk-whang

makes the following assertion:

> In the primitive age, the people were struck with the wonders, mysteries and marvelous formations of nature so that they believed there were spirits in the universe and also in natural objects such as the sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, and even in a strange animal, rock, or tree. Aside from worshipping the mysterious forces of these creations, they perceived that the spirits also possessed the potentials to direct the vicissitudes of human life. Thus, they offered tributes and sacrifices in order to avoid harm from the spirits, and performed various rituals to sustain a comfortable and happy life (Kim, 1961:1).

In another place, Kim writes:

> Among the many natural creation [sic] the worship of the sun has been the most important. As the classic records often quote: 'Where there is darkness, there are ghosts, where there is brightness, there is order and harmony.' It was believed that the departed was able to venture anywhere, but became dormant in a bright place (Ibid., 2).

The Naturists of the nineteenth century would be delighted with such statements as these which could be used to support the thesis that religion sprang from spontaneous emotional reactions of wonder, awe, and fear evoked in man by natural phenomena. While highly suggestive, naturism has several flaws. For instance it is not clear why man should stand in awe and fear of the most ordinary things of life, such as the sun or moon, which he observes daily. No category of things universally evokes the same religious attitudes and expressions. The range of sacred and awe-inspiring objects varies enormously from culture to culture. "It has long been abundantly clear," says Norbeck, "that recourse in a causal sense to 'innate' emotional reactions evoked by the phenomena of our universe

leads to no satisfactory explanation of religious genesis" (Norbeck, 1961:19). Norbeck's statement refers specifically to the origin of religion, while Kim's observation pertains more specifically to a transitory phenomenon in the ancient faith of the Korean people. Just why or how this transition takes place is not clear, but Kim Deuk-whang says:

> The Han race (Koreans) revered the sun, the source of light of a great Master who generates and nurtures every living thing in the universe and at the same time, brings happiness, order and harmony to mankind by subjugating all harmful spirits; as such, the sun was regarded as a concrete being in the heavens, and called by such names as Hanunim (Mighty one in Heaven), Han Earl (Heavenly Soul), or Heavenly God (Kim, 1963:2).[9]

This quotation points out the complex nature of Korean shamanism with regard to the various names used to designate the heavenly spirits. In some instances, the names ascribed pertain to the same deity, but at other times they appear to be distinct and separate entities. Ch'un-wang means "Heavenly king," Ch'un-koon is translated "Heavenly master," Ch'un-che is identified as "Heavenly spirit," and Sang-che means "Heavenly emperor." These all pertain to a single heavenly being. In his Samguk Yusa, Ilyon records that one of the early Koguryo Dynasty kings, Chumong, called himself "the son of heaven" (Ilyon [trans. by Ha and Mintz, 1972:46]). Because of the great respect with which ancient kings were regarded, some Korean scholars conclude that the worship of Tan'gun, Sang-che, and many other divine beings actually grew out of ancestor worship. Heliolatry is connected with many foundation

legends in which the culture hero is born from a divine egg. In such cases, the egg is a symbol for the sun. Sun worship is no longer an important feature of Korean shamanism, but the use of the mirror, brass disc, or bowl of water suggests that these symbols may hearken back to a period in which such worship was of greater significance. On the other hand, these symbols may be lingering expressions of Taoism.

Hananim

There are strong indications that the impersonal heavens or sun have now become personified in Korean shamanism in the supreme deity of the heavenly hosts. Hananim is the best-loved and the most common name given to this heavenly spirit. Hananim, or Hanunim (the name is spelled and translated differently by various writers) may be derived from Han-eul, which means "sky" or "heavens." The syllable nim is a polite or honorific symbol attached to titles or proper names (Cho Cha-yong, of Seoul Folklore Museum, in a lecture at a Royal Asiatic Society, Korean Branch meeting, December 1, 1971). Thus the name could be translated "Honorable Heaven." The Chinese worshipped a similar deity by the name of Ti or Shang Ti. Shang means "upper" and Ti means "ruler." At a later date, the word T'ien, or "Heaven" was alternated with Shang Ti. T'ien originally meant "the abode of the Great Spirits,"

that is, the heavens. In general the concept referred to impersonal power rather than to other supernatural forces of the world (Noss, 1974:244-245).

In conversations with contemporary rural Korean people, one gets the impression that there is no unanimous belief among them in Hananim as a personal spirit. In the urban areas there seems to be a greater unanimity. It may be that the urban cities have been exposed to Christianity to such a degree that Hananim is equated with the monotheism of that faith. "Hana" means "one." Thus Hananim is translated "the Great One," and strongly suggests monotheism. Hulbert observes that the Koreans have never attempted to make any physical representations of Hananim (Hulbert, 1906:405). Clark says, "The Protestant Christians of the country have seized upon this word and have defined it until for the Christians, it holds all of the content in the English word for God" (Clark, 1932: 196).[10]

Some Christian theologians in Korea have suggested that the doctrine of the incarnation of Jesus Christ has posed few problems for Koreans since so many accept the basic concept in the Tan'gun foundation story. Some Korean scholars point out that there has developed a trinitarian concept intrinsic with the faith in Hananim. Zong In-sob says the idea is implicit in the Tan'gun myth when he writes, "He [Tan'gun] later moved the capital to Mount

Asadal (now Mt. Guwal in Hwang-He Province), where there is now a shrine called Sam-song (Three Saints: Hwan-In, the Heavenly King, Hwan-Ung, the Heavenly Prince, and Dan-Gun, the first human King)" (Zong, 1970:4).

Lee Jung-young does not see a clear representation of the Christian Trinitarian Deity in Korea's traditional shamanism or Shinkyo. He says that the arguments submitted by Zong only represent three generations of Hananim or the Heavenly King:

> We see the definite hierarchial system within the Trinitarian forms of Heavenly Being. The Heavenly King or Hwan-In represents the source of all spiritual beings. 'Hwan' indicates the world of Hwan or Heavenly Realm and 'In' suggests the cause of it. Thus He represents the God of Heaven. His prince, Hwan-Ung, represents the descendent of Heavenly Realm. Thus He occupies the central realm between Heaven and Earth. Dan-gun or Sandlewood King represents the God of Earth. Thus He became God of Mountain or San-sin, which occupies the center of cosmos reaching up to Heaven. We begin to notice why the stories dealing with the origin of Mutang are so closely attached to mountains such as Mt. Chiri, Mt. South and Mt. Diamond. We remember a myth of the Holy Mother who was understood to be the manifestation of Mt. Chiri. The God of Mountain and the God of Earth became important in a primitive society where hunting was the most essential aspect of life. However, this Trinitarian idea of God, the God of Heaven, the God of Middle Realm and the God of Earth, has deteriorated in the minds of Mutangs. The Sam-sin or Three Gods soon became the San-sim, the God of Procreation or God of Childbearing, to later shamanism (Lee, 1973a:154).

Chae Nam-sun makes the same point in saying, "Even though the idea of Three Gods had occupied an important place in our traditional shamanism, it later lost its essence and came to be known as a fertility god or the God of Productivity" (Choe, 1948:44).

Whether or not one agrees with these Korean scholars regarding transition from Sam-sin (Three Gods) to San-sim (Mountain-Gods or Fertility Gods) in this Hananim concept this provides a classic example in reductionism, the procedure of reducing a complex phenomenon to a simple and utilitary particular.

While the nature of Hananim may be ambiguous, his role in human affairs often receives recognition by the Korean people. Near the outskirts of Seoul a Korean army truck overturned, pinning a number of soldiers beneath it. Gasoline began pouring out of the ruptured tank, bringing with it the danger of fire. It was a very dangerous situation for the Korean soldiers beneath the truck. Recognizing their immediate danger and helplessness, several of the soldiers began crying out to Hananim for aid.

Clark seems to sum up the attitude of many in Korean society toward Hananim by stating:

> They say that he sends the harvest, yet in the Fall they offer their sacrifices not to him, but to the gods of the hills, or to the house gods, or to the ancestral tablets. He seems to be everything to them, and then again he seems to be nothing, judging from the way in which they disregard him when all goes well (Clark, 1932:196).

Hananim may be regarded as the highest figure in the Korean shamanistic pantheon, but in another sense, he seems to be so transcendent that he is clearly outside the immediate system as reflected in the practices of the mutang and pansoo.

O Pang Chang Koon or Five-point Generals

We have noted the importance of the um-yang cosmological system in Korean thought and practice, and its corollary, the "Five-Elements" theory (See n. 16, chapt. I). In this system, everything in the universe, both tangible and intangible, is composed of these elements in various combinations. This includes spatial directions. In Korean shamanism, for each of the five spatial directions there is a heavenly spirit who has jurisdiction over that particular ward or direction. Each ward is designated by a color and represents a season. The five directional or five-point spirits are known as the O Pang Chang Koon (The five-point generals).

Individually these "generals" are called:

1. Chung Chae Chang Koon (The green/blue general of the eastern ward: spring).

2. Chuk Chae Chang Koon (The red general, or emperor, of the southern ward: summer).

3. Pack Chae Chang Koon (The white general of the western ward: autumn).

4. Heuk Chae Chang Koon (The black general of the northern ward: winter).

5. Hwang Chae Chang Koon (The yellow general of the zenith).

Each of these powerful spirits is thought to be supreme in its particular ward, but the blue/green and red

"generals" are especially feared by malignant spirits. Some Koreans say that these five "generals" have simply taken over the heavenly jurisdiction of Hananim, who has gradually become more or less aloof from daily human affairs.

The utility of the O Pang Chang Koon may be seen in two ways. Since sickness or misfortune takes place in a home as a result of the work of evil spirits or ghosts, the mutang is summoned to locate this spirit. During the séance ritual, the shaman first locates the offending spirit in a particular part of the house or area, and summons the "general" of that area to frighten the evil spirit away. Not only are the O Pang Chang Koon expected to deal directly with offending spirits in shamanistic ritual, but through the use of the chang-seung or road gods their services are solicited to prevent evil from occurring in villages and towns. When ritual is being directed toward the O Pang Chang Koon, the mutang usually wears red clothing while dancing to the rhythm of the drums. She holds five colored flags or ribbons in her hands. The white, yellow, and red flags are in her right hand and the blue and black flags in her left hand. Members of the family are asked to select a flag. She tries to prevent them from taking the blue or black flag since these may indicate misfortune.

The chang-seung are carved wooden posts representing

the O Pang Chang Koon. These posts are generally carved from pine trees, the tops of which consist of a fierce-looking painted face. Occasionally there is a beard carved on the face, but usually the beard is made of oxen tail. Some chang-seung are quite elaborate and tall, often six or seven feet high, but in general they are shorter and require less work. In some areas they are merely slender poles from which the bark has been peeled, have a cross-stick to resemble a hat, and have whiskers made of a few strands of oxen hair.

The chang-seung is characteristically painted, and its title is written in Chinese characters to indicate that this is "The General of Everything Under Heaven and Above the Earth." A much smaller or more slender chang-seung is often found beside the "General," on which is lettered, "Wife of the Great General."

We are told that the number of these chang-seung has decreased drastically over the years, but many are still to be found in areas where shamanism is practiced more openly. Occasionally a number of these chang-seung may be found lined up along a roadside, some recently carved and painted while others are in various stages of decay and rot. The primary function of these posts seems to be that they represent the power and interest of the O Pang Chang Koon in regard to a particular town or village. They are thus designed to provide protection

against any malignant spirits which might happen along the way.

Both Hulbert (1906:408) and Clark (1932:197) indicate that the "Five-Point Generals" are especially cultivated by a blind shamanistic practitioner called the Pansoo, whose characteristics will be discussed in detail later. The Pansoo is known for his ability to tell fortunes, but he is also sought for purposes of healing or driving obnoxious spirits away. To aid him in his work, the Pansoo seems to have some unique relationships to the O Pang Chang Koon and the myriads of minor spirits or lieutenants under them. These inferior spirits are called Sin-chang, and they have a host of subordinates under them as well. The number of Sin-chang is great, ranging from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand in all according to some estimates (Hulbert, 1906:408; Clark, 1932:199; and Bishop, 1897:415).

Sam-sin or Three Gods

We have already discussed the trinity of Korean shamanism in the material on Hananim, and have noticed that the Sam-sin or Sam-sung (Three Holy Spirits) concept developed from the three legendary founders of Korea (Hwan-in, Hwan-ung and Hwan-Keum). The concept of three personal beings gave way in later shamanism to three mountain spirits. The towering peak in north Korea called

Paik-too San, or White-capped Mountain, is the tallest mountain in Korea, reaching an elevation of 2,744 meters. This mountain was originally called Palk-an San, or Mountain of Brightness. As the highest peak, it was the junction between heaven and earth. It was there that the three spirits dwelt. In this context, three elements in the development of Korean shamanism come together: the emphasis on the sun, the mountains, and culture heroes. Mt. Paik-too became a sacred place of worship and sacrifice, and in time, became an object of worship. This transition is interesting; it passed from a mountain where three gods dwelt, to a "three-god" mountain, and finally to a supernatural.

II. The San-sin or Mountain Spirits

The close relationship between mountains and the development of Korean shamanism has been demonstrated in connection with the formation of the system itself. There are many mountains which are noteworthy in the context of the shamanistic pantheon, among them Mt. Koo-wul, Mt. Myo-lyang (in the Liatung chain), and Mt. T'ae-paik (the ancient name of Paik-too Mountain) in North Korea. These are associated with the three gods who founded Korea, gods which are said to have descended to the mountain-peaks via a "divine tree." Ancient ruins and altars found in these ranges give testimony to an ancient order of ritual

in these areas. Old "god-trees" are worshipped as tutelary gods in many Korean villages today. The mutang uses a thick pine stick called sin-kan, or "divine rod" or "god-stick" in her ritual. The spirits are thought to descend to her through these rods.

Mari Mountain is located on Kangwha Island in Kyung-gi Province. On its highest peak is a huge stone altar where Tan'gun is supposed to have offered sacrifices. It is still used for rites on October 3, National Foundation Day. Many Koreans visit the site annually. The spirits associated with these mountains are said to have perpetuated their lives by eating an elixer called in-sam (Panax Ginseng). Kim Deuk-whang reports that in ancient times Chinese emperors sent for this "fairy medicine" in order to attain long-life (Kim, 1963:43). There are two varieties of this plant, white and red, which are cultivated and exported as a geriatric tonic throughout east Asia. Most Koreans believe that this root is a panacea for almost any condition needing increase in yang, or youthful strength. However, the most potent plants are those which grow wild in the mountains.

The Mountain Spirit

The mountain spirit is the tutelary of this plant and is the patron of those who climb Korea's mountainous terrain in search of in-sam. The root not only derives

its vigor from the mountain spirit, but the spirit releases its in-sam in abundance to those who seek his blessing through proper ritual.

The mountain spirits are thought to be lords over everything having to do with the mountains. Villagers spend a great part of their lives in the mountains cutting firewood, raking leaves, and hunting in-sam or pu-sut (mushroom). Because of the usually crowded conditions of the home, the mountains are excellent sanctuaries for prayers and contemplation. At the turn of the century, the mountains of Central and Northern Korea abounded in tigers. These tigers were understood to be the servants of the Mountain Spirit. While there are many mountain spirits, the shamanistic system seems to have more or less consolidated them into a single spirit who is invariably represented at shrines and Buddhist temples as an old man, clad in official dress, and riding or caressing a fierce tiger. As the patron of wood-cutters or villagers, the Mountain Spirit was invoked by appropriate ritual, such as an offering of a spoonful of rice or a small cup of rice-wine, to protect those who must go to the mountains. In the past, if someone was injured or killed by a tiger, it was obvious that the Mountain Spirit was angry and required offerings at the nearest shrine (Bishop, 1897:417). Currently there are no reports of tigers in the mountains, but the Mountain Spirit continues to be the object of worship at small shrines or stone altars

throughout the mountains of Korea. The fact that a mural of the Mountain Spirit and his tiger are generally found on Buddhist temple walls attests to the importance of this supernatural in the Korean shamanistic complex, and provides an example of an accommodation by Buddhism to the indigenous faith.

Since most rice fields or gardens must be located in the valleys between mountains, it is believed that good crops in the lowlands beneath the mountains are somehow dependent upon the favor of the Mountain Spirit. In case of droughts, a koot is held at one of his shrines, at which time the blood of a pig or dog is poured over the stones of the altar. Since the Mountain Spirit hates all uncleanness, it is believed that he will send rain in order to wash the blood away. A unique feature of this ritual lies in the focus on the slaying of the animal. Sacrificial rituals may vary in form and meaning. They may stress expiation or adoration, and can be placed in a context where the sacrifice is a bribe, a tribute, or an exchange of services. (In Korea, the spirits or ghosts are often said to be hungry.) Hubert and Mauss have suggested that a sacrifice is a "means of communication between the sacred and the profane worlds through the mediation of a victim" (Hubert and Mauss, 1964:97). In this case, the communication lies in a subtle belief that the Mountain Spirit does not like blood, and will send rain to wash it away.

In the process, the villages will receive the object of their sacrifice, i.e. rain for their crops.

The San-sin, or Mountain Spirit is one of the more popular deities of Korean shamanism. In a lecture on "Shamanism and Korean Culture," delivered on November 24, 1971, Mr. Cho Cha-yong, curator of the Folklore Museum, declared that, "Belief in the profoundly benevolent Mountain Spirit is one of the most precious truths in the traditional Korean faith." It does not follow that the Mountain Spirit and other minor spirits are always benign, for these spirits are often capricious and exacting, and do not tolerate neglect or intrusive actions. A woodcutter might be severely punished by personal injury, sickness in the family, or loss of household effects for lack of discretion in cutting down a particular tree. Osgood says that "spirits of ancient trees are widely respected over Korea and it is stated that anyone cutting into a tree that is over three hundred years old will die" (Osgood, 1951:124).

The San-ryung or Mountain-Pass Gods

Like so many other supernaturals in the Korean Shamanistic pantheon, this category of mountain-related spirits contains deities known by a variety of names. They are sometimes called Sung-whang Tang, which refers both to the spirits and their altars or shrines, and Sun-ang Tang. This san-sin, or mountain god, is generally associated

with a junction where a road goes through a mountain pass. In former times, travel through the mountains was often fraught with danger. Those who expected to travel were careful to offer gifts at the Sun-ang Tang (shrine of the tutelary deity). Shrines of the Sun-ang god frequently contain paintings of the god, his wife, and occasionally the Mountain Spirit, escorted by a tiger.

In the past, many of the roads were narrow and steep. It was quite natural for travelers to stop at the summit of the mountain road in order to rest, have a smoke, and survey the countryside. If there happened to be an old gnarled or unusually large tree at the top, one could usually find a crude wooden altar or a pile of stones there. Devotees of shamanism believed that many auspicious trees or rock formations enshrined a spirit, and thus some token of homage or petition was in order. The San-ryung or Sung-whaung (mountain-pass spirit) was honored by placing a stone at the foot of the tree. Since many people passed by, the piles of stone grew to huge proportions. Just how this custom began is not clear, but Clark indicates that there are several stories regarding unfaithful wives or immoral maidens whom the people shamed by casting stones on the pile or spitting upon it as a rebuke for their conduct (Clark, 1932:201).

Since it is known that a bride on her trip to her new home (si-chip) was leaving the spirits of her father's

house behind, she left stones to keep them from following her and thus preventing the depletion of the good fortune of her father's house (Patton, 1972:5). In addition to the pile of stones and pebbles, one may find strips of cloth of various colors called soek heung kup suspended from the limbs of the tree or tied to the trunk. It is frequently pointed out that some pieces of the cloth are strips from a bride's under-garment. Other colorful materials indicate that they are from children's clothing, or at least from material often used to make a girl's clothing. It should also be mentioned that if the tree has large limbs, especially a forked trunk, stones are placed in the fork of the tree. These features indicate a basic function of the mountain-pass god. This spirit is also a god of fertility. The new bride is extremely anxious to present her husband and his family with a child, hopefully a male child. The piece of material from her wedding clothes is a petition for a child as soon as possible. Korean informants affirm that the stones placed in the fork of the tree trunk are actually a phallic symbol suggesting procreation. Again this supports the thought that the mountain-pass deity is a tutelary god concerned, among other interests, with fertility.

The idea regarding fertility is further supported when one observes the metal shoes for cows tied to the trunk of a tree by a left-twisted straw rope. It may be

argued that this is a petition for the recovery of a sick cow, but the fact that they are almost exclusively for cows and not oxen strongly suggests a fertility aspect.

It is apparent that the Sun-ang Tang is not solely for fertility, for on a crude wooden altar one may also find a rice offering, bits of tobacco, small piles of salt, and a paper banknote. Most of the mountain-pass shrines will be marked by a pile of stone, and the altar and tree trunk will be blackened by the smoke of candles and sun-hyang (a joss stick or incense rod), and covered with strands of rope and scraps of paper.

III. To-joo or Spirits of the Soil

The supernaturals with whom we have had to do thus far have been those concerned mainly with matters of health, happiness, and fertility. Korea is essentially an agriculturally-based society, with around 70 percent of the population still engaged in agriculture. Cyclical rites connected with agriculture involve explicit supernatural safeguards to ensure good crops and economic success. Most of the village festivals of rural Korea are customarily held at the beginning of the planting season and at the end of harvest, and thus reflect expectancy and thanksgiving.

Chun-sin or Gods of the Plains

Under the shadow of the mountains and the

jurisdiction of the Mountain Spirit, the Koreans must exploit as much of the tillable soil as possible. In the main, the farmers show great skill and patience in exacting a living from the soil. However, the farmer who gives serious consideration to the shamanistic pantheon knows that his work may be jeopardized by malevolent spirits, or by the withdrawal of kee (seed or plant strength or vigor) by the gods of the soil. The chun-sin is the god of the plains. This tutelary deity presides over villages located in the plains and valleys, and is almost entirely connected with agriculture. It may be that this deity stems from mythical rulers of China who are credited with inventing agriculture (Clark, 1932:202). When the farmers are in the fields during rice transplanting and harvest times, they generally eat five times a day. Each time as an act of libation to Chun-sin some wine is poured out on the ground, or a spoonful of rice is thrown into the air.

Che-suk or Harvest God

Che-suk or Harvest God is sometimes referred to in connection with agriculture, and is associated with the open fields in particular. One may often find a dead chicken hanging from a tree or a stake at the edge of a rice plain. It may be that Che-suk has some function in securing a bountiful crop, but this deity is now more generally connected with fertility and birth. Women

especially are concerned with keeping the good favor of Che-suk. His spirit is usually provided a "nest" in an earthenware jar partially filled with rice. It appears that Che-suk has been assimilated into Buddhism, where he is associated with the heavens (Kim T'ae-gon, 1972:23). We may conclude that Che-suk does not now properly belong among gods who exercise control over villages of the broad plains or rice fields, but has slipped into another category of jurisdiction and function. Korean shamanism is remarkable in that it has few supernaturals essentially connected with agriculture. Ritual for crops is usually held by the mutang at the sung-whang tang, or village shrine located on the hills or mountains behind the villages.

Tu-joo or Tutelary Spirit of a House Site

In rural Korea one may occasionally find a small straw house, usually at the back of the house or yard, that had been dedicated to a house site spirit. The straw house, seldom over two feet in diameter or three feet high, called a Tu-joo ka-ri, may be easily overlooked because the Koreans often stack manure or compost at convenient spots and cover the pile with straw thatching. In the winter particularly, the Koreans cover plants and trees with thatching to prevent damage due to freezing. These observations are made to clarify the issue regarding the abundance of Tu-joo Ka-ri, or straw shrines. A jar of

grain called Tu-joo hang e-li is placed in the straw house as an offering. Calculating from the lunar calendar, July 7 is considered an auspicious day for presenting this offering. The ritual is much more elaborate when the entire family participates. There is a Korean sok-dam or folk-saying which says, "If you leave some offering with the tu-joo (site god), and some with the cho-wang (kitchen god), you end up with nothing." The meaning here is that "a small amount of wealth is soon scattered." However, the maxim may also indicate that offerings to these tutelary spirits used to be much more frequent.

Another guardian spirit for homesites is the Sung-joo dae, but this tutelary deity is more concerned with affairs inside the house which have a more direct bearing upon the family.

An interesting ritual called the Ji-sin balgi, or "Treading down the Earth Spirits" ceremony, is performed by farmers in the Kyung-sang provinces on the fifteenth day of the first moon. The farmers, wearing all kinds of masks, playing loudly and beating musical instruments, visit each home in the village to perform the ceremony. They dance around the house, shouting loudly, "Come good gods of the earth; away miscellaneous spirits; may all kinds of good luck and blessings come to this house." This petition, and the compacting of the earth during the dance, mean that

all evil and misfortune will be suppressed, and the family will have good luck (Choe Sang-su, 1960:39). Apparently this ritual is most common in October.

There are indications that the Koreans are somewhat sensitive regarding the privacy of their Tu-joo. Those who show inordinate attention to the dwelling place of their site god are considered intruders. It may be that this element of Korean shamanism reflects a genuine fear that others might attempt to manipulate their deity or negate any good which may occur as a result of its presence. It is believed that the mutang are able to bring misfortune on a family through such a process, so ritual at the Tu-joo shrine is usually conducted by the family.

IV. Sung-joo or Household Gods

Sung-joo

In a real sense the supernatural of the soil may be considered to belong to this category designated as household gods. The Sung-joo or Sung-joo dal is the hearth god, especially revered because of its possible influence upon a central feature of Korean social life, the family.

When a new house is built, the placing of the heavy ridgepole on the roof is the signal for a koot or ko-sal. Both of these words pertain to a ritual performed by a shaman. Sometimes a village leader or elder performs a ko-sa, but the koot more explicitly belongs to the domain

of a mutang or other shamanistic practitioner. The ridgepole is the largest beam in the house and supports the roof, whether the roof is of rice straw, tile, or slate. It is usually made of a single beautifully dressed log in the more wealthy homes, but may be composed of two simple pine logs joined in the center in tongue-and-groove fashion in a less expensive dwelling.

The raising of the ridgebeam ceremony is conducted by an elder of the village.[11] A typical joke played on the owner of the house is to pretend that the beam is too short. The workers announce this while everyone laughs and joins in the teasing. The workers insist that if more liquor or better food were available, the beam would probably stretch! Meanwhile the head carpenter smiles and waits until the last bit of pleasure is gleaned from the teasing, then he signals for the beam to be fitted in place. His future as a builder is dependent on this expensive part of the house neatly sliding into place. Before the ridgepole is raised, the date of the occasion is painted or carved into the wood. Usually there is some proverb or blessing written in Chinese characters added to the date. When the ceremony is over, the workers and guests eat the feast that has been prepared by the sponsor.

The typical koot by a mutang which follows the raising of the ridgepole involves calling up the spirit of

the house, the Sung-joo. In the course of the ritual, the shaman makes a crude paper envelope, puts rice and money inside, and pours wine over it. She pastes or ties the envelope to the ridgepole and calls upon the Sung-joo to bless the home. A fishhead is sometimes tied to the ridgepole as an additional offering. In the event that matters do not go well for the household, it may be a sign that the Sung-joo has deserted the home. The mutang is called again to coax the spirit back. A new "nest" may have to be made for the spirit.

The koot for honoring the Sung-joo is usually held in October by the lunar calendar. October is called sang-tal, or high month, for it is the month of harvest and the time for offering sacrifices to Sang-che (heavenly emperor) or Ch'un-sin (heavenly god). When a new house is completed, the koot for enshrining the Sung-joo is held immediately. Ideally, the best time for honoring Sung-joo is on the day when the head of the household has a birthday on a 7th year of a decade during the course of his life. Birthdays on the 27th, 37th, 47th, etc. years would be the best time. When a house is purchased from another individual, it is assumed that the resident Sung-joo will remain. The old owners must pass along any information available about the spirit.

Che-suk Chu-mun-ni

The household spirit, Che-suk Chu-mun-ni, is associated with the harvest, but the ritual for him is generally conducted at the village shrine or in the home, rather than the fields. Rice is placed in an envelope made of door paper of good quality called sa-ko-ji, and the envelope is pasted on the wall. Sometimes these envelopes are placed on the eaves or on the underside of the porch, where they become weather-stained and dark. This rite usually takes place on July 7. A Buddhist or Taoist household may prepare an inscribed colored card as a kind of amulet. This pu-juk is fastened to the walls of the home to ward off evil and to bring good luck.

Cho-wang or Kitchen God

Clark says that this deity was taken from Taoism and adopted by both Buddhism and Shamanism (Clark, 1932:206). The wife pays homage to Cho-wang by placing a dish of clear water or a few grains of rice on a small shelf in her kitchen.

The Sam-sin as Household Deities

These three deities have been discussed in other contexts, but they must be mentioned here because of their importance to women in the home. The Sam-sin represents the power of fertility. They provide the kee (vigor or potence) for the grains which are planted, and they are

the tutelary deities for women who desire children. In the tang-chip (shrines) located on the hills above the villages, pictures of these spirits may be seen pasted to the wall over the altar. Fresh bowls of water, a cup of rice, and the incense sticks on the altar symbolize the desire for children and good crops.

Clark says that the Sam-sin usually live in a paper bag or gourd containing rice and some strips of paper with writing on them placed there by the mutang. They are hung in the warmest, most honorable part of the living rooms, and periodically women provide food offerings to them (Clark, 1932:206). It is not always easy to tell which paper bag hanging from the ceiling or wall is the one containing the Sam-sin. Many Korean homes keep wild flowers, herbs, roots, and fruits for use as han-yak (Korean folk-medicine) hanging from the ceiling in paper bags labeled in Chinese writing. This not only keeps the fragile, and often expensive, medicine dry, but safe from the rats which live in the straw-roofed houses.

T'ut Ku-ryungi or Guardian Serpent

A T'ut Ko-sa is any sacrifice to a tutelary spirit of a house site. Clark has indicated that a certain variety of snake living on the premises of a Korean home is considered good luck and an object of worship (Clark, 1932:205). Osgood says that on Kangwha Island there is a black snake

that the people believe is the embodiment of both the ridgepole and garden wall spirits (Osgood, 1951:123).

There is a near synonym for a snake which may live somewhere around the house, the up-ryungi. However, this should probably be translated "mascot serpent," for it is usually a garden snake such as the garter snake. It is considered harmless and helpful since it disposes of some of the rats which burrow into the garden wall or foundation of the house. The up-kkupi, or "mascot toad" is considered good luck in the same way and is helpful in reducing the number of insects around the home.

However, to suggest that the Korean family considers it fortunate for a snake to move into their home is difficult to support. There is a recognition of a serpent deity which frightens certain other malevolent spirits away, but the Koreans do not ordinarily like snakes in their homes. In fact, the first day bearing the sign of the serpent in the new year is called pam-nal, or "prime serpent" day. The folk belief is that if any member of a family combs his hair on this day, a serpent may invade that house during the year.

One who is born under the sign of the snake will be a clever individual and will have promise of becoming wealthy. A mutang may attempt to improve the financial lot of a family by invoking the snake spirit who controls wealth on behalf of such a person.

In addition to the snake, which sometimes brings good luck, Korean families also consider the chok-chebi, or weasel, to be a bearer of good luck.

No-il ja-dae or Spirit of the Toilet

Shamans contend that malevolent spirits are associated with dark, damp places. These may be old wells, caves, groves with heavy underbrush, and the toilet shed. Most ghosts and spirits lurk in dark places, and forage at night because they cannot tolerate sunlight and brightness.

In the rural areas the toilet shed is located at some distance from the house, is made of rough lumber or mud walls, and has a straw or galvanized tin roof. In most cases there is little effort to keep the toilet shed in good repair, clean, or comfortable. Since human excrement is used for fertilizer, the toilet shed may have a special jar for catching urine, or there may be a drum or large jar buried in the ground. Usually there are a couple of boards or sticks across the container on which the user delicately balances himself. The excrement is ladled out with a long-handled dipper and carried to the gardens or fields.

With such an unpleasant place in which to live, it is small wonder that the No-il ja-dae is considered wicked and malicious. This malignant spirit is said to bring about blindness, sickness, and death. Some stories indicate

that the "spirit of the toilet shed" is especially hateful because her female organ was cut out and thrown into the sea, where it became a shell. Unable to have erotic pleasure, the "spirit of the toilet shed" now exacts vengeance on human beings, especially women.

Whatever one may believe regarding this particular spirit, it is certain that the toilet shed and the use of human waste for fertilizer have contributed a great deal to the prevalence of sickness, parasites, and anemia of rural Koreans. Not only does the toilet shed provide a hatching place for larvae, but the parasites maintain a constant cycle within the family since the vegetables from the fields are often eaten before being properly washed or cooked.

The number of stories involving sighting ghosts near a toilet shed is remarkable. Many Koreans tell about seeing strange apparitions near the toilet shed at a time when it was necessary to arise in the dead of night. Some informants believe that they have seen a Nam-sa Kui, or a ghost of a virgin, at the toilet shed. The fact that she is usually described as a maiden in a lovely red, yellow, and green dress in so many areas of Korea indicate that the story of this vindictive, sex-starved ghost is widespread.

Mama Kongchu or the Spirit of Smallpox

Two of the most dreaded diseases among the Koreans

are cholera and smallpox. Both of these diseases are unique in that a specific spirit is associated with them. As far as the shaman is concerned, there is no phenomenon unrelated to some spirit. Disease finds its source in supernatural power.

Because of the dreadful nature of smallpox, a great elaboration of precautions and ritual must be directed toward Mama Kongchu, the goddess of smallpox. Mama (smallpox) quite often brings death or leaves the victim marked for life. The skin eruptions and permanent scars are called pak-pak. In some areas of south Korea, the disease itself is called "Grandma Pak." The most elaborate ritual for smallpox lasts as long as thirteen days, during which time the shaman may place certain restrictions upon the home and its inhabitants. The extra precautions are made to insure that the patient will not have many severe pockmarks. In some ritual involving spirits which bring sickness, the shaman may be quite violent and intimidating in her ceremony, but the spirit of smallpox is always treated with great respect.

On the final day of ritual for smallpox, a miniature wooden horse is prepared, and is loaded for the spirit's journey with small bags of money and food. The family sends the spirit away with hearty good wishes for its prosperous return to its own place (Bishop, 1898:414 [reprint, 1970]). In our classification of this particular

spirit, it is considered in the context of a household deity because of its importance to the family and the elaborate measures which are needed for prophylaxis or curing.

V. Water Spirits

Ryong or Dragon Spirit

The country of Korea is a peninsula, so the Koreans have had a long and familiar relationship with the sea. In addition, there are a number of large and important rivers which have been significant in the development of Korean culture. Some of the earliest remains of Korean culture found to date are the shell mounds which have been excavated at different points around the country.[12] Wet rice farming makes the issues of rainfall and water sources important concerns in the rural areas. It is not surprising then that the Korean shamanistic pantheon contains an inventory of spirits associated with water. What is of interest is the fact that a peninsular country like Korea has not been as strongly oriented toward the sea as has her neighbor Japan. Just as the peninsula is joined to the land mass of East Asia, the culture of Korea has drawn from that quarter across the centuries. The sea has brought only unwelcome intrusions of foreigners to the shores of Korea.[13] The Chinese believed that all nature was alive with spirits, including the streams, ponds,

cultivated fields, the great rivers, and the sea. By the time of the First Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 8), spirits were regarded as falling into two classes: the shen, which are yang in character and tend to be beneficent, and the kuei, which are yin and were considered to be more unpredictable and dangerous (Noss, 1974:246). A favorite supernatural of the Chinese was the dragon, who is associated with water. In nearly every representation the dragon is a frightening figure; however, the dragon personifies the ambivalence of many shamanistic deities in that it has great potential for destruction and yet may be expected to act in a benevolent way upon occasion. In just the same way, water is needed for men, animals, and plants, and without it they would die. Thus, water is vital and a boon to mankind. However, in the form of floods, typhoons, and storms, water may be very destructive.

Korean shamanism has adopted the dragon as the most important of the water spirits. Its role in this context is much like its place in old China. Ilyon, in his Samguk Yusa, has many tales to tell of dragons and places that dragons frequented. He tells of a dragon pool at Tong-ch'on-sa (East Pond Temple) where dragons of the Eastern Sea often came to listen to Buddhist sermons (Ha and Mintz [trans.], 1972:118). Ilyon associates dragons with origin myths, capricious acts such as kidnapping a queen, beneficient services to kings such as convoying ships, and

preying upon human lives.[14] Dragons in the Eastern Sea were believed to protect the Korean coastline against the wako, the marauding Japanese pirates. King Munmu of Silla (A.D. 661-681) wanted to be buried at sea where he could become a dragon and co[illegible]e to protect his people.[15] His submerged tomb is located off shore at Wolson-gun, near Kyung-ju, on the eastern coast of Korea.

Deep ponds, especially at the foot of a waterfall, unusual rock formations along the coasts, and even wells are said to be the homes of the dragon spirits. One of the best known dragon-like rock formations is the Ryong-dam rock on Cheju Island. This unique formation is much revered by the fishermen. Cheju Island, a semi-tropical volcanic island, is one of the Provinces of Korea, and the home of the famous hae-nyu, or diving women of the sea. These women spend much of their lives diving for marine-life, a task in which they have become very skillful.[16] As is the case at many other major fishing centers, on Cheju the fishing season is begun by appropriate ritual designed to protect the fishermen and guarantee a season of abundant catches. The coastline surrounding the island has many shrines and monuments dedicated to those who have perished at sea. In the anthropological literature it is often argued that a feature that distinguishes shamanism from a priestly system is the number of persons who attend a ceremonial occasion. It is maintained that the shaman

performs ritual before small and more or less intimately-related groups, while priests are associated with larger communal groups. This distinction is questionable; moreover Korean shamanism demonstrates that shamans often take part in large community ritual occasions. A ritual on Cheju at the beginning of the fishing season has become a colorful and festive occasion, with city elders taking part in a massive ceremony involving hundreds of people and elaborate altars. It must be pointed out that many of the men who perform religious functions at this time are not full-time practitioners, but leaders of the community dressed as shamans. It is a festive occasion and inaugurates the fishing season. The mutang is not often a principal at this particular ceremony, but she is usually very much in evidence at such a time in the smaller fishing villages along the coast.

In the Seoul area, shrines near pools or streams having a reputation for healing properties quite often contain shamanistic paintings of Aryong-jong, or the Lady of Dragon's Palace. According to Ilyon, this woman was born of a dragon, and became the first queen of the Silla Dynasty (Ha and Mintz [trans.], 1972:50). In times of drought, Aryong-jong is one of the supernaturals who is petitioned for rain. One ku-ri (phase or step) of a koot at the shrine of Aryong-jong involves pouring a cup of

water through a sieve. This appears to be a classic form of sympathetic magic.

Ku-pook or Turtle Spirit

This spirit usually is not identified with the fresh-water turtle (which is called ja-ra), but with the sea turtle. There are many folk stories regarding the escapades of the sea turtle which is usually considered a servant or messenger of the Dragon King of the sea. The Ku-pook spirit is associated with strength and renewal. Since the turtle spirit is believed to hibernate during the winter months, it is necessary to arouse it with loud beating of drums and generous offerings of t'ak-joo, an inexpensive but potent liquor made from grains. If appropriate rituals are not carried out in honor of Ku-pook and the Dragon Spirit, it is believed that the sea and rivers will not yield their fish, nor will the clams, abalone, and oysters be found in abundance.

Wisdom and longevity are also attributed to the turtle spirit. This spirit is consulted by the mutang regarding the fate and condition of those lost at sea or believed drowned. One method of divination among Korean shamans involves burning turtle or tortoise shells and interpreting the cracks which have been formed. This method of divination is called Ku-pook jum.

Nok-kwie shin or Spirit of People Drowned

When there is a death in a family, a proper funeral is important both for the dead and the living. For the living the funeral is an opportunity to fulfill obligations toward the dead, ensure the prosperity of the family, and maintain good relations with relatives, friends, and the neighbors. If one does not provide a funeral commensurate with the wealth and status of the family, he is accused of being a person "who does not know propriety." There is a great stigma attached to that assessment, so the social pressure is intense. Many families go in debt for years because they have exceeded the family resources in providing a lavish funeral for a member of the family. The government has made strenuous attempts to curb this practice, with uneven success. An appropriate ritual provides comfort for the departed nuk hon or chung-ryung (soul or spirit), and prestige in the community for the living.

If a person dies away from home, every effort is made to transport the body to the ancestral graveyard. This site has been carefully selected by a chi-kwan or geomancer. The peace of the departed chung-ryung is somehow dependent on congenial burial arrangements and continued communion with the family through ritual. The Confucian system provides that this ritual be conducted by the eldest son on behalf of the family. To live to a ripe old age is one of the O-bok, or Five Blessings. These five include:

longevity, wealth, health, love of virtue, and a peaceful death. When one has lived a long life, it is evidence of having received one of the O-bok. Since the dead are now much more powerful than when they were alive, it is believed that they are in a position to bless the living. Lee Choon-hang says that ancestor worship is essentially an expression of selfishness. He sees it not so much an expression of filial piety as a desire to receive blessings from the ancestor's spirit (Lee, 1970:19). On the other hand, the dead may become ambivalent in their attitudes toward the living. One who dies young may feel that he has been denied certain pleasures and experiences; therefore the spirit may seek some sort of compensation from the living. If someone dies a violent death, his spirit is believed to be especially dangerous. The spirits of those who have drowned are said to be held by the water until they can bring another person to his death in the same manner. For this reason, rivers and ponds where a drowning has taken place must be avoided until this spirit is pacified with appropriate ritual. Francis L. K. Hsu indicates that the same belief exists in China (Hsu, 1967: 206). Since many more lives are lost at sea than in the rivers, one would expect to find much more ritual activity related to such matters in the villages along the sea. Cheju Island has many shrines where ritual is conducted frequently. At these shrines the shaman performs a chi-no

kwe koot, or séance for the dead. This koot is sometimes called a sae-nam. While the family of the deceased are engaged in rubbing their hands together before the altar, the mutang dances to the beat of drums until she enters a state of kong-soo, or ecstacy. In this trance, the mutang is able to become the instrument of communication with the dead. While in the state of kong-soo, the shaman delivers messages from the deceased person's spirit, or articulates by dramatic ravings the state of the disquieted soul. In this manner the family will learn of the fate of their loved one, and take steps to direct the spirit back home in a ceremony known as a "direction ritual." Most informants believe that the shaman is resorting to ventriloquism at these times, but since there is a possibility of communication in this, and since the effect is most impressive, it seems to make little difference. These utterances of the shaman are called nok-too-ri. The altar or tablet before which the shaman stands is a chu-nae.

If a person or animal drowns in a village well, this well must be cleansed by drawing out all the water and exorcising the spirit which will be lingering about.

Ha-paik or Guardian Spirit of Boats

Ha-paik is a water spirit closely associated with the fishing industry in Korea, but seems to be more important to the fishermen of Cheju Island where he is best

known. Clark thinks that this particular spirit may be another name for the dragon (Clark, 1932:204). This may well be the case, for the ceremony involving the dispatching of a small straw boat during the second lunar month on Cheju Island is called the ryong-deung koot, or dragon ceremony.

During the ryong-deung koot, a ceremony designed to stop the dragon from opening and devouring all the shellfish, a small straw raft or boat is constructed. The small craft, usually about one foot long, carries two sails made of paper, with the stick masts topped with a red flag and a white flag. A small wooden rudder gives the miniature vessel a boat-like appearance. The little craft is loaded with rice and wine offerings and is dispatched toward the sea or down the river, as an oblation to Ha-paik. The red and white flags are said to represent two spirits of the sea. In some seacoast villages, the tiny raft may be soaked with liquor and set afire before it is shoved toward the sea. This may be done at night, but the best time for this ritual is during the chin-si, or the "watch of the dragon," which is from 7:00 to 9:00 a.m.

A Buddhist monk on Cheju Island gave an interesting insight into the function of this particular ritual. He said that the small craft is called a ho-mae-sun, which usually refers to courage. The monk explained that the fishing craft and equipment of the Korean fishermen are

not very adequate or safe. They cannot compete with the excellent fishing equipment owned by the Japanese, a matter which poses many problems for the Korean fishing fleets. Therefore, by sending forth the ho-mae-sun rafts the Korean fishermen receive kee (strength and confidence) for the fishing trip. The monk observed that certain scholars cannot understand how these fishermen can receive confidence from this ritual, but this is because one must be a believer before he can realize the benefits from such observances. He further explained that his order takes part in these beneficial rituals as well as in the koots before the hal-eu-pang dang or the altars of the volcanic stone image hal-eu-pang (the patron saint of Cheju Island). This deity does not have a particular association with the fishing industry, but his image is found throughout the island and is greatly revered by the people.

VI. Spirits of Human Origin

The shamanistic pantheon of Korea illustrates a familiar concept in comparative religions, namely, that the world of spirits is very much like the world of the living. Most of the spirits seem to reflect the nature, aspirations, and cultural features of the Korean people. Death has not severed the relationship between the dead and the living, but has lifted it to another level, one which poses many complex problems for the living.

It appears likely that many of the concepts concerning death and ancestral rites have come to Korea through the process of diffusion from China. In the transmission of these concepts modifications and specific elaborations have taken place. Communication and pacification seem to lie at the heart of ritual directed toward the dead. Communication is desirable for three purposes, to gain knowledge about the dead, to make provisions for the needs of the dead, and to acquaint the dead regarding services needed by the living. Korean society is organized primarily on the basis of kinship, through which all of the necessities of life are realized. Kinship ties are very strong and binding. In life the rules of behavior toward kinsmen are highly formalized and considered matters of etiquette and morality.

In keeping with this orientation, Korean shamanism alleges that the spirit of a dead person continues to be very much as he was in life, and that he maintains a special relationship to the members of the family. It is believed that the spirits of the dead can be made happy, or they may be offended. They can be helpful and benevolent, or they may become dangerous and vindictive.

It is apparent from Ilyon's Samguk Yusa, a work to which we have referred a number of times, that many of the supernatural beings of Korean shamanism are linked with notables of the past. Tan'gun, the mythical founder of

Korea, may indeed have been a historical figure who brought many benefits to the people of his time. The O Pang Chang Koon, or five-point generals, are said by some shamans to have been great military leaders of the past who had protected certain strategic areas of the country. General Yim is a familiar figure in shamanistic shrines on the western coast of Korea. He is reported to have been a powerful warrior, and a protector of fishermen in particular.

Korean shamanism has deified great figures of the past and considered the accounts regarding them as historical facts. Ha and Mintz see this as a contrast to Confucian China's tendency to "humanize" the myths and legends of the past and fit them into the framework of actual events (Ha and Mintz [trans.], 1972:9). As a conceptual formulation, Korean shamanism may be said to have incorporated into its inventory of supernaturals historically verifiable persons whose new role is consistent with their past behavior.

In addition to cultural heroes, most of whom are typically helpful, there are other spirits of human origin who are most malevolent. While these spirits of human origin may not be the most powerful, they seem to be the most fearsome.

Sam-si-ryang or Ghost of a Baby

At birth both the mother and new infant are

considered to be very vulnerable to intrusions by evil spirits. The San-sin, or Mountain Spirit, specializes in taking care of the mother and her baby. However, prior to the introduction of modern medicine, infant mortality was very high. In spite of many fine hospitals operated along Western lines, most births are assisted by a san-p'a, or mid-wife. In some cases, the umbilical cord is severed with a long fingernail or scissors. Medical doctors venture to say that hundreds of infants die of tetanus each year because of this. The result is that there are many sam-si-ryang, or ghosts of babies. It is considered very dangerous for someone in the home where a birth is about to take place to visit a house in mourning. If this happens, a sang-mun p'ul-e koot is necessary to ward off the evil influence that may have been acquired. One method of keeping ghosts away from the new baby is to tack or paste a picture of General Yim on the gate. Smearing a red-bean paste on the door-posts of the house is considered effective as well. However, there is another way of accomplishing protection for the baby and announcing the birth of a son at the same time. Generally, both evil spirits such as sam-si-ryang and people are dissuaded from entering by a straw rope which is stretched across the top of the gate. In the West, the color blue is associated with a boy, and pink with a girl. In Korea, if red peppers and rice straw are twisted into the "keep-away rope," it is a sign that

a son has been born. If there are no red peppers, but one sees pieces of charcoal and pine-needles entwined, it is evidence that a mother has given birth to a daughter. The mutang is called to hold a sam-sin meh koot when the woman is in her seventh or ninth month of pregnancy, and the mutang comes again for the same ritual on the seventh day after the birth of the baby. The meh of the linguistic form sam-sin meh refers to rice, but as a part of the koot, the "keep-away rope" is utilized. The sam-sin meh may be held at the mutang's shrine, but it is most often observed in the home. The presence of the "keep-away rope" advises the people of the birth of a child, and suggests protocol for certain types of behavior including kinds of gifts, the extent and duration of the period of isolation, and the ritual cleanliness on the part of visitors.

Ghosts of a Virgin

Nam-sa Kue, Son-kak si, and Tong-ja po-sal are all names for ghosts of a virgin. This is one of the most feared ghosts in Korean shamanism. Denied marriage and children by untimely death, this sex-starved ghost has become extremely vindictive and dangerous. Extensive precautions are taken at the burial of a virgin. Clark says "they were often buried in the middle of traveled roads in graves eight feet deep, with roof tiles fastened around their heads to keep the spirit in the grave, and

keep it from wandering about to plague the living" (Clark, 1932:205). Buddhist influence has made cremation a common form of disposing of a body. When a virgin or newly married young woman dies suddenly or strangely, she is often cremated in order to prevent her from becoming a son-kak si, the most common name for the ghost of a virgin. In many cases, the corpse is cremated the same day, a certain sign that something strange is connected with her death.

Since part of the vindictive attitude of the ghost is due to the fact that she never had a husband, the young woman may be buried with a straw male doll, or may be buried in male clothes. Some informants relate how young virgins are buried in the middle of a road, or immediately beside it, so that the ghost will hear the steps of men as they pass by. The no-jang, or road burial has an additional feature. When the young virgin is buried, it is helpful to place grains of rice in her hands. It is believed that a son-kak si likes to count the number of grains she has, but whenever a heavy object, usually a man or ox-cart, passes by her grave, the grains of rice are disturbed and she loses count. Therefore she must start counting all over again. This keeps the ghost occupied for some time, so she is not as great a threat to the living.

It is believed that the son-kak si may enter another woman's body and possess her. This usually brings about an alteration of the personality of the possessed woman.

Her behavior may become strange and alarming to the family. One manifestation of aberrant behavior may be that the woman refuses to obey the mother-in-law, or speaks harshly to her. The woman may use vulgar or suggestive language to the father-in-law. Korean society has traditionally been a patri-local society in which the son brings his wife home to live with his family. The happiness and duration of the marriage quite often depend upon congenial relationships of the bride with the mother-in-law and father-in-law.[18] If the woman suddenly begins to act strangely towards her husband's parents, it may be necessary to call a mutang in order to divine the cause of this aberrant behavior. Once a daughter-in-law has fallen victim to the son-kak si spirit, it is not unusual for possession to take place again and again, even after exorcism by the mutang.

In the event that there is a history of son-kak si possession, or indications that a son-kak si ghost has been associated with a family, it is difficult to arrange a marriage for the other children of the family, since such a ghost might be passed to another member of the household.

There are stories which indicate that the ghost of a young virgin may turn into a mago snake. This mythical snake is supposed to be found mainly in the Chiri Mountain area in the southern part of Korea. This mountain is a

center of much shamanistic activity as well as many modern revitalistic cults. The eggs of the mythical mago snake were supposed to be a powerful aphrodisiac (Yi Kyu-tae, 1970:165).

VII. Other Supernatural Spirits Or Manifestations of Power

Tok-kae-bi or Mischievous Spirit

The Tok-kae-bi is a mischievous, but harmless spirit, much like the leprechaun of Irish folklore. It delights in playing tricks upon people by spilling things, hiding household items, and tripping people. While demonstrating supernatural qualities, the Tok-kae-bi is not regarded as something to be feared, although his tricks may result in some embarrassment or loss. This spirit never causes sickness or death. In fact, if one sees the little imp, he is certain to have good luck. It is believed that the tok-kae-bi delights in lingering around places where money is buried, so if one of these spirits is seen, there should be an immediate search of that area in order to find the treasure. Occasionally the tok-kae-bi becomes excessively troublesome, so a koot is necessary in order to rid oneself of it. In most cases it is not necessary to call a mutang for this exorcism, for an offering will usually be sufficient.

The tok-kae-bi can be a "very present help in time of trouble" for some Korean youngster who needs a scapegoat.

In order to avoid punishment for some infraction, the youngster may say, "I didn't do it! A tok-kae-bi did it!"

Many students of religion have found that the existence of mischief makers, who alternate between helpful and harmful activities, constitutes a common theme. In fact, the phenomenon is so common that the title "trickster" has been assigned to them. The Coyote is a well-known trickster among the Indians of the Southwestern part of the United States (Opler, 1965:196-197). In Korea the tok-kae-bi may function as the conventional trickster.

The Yu-oo or Fox

In his Samguk Yusa, Ilyon tells about people changing themselves into foxes (Ha and Mintz [trans.], 1972:71), and relates how certain calamities were preceded by the appearance of a fox. Foxes are closely associated with ghosts and spirits in Korea and Japan. The fox is regarded as being clever and remarkable in its ability to slip in and out of a house without being seen. Spirits in human appearance may enter a house, bringing sickness or grief, then steal away in the form of a fox. In order to protect themselves from this kind of intrusion, an incantation may be pasted on the gates by the householders.

The appearance of a fox is always considered a bad omen, especially if it is a white fox. The fox is

associated with ghosts, and white is the color of mourning and death in East Asia. There are no strong indications that the fox carries out the trickster role in Korean shamanism. The tok-kae-bi seems to fit this role best.

Pu-Jang or Fetishes

A well-known characteristic of animistic religious systems is the belief that supernatural power or magical properties may be attached to particular objects, giving them special power to avert evil or promote good. The term fetish is often used to designate this object. In general, it must be stated that the pu-jang, which may be translated "fetish," are not objects of worship by the shamans, but are objects believed to contain magical power to protect or to otherwise bring supernatural aid to their possessors. The chang-seung, or road gods are of this order. These carved posts represent specific supernatural spirits without being the essential essence of the spirits themselves. They are the abode of the particular power signified by the carved image.

In Korean folklore, the 14th day of the first lunar month is one of the most sacred days. One aspect of ritual on this day is the fashioning of a chae-oong, or rice-straw doll. This fetish represents a male or female form, and may be complete with face, toes, and fingers. In the past, a coin was often placed in the head of the doll, but

in these days one generally finds paper money of small donominations stuffed in the torso. Since the 14th day is the time when five kinds of grain are cooked and offered to the spirits, it is not unusual for this oblation, contained in a paper bag or gourd, to be attached to the chae-oong, or at least to be placed nearby. In most Korean homes it is customary for each member of the family to remove his shoes before entering the house. The shoes are left on a rack, or are just lined up along the porch. On the night of the 14th day, the shoes are brought into the house. As a substitution for the shoes, a straw sandal is often cast down along the roadside with the chae-oong. It is believed that the misfortune of the home travels with the spirit of the chae-oong as it moves along a different route. In function the chae-oong seems to be very much of a "scapegoat."

In this ritual, it is assumed that many of the malevolent spirits are somewhat stupid, not being able to distinguish between the doll and the person at home. The straw sandals serve to confuse them even more. In somewhat the same vein, many of the Korean houses have a wooden fence or screen before the main door. This screen serves for privacy, but it also prevents spirits from entering the house, since many of the spirits cannot make turns but can only travel in a straight line. Also, if thorn bushes are placed over the door, evil spirits, fearing to be

scratched, will be discouraged from entering.

Amulets, charms, or talismans of Korean shamans appear to have two functions; they attract and interest some protective or guardian spirits, and they ward off malignant spirits. Favorite talismans include old coins, small pouches of grain, unusual stones, yellow clay, and feathers. Written incantations are also considered very effective in preventing intrusions by evil spirits. These may be pasted on the gates of homes, the walls of shrines, or they may be sewn in the clothing of children.

Pictures of dragons, tigers, and culture heroes are also fetishes which are much used in Korean shamanism. An investigation of many of the homes in the Kyeh-ryung Mountain area in the southern part of Korea revealed an amazing assortment of fetishes, paintings, and statues hanging on the walls of the houses, or sheltered in the "god-shed" or shrine at the rear of the house. During the day most of these fetishes are protected from sunlight and prying eyes behind a sheet or blanket. In the evening, when most of the ritual takes place, the drapes are removed and offerings are placed before the fetishes. This is done in order to renew their strength and support their affinity with the household.

As a general concept, these protective talismans must be viewed as having implied potency, derived from supernatural power. This may be the result of an intrinsic

relationship with a particular spirit, or the result of manipulation by a shaman.

As this survey has indicated, supernatural power takes a variety of forms in Korean shamanism. Impersonal and abstract power exists, but most of the supernaturals are considered to be concrete personal beings. There appears to be a hierarchy in the Korean pantheon and a division of labor among its members. Korean people characteristically place all manifestations of power into two categories: good and evil. There seems to be many more evil or dangerous spirits than good. In this regard, the spirits themselves reveal a good deal of inconsistency; sometimes they are beneficient, and at other times they may be malicious. It is also quite evident that the spirits of Korean shamanism and the Korean people share many of the same interests and concerns. One might suggest that the supernatural powers of Korean shamanism almost mirror the nature and outlook of the Korean people themselves. Korean shamanism posits a universe which is charged with supernatural power and a host of spirits. Standing between the supernatural forces on the one hand, and their human supplicants on the other, are full or part-time religious practitioners whom we have identified as shamans. The relationship between them has been formalized or institutionalized to such a degree that there are several classes

of identifiable shamanistic practitioners whose function and roles in Korean society are very specific and well-defined.

NOTES

Chapter II

[1]The story of Chumong and the foundation of the Koguryo Dynasty is an example of the supernatural element in some of the origin myths. In the story a heavenly prince made love to a woman and then left her. The king at that time was named Kumwa. King Kumwa took the woman to his home and confined her in a dark room, but the blazing sunlight penetrated the room, casting its warm rays over her body. The woman conceived and gave birth to a large egg. Some stories say that it was a red egg, while other stories indicate that it was blue. King Kumwa was surprised and angry and cast the egg before his dogs and swine, but they would not eat it. He cast it in a field to abandon it, but the birds and beasts covered it with their feathers and fur. The King tried to crack the egg, but to no avail. At last he gave it back to its mother, who wrapped it in a soft cloth and laid it in a warm place. Soon the shell cracked, and out sprang a lovely boy who looked noble and gracious, like a great prince. The egg and sun motif are familiar themes in ancient Korean cosmology.

[2]According to the national census taken by the Economic Planning Board of the Republic of Korea in 1968, there were more than fifty million Korean people, each one of whom bore one or another of 259 family names. Each family maintains a jok-bo (Book of genealogy) which is scrupulously kept by a selected member of the family.

[3]There are definite shamanistic concepts regarding the attitudes and activities of the spirits (hon) of those who have died. However, except for aspects which have been borrowed from the more highly developed religions with which the shaman is familiar, there does not appear to be much speculation or deep philosophical thought regarding the future. The Korean shamans, and those to whom they provide services, are realists, and all of their desires are for the present. They want to avoid calamity and misfortune now, and have a happy life tomorrow. There is little thought regarding the concept of eternity. This may well be a reason for Buddhism's failure to impress

many Koreans, for Buddhism seeks deliverance from this life. The prayers, rituals, fortune-telling, and other aspects of Korean shamanism are mainly concerned with the present life and how to enjoy it. Most of my informants were little interested in heaven or hell as a possibility for the future.

[4]Some Koreans believe that the god called Ryum-ra Tae Wang is related conceptually and phonetically to the Hindu diety Yama, the first man to die, but who became the god of the dead and the ruler of the place of departed spirits. I am told that the Chinese writing suggests a relationship between Ryum-ra Tae Wang and Pluto, the god of the dead and the underworld as found in classical mythology.

[5]The point of emphasis here is not that shamanism is born out of tensions, fear, and feelings of insecurity in the face of the unknown, but in the recognition of a level of existence in the shamanistic cosmology wherein dwell spirits who must be taken into account in the fishing institution. It is admitted that there is a functional issue involved in this matter, but there is an ideological one as well. In the summer of 1971 I talked with one hae nyuh who was sixty-eight years old. She had been earning her living from diving into the sea since she was sixteen. Her faith in all these years was in her own ability and the faithfulness of the gods of the sea who would provide for her needs.

[6]The huge stone dolmens scattered throughout north Korea are not only regarded as tombs, but as altars upon which ancestral feasts were offered to the spirits. The Mumun people, representatives of a culture which was thriving during the early part of the first millennium B.C., are credited with the construction of these huge stone structures. Of these Mumun people, Wanne J. Joe says:

> The religious belief was at first primitive animism which in time became a mixture of demonology and nature worship, the basis from which Shamanism was to be developed through the introduction of magic later. The Mumun people believed in spirits, both benevolent and malignant, that filled the unseen world. They considered large trees and rocks to be dwelling places of these spirits and unfathomable phenomena of nature to be the workings of deities. The sun and ancestral spirits were universally worshipped as benefactors of the living, as could be seen in genetic legends (Joe, 1972:9-11).

[7]In his book, The Heathens, Howells says that collecting, sorting, naming, and framing of the different classes of deities serves no useful purpose. He goes on to say that, "If you abstract and classify, you are less likely to see the gods as citizens of the culture to which they belong, and you are also apt to fall into assumptions regarding a supposed evolution or development of the idea of gods, and say, 'This religion is high, that religion is low' (Howells, 1962:207-208)." It would appear that Howells is contending for the principle of relativity in essence. However, one need not make any value judgments of this kind regarding Kim T'ae-gon's classification of Korean shamanism's pantheon, even though he has constructed his list on a somewhat descending scale. His list actually demonstrates that Korean shamanism's supernatural powers are definitely citizens of the culture to which they belong, and are closely connected with the daily life of the people. In fact, this may well be part of the reason for their existence and persistence over a great period of time. It must also be pointed out that Korean society is extremely rank and status conscious. It might be considered unusual if Mr. Kim had not arranged his pantheon as he has.

[8]I am indebted to Charles Allen Clark's Religions of Old Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1932), for the basic outline.

[9]This quotation, much like the previous two, appears to resemble Max Müller's theory regarding the origin of religion, in which primitive peoples moved from descriptive appellations of the natural world to attributing anthropomorphic and divine characteristics to aspects of nature.

[10]The Roman Catholic Church in Korea adopted the pure Chinese word Chun-ju, "Lord of Heaven" to designate God in Christianity, while Protestants use the ancient Korean term Hananim.

[11]The general attitude toward the mutang is one of a mixture of awe, fear, and contempt. The bearing of the shaman is not warm and friendly, but is often highly demanding and professional. The villagers may practice ritual upon occasion, but their techniques do not involve ecstatic performances or trances.

[12]The Kimhae shell-mounds reveal that rice and other foods were cooked. Korean scholars strongly believe that the rice was a cultivated variety. This suggests that upland and paddy-rice farming was conducted before, or at least contemporaneous with, the Kimhae shell-mounds. This may have been five thousand years before the present.

[13]Villages along the coasts of Korea were prime targets of the Japanese marauders called Wako. Until the modern period, the Toyotomi Hideyoshi invasion of 1592 represented the greatest concerted effort by the Japanese to subjugate Korea. The Hideyoshi invasion was unsuccessful, largely because the Japanese were defeated in sea battles by the unique armor plated "turtle ships" of the famous Korean admiral Yi Sun-sin (1545-1598). On February 27, 1876, the first treaty with a nation other than China was ratified with Japan. This took place on Kangwha Island, the site of the Tan'gun altar. On May 22, 1882 Korea signed a treaty with the U.S., an event which signalled a rapid involvement with other foreign powers.

[14]Ilyon quotes stories and poems which seem to indicate that the dragon and turtle are sometimes interchanged. One can often see paintings of great turtles which have several serpent heads. Paintings or statues of dragons in Korea often show a red bead or red jewel in its mouth. In Korean Buddhism this red bead is called a sari or sarisa, which is the name given to a bone relic from the body of the Buddha. In Korea, when a monk dies, his body is cremated and the ashes searched in order to find sari in the remains. The more sari that are found, the greater honor accorded the deceased.

[15]Some records suggest that the body of King Munmu was cremated, and the ashes scattered in the sea. However, Korean archaeologists have confirmed Ilyon's statement regarding the wish of the king. The tomb has been found submerged in the sea on the east coast of Korea. It may be that the tomb was not originally totally submerged, but there are four waterways which have been cut through the rock formation surrounding the tomb, and the waters of the sea pour through those openings and meet over the spot where the king is entombed. The coffin is contained in a chamber beneath a huge stone slab.

[16]The Cheju Islanders boast of having three things in abundance: women, wind, and rocks. The island is

volcanic and strewn with volcanic rock. Mt. Halla rises to the clouds in the center of the island. The people of Cheju are very proud of the hae-nyuh, as indeed they should be. The women provide a significant part of the family income.

[17]Rice is the staff of life for all of Asia. In spite of current policies of diversification, wet rice farming is still the most important aspect of Korean agriculture. The rice industry has given rise to entire sets of terms and behavior patterns. There is a descriptive term for any phase of production and consumption of rice. When eaten by the family, boiled rice is called pap, but when offered to a guest, it is called chin-ji. The consumption of rice, the position of the rice bowl on the table, and the use of chop sticks are all highly formalized. When a guest places his chop sticks on the table, the meal is brought to a close. The host keeps his chop sticks on his bowl until the guest signals that he has had enough by this means. When rice is offered to the gods or to departed spirits, it is called meh. Meh is also the term used when referring to rice eaten at the royal courts.

[18]The fact that a son-kak-si intrusion into the body of a daughter-in-law is a fairly common phenomenon in Korean society leads one to suspect that this behavior may provide a very interesting method for a hard-working and harassed bride to show her displeasure at conditions to which she is subjected in her husband's home without risking the stigma of being labeled a poor wife. Normally the daughter-in-law is a near servant in the home. She never eats with the men, especially when the father-in-law is present. She usually gets the difficult work assignments around the house and has very little recourse in the matter. This does not mean that every home has difficulty; on the contrary, the mother-in-law and her son's wife know that a great deal depends upon their getting along together. However, when the tension and frustration in a home reach a breaking point, son-kak-si possession provides the daughter-in-law temporary release.

CHAPTER III

THE PRACTITIONERS OF KOREAN SHAMANISM

In its more limited sense shamanism is said to be a phenomenon peculiar to North Eurasian peoples (Hultkrantz, 1962:32 and Eliade, 1951:4). Czaplicka seems to regard shamanism as belonging exclusively to that region with its extremes of cold and heat (Czaplicka, 1914:168). It is generally accepted that the word "shaman" itself comes from the Tungusic *sǎman*, and has passed into Western scientific terminology by way of the Russians (Eliade, 1950: 299).[1] Although shamanism among the Ural-Altaic tribes may be considered to be a specialized and highly elaborated form, the phenomenon is not restricted to this area (Lessa and Vogt, 1965:452). Eliade makes the same observation when he says, "But Shamanism, although its most complete expression is found in the Arctic and North-Asiatic regions, must not be considered as limited to those countries" (Eliade, *loc.cit.*). There are numerous accounts of comparable patterns of shamanistic behavior from many areas of the world.

However, among ethnologists, there seems to be a degree of ambiguity with regard to the meaning and usage of the terms shamanism and shaman. It is not the purpose

of this study to attempt a definitive statement of shamanism as a system, but before considering the religious specialists of Korean shamanism, it seems useful to consider some contemporary thoughts pertaining to shamanism itself.

Casanowicz says:

> Shamanism is the name loosely given to certain religiomagic beliefs and practices found generally in primitive communities in which the officiating priest or functionary is a shaman. It does not designate a specific religion, but a certain religious attitude based on the animistic view of nature, the view that the world is pervaded by spiritual forces--gods and spirits--which affect for good or ill human life, and that certain persons can enter into close relations with these powers and control them, and thus be mediators between man and the spirit world. In fact, that men, or at least some men, can enter into communication with the spiritual powers and use them for benevolent or maleficent ends is a universal belief, the common presupposition of magic as well as of religion. But more specifically the term Shamanism is at present applied to those semireligious and semimagical procedures of the ecstatic wizards among the native tribes of Siberia (Casanowicz, 1925:415).

Hultkrantz makes the following statement regarding the nature of shamanism:

> We may then define it [shamanism] as a religious and magic complex centered on the ecstatic magician, the shaman. In a more general sense, however, shamanism is supposed to include all activities peculiar to the medicine-man. Anglo-Saxon and French scholars in particular interpret shamanism in this broader aspect. The result is that all manifestations of the American medicine-men may be called shamanism, and shamanistic (Hultkrantz, 1962:32).

Hastings notes several additional aspects of shamanism when he writes:

> What is shamanism? The primitive religion of these tribes is polytheism or polydaemonism, with

> strong roots in nature-worship, and generally with a supreme god over all. While the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. These he exercises by virtue of his intimate relations with the supernatural world. Certain spirits aid him, possess him, and are at his command. He has direct intercourse with spirits, and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. With the aid of these he obtains knowledge superior to that of ordinary men, and can overcome or drive out hostile spirits or powers. All his magical acts are done by virtue of his power over or influence with spirits. And generally, during the exercise of his powers, the altered mental state of the shaman is in evidence. Through auto-hypnotism, caused by different methods, a state of trance or alternate personality is produced (Hastings, 1928: Vol. XI, 441).

Rather than defining shamanism, Howells suggests some of the varied roles of the shaman when he asserts:

> A shaman is a medium and a diviner, but his powers do not stop there. He differs from men in general, and resembles a witch, because he can shift gears and move in the plane of the supernatural (Howells, 1962:125).

In his publications on the Banyoro, a Bantu people of western Uganda, Beattie says that in distinguishing between spirit possession, spirit mediumship and shamanism, "Nyoro culture can be said to exhibit all three, but spirit mediumship, that form of possession in which the possessed person 'is conceived as serving as an intermediary between spirits and men' is the most strongly institutionalized" (Beattie, 1969:159). It is interesting to note that Beattie consistently refers to the religious practitioners in the Banyoro culture as mediums or diviners, and seldom as shamans, even though they cure and exorcise ghosts (Ibid.,

164). Generally, the shaman is able to perform in each of these roles, although an individual shaman may well specialize in one particular field.

In the introduction of his article, "A Study of Shamanism in the Nuba Mountains, "Nadel accepts as shamans practitioners for whom Beattie would reserve the term "medium." Nadel writes:

> The religious cult described in this paper is, I think, properly named shamanism. It corresponds in all essentials to the classical shamanism of Central Asia and North West America. Like the latter, it rests on the belief that spirits may possess human beings, and on the practice of establishing communication with the supernatural through human beings so possessed. The person possessed--the shaman--is more than merely a temporary and passive medium through which others place themselves en rapport with the spirit world. He is an incarnation of the spirit, and so a person lifted above all others. He is a passive medium when possessed; but through his ability to induce possession he is also a master of these supernatural powers. He is an instrument which others may use only in the sense in which priests are instruments for the communication with deities. The shaman, then, is both a mouthpiece of the spirits and an officiant of the cult addressed to them (Nadel, in Lessa and Vogt, eds., 1965:465).

While adhering to the sense of the Tungus word "shaman," which refers to a person who has obtained exceptional power from the spirits, in his article "Shamans and Priests Among the Plains Indians," Lowie says, "Such persons were said to be maxpe or wakan and in English may be called 'medicine men' or, to borrow a convenient Siberian term, 'shamans'" (Lowie, in Lessa and Vogt, eds., 1965:452).

Norbeck states the case in this fashion:

> Various attempts have been made to classify systematically the kinds of religious specialists found in human societies, but, as a system, none of these has found general acceptance. Names in use are plentiful, and we have here already employed a number of them. Wach has distinguished the founder, reformer, prophet, seer, magician, diviner, saint, and priest. Additional terms commonly applied to the primitive world are shaman, witch, witch doctor, sorcerer, and medicine man. Usages of these terms are not uniform; and, often, no single term of the whole roster is wholly suitable in application to the religious specialist of the simpler primitive society, where many religious roles are filled by one individual.
>
> As a rule of thumb we may say that the terms medicine man, witch doctor, witch, sorcerer, and shaman refer to individuals whose acts emphasize mechanical techniques of magic and whose ministrations tend to be directed toward individuals rather than the social group (Norbeck, 1961:103).

Norbeck has articulated the problem in the attempt to classify religious practitioners, but has not been able to provide a solution. The implication of the emphasis on ritual directed toward individuals rather than groups is valuable when applied to the distinction between a shaman and a priest, but this does not cast much light on the issue of terms which may be universally applied to religious specialists in the shamanistic complex. A review of the former statements regarding the nature of shamanism clearly points out that there are several important aspects of shamanism which may be emphasized to the exclusion of, or minimizing of, other equally important elements. The following example provides us with a case in point. Eliade writes:

> Certain writers have been accustomed to confuse the shaman with the medicine men, magicians, and

> sorcerers known to every primitive society. This confusion is improper and may give rise to misunderstanding. For, although he may have many traits in common with the medicine man and sorcerer, the shaman is distinguished from them by a magico-religious technique which is in a way exclusive to him and which may be called: the ecstatic trip to Heaven, to the Lower World, or to the depths of the ocean (Eliade, 1950:299).

In a later publication, Eliade calls shamanism simply a "technique of ecstasy" (Eliade, 1951:4). According to Eliade, the one single aspect which distinguishes shamanism from other forms of magic, healing and divination is the ability of the shaman to experience a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and to ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld (Ibid., 5). The "spirit flight," or "ecstatic voyage" is a recurring theme in much of the literature concerning shamanism. In his article, "A Shaman's Journey to the Sea Spirit," Rasmussen has given us a dramatic account of one Eskimo shaman's descent to the bottom of the sea to propitiate the sea goddess called Sedna (Rasmussen, in Lessa and Vogt, eds., 1965:461-464). Among Korean shaman practitioners, the "spirit flight" is reported to be a common experience. However, it is usually associated with that period when the person is struggling with a spirit regarding the summons into the profession. The shamans do not always dispatch their own soul or spirit through "the layers of the worlds," but as a rule, through their ritual they evoke the aid of their assisting spirits while in the process of curing

the sick, finding lost articles, locating missing souls, or divining future events. To insist upon the "spirit flight," as the only valid criterion for an adequate definition for shamanism, at least as it applies to Korean shamanism, is too limiting.

Eliade has made the experience of ecstasy a crucial feature in his understanding of shamanism. Most writers on shamanism generally agree that the activities of the shaman presupposes some form of ecstasy. This ecstatic experience is usually associated with spirit possession. Nadel makes the following comment on this aspect of shamanism, "Psychologically, the spirit possession represents a 'hysterical dissociation,' a fit or trance which is often self-induced, through autosuggestion, and may materialize either spontaneously or in pre-arranged séances" (Nadel, in Lessa and Vogt, eds., 1965:465). This kind of statement raises the question of whether the trances are genuine, and opens up the theoretical possibility that shamanism functions to provide a legitimate and socially approved outlet for abnormal personalities. A great deal has been written about these two issues, so they will not be discussed here. Some Korean people who have had association with shamans are frank to say that they consider some practitioners as frauds. As we shall see, some practicing <u>mutangs</u> freely admit that they entered the profession

for certain material or social advantages. However, there is a general belief among those who seek the services of a shaman that no deception is involved, and that, during the drumming, shaking of rattles, singing and dancing, something really happens to produce ecstasy in the shaman practitioner. Concerning this Nadel says:

> No shaman is, in everyday life, an 'abnormal' individual, a neurotic or a paranoiac; if he were, he would be classed as a lunatic, not respected as a priest. Nor finally can shamanism be correlated with incipient or latent abnormality; I recorded no case of a shaman whose professional hysteria deteriorated into serious mental disorders (Nadel, in Lessa and Vogt, eds., 1965:478).

Eliade also supports the judgement that the ecstatic experiences of an authentic shaman are not due directly to some pathological problem when he says:

> Whether he is chosen by gods or spirits to be their mouthpiece, or is predisposed to function by physical defects, or has a heredity that is equivalent to a magico-religious vocation, the medicine man stands apart from the world of the profane precisely because he has more direct relations with the sacred and manipulates its manifestations more effectively. Infirmity, nervous disorder, spontaneous vocation, or heredity are so many external signs of a 'choice,' an 'election' (Eliade, 1951:31-32).

As a shamanistic technique, ecstasy is manifested consistently in Korean shamanism. In an article published in the Journal of Asiatic Studies, Ch'oe Kil-sung says that even though the overt action of a shaman may suggest some psychopathic or neurotic tendencies, the phenomenon has great cultural and religious value, too. Ch'oe believes that the experiences of ecstasy lies at the center of

Korean shamanism (Ch'oe, 1969:52). At the same time, he indicates that ecstatic manifestations among shamans are much more pronounced north of Suwon, a city in Kyunggi Province, than in the southern parts of Korea. In the south, in the regions below Taejon and Keun-san, there are indications that the hereditary shaman, called tangol, are much more in evidence than the mutang. Ch'oe classifies the tangol as a shamanistic practitioner, but suggests that since ecstasy is much more characteristic of the mutang, she more vividly represents the shaman of the Siberian type (Ibid., 53-54). The Korean term for this experience in the Seoul area is kong-soo. In some areas it is called kong-sa.

The trance or ecstatic experience is an integral part of the Korean shamanistic procedure, but as Ch'oe Kil-sung has suggested, it is not a final criterion.[2] The shaman is able to perform many services for devotees without falling into a trance. Geomancy and divination are two functions of Korean shamans in which ecstasy is not always a factor. The chikwan, or geomancer, may rely upon spirits for direction in selecting auspicious sites for residences or graves, or upon the traditional method of p'oong-soo, literally "the science of wind and water," in which he may be guided by a book called Chun Keui Tayo (Clark, 1932:189). While serving in the role of chum-chaengi, or diviner, the mutang may resort to chum sung sool, which

is the art of divination by the stars, or she may dispatch her own soul in seeking the needed information. Most generally, the mutang will call her assisting spirits for consultation or intercession. The mutang often sends her familiar spirits on various errands. At such times, the exit of the spirits may be accompanied by unexpected sounds such as the blowing wind, a banging door, or strange wails. During some koots, there may be no display of ecstasy, or even strong emotions. The mutang may only manifest a composed and commanding bearing, the picture of one who is in complete control of herself and of the situation. On the other hand, at another ritual, the mutang may show distinctive expressions of ecstasy.

Ecstasy and the "magical flight" are two important features of Korean shamanism. These aspects are more highly developed among the mutangs than in other categories of shamanistic practitioners. The mutang most nearly approximates the classical descriptions of shamanism in Siberia, and more generally approaches the criterion of shamanism as articulated by Eliade. How do we account for the fact that ecstasy is not a distinctive feature of the tangol, or hereditary shamans of the southern provinces of Korea? Ch-oe Kil-sung says that the tangol have not merely lost the art of ecstasy, but they belong to a class of shamans who have had no relations with that form

which has descended from the Siberian tradition (Ch'oe, 1969:60). Lee Jung-young has stated that "the cult of the Mutang" is a deteriorated form of shamanism in the Korean tradition (see p. 12). The problem regarding the dominance of the ecstatic shamanism in the northern parts of Korea, and the seeming prevalence of the tangol, or non-ecstatic shaman in the southern regions of the peninsula poses an interesting question. However, before an adequate answer is provided, a great deal more investigation is needed. It should be noted that the manifestations of shamanism can differ somewhat even within a more or less homogeneous culture area without making void the major assumptions of the system itself as a way of dealing with universal problems of human mankind. Despite many differences in detail, Furst says:

> Like the ecstatic trance, divine election, animal transformation, bird-like flight of the soul, knowledge of the worlds of the spirits and of the dead, mastery of fire, rebirth from the bones, the magic arts of curing, and the guardianship of the traditions and the psychic and physical equilibrium of the community--these aesthetic characteristics remain typical phenomena of shamanism wherever it has survived within a society's religious system, or even as the system itself (Furst, 1973:34).

It is apparent that a central assumption of shamanism is the belief that some people can enter into communication with spirits or powers in the universe and use them in order to attain certain ends. Some writers uncritically apply the term "sorcery" to the religious techniques of the Korean shaman. I would classify as sorcery any magical

or religious procedures designed to bring injury to another person. As some writers have indicated, sorcery may be an expression of interpersonal conflicts within a society (Beattie, 1960:73-74; Opler, 1941 [reissued in 1965]: 6). Sorcery implies secret and harmful activities directed toward another person by a shaman who uses his power for evil ends. While present in Korean shamanism, sorcery as defined above, is more of an implied threat than a general practice. Korean informants suggest that shamans are regarded as being capable of resorting to sorcery, but indicate that it is rarely done. In his ancient account of Korean history, Samguk Yusa, Ilyon records many acts of sorcery, but in recent years, Korean shamanism is remarkably free of known expressions of sorcery. This might be a distinguishing feature of contemporary Korean shamanism.

Whether the accomplishment of good or evil ends is accompanied by ecstasy or trance, as it certainly is in some instances, is not the test of shamanism. The prime and universal element of shamanism, rather, is an intimate relationship between an individual and supernatural power which insures him aid in alleviating the sickness and other difficulties of those who turn to him with their problems. The following is a discussion of the nature of this relationship in Korean shamanism and the categories of shamans involved in the system.

The question of motivation for entering the shamanistic profession merits some attention. While there are several classes of Korean shamans, based upon their specialization, all practitioners fall generally into three categories: (1) the "self-made" practitioners who entered the profession of their own free will, and for certain personal reasons, (2) the tangol shaman whose entrance into the shamanistic profession has been due to hereditary transmission, and (3) a mutang shaman whose powers have come from direct communication with the supernatural, and whose "call" has been of a more less spontaneous nature.

The "self-made" shamans are not accorded the same respect generally reserved for the mutang or tangol, nor are they considered to have the same power. However, they usually have a following and provide services for those who need their assistance. A tangol practitioner on the contemporary scene may have been preceded by several generations of shamans from the same clan. However, shamans of this order are usually recognized after the candidate has manifested certain personality traits, or ecstatic experiences, which are noted and approved by the clan members. The mutang is conceded to be the most powerful of all the Korean shamans. Her call to the vocation has come from the supernaturals, generally in some dramatic and spontaneous fashion. This does not mean that the spontaneity of the call has not been preceded by events and personal

upheavals which have figured significantly in the final outcome. As we shall see, some mutang struggled for long periods of time before their entrance into the profession.

The "Self-made" Shamans

Since a shaman is one who is in direct communication with the spirits, and is able to manipulate them toward desired ends, the idea that a shaman could be "self-made" is somehow anomalous. The focus is on the motivation for entering the profession of a shaman. The encyclopedia Korea: Its People and Culture, contains an article entitled, "Motives and Processes for Becoming a Shaman," which provides the following evaluation:

> Many Shamans have chosen the career as a professional medium to earn a living, and some pursue the 'art of black magic' by heredity, while others attribute their path to certain divine inspirations. A survey conducted in 1930 concerning the motives for becoming professional Shamans revealed that of the 527 Shamans covered in the survey, 202 persons indicated that they had chosen it as an occupation for a living, 139 attributed it to hereditary, 127 to some 'divine inspiration or urge,' 30 to unrestricted freedom the Shaman enjoys, and 34 to various other reasons, persuasion by others, a hope to expel bad spirits from oneself, a desire to become fertile, a desire to cure oneself of a disease, etc.[3]
>
> The survey shows that 'divine inspiration,' which had formerly been the prime motive for becoming a Shaman, had fallen out of favor. Instead, more and more of the women have chosen to become Shamans by vocation rather than avocation (Kim Ick-dal, pub., 1970:296-297).

The desire to acquire magico-religious power for personal goals is a common pursuit in Korean society. By using traditional shamanistic techniques, some men seek

elections to public offices, attempt to insure abundant crops, and try to ward off evil influences. Women implement shamanistic techniques in an effort to have children, to be healed of some sickness, or to guarantee some advantage for their families. Having attended the funeral of some neighbor, members of a family may resort to the ritual of san moon sal, which is designed to ward off evil influences emanating from a place where someone has died. However, in these activities, most Koreans do not intend to become full, or even part-time religious professionals; they are simply exploiting the spiritual forces which are available to them in times of great need. In some cases, success in the manipulation of divine power encourages some Koreans to believe that they should continue their ritual work on behalf of others, thus changing their socio-religious status in the community.

After a person has enjoyed some success in the role of a novice, as an afterthought, he may recall some occasion when a spirit appeared to him in a dream and told him that he would eventually receive such power. Occasionally it is an older shaman who reminds the novice that he must have known of the latent shamanistic power for a number of years, and that now it is beginning to manifest itself. At such times, this type of encouragement reinforces the growing desire of the novice to seek further experiences or the training needed under an established shaman. On the other

hand, the fear of becoming a shaman may be so strong that the individual may seek to avoid any use of shamanistic techniques. While the shamans are generally amply rewarded for their services, society does not always accord them an enviable status.

While studying Korean shamanism, Mr. Murayama, a Japanese national, was able to interview 529 shamans. As suggested in our notes, this is most likely the source for the quotation by Kim Ick-dal in Korea: Its People and Culture. Murayama has placed the various reasons given for entering the shamanistic profession in the following groups:

1. Vocation by choice:	202, or 38%
2. Vocation by heredity:	136, or 25.7%
3. Vocation by inspiration:	127, or 24%
4. Other reasons:	34, or 6.4%
5. Self-indulgence:	30, or 5.9%

Reducing these categories to finer detail, Murayama records the following statements from those who became shamans:

1. Vocation by choice:

    a. A means of making a living.
    b. A good vocation for one who is blind.
    c. One can make a good living by deceiving fools.
    d. No educational advantages, and a dislike for work.
    e. As a disabled person, it is difficult to make a living.
    f. To earn a good income.
    g. To get along in life as a single person.
    h. It requires little hard work and capital investment.
    i. A way of earning a living as an old person.

2. Vocation by heredity:

   a. Inherited as a family vocation from ancestors.
   b. Simply following a family tradition.
   c. Led by the spirit of a dead mother.
   d. To carry on the tangol shaman tradition.

3. Vocation by inspiration:

   a. Led by a personal protecting spirit.
   b. Inspired by a spirit during a sickness.
   c. Led to become a shaman after the death of a loving son.
   d. Cured from insanity through the aid of a spirit.
   e. Inspired during a period of lamentation over a physical deformity, and an enforced unmarried state.
   f. Cured of a physical weakness through a spirit.
   g. Inspired by a shaman's ability to cure diseases.
   h. Inspired by a dream at 35 years of age.
   i. Called after healing oneself through a spirit.
   j. Called to become a shaman after exorcising.

4. Other reasons:

   a. By marriage to a shaman.
   b. Encouraged to become a shaman by others.
   c. An affectionate relationship with a shaman.
   d. Desire to be respected by others.
   e. In order to be cured of an illness.
   f. In order to obtain a divorce.
   g. In order to get pregnant.
   h. To avoid misfortune in the future.
   i. To guarantee future happiness.

5. Self-indulgence:

   a. A dislike of work, and a desire to travel.
   b. As a means of covering up prostitution.
   c. Laziness of men, and lewdness of women.
   d. A dislike of work, and a desire for licentious living.
   e. An opportunity to gain respect as a healer in an area where no medical facilities are available (Murayama, as trans. and quoted in an unpublished thesis by Lee Sung-kul, Yonsei University, Seoul, 1968:66-69).

This survey took place in 1930, and indicates some of the personal reasons involved in shamanistic recruitment. Many of the same reasons are obtained in recent inquiries. Except for the male shaman, called a pansoo, who is, or pretends to be, blind, women are entering the shamanistic profession in greater numbers than men. In an article appearing in the Choong-ahng Ilbo, or Central Newspaper, a researcher states that in a study of three sections of Seoul, one-third of the married women were engaged in some form of shamanism (Central Newspaper, Seoul, Dec. 21, 1971).

As the following article illustrates, physical handicaps and socio-economic problems provide some incentive for becoming a shaman:

> Most of the Shamans who have chosen 'black magic' as a means to a living have either been reared in extreme economic poverty or are considered especially adapted to the work of the Shaman, because their sensitive ears render them readily able to perceive communications from the gods, and also blindness is believed to allow effective mental concentration required for the work (Korea: Its People and Culture, Kim Ick-dal, pub., 1970:297).

While engaged in field work in Korea during 1972, I met a group of women engaged in shamanistic ritual high on the craggy slopes of Inwang Mountain in Seoul, who gave others reasons for seeking shamanistic power. Four women and two small children climbed the tortuous paths up Inwang Mountain, carrying their ritual equipment and lunch.[4]

One of the women related how her husband had abandoned her and the children, leaving them destitute. Through a friend's introduction, she became acquainted with a head shaman, called a soo simpang, and began to serve as her so-mu, or understudy. Under the head shaman, she was learning the form for rituals and the shamanistic songs and hoped to become a shaman herself. When asked why she had brought her friends with her to Inwang Mountain, she replied that this was a holy mountain where many spirits lived. Each of her friends had some problem for which she hoped to find a solution through petitioning the spirits of Inwang Mountain. The woman indicated that she was trying to assist her friends by resorting to shamanistic ritual herself, and suggested that she was not as yet a fully qualified shaman, even though she knew many songs and shamanistic dances. These aspects of ritual had been learned under the tutelage of an experienced shaman, and were considered preparatory to receiving the power implied by the ritual.

Among adherents of Korean shamanism, the concensus is that those who have become shamanistic practitioners by their own volition are less powerful than those who have entered the vocation on a hereditary basis, or who have been "called" to the profession by a supernatural spirit. It does not mean that the "self-appointed" practitioners may not become powerful, but this will be dependent upon

whether the person obtains her own power, and evidences the effectiveness of that power in practice.

The Tangol or Hereditary Shamans

The tangol mutang may be considered a hereditary shaman in two senses: (1) as a particular shaman who performs ritual for certain families on a more or less regular basis, and (2) a shaman who has entered the vocation through hereditary transmission. The two concepts are not mutually exclusive, nor does this imply that a mutang may not become a ritualist on a regular basis. Yet this would be the exception, not the rule. However, this distinction between the tangol and mutang is a valid one. It is a characteristic feature of Korean shamanism that the mutang does not conduct ritual on a calendrical basis. On the other hand, in the southern regions of Korea, especially on Cheju Island, certain ceremonies are conducted on an annual basis. On Cheju the hereditary shaman is called a shim-pang. Some areas of south Korea have regular ceremonies which are attended by great numbers of people. At such times, the tangol appears to approach a priestly function as she represents the community. The following account is representative of the hereditary and communal aspects of the tangol shaman.

Mrs. Lee Un-yun, age 78, lives in Ch'oong-nam Province, and has been designated as a "Human treasure:

non-structural, number 9," by the Korean Government. Every three years at Eun-san village in Ch'oong-nam Province, a great ceremony is held involving over 100 people. The ceremony is called the Eun-san Byul-shin-je koot, or "Ritual for the Dead," and the tangol shaman, Lee Un-yun is in charge.

This particular ritual is supposed to have begun some 1,400 years ago when an epidemic claimed hundreds of lives in Eun-san village. During the height of the epidemic, an elderly grandmother received a vision of a spirit riding a white horse. The spirit was dressed like a general, who requested that the bodies of some of his soldiers should be moved to a new burial place, the site which became the location where the Byul-shin-je koot is held. The instructions were followed, the bodies were buried in the new location, and immediately the epidemic stopped. Every three years, during the month of February, a ritual is held in honor of this deliverance. At the present time, expenses for conducting this ceremony total more than the value of 100 bags of rice. The entire series of rituals takes 13 days.

The tangol shaman, Mrs. Lee Un-yun, is given a monthly allowance by the government for her services. She is the daughter of a shaman, and has been a shamanistic practitioner since she was 20 years old (Tae-han Ilbo [Korea Daily News], Dec. 14, 1971:15).

In some areas, the tangol maintains complete ritual jurisdiction over the villages. Her territory is known as a chang-nae, or tangol p'an. These areas are subject to transfer through purchase or exchange, but there are stringent rules governing territoriality. In each jurisdiction, a tangol will receive contributions from each household biennially, spring and autumn. The donations are usually in the form of bags of polished rice (Kim T'ae-gon, 1972:18).

In keeping with her claims upon certain areas within which she practices, the tangol usually lives in a particular location with easy access to the constellation of villages in her territory. In recent years Korean society is adopting neolocal residence patterns, but patrilocality is still considered the ideal.[5] Usually units of large families tend to cluster their houses closely together on ancestral lands, making it possible to identify major lineages with certain neighborhoods. There may be several lineages represented in any particular neighborhood, but affinal relatives tend to stay very closely together. The yangban, or "upper-class" households usually demonstrate strong cohesiveness and observe mutual obligations. Among the yangban the sense of tradition is very pronounced, and where the yangban lineages are dominant, community activities are generally subordinated to lineage ideology. In this context, the tangol

patterns of shamanistic activity has several noteworthy features.

Since the tangol lives in a community with very close ties, she may learn a great deal about each individual family's lineage, heritage, and habits. She may become intimately acquainted with individual members of the family, and since there is a great deal of movement back and forth on the part of members of the family living in other areas, she may learn of activities and secrets which are not generally known to all. This knowledge quite often seems to serve as useful background in matters of divination. When misfortune occurs to one member of a family or clan, the shaman may make the startling announcement that it is due to some misconduct of a relative in a distant village or city. When such events are verified by investigation, the reputation of the shaman is greatly enhanced. Moreover, knowing something of the habits of members of the community also helps the shaman locate items which may have been lost or misplaced.[6]

Since lineage loyalties determine mutual obligations in Korean society, it is not unusual for a particular family to have maintained a more or less enduring relationship with a family which has provided ritual practitioners for the lineage on a hereditary basis. At times of serious illness or troublesome matters which concern the family, the extreme circumstances bring the members closer together.

At such times, the consensus may be that ritual is needed to determine the cause of the sickness or to decide what is to be done to insure a solution of the problem. Often there is a decision to summon the family ritualist, the tangol. On occasion the local tangol is unable adequately to cope with the problem; therefore the family finds it necessary to send for a shaman who has wider reputation in spiritual matters. The second specialist may be a member of the same lineage as the local shaman, but one who lives some distance away. In some cases, members of a lineage which contains many shamans may manufacture and supply shamanistic equipment for other practitioners.[7]

In his The Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China, Waley states that in the northern Shantung Province of China, it was customary that the eldest daughter was not allowed to marry. She was called the "shaman-child," and placed in charge of the family ritual (Waley, 1955: 10). In Korean society, among those families where shamans were more or less hereditary, this was not practiced. Only those members of a family who demonstrated some leaning toward the vocation in their personality traits or recognized gifts were encouraged to participate in the profession. However, if the shaman was an only daughter, she could be married to another woman, or to a man who would be willing to become a mutang supang, "a husband of a shaman."[8] It must be pointed out that the title

supang is not an enviable one. It is a rather deprecating term for one who is an opportunist or parasite. Among the tangol and mutang shamans, the husbands may often participate in the ceremonies by beating the drums or blowing the pipes. It is only one who has little inheritance who would normally be willing to become a husband of a shaman, for the patrilocal residence pattern is abandoned in deference to the wife's vocation and residence.

Another variation from the normal pattern of behavior, but one which has received cultural approval, is practiced when an only daughter of a family within the tangol tradition shows no inclination to become a shaman. In such a case, the daughter may be married to a male shaman who will be adopted into the family. In this way, the line of hereditary practitioners will continue, even though the son-in-law must live with his wife's family. By resorting to this type of manipulation, the tangol tradition has been maintained in some families for several generations.

It has been frequently said that the shaman does not enjoy a lofty status in Korean society, but as the previous discussion has shown, in certain contexts the shaman may be accorded recognition and friendship among those who use and appreciate the profession. However, it is also clear that the religious specialists in Korean shamanism are marked by a degree of social separation

from the rest of the community, and are not always required or expected to abide by the rules of Korean society. The demands and nature of the vocation seem to set them apart from normal patterns of living. The tangol shaman has received her role and function in a hereditary manner within prescribed limits, for the crucial issue has to do with actual spiritual power she acquires and possession by the spirits. In Korean shamanism, the hereditary transmission is usually from mother to daughter or grandmother to granddaughter, accompanied by intensive training under the tutelage of the older woman. This process may take years. It must be remembered that the neophyte has been selected initially because of certain predispositions of personality which are important to the shamanistic vocation. In the process of transmission, the power is not bestowed by one human to another, but rather by introduction to the same source of power.

The Mutang or God-Appointed Shamans

Among the Koreans, a hereditary shaman is regarded as being more powerful than the practitioner who has sought to become a shaman through his own choosing. On the other hand, the most highly regarded of all shamanistic practitioners is the one who is sought out and possessed directly by the spirits. As has already been mentioned, the practitioners who most nearly approach these criteria

is the female shaman, the mutang, and her male counterpart, the pansoo. Possibly because of his masculine orientation, the pansoo is considered to be more powerful than the mutang in Korean society. Be that as it may, the pansoo is rarely seen or heard of today, while the female shamans number in the thousands. Some informants suggest that the female shaman is less powerful after childbirth. It is also known that the female is not permitted to beat the drums in a ceremony while she is in her menstrual period.

The pansoo, on the other hand, often wears the outer dress of a woman, and has his hair in braids while performing ceremonies. There are no known data to confirm the hypothesis that this practice stems from an ancient matrilineal society. In fact, transvestitism is practiced by both sexes, for the female shaman, the mutang, changes to the outer dress of men during her more elaborate rituals (See pp. 28-30). This entire question of the ritual and symbolic transformation of sex is unclear in the Korean shamanistic complex, but associating it with the decadence of the shamans seems too simplistic.

We have already stated that the mutang most nearly fits the description of the shamans whose call to the vocation is associated with ecstatic experiences and "magical flight" (See p. 129). Ch'oe Kil-sung has said that ecstasy must be regarded as the "core essence" of Korean shamanism (Ch'oe, 1969:64). Lee Sung-kul indicates that

this is the basic criterion for deciding whether one is a chin mukyuk, a true shaman, or a ka mukyuk, a pseudo-shaman (Lee, 1968:72).

Just as the general functions of the shaman are about the same everywhere, there is a great deal of uniformity in the manner of his induction into the profession. Lee Sung-kul has suggested that there are usually four basic steps in the process of becoming a shaman in Korea: (1) selection by a spirit, (2) trial and conflict, (3) reception of the spirit, and (4) instruction under a tutor (Lee, Ibid., 73). Lee says that the spirit usually reveals his choice to the candidate in a dream or a vision. In this context, it is the spirits themselves who take the initiative, although the "vision quest" is a part of the total complex of Korean shamanism. The trial aspect is indicative of the strong mental and physical pressures which are placed upon the candidate when he realizes that he is being called to become a shaman. Quite often the call takes place during an illness which is somehow qualitatively different from an ordinary sickness. In fact, this experience is referred to as a mu-byung, or a shaman-sickness. Usually the candidate is healed of the sickness when he yields to the call to become a shaman. In some instances, if the shaman attempts to slip out of his vocation, the sickness will return. The next step for the

candidate is to seek out some older shaman, who will train him in the profession (Ibid., 74).

Kim T'ae-gon, professor at Wun-gwang University, has been a student of Korean shamanism for a number of years. The following is an account of a woman's entrance into the shamanistic profession:[9]

> Date of inquiry: March 11, 1968
> Person concerned: Pak Myong-sun (Age: 53; female; sorceress)
> Domicile: 3-ga, Wunhyo-ro, Seoul
> Address: 3rd pan, 17th t'ong, Sajang-dong, Yong-dungp'o-gu, Seoul
> Education: No schooling
> Living standard: Low
> Impression: Of medium height, a fat face, not talkative, looks dignified.
>
> Miss Pak was married at the age of 15. Her first child (son) suddenly died when she was asleep one night. She was 18 years of age, and this brought her insurmountable sorrow.
>
> Three days after his death, she saw a panorama of shaman dances when she closed her eyes. Also appearing to her eyes was a phantom vision of mourners in their mourning attire.
>
> In an effort to rescue herself from this symptom, she invited a blind shaman whose profession was to chant spells. At that moment she saw an illusion of herself praying before a candle placed in a closet in the wall. That night she dreamed a dream in which a group of spirits raced into her house on horseback brandishing swords and flags.
>
> After she turned 20 years of age, she used to dream a dream in which a noble old man appeared before her and offered her a bowl of rice and whenever she received it, she felt her body fly to heaven, where she gave the food to birds and other animals.
>
> Another dream of hers concerned her journey to the Dragon Palace in the East Sea. She walked on the colorfully lit golden sea and visited Cheju Island.
>
> One night she dreamed of another gentle old man who gave her a book.
>
> After that her husband became bankrupt on account of his losses at gambling. He was captivated by the

charms of women, and she grew so to hate her husband that she was reluctant in sharing the bed with him. She consulted a fortune-teller, who answered that she was destined to receive spirits.

It was when she turned 52 years of age, one night she felt heavy in the chest while asleep and turned on the light. She felt her body tremble and thought that she was possessed by her dead aunt (who was a sorceress). Rising up from her bed, she clothed herself with a new skirt, pulled the door open with a jerk, and cried out the name of 12 warriors including Kuan Yu.[10] Then she returned to her bed. She again rushed out and ran toward the Pugun-dang shrine. Opening its gate, she called out Kuan Yu and other dead souls.

She could not control herself and decided to offer a mediumist exorcism by inviting a sorceress, and at the shamanist rite she was infused with the shamanist spirit. As she has not learned the particulars required of a sorceress and is helping at exorcism as an assistant. [sic]

After she is infused with the shamanist spirit, she feels refreshed in body and mind. This kind of ailment is called by laymen in Korea a disease caused by possession by dead souls. This kind of mysterious experience which Korean shamans or sorceresses undergo has the common features summarized below.

(1) Origin - This experience originates more often from gradual ailment without a particular cause than from suggestions in a dream or external impact.

(2) Dietary habits - They cannot eat rice and incline to an unbalanced diet, drinking water cup after cup and shunning fish and meat, thereby showing symptoms of indigestion.

(3) Physical conditions - They grow lean and weak, feeling tingling pains in the limbs or falling into convulsions, feeling pains in one side of the head, the chest, or in one arm, falling ill with bloody excrement, or feeling heavy in the chest or on the shoulders.

(4) Mental conditions - They become insecure and have more dreams, in which they see sacred scenes of their contact with gods. Such dreams become more frequent, and they grow less and less conscious, so that they finally become unable to distinguish dreams from reality, seeing phantom of gods and hearing an illusory sound even in waking hours. Growing worse, they go insane and wander around.

(5) Process of symptoms - Although in some cases they show signs of mental troubles from the beginning, physical ailment comes first in most cases and it develops into mental disorder.

> (6) Period of illness - Eight years on the average. The longest period of 30 years was reported.
> (7) Remedy - Medical treatment is impossible, and they even believe that it will bring about an adverse effect. Their mental illness, they believe, can be cured completely only when they become a shaman through a mediumist exorcism. The ailment recurs when they quit their function as a shaman. It is worthy of notice that the most salient feature of their mysterious experience as explained above is that it contains something religious. They see a phantom of gods, have dreams in which they see sacred scenes of their contact with gods, physical and mental abnormality assails them, medical treatment is ineffective in curing the ailment, which can be recovered only when they become a shaman through a mediumist exorcism, and the ailment recurs when they quit their service to gods as a shaman. These facts, when seen from the religious standpoint, tell that they are asked to follow decisions made by gods through revelation and that agony is given them in order to drive them to follow the divine will continuously (Kim T'ae-gon, 1972:20-21).

In this rather lengthy, but unrevised, account, Kim T'ae-gon has recorded data which is very familiar to a student of shamanism. Sickness, dreams, and ecstasies provide appropriate preparation for the call to shamanism, but at the same time they may constitute the initiation into the vocation itself. Since the quotation above contains many of the initiatory themes, and does not present any particular religious orientation, but corresponds to familiar patterns of shamanism, it will not receive further elaboration.

We have been discussing three categories or classes of shamans with particular reference to their recruitment and functions in the socio-religious context. It would have been possible to have classified them according to

their specializations; not that each type of shaman has only one area of autonomy and specialization, for as we have seen, there is a good deal of overlap in actual practice. Yet there are certain obvious emphases.

The mutang and the tangol have many of the same functions in Korean society, but these are carried out with a somewhat different orientation. The mutangs concern themselves with the irregular and contingent needs of individuals, such as illness, barrenness, and misfortune, while the tangols concern themselves with the needs of larger units of society, including families, communities, and the nation, on a more or less regular basis. Still, as Lee Jung-young has pointed out, most shamanistic rituals are oriented toward the family, with much of the ritual taking place in the spring and fall (Lee, 1973b:271). Since this is so, as one might expect, the mutangs are invited to perform ceremonies during these seasons on a somewhat regular basis.

It must be pointed out that the mutang, and her male counterpart, the pansoo, represent the classical shaman in every feature. They are able to communicate with the spirits, and through cajoling or intimidation, exert pressure on the spirits and force them to obey their commands. These procedures involve magico-religious properties. The power of these shamans lies in their ecstatic trance and possession through which they are enabled to

communicate with the spirits. While in this state (kong-soo in Korean), they are able to act as a medium, diviner, entertainer of the spirits, and a healer, although the therapeutic measures for illness tend to be more mechanical and are usually carried out during exorcism.

The following religious practitioners are included in the Korean shamanistic complex inasmuch as many attribute their effectiveness to supernatural power. On the other hand, among those who practice divination and geomancy, this aspect is not strongly emphasized. Divination and geomancy may rest upon some associations inherent in supernaturalism, but in Korean society the profession of geomancy, in particular, is often considered naturalistic and scientific. Therefore, it is dangerous to make generalized statements regarding all those who practice divination and geomancy. Yet the following practitioners are tentatively offered as shamans, since many of them insist that their capabilities are derived from spiritual sources.

The Pansoo or Chambong[11]

The pansoo may be considered a male counterpart of the female shaman, the mutang. It is the pansoo who shares most of the shamanistic ritual with the mutang. Lee Jung-young says:

> There is no clear distinction between Pansoo and Chambong. However, Chambong is a blind shaman, while

> Pansoo does not need to be blind. It is often speculated that the word 'Pansoo' was originally derived from 'Paksa,' which means a doctor or a wise man (see Paul Y.U. Pank [sic], ' Study on the Relation of Shamanism to Other Religions,' Korea Religions 2, no. 1 [January 1970]:13ff.). (Lee, 1973b:284).

Hulbert has suggested that the word pansoo means "one who decides destiny," which may be an indication of the central orientation of their rituals (Hulbert, 1969 [reprint]: 421). In its usual sense, a diviner does not control or cause events to happen, but he merely observes and reports a likely occurrence. By manipulation of the spirits, the pansoo is able to change events. Hulbert has indicated that the techniques of manipulation by the pansoo is different from that of the mutang, however. With regard to this, he says:

> We have noted that the mudang [Hulbert's spelling] is a sort of medium, and moves the spirits through her friendship with them, but the pansu is an exorcist rather than a medium. He is the enemy of the spirits, and is able to drive them rather than coax them (Ibid.).

This is an interesting observation, but as we shall see in our discussion of shamanistic ritual, the mutang is also capable of intimidating during exorcism, so this distinction is probably not valid. Lee Jung-young provides another differential based upon sex when he observes:

> While most rituals performed by the shamaness [sic] are called Kut, those by the male shaman are known as Dock-Kyung or Bocksul. The former means the 'reading from the sacred shamanistic writings,' and the latter means a 'technique of divination.' Both of them are combined in the ritual (Lee, 1973b: 281).

Perhaps the most striking difference between the two lies in the fact that all pansoos are blind, or pretend to be. Having been deprived of their physical eyes, it is believed by the followers of shamanism that the pansoo has acquired an inner vision which enables him to forecast the future and obtain information about the past. The pansoo cures through exorcism, and drives away obnoxious spirits, but divination seems to be his primary specialization. This is accomplished through two general techniques: (1) consultation with the spirits while in a state of ecstatic trance, and (2) deliberations based upon sacred books and mechanical methods of divination.

Many Koreans are unable to accept difficulties and deprivations with resignation, for they firmly believe that their lives and fortunes are constantly subject to intrusions by supernatural forces over which they have no control, but which nevertheless are controllable. In times of trouble or stress, many Koreans are willing to pay large sums of money in order to find the immediate source of their predicament and to receive guidance in the matter of a solution.

Among the important elements of Korean shamanism is the belief in malevolent ghosts, especially the ghosts of those who have drowned or been lost at sea. These ghosts cause all kinds of illness and torment the living in dreams. During ritual for the souls of the dead,

called chi-no kwe, the pansoo must search out the ghosts and find out what kind of arrangements would bring them peace. Sometimes members of the family are able to hear the sounds of this dialogue, which is known as nok too-ri. Some informants believe that these sounds, or voices, are due to the pansoo's ventriloquism, but the total effect upon the hearers is very dramatic. Usually the rituals of mu goo-ri, or divination, are very elaborate and quite expensive; therefore these ceremonies are resorted to only in extreme circumstances.

The most common methods of divination, and the least expensive for clients, are those which involve the use of mechanical forms of divination or sacred books on the theme. Clark describes the equipment used by many of the diviners in these words:

> There are three general sorts of things which the Pansoo uses most in his divination--little bars of metal with notches on them which he casts, jack-straw fashion out of little dice boxes; secondly, coins; and thirdly, Chinese characters. By means of these things, he can decide almost any question that is of interest to any man (Clark, 1932:186).

In addition to these methods of divination, the pansoo divines by burning tortoise shells, a technique called ku-pook jum, and by studying the stars, a way of prognostication called chum sung sool. As a rule, when the pansoo resorts to these kinds of divination, he is referred to as chum-chaengi or seer. Lee Choon-bang says that often a calf is killed, and divination becomes possible by

"reading" the hooves of the calf (Lee, 1970:21).

A source of power for the pansoo lies in his identity with the use of sacred incantations from books. Lee Jung-young has suggested that this is a distinctive feature of the pansoo when compared with the mutang, for the power of the mutang lies in her direct communication with the spirits (Lee, 1973b:285). The pansoo makes use of several passages from sacred writings in his rituals, selecting certain parts which he deems appropriate for the occasion. While food offerings are being made, the pansoo may move about the courtyard or house, reading from the Ok-joo kyung, or "Jadebook," the Chil-sung kyung, or "Book of the Seven Stars," and the Joo-juk, or "Book of Changes." Clark believes that all of these books came from China originally (Clark, 1932:188).

The mastery of these forms of divination is a long and complicated process. Apparently some pansoo specialize in only one type of divination. As for the incantations, it is said that it takes several years before one can master enough of them to use in all situations. The blind pansoo must commit these to memory. All of this suggests keen minds and hard work. However, it is important to recognize that the power and success of the pansoo is not credited to his own acumen, but to his relationship with supernatural power.

The Chikwan or Geomancer

There are some who question whether these specialists should be included among shamans. Underwood, for instance, does not favor calling them shamans (Underwood, 1961, Lectures). Lee Kang-don says that the chikwan should be classed with the scientists or philosophers, rather (Lee, 1971, interview). Clark says that the chikwan deals with noxious influences rather than with the spiritual personalities that engage the attention of the mutang and pansoo (Clark, Ibid.). However, as has been suggested (see p. 156), the procedures and associations of the chikwan are related to supernatural forces in Korean society and are therefore placed within the shamanistic complex.

Geomancy is often referred to as a science by Koreans. The Korean geomantic system is called p'oong-soo, or "wind and water" (see the discussion on the philosophical aspects of this theory in chapt. 1, f.n. 17). It is utilized especially in the selection of sites for graves and residences. The system itself originated in China, where it is called feng-shui. According to the theory, happiness and prosperity will come to the house which is located on an ideal site, and where the burial grounds of ancestors is in an auspicious place. It is believed that the location of the burial site will exert a decisive influence over the destinies of all the rest of the family. Topography is the essential factor in p'oong-soo, for the grave must be

laid out in a certain relationship to the mountains, the streams, and the winds.

The selection of grave sites is most complicated, and even though an individual may know a great deal about the principles of p'oong-soo, it is felt that help of someone under the guidance of supernatural influence is needed. Therefore, the chikwan not only relies upon his own experience and his charts, but enlists the aid of the spirits. It is in this context that the chikwan demonstrates his participation in the shamanistic complex. If a person is visited by a series of misfortunes, he tends to attribute them to supernatural forces associated with the faulty location of his house or the graves of his ancestors. In order to discover if his apprehensions are correct, he may seek out a mutang or chikwan, or both. The following is an account of such a situation as related by Mrs. Lee Soong-sun of Poo-suk village in South Ch'oong-chun Province:

> My life was very sad because of all of the misfortune that was coming to my family. My husband was going blind, my children were weak and sickly, and we had very little money with which to live. I heard of a famous mutang who lived in a village called Sae-ch'un, near the city of Keun-san. I decided to go visit this mutang, and took a friend with me. My friend was having trouble with her husband, who was running around after other women.
>
> When we arrived at the mutang's house, she told us that she was very busy, but invited us into her saryang pang, or living room. In the center of the room was a table and four chairs. On the table was a large artificial flower. The mutang asked us about

> our problems, and we gave her the complete details. The mutang had a large stick, and placed it, on its end, on the table. She told the stick to go out and find out why we were having so much trouble. The stick seemed to bow, and the mutang threw it out a window, saying that since my home was so far away it would take at least two hours before the spirit would return.
>
> The mutang invited us to eat with her, so for a couple of hours we worked together and ate our meal. All the time we were working and eating, the mutang asked us about our family. After the dishes were put away, the mutang said that the spirit was returning, and that since the trip was so long, it would probably be expecting some money for compensation. We promised to give a generous offering to the spirit.
>
> The mutang began tapping on an hourglass-shaped drum and chanting a song. Suddenly she seemed to fall exhausted across the table. While we were wondering what to do, a window opened, and the flower on the table began to shake. This showed that the spirit was present. Suddenly the mutang began talking to me, but it was the voice of my father-in-law. He complained about the location of his grave, and said that his wife's spirit was nagging him. He acknowledged that we had been trying our best to honor him, but he hoped that we could find a new location for his grave, then he would be able to help us out more.
>
> After that message, my father-in-law's spirit suddenly said, 'I must go now, for I am being called by headquarters!' The mutang seemed to wake up, and in a normal voice, asked us what the spirits had said.
>
> We gave the mutang several thousand whan (Korean currency), and went back to our home. I got my family together, and told them the story. We had a koot with a chikwan, who helped us find a new grave site. But it did not seem to make much difference, for my husband went blind, and we are still poor. As for my friend, she had seven sons by her husband, and they are still very happy (Mrs. Lee Soong-sun, Poo-suk, April 29, 1972).

This conversation with Lee Soong-sun indicates how the supernatural element enters into the work of a chikwan, and shows something of the relative areas of specialization among Korean shamans. Ordinarily, if a ceremony fails to produce the desired results, the devotee is blamed for some breach in carrying out the instructions of the shaman.

All grave sites have their guardian spirits, and the chikwan must cultivate their friendship in order to be successful. The earth gods must be placated before the grave is dug, and any spirits of the soil must be exorcised before the body is laid to rest.

Some chikwan gain national reputations, and are often consulted before businesses are established and buildings erected. In the past, the more famous geomancers were responsible for selecting sites for graves for the royal family.

The modern institution of the public cemetery has served to frustrate attempts to seek auspicious sites for burial as far as the urban dwellers are concerned, but large numbers of rural people still engage the chikwan in order to locate sites for their parents' graves.

The Ilkwan and Other Diviners

Professional practitioners such as the mutang and pansoo are, of course, not the only persons who practice divination. Some Koreans have gone into the divination practice on a more or less part-time basis, while others, especially the aged, may spend a great deal of time deciding auspicious days for marriages, travel, or business ventures for others.

The ilkwan, or "diviner of lucky days," may be seen along the side-streets of any major city, especially around

the first of the year. They are usually found sitting on straw mats, their books and charts opened before them, asking questions of clients regarding the date of birth and significant events in their lives. The ilkwan usually receives a small fee for his work. The street diviner is not usually called a shaman unless he appeals to the spirit world for aid in his work, but may be called a chum-chaengi, or seer.

There is a sense in which the heads of many Korean households may be considered shamanistic practitioners or diviners. There are many occasions for the head of the household to perform ritual on behalf of the occupants of his home. Much of his ritual may be regarded as magico-religious in nature, since it involves mechanistic procedures which are thought to achieve certain results. As we have seen, it is not always possible to separate the magical aspect from the religious or supernatural character of the ceremony. There may be some question as to whether a head of the household, a village headman, or some other "master of ceremony" who performs ritual on certain occasions, is really a shaman. However, if we consider anyone who deals with supernatural powers in order to secure their good will, or attempts to avert malignant influences by various magical rites, charms, and incantations, as being engaged in shamanistic activities, we must admit that the householder often adopts that role.

A headman of a village, or someone known for clean living, may be asked to sacrifice a dog, a chicken, or even a cow, on some important occasion. Chickens are quite often offered as sacrifices, and are left hanging from limbs of trees at the edge of a rice paddy in order to bring good crops.

Many Koreans believe that on New Year's night, there is an evil spirit that steals into a house, and tries to put on someone's shoes. If it finds a pair of shoes which fits, the owner of those shoes will suffer much misfortune. In order to protect themselves from this spirit, the householder hangs a sieve on the front gate. When the spirit comes to the house it begins counting the holes of the sieve. The spirit may have to count them over and over again, until the night wears on and day breaks. On this occasion, before retiring for the night the family brings all of the shoes into the house, rather than leaving them on the porch, as is the usual custom.

On the fourteenth day of the first lunar month, a small straw effigy of a person is constructed or purchased, and a small amount of money is placed inside the head or attached to the body. The householder carries this effigy, called a chae-oong, to some distant busy road or intersection, and leaves it (see pp. 114-115). In this case, the head of the household has sought to ward off misfortune at the hands of evil spirits.

On New Year's Day many Koreans perform what they call, a namoo shi-chip ceremony, or a "tree wedding." The farmer places a stone between the branches of his fruit trees as a fertility symbol. By this imitative ritual, he hopes to induce a good crop.

Some women store all loose hair, collected from their combs and brushes, and on New Year's Day, they burn the hair outside the gate. This act is supposed to insure the person against the ravages of disease during the coming year.

These examples serve to illustrate the practice by laymen of religious observances which contain shamanistic elements. However, as we have noted, within Korean shamanism there has developed a recognized, formalized hierarchy of religious specialists who provide society with supernaturalistic safeguards to insure certain physical and economic benefits. These shamans have been qualified for their roles through supernatural sanctions, followed by a period of apprenticeship under experienced practitioners. The supernatural forces available to the shaman are made most evident during ritualistic exercises, and it is to the subject of rituals, or established and conventionalized acts involving the supernaturals to which we now turn.

NOTES

Chapter Three

[1]The history and usage of the word "shaman" have been discussed quite completely by Berthold Laufer in an article entitled "Origin of the Word Shaman" (A.A., Vol. 19 [1917],: 361-371). The word receives similar treatment by Mircea Eliade in his book Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, published originally in French, 1951, and in English, 1970. The sense of the word seems to refer to one who is "excited, raised, or in ecstasy," while possessed by a supernatural spirit.

[2]Balikci has labeled as shamanism all techniques which involve "direct intercourse with the supernatural world." Where ecstasy is lacking, the techniques are called "para-shamanistic techniques" (Balikci, 1963:382).

[3]In a great deal of the literature on shamanism in the Korean language, there are references to the works of two Japanese students of Korean shamanism, Akiba and Murayama. Apparently, during the period of annexation by Japan (1910-1945), the Japanese made an extensive study of shamanism in Korea. This quotation in Korea: Its People and Culture is from Murayama. The same quotation is found in Lee Sung-kul's "Korean Shamanism and Its Ethical Character" (unpublished thesis, Yonsei University, Seoul, 1968:66-69).

[4]Inwang Mountain in the capital of Seoul, is the site for the Kooksa-dang, or "Shrine of the National Teacher." Ritual is conducted at this famous shamanistic shrine almost daily. Up the slopes from the Kooksa-dang are found many small shrines where groups of people gather for various rituals. Inwang Mountain draws many neophytes on a "vision quest."

[5]In Korean society formal rules of exogamy require only that marriage be with someone outside the lineage. However, village exogamy is also considered an ideal. In the past, most marriages were arranged by parents, but more

recently the young people have a greater voice in the choice of their marriage partners. If parents disregard the ideal of village exogamy, they usually do so because they have noted a potential daughter-in-law who possesses the qualities of industriousness and character.

With regard to residence, many new options are now open to young people in the major cities, while farming cannot adequately support large extended families. Parents are being forced to recognize the significance of mobility and economics for residence, even though they do not like the change.

[6]Education is given high priority in Korean society. In the past, following the traditional Confucian classical system, mobility and achievement in administration were open on the basis of passing State examinations. It is quite often affirmed by Korean people that the mutang and other shamanistic practitioners are uneducated and lacking in ye, or propriety. However, lack of education and ignorance are not the same. The shaman must memorize elaborate dances and songs, and must be able to narrate Korean mythology. Many show great aptitude for remembering names, dates, and places. The mutangs are regarded as being skillful in the arts of legerdemain and ventriloquism. In addition, many mutang seem thoroughly proficient in analyzing the various personalities with whom they come in contact. All of this is to indicate that, in spite of certain aberrances of behavior, many mutang are highly intelligent and skillful.

[7]In discussing the accessories of the Siberian shaman, Czaplicka suggests the close affinity of the shaman and the smiths who made part of the equipment (Czaplicka, 1914:199). The drum, trident, swords, knives and other specialized pieces of equipment are indispensable in conducting shamanistic ritual. All of these items are rich in symbolism and specialized in function. This will be discussed later. Since these objects are instruments of power, not everyone can make them for a shaman's use. There are craftsmen who make the equipment who are regarded as shamans in their own right, although they do not practice ritual. Generally the shamanistic implements are more crudely fashioned than the same kind of equipment produced for public consumption. Most shamans guard their paraphernalia with jealous care, not only because of its association with supernatural spirits, but because of the dangers involved if the objects fall into malevolent hands.

[8]Korean informants suggest that there are certain kinds of behaviors frequently practiced by the shamans which are frowned upon by Korean society. Transvestitism is a common practice for shamans of both sexes, and there are indications that berdache marriages are sometimes entered into. However, this type of behavior is considered to be consistent with the unusual shamanistic vocation. A connection of shamanism with homosexuality and prostitution is often rumored, but remains unproved.

[9]This is a faithful reproduction of an excerpt from Professor Kim's paper on the "Components of Korean Shamanism," which was published in the Korea Journal, XII, 12 (December, 1972) by the Korean National Commission to UNESCO. The article is not only significant because of its content, but because it represents one of the few rather extensive treatments of Korean shamanism in the English language. One can find a great deal of material on Korean shamanism in the Korean and Japanese languages, but very little in English.

[10]Kuan Yu was a native of Shensi Province in China and a peddler of bean-curd until he became a mighty warrior. He eventually became Kuan-ti, the God of War. He is one of the important deities in the Korean shamanistic pantheon.

[11]Pansoo is found in the Chinese character dictionary, and means, "a blind fortuneteller." Chambong is not found in Korean dictionaries, but the Chinese character dictionary indicates two meanings, (1) one who guards or keeps a king's tomb, and (2) a wise man with a particular rank (used during the Yi Dynasty). The most common word in the Korean language for the fortuneteller is chum-chaengi.

CHAPTER IV

RITUAL IN KOREAN SHAMANISM

By ritualism we mean any established procedures or intense and repeated acts growing out of a belief in supernaturalism. In this definition, there is no attempt to distinguish between personal supernatural beings or impersonal supernatural power (see Wallace, 1966:107). On the other hand, the term does not include the instinctive types of behavior that are often associated with animals, and often called rituals, but refers to those conventionalized acts by which man seeks to resolve certain difficulties, or establish and maintain valued relationships through supernatural means (see Norbeck, 1974:40).

As we have seen (see Chapt. II, pp. 59-60), the performance of ritual is predicated on a belief in supernatural powers. In Korean shamanism, the ritual is instrumental and functional, based upon the acceptance that it is efficacious in achieving certain ends (de Waal Malefijt, 1968:188 and Wallace, 1966:102).[1] Ritual is communication, but it is more than communication, it does something (Crocker, 1973:49-50), for those people who participate in ritual usually believe that their expectations will be realized; that is, the sicknesses will be cured, the barren women

will conceive, the crops will be abundant, or the misfortunes will be alleviated. This so-called "manipulative attitude" is often considered to be a distinguishing mark of the magical processes, as against the supplicative and propitiatory attitude in religion. This conceptual device is an effective theoretical tool for making certain distinctions between magic and religion. However, magic and religion need not be dichotomous in Korean shamanism, for these distinctions are only ideally conceived in shamanistic rituals. In Korean shamanism, magic and religion represent a continuum, and are not always separate and antagonistic modes of behavior (Goode, 1951:224). As we shall see, these ideally distinguishable phenomena are frequently incorporated in a single ceremony.

Rituals may be said to be goal-oriented; that is, the participant is making a more or less intense effort to realize or actualize some conceived benefit through supernatural means. Ritual behavior, although patterned and habitual, is qualitatively different from ordinary daily behavior in the degree of intensity. The Korean farmer may rinse out his cup with a little wine, and cast the liquor on the ground as a matter of course under ordinary circumstances, but the same behavior assumes an added dimension when the wine is offered to the To-joo, or Spirit of the Soil. It is this "ritual awareness" which distinguishes ritual from ordinary behavior. Mead (in

Shaughnessy, 1973:91) says, "An action is not ritual if the participants are not aware that it is ritual." This sort of statement points out the necessity of participant-observation on the part of the ethnographer, for as Leach (in Quinn, 1973:103) has said, "No interpretation of ritual sequences in man is possible unless the interpreter has a really detailed knowledge of the cultural matrix which provides the context for the rite under discussion."

Anthropological interpretations of rites, rituals, and ceremonies (the terms are basically interchangeable) have generally given attention to the acts in their socio-cultural context. This recognizes that individuals engaged in ritualistic activities receive personal benefits con-comitant with group consensus. Collective support for certain ritualistic activities can only be gained if the acts are repeated often enough, and demonstrate a high degree of effectiveness (Levi-Strauss, 1967 [Anchor Books ed.]:173). Group consensus and approval contribute toward the perpetuation of the rituals and religious systems. However, it seems rather arbitrary to assign rituals per-formed by individuals acting in their own personal interests or for small groups, to the magical complex, while rituals participated in by large groups are designated religious exercises. This distinction does not always apply to Korean shamanism in its own sociocultural setting, for Korean shamanism displays a great deal of flexibility in this regard. Korean shamans conduct rituals for individuals

in solitude, where no purely magical acts are in evidence. At such times, the rites may be of a totally petitionary order. On the other hand, Korean shamans participate in rituals which represent joint activities of families, lineages, and other groups within the community. It is not unusual for the shamans to resort to magical acts, such as allowing water to filter through a willow winnowing basket to simulate rainfall, in an effort to break a devastating drought.[2]

To many anthropologists, distinguishing magic from religion by implying that magic resorts to mechanical acts or incantations for control of supernatural forces while religion implies behavior toward more autonomous supernatural beings is a more-or-less satisfying theoretical concept. However, in their effects, both magic and religion are similar in their emphasis on supernaturalism, and in practice, such sharp distinctions cannot always be drawn if a religious system is to be understood in its total cultural implications. A cautious eclecticism may serve a useful purpose in some instances.

In the descriptions of ritualism in Korean shamanism which are to follow, some convenient classification of the various rites will be helpful. In the anthropological literature, there does not seem to be any comprehensive taxonomy in general use, although there have been some attempts made in this general direction. In his book, The Rites

of Passage (Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee [trans.], 1960), Arnold van Gennep has classified a group of rituals according to their commemorative and religious values in the transition of persons from one social status to another. He writes:

> Transitions from group to group and from one social situation to the next are looked on as implicit in the very fact of existence, so that a man's life comes to be made up of a succession of stages with similar ends and beginnings: birth, social puberty, marriage, fatherhood, advancement to a higher class, occupational specialization, and death (van Gennep, 1960:3).

Chapple and Coon have elaborated on van Gennep's classificatorial and theoretical system by asserting that rites of passage pertain to the individual and his change of status, while group-centered changes should be called "rites of intensification" (Chapple and Coon, 1942). They maintain that rites of intensification are generally associated with hunting, agriculture, fertility, and matters of seasonal interest.

Wallace has assumed that all ritual is directed toward the problem of transformations of state in human beings or nature, and places ritual at the crux of his definition of religion:

> . . . we can say that religion is a set of rituals rationalized by myth, which mobilizes supernatural powers for the purpose of achieving or preventing transformations of state in man and nature (Wallace, 1966: 107).

Wallace says that not all rituals can be classified as rites of passage (van Gennep) or rites of intensification (Chapple and Coon), and advances another type of classification:

> . . . while we recognize the usefulness of Van Gennep's category of rites of passage, and Chapple and Coon's rites of intensification, we shall work with a less abstract classification of the transformations intended by religious rituals, closer to the consciously stated purposes of the actors. Five categories of transformations of state would seem to suffice to partition the aims of ritual: ritual as technology; ritual as therapy and anti-therapy; ritual as social control; ritual as salvation; and ritual as revitalization (Ibid.).

In his schematic use of transformations, Wallace utilizes the insights gained from the concepts of rites of passage and rites of intensification.

For our purposes, Korean shamanistic rituals will be considered under two general classifications: (1) crises or non-periodic rituals, and (2) cyclical or fixed rituals. This simple division of rituals serves several utilitary purposes:

(1) Ritual behavior is usually motivated by the desire to resolve certain issues or maintain specific relationships which are considered desirable through supernatural means. The crises rituals are normally related to critical and difficult situations which are unexpected. They arise out of the human situation over which the individual normally has little or no control. Crises rites may have import for the individual, but frequently extend

beyond the individual to the family or community. This classificatory system permits the point of reference to be shifted from the individual to the community without militating against the concept.

(2) While crises rites mark periodic and special events for the individual or society, the cyclical rites are recurrent rituals, often connected with the seasons and concomitant events such as planting, fishing and harvesting. In Korea, New Year's celebrations have significance for the individual and society. Many activities are planned as annual events for the occasion.

Cyclical rites are performed to ensure economic success in agriculture and fishing. On the other hand, even though these rituals have been carried out as matters of routine, seasonal changes may necessitate a special ceremonial in order to cope with some unexpected situation. In that instance, the crisis rite of intensification is easily distinguished from the less intense ceremonial governed by the calendar.

(3) The fixed rites are usually distinctive in the events which they commemorate, the times at which they are conducted, and their significance for the society. As a rule, when rituals are conducted on behalf of the whole society, the rites are much more elaborate in terms of components and the number of people involved.

A cross-cultural comparison of different types of

rituals is difficult, for the lines of distinction are not always clear to the observer. As the following list of Korean shamanistic rituals will show, there is often a great deal of overlapping within the total cultural context, even though they have diverse social implications.

I. Crises, or Non-periodic Rituals

Korean shamanism evidences very little worship centering upon the abstract or metaphysical. Most acts of ritual are pragmatic, gravitating around problems to be resolved, needs to be satisfied, and crises to be averted. At the same time, the rituals are confined to more or less standardized procedures, times and places, and ritual paraphernalia. Certain rituals entail rigid prescriptions for most details, while some allowances may be made for a degree of individuality in a few areas. In other words, there is a general framework of form for Korean shamanistic rituals which is clear and distinguishable. The shamanistic practitioners are, of course, experts in every detail of the rituals, but shamanistic ritual is also well known by non-specialists. In some instances, due to pressing financial problems, a sponsor of a ceremonial may request that the ritual be somewhat abbreviated. Normally, each ritual proceeds through distinct steps or stages, called ku-ri. Each ku-ri is designated by a particular title or term. By mutual consent, the shaman may omit or arrange steps in

an alternate pattern in any given ritual.

The more lengthy and elaborate ceremonials in the Korean shaman's repertoire may have as many as twelve stages. The ceremonies usually begin at sunset and may continue until dawn, when they are followed by an elaborate breakfast and by the disassemblage of the altar and equipment. Regardless of the length and complexity of the total ritual, each ceremonial manifests four distinguishable divisions: (1) The Ch'ung-bae, or Invitation, which is characterized by a conciliatory attitude on the part of the shaman. The songs are usually sung in a low voice, the drums are beaten softly and only occasionally. In the main, at this time the music is provided by assistants playing the ho-juk (a kind of clarinet, sometimes called a taepyongso), the p'i-ri (a flute made of bamboo reed), and a haegum (a Korean violin made of bamboo).[4] During this first division, the principal shaman prepares and ceremonially cleanses the premises and the altar. (2) The To-mu, or Welcome Dance for the Spirits. The shamans believe that the spirits enjoy fine music and dancing, so this division consists mainly of dancing, singing, and a rising crescendo of sound in the music. During this part of the ritual, the changgo, or kalgo, a drum shaped like an hourglass, is used extensively. The shamans believe that good spirits enjoy the sound of the drum, while evil spirits find it intolerable.[5] (3) The Sin-t'ak, or Oracular Revelation.

This is the phase during which the shaman receives the communication from the spirits, characterized by a kong-soo, or message from the dead, delivered while the shaman is in a trance. (4) The No-rae karyak, or Songs of Farewell. This is the happy phase during which the shaman assures the sponsor of the ritual that his desires will be realized. The shaman announces that the malevolent spirits are all defeated, and concludes the ritual by singing songs of praise to the supernaturals who have aided in the victory. These four stylized features may be of long or short duration, depending upon the occasion and nature of the ceremony.

In the following ceremonial, the Chi-no Kwe Koot (in some localities it is called sae-nam), the total ritual requires twelve ku-ri, or steps. In some respects, this is not typical, for it is more complex and elaborate than many of the simple rituals which are designed for one specific purpose. In fact, it is difficult to describe a "typical" ritual, simply because its features may vary with the locality and the occasion. However, the following account presents all of the important features.

A. The Chi-no Kwe Koot, or Ritual for the Dead

The name of this ritual may be somewhat misleading. The main purpose in calling for this rite may indeed reflect a desire to communicate with the dead, or to pacify the spirit of the dead. However, the Chi-no Kwe ceremony is

a composite ritual, involving several emphases and marginal benefits for the sponsor's family, such as prosperity, etc. Any one, or several, of these features may be omitted from the total ritual. In this ceremonial, such benefits as prosperity, protection, good health, and exorcism of malevolent spirits are expected.[6]

Stage One: Poo-jung Ku-ri

Significance: Poo-jung usually stands for something unclean, while ku-ri may mean several things, such as a street, a step, a stage, or a phase of something. In this instance it refers to a stage or an act of a ritual. Therefore, the Poo-jung Ku-ri is that phase of the total ritual which is designed to cleanse ceremonially the premises, the participants, and the equipment.

The Procedures: In preparation for the ch'ung-bae, or welcoming aspect of the ritual, the principal mutang sits on the floor, which is covered with a straw mat, beating lightly on the changgo drum, and singing softly. She is dressed in ordinary women's apparel, and has left her ko-mu shins, or rubber shoes, just inside the door.

The musicians are playing very softly on their flutes, clarinets, and violins, while an assistant drummer sits to the right side of the mutang, and holds a large hourglass-shaped drum.

Another assistant shaman walks about the room, moves

about the courtyard, and circumvents the house, splashing soapy water around as she moves about. Pieces of white paper are burned on the altar and at each corner of the house. If the ashes from the burning paper blow upward, it is considered a good sign, but if the ashes descend in a heavy fashion, it is a sign of misfortune. This is a form of divination.

In connection with this cleansing phase of the ritual, the mutang has assured the family that she has bathed and changed her clothing, especially her underclothing. She has previously instructed the family that they should be clean, and wearing fresh clothing. In the case of a recent death, the family would be wearing the sang-bok, or mourning attire.

The altar consists of three tiers of shelves and three small tables, all richly furnished with offerings of fruit, cakes, dried fish, rice, wine, and artificial flowers. The first level of the tier is called sin-kil, the second is the sae-num, and the top shelf is called sun-whan chwa. (Some informants insist that these shelves are modeled after the altars of the Buddhist temples.) There are meat dishes on the small tables. The meat is held together with metal skewers to which paper decorations, called sa-ji, are attached. When the meat is prepared for ceremonial feasts, such as memorial feasts, the sa-ji are made of white paper.

The most striking offerings on the altar are the pig's head and cow's feet. The shamans believe that the

spirits are especially fond of a pig's head. The pig is usually killed and butchered by the shaman the day before, with the meat being used for the ceremonial feast. The pig's head and cow's feet are washed very carefully and shaved until all of the hair is removed. Sometimes a cow's head is used instead of a pig's head.

The room is illuminated only by candlelight even though the home is wired for electricity and kerosene lamps are available. On the lower shelf of the altar a small brass dish is filled with smoking incense or joss sticks.

Dancing and loud music are absent during this phase for the invitation of the spirits. The principal mutang sits quietly before the altar, tapping lightly on her drum using a bare hand on one end of the drum, and a slender stick on the other end.

Dress and Equipment: The shaman wears ordinary women's clothing at this time. The drums and musical instruments are in evidence. On the walls around the altar hang paintings of the O Pang Chang Koon (Deities of the Five Directions), Koon Oong Chang Koon (Deity of an Army General), Ho-Kwe (Deity of the Small-pox, who is also called Princess Pali), and the San-sin (Mountain Spirit).

The stage is now set for the second step of the ritual. It is evident that a great deal of preparation has been made in getting ready for the occasion. The family has spent large sums of money in providing for the offerings,

as well as incidental expenses, but as the ceremony continues, they will have to continually submit to the demands of the mutang for more money and additional offerings. As we shall see, the mutang often intimidates and taunts the family during the ritual, implying that failure to be generous may result in an ineffective ritual.

Stage Two: Pul-sa Machi, or Ka Mang Ku-ri

Significance: This particular step consists of an invocation to a spirit of a Buddha. This represents a generalized deity, and does not directly pertain to the founder of Buddhism. This ritual provides an example of Korean shamanism incorporating elements of Buddhism.

The Procedures: While the instrumentalists are playing vigorously on their instruments, the principal mutang dresses in the white, or often grey, habit of a Buddhist monk.[7] Across her right shoulder, and reaching to her waist, is a sash to which many small brass bells are attached. The shaman holds a wooden gong in her left hand, which she taps lightly at first, then more vigorously in alternate fashion, with a wooden stick. While bowing before the altar three times, she recites a Buddhist invocation, called the yum-pul. The spirit of the Buddha is asked to supervise all matters related to the rituals which are to follow, and to grant long life and happiness to each member of the sponsoring family.

While nuns are often found in Buddhist temples, women are never central in a Buddhist ritual. Possibly for this reason the mutang wears a Korean male's traditional hat, called a kat.

Dress and Equipment: The Buddhist robe, worn during this part of the ceremony, is called a ka sa, and is worn over the right shoulder in such a fashion as to leave the left arm exposed. The sash or girdle with the brass bells, is called a di. The mutang does not wear the entire Korean horsehair hat, but only the inner liner, which is called a ko-ggal. Traditionally, while the older Korean men are at home, lounging about the house, they wear only this inner liner. The outer portion of the hat is worn while in public.

The wooden gong is of Buddhist origin, and is used in the temples to attract the attention of the Buddhas during prayers.

The function of the Pul-sa Machi is primarily an invocation to the spirits of Buddhism. In essence, it is only an invitation, but it is a crucial ritual, for the approbation of these spirits is needed if the following steps are to be efficacious. With regard to the ceremonial costumes, they tend to be symbolic, but by wearing them, the shaman believes that she personifies the powerful beings represented by them.

Stage Three: Ch'o Ka Mang Ku-ri

Significance: As noted, each ku-ri has a different function or objective. In the second stage, the spirits of Buddhism are invoked for the ceremony. This third stage represents the waiting period. Ch'o ka refers to a house with a straw roof, or a typical Korean house, and mang carries the thought of "waiting with hope," Therefore, this third ku-ri is called the "Awaiting with hope Dance."

While waiting for the Buddha's spirit to descend, the mutang begins to call upon other spirits who will help in the rituals to follow. These are usually guardian spirits with whom the shaman has unique relationships. She may also call upon the guardian spirits of the sponsor's house. In this third stage, the shaman begins to reinforce the ritual by marshalling a group of helpful spirits.

The Procedures: Dressed in a gown decorated with ornamental fringes, the mutang seeks to invoke and entertain the spirits. She repeatedly offers cups of wine to the spirits, and refers them to the richly furnished altars that have been prepared. The shaman lists all of the offerings on the altar, and suggests that the sponsors will be happy to provide more things as needed. To show their good faith, the family is invited to come before the altar to present gifts of money, and to rub their hands together as a form of petition to the spirits.

The shaman dances about the room to the accompaniment of the musical instruments. She lights slips of colored paper from the candles on the altar, and waves the burning paper toward the sky, calling upon the spirits to honor the ceremony by their presence.[8]

During this phase of the ritual, the mutang may experience a moment of ecstasy. The Korean term for this is kong-soo, and suggests that the mutang is acting as a medium, or oracle. While in a trance, the shaman may resort to incoherent utterances. Seeing the mutang in this trance often creates anxiety for the family. They are troubled by the thought that the ritual might not be successful. The mutang may announce that there are certain hindrances to the successful completion of the ritual such as unbelief, stinginess, or the presence of evil spirits. As the mutang dances, she stops in front of the family, and extends a large fan. The family places paper money on top of the fan, and the mutang places the money upon the altar.

Dress and Equipment: The fringed gown is called a sup-su, and is consonant with the purpose of the ritual, which is to please and attract the spirits. The material for the gown is very thin, almost transparent in the summer season. The mutang wears a peaked cowl of the same color and material.

For the first time, the mutang introduces the pan-eul, a type of rattle consisting of a cluster of eight small brass bells wired together on a brass handle, which is approximately six inches long. Colored streamers hang from the end of the handle. The pan-eul is held in the left hand as the mutang dances before the altar.

In the right hand the shaman holds a large fan made of oil paper and painted with the three figures of the sam-sin, or Three Deities. It is said that the fan is sometimes made of feathers from a white crane, called paek-no.

Stage Four: Cho Sang Ku-ri

Significance: This is an ancestral ritual in which five generations of ancestral spirits are summoned to provide oracles for the family. It is not clear why five generations are specifically needed. The number five does not have an important place in Korean shamanism, although the number may correspond to the five directions of the shamanistic universe.

The Procedures: During this ritual, the arrival of the spirits is signaled by the shaking of the sin-kan, or god rod. Sometimes the stick has strips of oil paper glued to the top, and when the rod begins to shake, the papers make a rattling or rustling sound. Some member of the family is asked to take hold of the sin-kan, and he discovers that the shaking is uncontrollable.

Acting as a medium, the mutang enables the family to carry on a dialogue with the ancestral spirits. The family expresses the usual concerns and burdens of a family, and petitions the spirits for aid in these matters. The family is especially concerned that the souls of the recently deceased member of the family find a peaceful resting place.[9] Following is a song on behalf of a dead man:

> The seven messengers have come! [These messengers are said to have the shape of oxen.]
> They have climbed the mountains during the night.
> They have crossed the fields during the day.
> They carry the three letters of a name. [Korean names are usually composed of three Chinese characters.]
> The seven messengers wear robes and hats of iron and have chains about their loins.
> They have slanting eyes, triangular-shaped beards, and have iron fists.
> The messengers traveled down the road, kicked down the gate, entered the room, and called aloud the three letters of the name.
> The dying man answered the three messengers, 'Who are you? You are not my friends and kinsmen.'
> The seven spirits said, 'Come quickly, the other world is like this world!'
> The seven spirits put a chain around his neck, him whose life was like a single thread.
> When the messengers pulled the chain once, the bright spirit of the man became dull.
> When the messengers pulled the chains a second time, the man's ten fingers and ten toes became numb.
> Now the man, gathering his dying spirit, looked around to find someone to help him. He looked for sons, daughters, and kinsmen, but saw no one to help him.
> Since there was no other way, he must go himself. So he stopped eating, left his sleeping room, came out of his flesh, and followed the seven messengers.
> Ah, some say that the other world is far away, but the other world is just beyond the gate of the house.

Dress and Equipment: During this ritual, the mutang may wear an item of clothing belonging to the deceased or dress in the traditional white funeral clothes of those in mourning. While wearing these clothes, and acting as an oracle, the shaman may articulate the anger, remorse, or wishes of the dead person to the family. Sometimes the shaman places her hood or cowl over the head of a member of the family while the person is holding the god rod.

The sin-kan, or god rod, is the specialized item of equipment in this ritual. The stick is usually about two feet long and approximately two inches in diameter. Often the god rod has a brass ring around the bottom. In some areas of Korea, this rod is called a mong doong-i.

It is not clear just how the sin-kan is made to shake during this séance although Korean shamans quite often develop their techniques of legerdemain to a high degree. The performance becomes highly impressive as the stick continues to vibrate after the shaman has released it. Informants who have taken hold of the stick during a ceremony state that they were unable to control the movements.[10]

During a séance for the dead, when the shaman places her hood over the head of a member of the family, that person is often seized by strong emotions and feels that he enters into communion with the dead. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the spirit of the shaman is said to "descend" into the body of the person. This transfer

of spirits is prized because of the aspect of communion with ancestral spirits.

Stage Five: Tae Kam Ku-ri

Significance: Tae Kam is the name usually associated with a particular guardian spirit, or a tu-joo (a tutelary spirit of a house site). One of the more prominent supernaturals invoked at this stage is the Koon Oong Chang Koon, or Divine General. The goal of this ceremony is to exorcise all evil spirits from the premises and provide supernatural protection for all members of the family. The shaman extoles the Tae Kam spirit in this song:

> O what a delight! How matchless! What superb speech!
> How delightful you are, my honorable Tae Kam.
> Inside the gate, outside the gate, you are my Tae Kam!
> Beneath the water, beneath the waterfall, you are the headmaster, my Tae Kam.
> O what a delight! What a delight!
> You are the same as six thousand royal figures!
> Outside the gate, you are my Tae Kam.
> Even though I force you to treat me with wine and it flows like the mountain stream,
> You, my Tae Kam, you are their Tae Kam.
> O What a delight! How matchless! How matchless!

The Procedures: The features of this ceremonial are highly symbolical. The shaman changes into a costume representing the uniform of a military man. The hat, called a pung ku-ji, is the type generally worn by ordinary soldiers during the Yi Dynasty while on active duty. When she wears the uniform, the shaman believes that she personifies the spirit of a Divine General spirit.

The drum-beats are escalated to a martial beat, accompanied by a loud blowing of the flutes and clarinets. Brass cymbols produce a clashing tone when struck glancingly together. At the beginning of this phase of the ceremony, the shaman marches about the room in a military fashion, but eventually steps onto the edge of a rice cook pot, and begins an intricate dance in which she displays a keen sense of balance. It is believed that the spirits are pleased with this dance.

While dancing on the edge of the pot, the shaman cajoles the family by intimating that she is doing her best to influence the spirits, but she is fearful that the soldier spirits will not protect the family because they are very hungry and the family has not provided them with enough food. Becoming alarmed, each member of the family approaches the altar, rubbing his hands rapidly together. This gesture is known as a pi-ryuk jil, and is used by persons while begging. The family is instructed by the shaman to wrap some paper money around the strings by which the soldier's hat is tied about her chin. After the money is attached to the string on one cheek, the shaman continues her dancing, but repeatedly loses her balance and falls off the edge of the rice pot. Complaining that the weight of the money on one side must be balanced by placing money on the other cheek, the shaman directs a member of the family to attach money on the other side. In an effort to force the family

to provide more money for the ritual, the shaman cajoles the family in this manner:

> How do you expect me to go on with the ritual? Oh, you are just asking me to continue? Is that all you are going to do? Is this the way you are going to treat me? Haven't you made any preparation for my ceremony? What are you afraid of? Why can't you say something? You don't have any money? How can I believe that? Look at the way you live! You can't fool me. Oh how I hate you! Don't you think this entire ceremony can fail? Don't fool yourself. Here, I have blessed you and promised you many blessings! Is this how you are going to repay me? You will provide more money? That is better. Here, place the money on the fan!

Upon the completion of her dance, the shaman removes a tray of steamed-rice cakes from the altar, carries the tray outside, and begins marching around the house. The shaman is "feeding" the soldier spirits.

After symbolically feeding the spirits, the shaman returns to the altar and picks up a short, flat-bladed sword and a trident. Brandishing these weapons, the shaman whirls and dances before the altar as though she was locked in combat with some supernatural force. Leaving the altar, the shaman goes outside once again, where she dances completely around the premises, slashing at unseen supernatural spirits which are believed to be hovering about. Returning to the house, the shaman dances before the altar, and suddenly thrusts the trident into the pig's head which has been placed on the altar. This act seems to be the climax of the ritual. Satisfied that she has been able to defeat all of the evil spirits which surround the house, the shaman

rests on the floor before the altar.

Dress and Equipment: The soldier's hat is round and rather flat, and made of red felt. The flat sword has a short blade, half as long as the handle. The total length is approximately 32 inches. The trident is made of beaten iron and a long wooden handle. This implement is about 23 inches in length. Occasionally two matching iron knives are used in connection with this ritual. These knives usually have long streamers of cloth attached to the ends of the handles. The shaman uses these knives in connection with the worship of the Five Direction deities, at which time she casts them over her shoulders. She also plunges the knives into the head of the sacrificial pig during the Tae Kam ku-ri.

The military implications in this ritual are very significant. Korean shamans play an important role in protecting society from disease and evil spirits. During her rituals, the shaman may demonstrate the aggressiveness of a soldier. Eliade traces this militancy to the conceived role which a shaman feels he has in the supernatural complex. Eliade says, "The military elements that are of great importance in certain types of Asian shamanism (lance, cuirass, bow, sword, etc.) are accounted for by the requirements of war against the demons, the true enemies of humanity" (Eliade, 1970:508).

Stage Six: Sang San Ku-ri

Significance: This particular phase of ritual is directed toward the mountain gods, whom Korean shamans believe to be some of the most beneficient deities in their religious system. The mountain spirits are the source of many benefits, and are especially concerned with fertility. This ritual embraces more than the mere desire for children, and expresses the universal desires for good health, bountiful provisions, and a long happy life. The mountain spirits are urged to rebuke all misfortune surrounding the home. In the case of a family where death has occurred, the shaman prays that the spirits will comfort all members of the family and grant a peaceful existence for the soul of the departed loved one.

The following song is addressed to the San-sin spirits; however, the words emphasize a favorite theme among the Korean people, filial respect:

> A child, equal to a thousand gold pieces, grows in this way:
> The blood is gathered for one or two months,
> the morning sickness comes after three months,
> the legs and arms are formed after four months,
> the milkline of the mother is passed to the child after five months,
> the mother knows that she is about to deliver her child at ten months.
> The midwife waits, with a thread of life around her neck, and scissors of life in her hand.
> Opening the door of keum-kang [the womb],
> Opening the door of the limbs,
> Opening the door of bones,
> Opening the door of flesh,
> the child comes into this world of order.

Ah, children! If we cut our hair and make shoes for
our parents [the Korean people make sandals
of straw],
if we pull out our teeth and drive them as
nails into our parent's shoes,
if we provide ten outfits of the finest cloth-
ing for our parents, what are such things?
We can never repay the love of our parents who gave
us life!
Oh Spirits of the Mountains, bless our parents!

The Procedures: In this ceremony, the mutang wears a blue coat and a wide-brimmed horsehair hat. There is a bright red sash about her waist, from which hang strips of variegated cloth, called a suldi. The blue coat has large patches sewn to it, giving an appearance similar to the armor worn by ancient Korean soldiers. This coat is called a chun-lip. While engaged in dancing the mutang slashes or jabs with her sword and trident.[11]

During this ritual the mutang thrusts the trident into the pig's head, and standing the trident upend on a table at the foot of the altar, very skillfully balances the pig's head on the tines of the trident. (Sometimes a cow's head is used. Quite often, pig's feet, or the hoofs of a cow are balanced on the trident in the same fashion. The hoofs are much easier to balance because they may be shortened or lengthened between the tines of the trident.) This is a performance in honor of the spirits, after which the mutang is free to make any requests of them deemed desirable.

Dress and Equipment: The blue costume, decorated with patches of cloth, is designed to represent the armor

of a soldier. The sword is called ch'ung ryong do, or the "blue dragon sword," and is typical of the swords used in ancient times. The sam chi ch'ang, or trident, is probably an implement that came to Korea by diffusion, for its use in any other context is unknown.

Stage Seven: Sin Chang Ku-ri

Significance: The Sin Chang Ku-ri focuses on the deities of the "five directions," the O Pang Chang Koon (See Chapt. II:72-73). Each "general" is thought to be supreme in a particular ward of the heavens, and in this ritual, is symbolized by a colored flag. The essential function of this phase of the ceremony is one of divination.

The Procedures: At this time, an assistant shaman, dressed in a red gown and a purple robe, is dancing about the room, brandishing the sword and trident as if warding off evil spirits. She wears a red sash about her waist, from which dangles a folded fan.

While the assistant is dancing, the principal shaman removes five flags from the altar, and extends them toward the family. She holds a white, yellow, and red flag in her right hand, and a blue and a black flag in her left. The shaman sings a song known as Man-su Baegi (Ten-thousand blessings), and asks a member of the family to choose one of the flags. In the event that the person selects an unlucky flag, the mutang insists that it be discarded and

another taken. Having chosen a lucky flag, the family is promised much happiness.

Dress and Equipment: Of the five, the white, yellow, and red flags are considered to be lucky flags. During this movement of the ritual, the principal shaman has been wearing a fringed gown and soldier's hat.

Stage Eight: Che-suk Ku-ri

Significance: Che-suk, the deity of this stage, is a spirit which is associated with Buddhism, and one which reflects the ideals of compassion and ethics. (In the Autumn, there is a ceremonial which is called Che-suk P'ul-i and is connected with the Harvest God, Che-suk. The two may be related.) The Che-suk Ku-ri is directed particularly to the concern for the children in the family, and is designed primarily to bring them good health. However, the ritual also contains an aspect of divination.

The Procedures: For this ritual, the mutang wears a long-sleeved gown, called a chang sam, and drapes a Buddhist monk's robe over her right shoulder.

A special feature of this ritual is the manner in which the mutang skillfully dances on the top of a papier-maché jar. This vessel, called a ham-ji, is formed from layers of wet, inexpensive paper. The outer layer of paper is more expensive and decorative. The jar is allowed to dry, then coated with sap from an oak tree, to make it

waterproof. This type of container is not found in general use today, but in the past was used for storing grain.

While dancing on the jar, the shaman wears no shoes, only the cotton-lined stockings, called pu-sun. At the conclusion of her dance, the mutang thrusts a fan down into the jar, and scoops up grains of polished rice. Standing before a female member of the family, she d ›ps the rice into the woman's apron. This is a divining technique, and is accomplished in one of two ways: (1) by counting the number of grains in the woman's apron, or (2) by counting the number of grains still clinging to the mutang's fan. Even numbers mean good fortune, while odd numbers indicate an evil omen.

In the role of an oracle the mutang promises future benefits for each child of the family.

Dress and Equipment: The gown with the long sleeves, in combination with the Buddhist monk's robe, represents one of the twenty or more costumes used during the Chi-no Kwe Koot. The sleeves of this gown extend ten or twelve inches beyond the fingertips, and as tl. · mutang dances, accentuate the graceful movements of her arms.

Informants say that quite often the rice jar is filled with water instead of rice, and the mutang dances on the lip, or edge of the jar, without tipping the jar, or spilling any of the water. This suggests the high level of artistic attainment among mutangs, and lends credence

to the position of some Korean scholars that much of the traditional Korean folk artistry stems from the shamanistic complex.

Stage Nine: Sung-joo Ku-ri

Significance: The principal supernatural spirit in this ritual is the Sung-joo, or Guardian of the Household. The rite is designed to insure long life, good health, and many blessings for the family. The Sung-joo ritual, as in the case of many of the ceremonials already discussed, may be held as a single isolated ceremony. It is usually associated with the dedication of a newly-erected house, or is performed when one moves into a new house. However, the Sung-joo ritual is also observed when the head of the household reaches the ages of 27, 37, 47, 57, etc.

As a part of the Chi-no Kwe Koot, this ritual is directed toward benefits for the entire family. Following is a typical benediction pronounced upon the family at the dedication of its new house:

> From this house will proceed rich men, great men, loyal men, and great generals.
> This house will be blessed by:
> Yellow oxen,
> Horses like flying dragons,
> The blue ch'ung sa-ri [a favorite dog among Korean people],
> Chickens like a phoenix,
> Apricots growing from an ordinary tree,
> Grass which will bud flowers, and
> The husband and wife will live together for one hundred years, and
> They will be fenced in by many sons, and
> They will have many grandsons to sit on their

knees, and
They will be greatly blessed in all things.
(Translated by Kim Ee-saek, June 2, 1972, Seoul, Korea)

The Procedures: The mutang wears a red-colored soldier's costume and the kat, or male's horsehair hat, for this ritual. This suggests an act of transvestism.

The mutang prepares an envelope of white paper, called paek che, or ch'ang ho ji, and places some pine needles inside. The envelope is soaked with wine and tied to the main beam of the house, called the tae pul po. After the envelope is securely fastened, the mutang throws a handful of rice over the beam at the point where the envelope is fastened. Some of the rice stays on top of the beam, but some falls to the floor. The mutang picks the grains of rice off the floor and places them on a large fan. While chanting a song for the Sung-joo, the shaman counts the grains of rice. If the grains total an even number, it is a sign of good luck, but if the number is uneven, it is an evil omen. However, while the mutang chants and casts the rice up and down on her fan, she is often counting out the number desired.

The envelope containing the pine needles is allowed to remain on the main beam until another ceremonial is needed.

Dress and Equipment: The red soldier's uniform, and the Korean male's hat, which signify that the shaman has

assumed the role of a man, are the primary items of costume for this ritual. The envelope, personifying the presence of the Sung-joo, is the most important feature of this phase of the total ceremonial, and is treated with great respect.

Stage Ten: Ch'ang-pu Ku-ri

Significance: The Ch'ang-pu sometimes refers to a male actor or singer. In this case, it refers to a ritual performed for the benefit of the male head of the household. In Korea, the male head of the home is called the ju-in, or "lord of the house." This indicates his high status in the home, and explains the need for having a ritual designed to guarantee him good health.

The Procedures: The main characteristic of this ritual is the extensive singing, for the mutang sings a series of twelve songs, a song for each month of the year. Each month is specifically named, and a blessing is asked for the ju-in during that period. The series is concluded by a special song, composed for the particular head of the household in whose home the ritual is being conducted.

Dress and Equipment: During this ceremonial, the mutang is dressed in a multi-colored costume, a dress which is usually worn on holidays. During her dancing and singing, the shaman circles the room, waving a huge

fan, a function designed to drive away all evil spirits. In place of the fan, the mutang may use two large handkerchiefs or streamers, which swirl gracefully as she gyrates around the room.

Stage Eleven: Chi-no Kwe Ku-ri

This series of rituals under consideration, the Chi-no Kwe Koot, gets its name from this particular phase, and all that has transpired to this point has been preparatory for this stage. In a sense this ceremonial is the central focus of the Chi-no Kwe Koot, for it indicates that a death has taken place in the family.

Significance: Smallpox is among the diseases most feared by the Korean people, and in Korean shamanism, smallpox has been personified as a supernatural spirit, called Mama Kongchu. In the Kyunggi Province, around Seoul, the spirit is called Pali-Kongchu. (The story of Princess Pali is related in Chapt. I:17-20.)

As told in the story, the princess was denied marriage. Korean shamans believe that the spirit of a dead virgin is vicious and vindictive. This ritual has two main functions, to gain the favor of the goddess Pali, and to comfort the soul of the dead. Following is a song dedicated to the goddess of smallpox:

This goddess is very famous.
She can see all of Korea in one glance,
Whether she sits or stands,
Although Korea is 3,000 li long
[A li is approximately one-third mile.]

When she heard that there were many good people
And much rice in Korea,
She came over as a guest,
Crossing many rivers without a ferry boat.

She blesses the man who welcomes her,
But takes away even the only son
Of five generations,
For the man who treats her ill.

The Procedures: For this ritual, the mutang dresses in a colorful costume worn for weddings. She styles her hair in a pompadour fashion, and wears a hat, called chok tu-ri, worn only for formal occasions.

Instead of beating the hourglass-shaped drum on both ends in the usual manner, the drum is placed on end, and an assistant shaman stands while tapping it lightly with a slender stick.

There is a subdued and formal atmosphere during this phase of the ritual. The story of Princess Pali is sung through two complete times in a measured and propitious manner. The mutang concludes the songs by inviting the spirit to come down and enjoy a feast. With the mutang kneeling before the altar holding the god rod, the family gathers about her, rubbing their palms vigorously together as a sign of petition. When the god rod begins to vibrate, the mutang assures the family that Princess Pali has arrived. The shaman seems to go into a trance, during which

time she utters incoherent sounds, and the family waits for an interpretation. The mutang usually has a comforting message to give to the family.

Dress and Equipment: As in the Cho Sang Ku-ri, the god rod, or sin-kan, is the central item of equipment. The traditional Korean wedding attire is the main costume. The absence of swords and knives is very conspicuous.

The behavior of the mutang in this particular ritual is in marked contrast to her usual blustering manner. In most of the ceremonials, the mutang acts as though her rituals are compelling and irresistible, and proceeds through them with a great deal of confidence. It is not clear why the spirit of Princess Pali seems to produce such ambivalence in the shaman's personality traits and in her shamanistic techniques.[12]

Stage Twelve: Dwet-chun Ku-ri

Significance: This is the climactic step in the Chi-no Kwe ritual, and is characterized by celebration and joy.

All of the evil spirits have been expelled; the family has been assured of health, prosperity and good fortune. Also, concern regarding the status of departed loved ones has been dispelled. It is a time of rejoicing.

The Dwet-chun Ku-ri marks a happy farewell to all of the attending benevolent spirits, and a successful

conclusion of the rituals on behalf of the sponsoring family. Following is a prayer by which the shaman sends away all malignant spirits from the house:

> Having invited all of you to attend my ceremony, and knowing that you have been pleased by my dancing and singing, I now ask that you leave this house. As you know, they have had much trouble in the past, but now, through your helpfulness, they will be blessed. For my sake, all of you must leave!
>
> I command the influenza to leave!
> I command the pleurisy to leave!
> I command the toothache to leave!
> I command the spirit which makes mad dogs bite to leave!
> I command the spirit which makes an oxen gore people to leave!
> I command the spirit which makes a horse kick to leave!
> I command the spirit which causes accidents on streetcars, buses, and horsecarts to leave!
> I command the spirits of malnutrition to leave!
> I command the spirits which cause the stomachache to leave!
> I command the spirits which cause problems in the womb to leave!
> I command the spirit of hunger to leave!
> I command the spirit which prevents the family from having nice clothes to leave!
> I command that the spirits which might cause complaining and grumbling in the home to leave!
> I command that all of you spirits leave without complaining or molesting this family!
> Thank you, my friends, for being so helpful.
> (Translated by Kim Ee-saek, June 2, 1972, Seoul, Korea)

The Procedures: Wearing a colorful costume, the mutang dances about the room, sprinkling wine in each corner, fanning each person with a decorated fan, and pronouncing a blessing on each one.

The shaman goes outside, carrying two knives which

she casts over her shoulders. She repeats this action toward the four directions and by this she is assured that all spirits have been driven from the premises. Throughout the ceremony, which has taken all night, the house has been protected from intruding evil spirits by a left-twisted rope stretched across the gate. The rope has also served to announce that a ceremony was in progress.

The shaman removes some food from the altar, and serves each person a portion. In this way, everyone participates in the feast.[13]

By this time it is usually daybreak, and the family has prepared breakfast for all. After breakfast, the shaman and her assistants disassemble the altar and pack their equipment. Quite often before the shamans leave there is a heated discussion over the amount of payment due the practitioners. This is usually resolved with both parties displaying sociable and congenial dispositions at the end.

To bring together the food, the offerings, and everything else needed for participation in the Chi-no Kwe Koot has taken several days of advance preparation. The ceremonial itself has required eight to ten hours. During that time, the shamans have shown remarkable capacity to withstand intense emotional and physical stress. The ritual has been characterized by long hours of monotonous drumming, dancing, and recitation of chants. This monotony

has been punctuated by intermittent strong emotional experiences of ecstasy. All of this has required unusual endurance. Nordland says:

> An individual like the shaman, who is constantly on the alert for 'the powers' and who feels their total impact on the life of himself and his group, would naturally not be a calm and reflecting man. Through his repeated discoveries of 'message,' he lives under recurrent emotional shocks. His life is filled with moments in which he is emotionally 'raised,' and these moments have an influence on his whole organism (Nordland, 1962:184-185).

The Chi-no Kwe Koot demonstrates how several aspects of supernaturalism may be associated in a single ritualistic complex.

1. Social and Emotional. Throughout the ritual, the shamans have been acting on behalf of the family, and in a marginal, but important sense, for all persons in attendance. The group has been intensely involved in the procedural and emotional contexts of the occasion, and demonstrate how religious emotions are transferable to a group when all ritual procedures are believed to be associated with supernaturalism.

2. Magical Techniques. The classification of magical techniques is often based upon Frazer's concepts of "Imitative Magic," in which like produces like, or an effect resembles its cause, and "Contagious Magic," or the belief that contact results in a permanent association (See Frazer's The New Golden Bough, 1959). An example of "Imitative Magic" may be seen in the chants and

incantations, in which the shaman dramatizes the specific ends sought. Dressed in the clothing of the supernaturals whom she is representing, the shaman stabs and slashes the evil spirits with swords and knives. By dressing in the clothing of the deceased, the shaman shows a magical affinity with the departed soul. This aspect of a ritual suggests a form of "Contagious Magic" as well.

3. Nonmagical Techniques. Nonmagical supernaturalistic patterns take at least two forms in the ritual just described, propitiation and offerings. During the course of the ritual, the shaman has evidenced coercive and manipulative techniques to which we may assign magical properties, but she has also demonstrated suppliant behavior by her prayers, dances, and offerings. She has confessed the misdeeds of the family and offered prayers of thanksgiving. These activities usually fall within the category of nonmagical religious behavior (Norbeck, 1961:64-65).

In order to win the favor of the supernatural spirits the family has, at great expense, provided an elaborate altar with ample offerings. Quite often these sacrifices require such a great deal of money that the cooperation of the total kinship group, with its system of mutual obligations, is necessary.

4. Divination. Practices of divination may involve aspects of imitative or contagious magic or both. However, divination usually involves more than mechanical techniques

of magic. When the shaman allows a person to select a colored flag, or count the number of grains of rice, the prophetic mechanism is related to the existence of supernaturals, under whose control all of life's contingencies unfold.

Much of the ritualism of Korean shamanism has been encompassed in this discussion of the Chi-no Kwe Koot; however, a brief description of additional ceremonials will serve to further illuminate Korean shamanism in its cultural context.

B. The P'u-tak Ku-ri, or Ritual for Healing

As we have seen, the functions of the mutang are quite varied, but her specialty is in the area of healing. Korean shamans tend to attribute illness to supernatural influence; therefore healing must take place by means of supernatural power. The following is an account of a healing ceremony.[14]

A widowed daughter has been complaining of severe stomach pains. In order to obtain a cure, the father calls a mutang for an exorcism. The first step of the ritual is one of divination. No elaborate preparations are needed for this part of the ritual. The sick woman is placed on a pallet, and brought out to the ma-ryu bang. (This is a room with a wooden floor, open toward the courtyard. It serves as a porch, and is the area where the family eats

and lounges on warm days.) Chanting over the sick woman, the shaman feels over all parts of her body, and presses hard on the stomach. She asks the patient questions regarding the symptoms and length of the illness. Producing a tortoise shell divining box, the mutang casts small leather blocks, jackstraw fashion, on a mat. Each leather block has magical writing on each side. By this means, the shaman determines the identity of the evil spirit which is responsible for the illness. The mutang decides upon an auspicious hour for the ritual, and promises to return at that time.

The family sends members out to buy the fruit, cakes, wine, and other necessities for the offering. The mutang and her assistants arrive shortly before dusk, bringing their paraphernalia with them. The ritual area is prepared by stretching a white linen awning over the courtyard, one end of which has a backdrop. On this backdrop, several pictures of shamanistic deities are hung. The altar, composed of three tables in tier arrangement, is set up in the wooden-floor room. Large paintings of the "Five General" spirits, the "Three Deities," and "The Mountain Spirit," are hung on the back wall. The offerings, consisting of food, cakes, fruit, polished rice, and a bowl of clean water, are placed upon the altar. The tables are bracketed by candlesticks.

The ritual area is ceremonially cleansed by the

burning of pieces of paper at each corner of the house and courtyard. The gate is guarded by the ritual left-twisted rope. Two assistants play drums, while another plays the clarinet, and a fourth uses cymbols. During the course of her ceremony, the mutang dances about the courtyard, sometimes fanning those present with decorated fans, shaking the rattles, and brandishing the sword. Kneeling before the altar, the mutang places the pine god stick in an upright position, and soon it begins to shake. Directing a member of the family to hold the vibrating stick, the mutang begins to rub the patient vigorously on the stomach. Other members of the family stand about her, rubbing their palms together.

The exorcism is accomplished in the third stage of the ritual. A member of the family chooses one of the five colored flags, the color indicating the corner of the house in which the evil spirit is lodged. At the same time, the color indicates which "General" spirit will be needed to exorcise the spirit. Tying a matching colored streamer on the handle of her sword, the mutang dances about, slashing furiously in the direction the evil spirit is believed to be hiding. The mutang is dressed in the military uniform of a "General" spirit.

The climax of the exorcism is reached when the mutang inscribes the name of the spirit on a slip of paper, and places the paper in a bottle. Holding the open

bottle toward the corner where the evil spirit has been driven, the mutang suddenly corks the bottle, and seals it with some clay. After having captured the evil spirit in this fashion, the bottle will be buried on a hillside at a crossroads. Assured that the woman will get well, the mutang concludes the ceremony with a farewell ku-ri.

While the P'u-tak Ku-ri is specifically a ritual for healing, its central themes are similar to the Chi-no Kwe ceremony. Before the shaman departs, she may issue some final instructions to the patient, in which certain types of food or activities are prohibited.[15]

The indications are that in this instance the malevolent spirit was the son-kak si, or ghost of a virgin (See Chapt. II:109-111). The patient, a widow, and comparatively young, was still of marriageable age.[16]

Korean shamanism is characterized by pathogenetic concepts of illness; that is, illness is thought to be caused by the intrusion into a body of an evil spirit. In keeping with this belief, the shamans resort to supernatural practices of therapy, and seek to drive out the malignant spirits through the aid of helpful supernaturals. In connection with their therapeutic techniques, Korean shamans quite often rub and shake the patient vigorously. There is, however, little evidence of the sucking techniques which are practiced by shamans in many societies.

C. The Chang-nae Koot, or Funeral Ritual

Funeral rites in Korea vary in some details, depending upon the sex, age, and social position of the deceased. In some respects, the funeral arrangements may depend upon the manner in which the person died. If the events surrounding the death are unusual, if the death was by drowning, fire, or a sudden illness, the funeral may take place without delay, and with abbreviated ceremony. In such cases, the shaman may direct much of her ritual toward protecting the living, for it is believed that the ghosts of those who have died in such circumstances are disposed to seek revenge upon the living.

The following describes the funeral of a male head of a family:

When the death of the parent seems imminent, the family gathers in the room in order to be present. As soon as it is evident that the death has occurred, this fact is announced to the community by the loud wail of the women and a ritual performed by a close male relative. Climbing up onto the roof of the house, the man waves an item of clothing belonging to the deceased, and shouts the dead person's name three times.

On other occasions, the name of the deceased is written on slips of paper and placed on a tray, to be taken outside where they are burned. If the ashes of the paper are swept upward by the flame or a draft, it is considered

to be a sign that the soul has departed from the house.

The body is washed, dressed in the best available clothing, and placed upon a white pine plank, through which seven holes have been bored. The body is wrapped with white linen cloth, and tied with seven strands of hemp rope. The holes in the plank, and the seven cords of rope symbolize the seven stars of the Big Bear Constellation, which Koreans consider lucky.

A coffin is usually ordered made by a carpenter, but it may also be purchased from a shop where funerary equipment is sold or rented.[17] The box may be of painted or unpainted white pine wood, and is slightly narrower at one end. The body is placed in the coffin and kept in an inner room of the house, where it is shielded behind a decorated screen. Joss sticks are burned continuously inside the room, which is illuminated by candlelight. In rural areas, in place of incense sticks, pine needles are burned in the fireplaces. Informants suggest that this is done in order to guard against unpleasant odor.

The women make mourning clothes out of white or yellow linen material. The headdress for the male children is a high pointed hat of this same linen material, while the female members of the family tie a straw rope about their heads.[18] On the day of the funeral, the oldest son walks to the gravesite, carrying a wooden staff.

Beginning with the second night following the

death, the shaman and her assistants conduct the ritual for the dead, which is usually similar to the Chi-no Kwe ceremony. This ritual is concluded on the morning of the funeral, at which time a feast is given for all of the relatives and guests. Ordinarily, during the period of mourning, the adult members of the family eat and sleep very little. However, the needs of the children receive great attention.

Many families have an ancestral gravesite. However, community cemeteries are found in urban areas and villages with great density of population. A geomancer is called to select the exact gravesite, and neighbors, or laboring men are hired to dig the grave.

Almost every community has a burial society, called a Kyeh, which provides the funeral equipment. Every family contributes to the purchase and maintenance of the equipment, which consists of a wooden platform supported by two parallel carrying poles and covered by a brightly decorated awning. After a farewell ritual in the courtyard, twelve men, six on each side, carry the coffin to the gravesite, preceded by a man walking and carrying a flag on which the dead man's name is painted.

At the gravesite, the coffin is removed from the hearse and lowered into the open grave by ropes. Using a compass, the geomancer confirms the exact orientation of the coffin. While standing at the head of the grave,

a male member of the family holds a photograph of the deceased.[19] After the grave is filled with earth, a small table, called a sang-mu sang, is placed at the foot of the grave as an altar. An offering of food, fruits, and a bowl of clear water is placed upon the altar, and the relatives bow before it as an act of obeisance.

Upon returning to the house, the shaman conducts a Sang-mu P'ul-i ceremony for the family, which is an exorcism to ward off any evil influence that may have been acquired at the cemetery. The photograph of the deceased is placed upon a shelf where the ancestral tablets and photographs are kept. On each anniversary of the death, the photograph is taken down and placed on a table at which the family will eat a ritual meal. The family may request a shaman to perform a ritual at this feast on a regular basis.

There are several features of this ceremony which are said to reflect the influence of Chinese religions. The seven holes and seven strands of rope are believed to be associated with Taoism, while the mourning clothes, which are made of course hemp cloth, and the ancestral tablets, are thought to be of Confucian origin.

The following shamanistic song is sung for families where a father has died:

> Where are the sons without fathers?
> Fathers of three, four, five, six, seven, eight,
> and nine generations!

Fathers of nine, eight, seven, six, five, four,
and three generations!
People say that 'the other world is 15,000 li from
this world.'
Please come over,
Opening the tombs and the vaults,
Putting flowers on the head, and
Blowing a grass flute,
In order for you to receive this ritual.

What house is that?
This was the day on which they went into the house,
But there is no day on which they come out of
the house!
When we think about these matters,
How sorrowful we are!

What house is that?
Once one dies, there is no blade of grass.
Rose! Butterfly!
Don't grieve at flowers fading away,
Because they will revive next spring,
while we die once, and never come again.
What a sorrowful thing it is!
(Translated by Kim Ee-saek, June 2, 1972, Seoul,
Korea)

This discussion of crises-oriented rituals does not exhaust the list of critical events in the life of a Korean toward which ritual interest may be directed, but we must turn now to a study of ceremonials which are calendrically fixed or cyclical in nature.

II. Cyclical, or Fixed Rituals

The range of rituals comprising this category of ceremonials is immense. They tend to be correlated with the seasons and rythmic changes in nature and associated with the economic activities coinciding with the seasonal changes. An important aspect of the Korean economy is its agriculture, and this is reflected in the large number of

rituals connected with planting and harvesting crops. Fishing is also an important feature of the Korean economy; therefore, along the seacoasts ritualism directed toward fishing concerns is quite pronounced.

This does not mean that all cyclical rites of Korean shamanism are directed toward economic interests alone; on the contrary, as a matter of course some rituals are performed annually as preventive measures against disease and other misfortunes. In the spring, Korean women usually clean their houses thoroughly and place their clothing and blankets outside to be exposed to the air and sun. During this housecleaning process, shamans are often invited to the house to exorcise evil spirits or ceremonially cleanse the premises.

The annual rites of shamanism, as well as many of the numerous national holidays of Korea, are observed according to the lunar calendar. In recent years, the Korean government has adopted the calendar used in the West for many of its activities, but the lunar calendar is still widely used in the rural areas. Some Korean writers tend to place the ritualism of Korean shamanism within the broad category of "Korean customs," and thereby minimize the religious nature of the observances. This may be partially accounted for by assuming that as Korean society developed technologically, it also gained greater control over certain aspects of its physical environment,

and became less subject to seasonal change. Therefore, the supernaturalistic nature of certain ceremonials became less important. Norbeck makes the following observation:

> Among the culturally elaborate societies, where technological control over nature is much greater, man's activities are less intimately associated with physical environment and less subject to seasonal change. But many cyclic religious observances of the civilized nations of the world, now changed in form, find their roots in annual changes in agricultural activities as formerly observed and thus are also linked with climatic changes. Village festivals of rural Japan, today often lacking any direct reference to agriculture, are customarily held at the beginning and end of the planting season, and many other ceremonies coincide with seasonal changes (Norbeck, 1961: 165).

Choe Sang-su indicates that cultural change in a society does not necessitate discontinuity of some aspects of culture, but suggests that change may be a part of a continuum. He writes:

> Most of the annual customs originated in ancient days and have existed with close relationship to the life of the nation throughout its history. They provided diversion in the monotonousness of social life and enriched it and gave entertainment to the people's days. They were also closely related to the social system and transformed themselves as the social system evolved with them. When we see the nation's annual customs within the time continuum, we are seeing the nation's social life throughout history (Choe, 1960:i).

Rituals may be connected with subsistence patterns for reasons other than the affinity of rituals with economic safeguards. Ritualism involves time and resources. There are slack periods related to planting and harvesting seasons, during which there is available time for conducting

ceremonials. At the completion of harvest rural Koreans have both time and resources to sponsor ritual observances, ceremonials which may have no direct bearing on the economic and seasonal events with which they coincide.

Certain annual rituals are conducted on behalf of the community, while others pertain specifically to family interests. Some rituals are quite elaborate, such as the National Foundation Day ritual for Tan'gun, which involves great numbers of people. This particular ritual, held annually on October 3, can be classified as a patriotic celebration as well as a religious rite. The Chil-sung, or Big Dipper ceremony, is conducted privately in the home, and centers about the children.

The wide range and functional features of cyclical ritualism in Korean shamanism will be evidenced in the following ceremonials.

A. Bok-jori, or Good-luck Ladle

The bok-jori is a bamboo ladle used for sorting, washing, and scooping grain. Upon arising early in the morning of the first day of the New Year, the women of the house buy a ladle. Itinerant salesmen begin soon after midnight to walk through the streets of villages, selling the ladles to the women.

The ladle is hung on the wall of the kitchen, and is believed to bring good fortune to the home throughout

the year. The association with rice, the staple food in Korea, suggests an aspect of sympathetic magic.

B. Ya-kwang-i jod-ki, or Warding Off Evil Spirits

Korean folklore perpetuates the story of an evil spirit that sneaks into the courtyard of a house at night on the first day of the New Year, seeking to steal the shoes of the family. It is believed that if some member of the family loses his shoes on that occasion, he will have misfortune all through the year.

In this ritual, the family brings all of the shoes inside the house. Ordinarily, Korean families leave their shoes lined up on the steps leading up to the porch, or in a rack along the wall of the porch. Shoes are never worn inside the house. To ward off the evil spirit, a bamboo sieve is hung on the front gate. It is believed that the evil spirit becomes so fascinated by the number of holes in the sieve that it will spend all night counting the holes, and thus be too busy to bother the family.

C. Samjae, or Avoiding the Three Calamities

Samjae seems to be a Buddhist term. Some Koreans refer to this ritual as Whang-soo. Samjae designates disasters occurring from flood, winds, and fire, and this ritual is designed to protect the family from these elements.

Within the first two weeks of January, the regular family shaman, the tangol, is requested to perform this ritual on behalf of the family. The ceremony is quite short, and consists of four steps: (1) The Pu-chung, or cleansing the house of unclean spirits, (2) The Tae-kam, in which the tutelary house spirits are honored, (3) The Ka-mang, which is a rite for ancestral spirits, and (4) The Dwet-puri, which is a ritual designed to include all of the spirits surrounding the house.

The house is ceremonially cleansed by the burning of white paper in the first step. During the last stage of the Samjae, the food is taken off the altar, and cast onto the ground as an act of expiation and petition.

The dangers involving these "three calamities" are ever present in Korean society. In the towns, the houses are erected quite close together, and in the rural areas the construction is of light and flammable materials, with roofs of rice straw. With paper ceilings, and illumination by kerosene lamps in rural areas where electricity has not yet reached, the fire hazard is very real. Because of their light construction, Korean houses are subject to damage during typhoons or heavy rains also.

D. The Ch'il-sung Je, or Ceremony To the Seven Stars

This ceremony is held within the first ten days of the New Year, and is designed to bring blessings to the

home, especially to the children. The ceremonial, directed toward the deities of "The Big Dipper," is usually conducted at home; however, the family may ascend a hill behind the village, to a shrine, where offerings of white rice and clean water are presented. The shaman recites the An-t'ak gyung, which is essentially a Buddhist sutra (precept).

E. The Bok-heulk Hum-jigi, or Stealing Lucky Earth Rite

This ritual usually takes place on the 14th day of January. On the evening of that day, men attempt to slip into the courtyard of a wealthy man's house, and gather up a handful of earth. The earth is taken home and spread about the area outside the kitchen. By means of this ritual, it is believed that the wealth and good fortune of the rich man will be transferred to the home of the individual who engages in the ritual.

This rite is somewhat similar to the "Earth Stomping" ceremony, which involves scattering the earth around the house, as the family or a farmer's band sings and dances about. In this somewhat composite ritual, the evil spirits of the earth are suppressed, while good fortune is infused into the premises by the addition of new "lucky" soil. Some informants say that rich men often employ guards on this night in order to prevent any loss of their own good fortune.

F. The Dong-sin Je, or Rite for The Community Spirit

Many Korean villages conduct this ritual on the 15th day of the first lunar month. In some areas of Korea, a similar ceremony is called Tal-Je, or Welcome of the New Moon. As a ritual, the ceremony has strong religious connotations, but it is also a festive occasion for the entire community.

Selected village elders erect a stone altar, usually near an entrance to the village or near a tree which is considered to be the dwelling place of a community tutelary spirit. The principal elder who supervises this task is a man who is well respected in the community, has avoided sick persons or those in mourning, and has abstained from eating meat.

On the evening of the 14th day, acting as the religious moderator for the occasion, the elder will change into fresh clothes, and put the finishing touches to the altar. During the day, the villagers are to be warm and friendly to all of their neighbors, and must refrain from getting drunk and engaging in raucous behavior. At midnight the elder of the village recites prayers on behalf of the community.

Before noon on the following day, the leaders of the community gather at the village meeting hall to discuss plans for the coming year. When the business is completed,

all members of the council retire to a house where a feast has been prepared from the food and wine that had been used for the sacrificial offerings to the village gods. The theme for this ceremonial has been one of thanksgiving.[20]

It is significant that professional shamans do not ordinarily take part in this particular ceremonial. Gerontocracy no longer operates as a dynamic factor in the rural areas in politics; however, Korean society places great value on age and experience. This ritual promotes social solidarity and continuity in the community through the joint beliefs and rituals shared by the entire community. In so doing, the moral codes and other values of the society are maintained.

G. Kae-chun Chul, or Heaven Opening Day Ceremonial

The Korean title for this nationally celebrated ritual suggests "a day when the sky opened," or "the beginning of creation." The day for this ceremonial traditionally falls on October 3, and commemorates the descent of Tan'gun, the divine founder of the Korean nation (See Chapt. I:20-22). While National Foundation Day is a national holiday, it is also a day with deep significance for each family, a day on which each family traditionally performs rituals in gratitude for the harvest of new crops.

On this occasion, many families invite a shaman to perform the ritual on behalf of their household, but quite

often the head of the household leads the family in the ceremonials. Usually the straw "keep-away" rope is stretched across the gate as a protective measure against intruding spirits and uninvited guests. All food offerings are made from the products of the new crops, including rice, grains from which bread and cakes are made, and vegetables. Steamed rice cakes and wine are common ingredients in the offering.

During the ceremony, the shaman performs intricate dances, sings, and prays in each room of the house. She exorcises the porch where the ancestral tablets are located, and offers sacrifices at the shrine which houses the family "Homesite Deity." The shaman pastes pictures of the "Three Deities" on the gate in order to ward off misfortune during the year.

If the family has a well or cistern, the shaman offers sacrifices to the dragon spirit, and exorcises any malevolent spirits which may be lurking there, or if there is a community well, the shaman will perform ritual there on behalf of the entire community.

H. Ryong-gung Chul

This rite is held on January fourteenth. On that day small boats are constructed and filled with offerings of food and wine for the spirit of the dragon. The small boats are allowed to float freely with the currents.

I. Yundung-Halmuni Rite

The object of this rite is to pay tribute to the spirit of the wind. It is usually held on January fifteenth. On Cheju Island, the people construct small boats with paper sails. Seaweed, rice, and wine are usually placed on the small boat. While the craft is being dispatched to sea, the people sing songs and offer prayers to the spirit of the wind.

J. Pom-Chul, or Kyeh-Chul

This ritual is held on the first day of spring. Food offerings are prepared for the ancestral spirits. This is considered to be an auspicious time for shamanistic rituals.

K. Sungcho-Magi

This ceremony is usually held in October and commemorates the construction of a new home. It is a rite in which the tutelary spirit is honored. The ceremony is repeated annually for three years.

L. Sakyoung Rite

Always held in autumn, the Sakyoung rite is quite elaborate. The shaman divines for members of the family, ritually cleanses the house of all evil spirits and influences, and prays for each member of the family.

M. General Comments

Common themes are found in each of these cyclical rites; these include such matters as thanksgiving, ritual cleansing of the house, petition for health and good crops, and safeguards against evil spirits.[21] As we have seen, many of these seasonal rituals are the joint activities of large social groups, but many are characterized by the more intimate participation of single families in privacy. These rituals are led by members of a family, community elders, or shamans. They are usually held in the spring and fall, and characteristically center around the family. While there is a great deal of "ritual consciousness," evidenced in the motivation, intensity of emotion, and personal involvement, there is a warm, festive air about the seasonal ritualism which is not generally characteristic of rites of crises.

The place of women in the ritualism of Korean shamanism cannot be overlooked. The Confucian ideal of male superiority is highly institutionalized in Korean society, but in the religious context, Korean women occupy a place of importance. The greater number of shamanistic rituals are sponsored by women, and female religious practitioners outnumber the men in Korean society. It may also be observed that Korean women are found in greater numbers in the Christian churches, the Buddhist temples,

and the mountain prayer retreats. From this, one might conclude that Korean women have found in religion a measure of fulfillment and satisfaction in a society that accords them an inferior social status.

NOTES

Chapter IV

[1]The relationship between myth and ritual has engendered wide scholarly interest and controversy. The question of temporal priority seems to lie near the center of much of the discussion. While the question of origin is not particularly significant at this point in our study of Korean shamanism, the intrinsic relationship between myth and ritual is quite important. The mythology of Korean shamanism seems to provide rationalization and reinforcement for certain basic presuppositions within the religious system, and the rituals are the instruments through which communication and exploitation take place. Kluckhohn has made this observation:

> Ritual is an obsessive repetitive activity--often a symbolic dramatization of the fundamental 'needs' of the society, whether 'economic,' 'biological,' 'social,' or 'sexual.' Mythology is the rationalization of these same needs, whether they are all expressed in overt ceremonial or not. Someone has said 'every culture has a type conflict and a type solution.' Ceremonials tend to portray a symbolic resolvement of the conflicts which external environment, historical experience, and selective distribution of personality types have caused to be characteristic in the society (Kluckhohn, 1942:78-79).

Kluckhohn's analysis may not be conclusive, but as we have seen much of the mythology in Korean shamanism is concerned with the basic needs of Korean society itself. Drawing upon their mythology, Korean shamans tend to express their belief, and to bring about certain desired ends, through rituals.

[2]One of the continuing concerns of cultural anthropologists is the study of culture and the interrelationships of its components in order to formulate generalizations and "laws." One of the implications of the discipline of cultural anthropology is that cultural phenomena are amenable to scientific investigation, in which models of interpretation are needed in order to formulate cultural

laws or principles. In the main, the procedures of anthropology have been comparative, with anthropologists seeking to observe and account for similarities and differences in cultural expressions. Quite often explanations have been tendered within the limits of some systems theory which do not allow due fertilization with other apparently extraneous systems. At times, there may be some value in approaching some cultural data in an eclectic manner.

[3]During the course of this study of Korean shamanism, in order to make certain points more clear to the reader, a number of rituals have been described. This chapter amplifies earlier discussions by selecting other rituals which will indicate the range of ritualism in Korean shamanism. Merely compiling a list of the many rites within the Korean shamanistic complex would be of limited value, especially when the titles and stages are indicated only in Korean language terms.

[4]In the West, musical instruments are classified according to usage and the materials of which they are constructed, that is, percussions, woodwinds, strings, brass, etc., while in Korea, traditionally the instruments are classified according to the eight kinds of material from which they are made: metal, stone, earth, silk, gourd, bamboo, wood, and leather.

While many musical instruments used in Korean shamanism are indigenous to Korea, Korean musicologists say that most of the musical instruments common to Korean folk music are of Chinese origin.

[5]Korean vocal music is pentatonic. The five notes of the musical scale are kung, sang, kak, ch'i, and u. These notes correspond to the Western do, re, mi, so, and lah. The shamans believe that the spirits are as aesthetically inclined as the Korean people themselves. Music which is directed toward the spirits is known as sin-ak, or spirit music. Malevolent spirits are believed to possess an inherent aversion to music, especially to the powerful and dominant sound of the drum.

Eliade has suggested that the drum has a role of primary importance in shamanistic ceremonies around the world (Eliade, 1970 [Trans.]:168-180). There are different types of drums used in Korean shamanistic rites, each designated by a specific name.

Some Korean scholars believe that much of the minyo (folk music) and nongak (rural band music) of Korea have

their origins in shamanism. Chang Ji-whan, writing for the Tong-ah Ilbo newspaper, says that Chinese and Confucian music have influenced Korean music greatly, and that it is doubtful if Korean national folk arts would have survived without the traditions being maintained in the Korean shamanistic complex (Chang, 1969:n.p.).

[6]This ceremonial took place in a small village in Yang-joo Eup, Kyunggi Province, in 1969. In this description, the writer has taken the liberty to reconstruct some aspects of the ritual in order to present additional features of the Chi-no Kwe Koot which were omitted at the time it took place.

The components of the name Chi-no Kwe, combine to literally mean, "to proceed along the road of the spirits," or "to be guided by the spirits." The concept of a "guiding spirit" is intrinsic with this combination. The spirit, of course, refers to the spirit of the dead. In the home where this ceremonial took place, a member of the household had recently died, so the family made arrangements for the ceremony. Such an elaborate ritual usually requires a principal shaman and several assistants.

[7]In a shamanistic ritual of long duration, such as this particular ceremony, there is a certain amount of restlessness and milling about; therefore, it is often difficult to know when the ritual is passing from one stage to another. The most obvious signal that a change is taking place is when the principal shaman changes her costume. When one stage is completed, the mutang may go outside in order to rest or smoke, and then she changes into her next costume. During the time that the mutang is resting, her assistants may dance, arrange the altar, or merely continue playing their instruments.

[8]In Taiwan, paper money is still used in connection with many rituals. In Korea, the burning of paper is used in several ways. It is used to purify a ritual area, as an offering, and to announce the death of a person. The name of the deceased is written on slips of paper, which are then burned.

[9]The Confucian influence on ancestral rites in Korea is quite pronounced; however, there are reasons to believe that ancestral worship was practiced in Korea many years before Confucianism was introduced into the country (See Chapt. I, pp. 33-35).

[10]Some Korean informants suggest that the sin-kan is susceptible to the same kind of manipulation characterized by a ouija board.

[11]Czaplicka (1914:218ff.) and Clark (1932:182ff.) suggest that the accessories of the shaman possess an impersonal power of their own, and since magical smiths are no longer available to make the shaman's paraphernalia, the former magical iron ornaments are symbolized by painted or embroidered designs on the shaman's costume. This is most likely the case for the representation of ancient Korean armor just described.

[12]The costumes which are worn by the shaman usually indicate the supernatural being personified and the role being enacted. Taking that into consideration, the indications are that Princess Pali is being married! Since the stated reason generally given for this particular spirit's maliciousness involves this factor, it is hoped that through this ritual marriage, she will be pacified.

In addition to that tentative suggestion, another factor which may contribute to the shaman's unusual behavior towards this spirit, is the belief that Princess Pali has great power over the souls of the dead. Therefore, this ritual has strong ancestral worship overtones.

[13]Most of the food and drink are supposed to be consumed by the spirits. The spirits, of course, partake of the essence of the offerings; as the representative of the spirits, the shaman usually takes most of the offering home, where it is divided among the assistants.

[14]This ceremonial took place next door to our home in Seoul, and represents our first encounter with Korean shamanism. Our neighbors, with whom we became well acquainted in the succeeding years, did not evidence annoyance at my presence; however, they did request that we refrain from taking pictures.

[15]These final instructions seem frequently to serve as a safety feature for the shaman. In the event that a patient does not recover, the shaman may insist that the failure was due to some violation of her prohibitions.

[16]Our young neighbor did not recover, but died a few months later in a westernized hospital, where her case was diagnosed as stomach cancer.

[17]In 1963, I witnessed a funeral where the coffin was dismantled and the body was buried in its shroud. The family was very poor and could only afford to rent the coffin.

[18]It does not necessarily imply a Confucian funeral when a family wears the mourning clothes, for Buddhist and Christian families also wear them. More recently, however, men wear dark suits with an armband made of the hemp cloth, to indicate that they are in a period of mourning.

[19]The use of the photograph at Korean funerals does not always pertain to an aspect of ancestral worship. At the present time, Korean society does not practice embalmment. Very seldom is the coffin opened for the body to be viewed, as is the custom in many western countries. At Korean funerals, the photograph is placed on top of the coffin, or hung in a conspicuous place over the coffin.

[20]In Kyunggi Province, this ritual is often called Tal-je, or it focuses more directly on moon worship. For this ritual, the women prepare small rice flour cakes, very similar to dumplings, with a fruit and nut filling. The cakes are shaped like half-moons, or crescents. In the Seoul area, shamans are much more active in this ceremony.

[21]In his article in English, entitled, "The Seasonal Rituals of Korean Shamanism," (History of Religions, Vol. 12, No. 3 [February, 1973], Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 271-287), Lee Jung-young lists dozens of Korean shamanistic rituals.

CHAPTER V

KOREAN SHAMANISM--COMPARED WITH TWO OTHER SHAMANISTIC SYSTEMS

Comparison is one of the most important methods available to anthropology for sharpening its concepts and making useful distinctions. The purpose of this study is to examine and interpret Korean shamanism rather than to make a comparative survey of shamanism as such. Yet some of the unique as well as the common features of Korean shamanism may be thrown into relief by comparing it with shamanistic complexes of other peoples. When anthropologists speak of priests and shamans in the societies they investigate, they are assimilating these kinds of religious practitioners into categories familiar to them. This is unavoidable; without it there could be little cross-cultural understanding or communication.

In attempting comparisons certain cautions must be kept in mind. Beattie says, "It is more useful to compare institutions which have similar backgrounds or contexts than it is to compare institutions which belong to very different contexts, and which may therefore differ very greatly in social significance and consequence" (Beattie, 1964:47). He goes on to emphasize that "it is more likely

that social and cultural contexts will be fully comparable where the societies concerned are related or contiguous ones" (Ibid., 48). The implications are that where social institutions are being compared from one culture to another, each must be thoroughly understood in its own social context. To compare things implies that in at least some respect they are different, as well as that they are similar, and that differences are only meaningful against comparable backgrounds.

On the other hand, comparisons of cultural expressions from contexts remote in time and space are valid when the comparisons are based upon properly defined elements common to a complex. The comparative method generally seeks to achieve generalizations through comparisons of similar kinds of phenomena, and attempts to extract common themes or denominators from a mass of variants. With this in mind, it is hoped to illuminate Korean shamanism by comparing its shamanistic techniques with similar shamanistic behavior found among societies in other parts of the world.

Considerations of space and the prime obligation to offer a reasonably complete study of Korean shamanism limit the attention that can be given here to comparisons, but at least a beginning in this direction will be made by contrasting Korean shamanism with two shamanistic complexes from widely separated regions, one the shamanism

of the Chiricahua Apache of the American Southwest, and second, the shamanism of the Nyoro, a Bantu-speaking people who live in the uplands of western Uganda, in east central Africa.[1] The three societies live in totally different environments. The Korean peninsula is highly mountainous and notable for extremes in climate. Seventy percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, especially in the cultivation of rice, which is the staple food for the Korean people. The Nyoro live in a fertile area of small hills and swampy valleys. The typical Nyoro is a small farmer, who cultivates from four to eight acres of land (Beattie, 1960:2). The Chiricahua Indians live in the mountainous and inhospitable arid areas of southeastern Arizona, southwestern New Mexico, and northern Mexico. Typically a hunting and gathering society, the Chiricahua practiced raiding as an integral aspect of their economy (Opler, 1941:332 [reprinted in 1965 by Cooper Square Publishers, Inc.]).

The Korean and Nyoro societies have a similar kinship system, based on patrilineal succession and patrilocal residence (Beattie, 1960:48-49). On the other hand, the Chiricahua reckon kinship bilaterally and place a decided emphasis upon matrilocal residence (Opler, 1941:162).

The political organizations of the three societies are quite different. Until the modern period, Korea was a monarchy. This has given way to a constitutional form

of government. The Nyoro are governed by a hereditary ruler and a graded hierarchy of territorial and local chiefs (Beattie, 1960:2). As for the Chiricahua, political consciousness is more pronounced among the bands than at the tribal level. In the selection of leaders, personal ability and group consensus are more decisive than matters of birth and wealth (Opler, 1941:470).

As may be seen from these summaries, the three societies under discussion manifest significant cultural divergences in some areas, but, as we shall see, they demonstrate marked similarities in their religious orientations. The three groups may properly be said to have shamanistic complexes, for their religious systems correspond in all essential details to classical shamanism. As a religious system, shamanism rests upon the belief that spirits do exist and may possess human beings, and on the practice of establishing communication with the supernatural through human beings so possessed. Certain specializations or elaborations resulting from contact, environmental factors, or syncretism may develop, but there remains a core of similarities or themes in shamanism which are recognizable and may be brought out in a comparative study.

The general nature of Korean shamanism has already received extensive treatment; nevertheless, some repetition of select materials seems necessary in order to provide context for comparative statements.

A. Ideology and Concepts Regarding Supernaturalism

Korean shamans believe that all natural objects possess indwelling spirits whose conscious life is expressed in natural phenomena; accordingly, the spirits of great mountains, rivers, trees, and stones are treated with proper care. The sun and other celestial bodies are worshipped as beneficent deities who bring mankind productivity and happiness. Just as there are beneficial spirits, there are evil spirits who take delight in disturbing the harmony of the human world. These spirits must be placated or diverted from their mischievous intentions through magical incantation and exorcism.

Ancestral worship occupies a central place in Korean shamanism. Apparently many tribal ancestors and notable warriors were deified and enshrined as protectors of mankind. Foundation myths indicate that the major dynasties of Korean history were developed by leaders of unusual birth. Ghosts of the dead are believed to be quite active in human affairs. A supreme deity, identified as Hananim, presides over all of the affairs of mankind. However, Hananim is generally regarded as being aloof from his creation. Below Hananim is a pantheon of lesser supernatural personages who figure importantly in the daily life of the Korean people.

The rationale and theology of the various ceremonies

and beliefs of the Chiricahua may be found in their mythology. With regard to the origin of the universe, the Chiricahua refer to a nebulous deity whom they call Life Giver. Of this supernatural being Opler writes:

> Parents, in talking with their children, credit Life Giver with the creation of the universe, but they offer no details and expect that faith in this deity will be later supplemented by interest in some more concrete manifestation of supernatural power (Opler, 1941:194).

There is no particular ceremony stemming directly from Life Giver among the Chiricahua (Ibid., 280). In fact, specific creative acts are generally attributed to culture heroes such as Child of the Water (Ibid., 198). Opler believes that certain stories regarding the creation of man and a flood have been introduced into Chiricahua religion through contacts with western European thought (Opler, 1942:1).

One of the most important figures among the Apachean supernaturals is a female deity known as White Painted Woman among the Chiricahua, and Changing Woman among the Navaho. The Chiricahua believe that she has existed from the beginning (Opler, 1941:197). White Painted Woman was impregnated by rain and lightning, and gave birth to two heroes called Child of the Water and Killer of Enemies. Among the Chiricahua there is little agreement concerning the relationship of these two heroes.

According to one tale among the Chiricahua, Child of

the Water created the white man and the Indian, and when the goods of the earth were divided, Child of the Water chose the bow and arrow, the forested mountains, and the wild foods and became representative of the Chiricahua way of life. Killer of Enemies chose the mineral-rich lands, the gun, and agricultural food staples and became identified with the white man (Opler, 1941:197-198).

Many of the myths and chants of Chiricahua shamanism relate to the adventures of these two culture heroes as they wage a campaign against monsters who have been preying upon humankind. These monsters are personified adversaries of mankind. Some of the monsters who were not destroyed and still plague man were hunger, poverty, old age, and filth.

The forces of nature are often associated with personal supernatural power. Natural forces are personified and believed to be responsible for a great deal of sickness as well as benefits.

Animals, too, play a great part in the world of the Chiricahua. Some animals are considered to be dangerous to man, while others are believed to be beneficial. Animals are personified in their intercourse with man, and tend to reflect the major concerns of subsistence, health, and misfortune. Coyote, usually a trickster with few redeeming qualities, makes death inevitable for mankind by throwing a rock into the water and declaring that, if

it sinks, living beings shall ultimately die (Opler, 1941:197).

The Chiricahua place importance upon an order of supernaturals called the Water Beings. There are two kinds of Water Beings, the beneficent Controller of Water who sends the rain, and Water Monster, who sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as a large serpent. He is believed to be responsible for drownings (Ibid., 199-200).

Among the Chiricahua there is a race of supernaturals, the Mountain People, who are believed to inhabit the interiors of certain mountains. The Mountain People have supernatural power, and occasionally dress, paint, and cover the faces of some of their members with masks and have them dance. In their role of dancers, these supernaturals are referred to as Mountain Spirits. It is these Mountain Spirits who are impersonated by the masked dancers of the Chiricahua. The patterns of the masks are modeled after those of the Mountain Spirits who have been seen by a shaman in a supernatural experience (Opler, 1942:74).

Ghosts play an important role in Chiricahua shamanism. A ghost is believed to be the malignant part of a dead person which returns to avenge some neglect or offense, or to repay any unkind thoughts and words which were directed against him in life.

For the Chiricahua, the universe is a very dangerous place. It is inhabited by people and forces which are

often untrustworthy, if not malignant. Except for White Painted Woman, who is always good and helpful, most of the supernaturals in the Chiricahua pantheon are somewhat fickle and unpredictable. Spirit possession plays only a minor part in Chiricahua communication with the supernaturals.

The mythology of the Nyoro tends to express the attitudes and values of the society by explaining and justifying the traditional social categories and certain aspects of supernaturalism (Beattie, 1960:11). Traditional Nyoro religion centers upon a belief in the existence of a group of spirits called the Chwezi. The Chwezi, a race of people who are supposed to have come to Bunyoro (the land of the Nyoro) many centuries ago, ruled the country for a brief time, and then mysteriously vanished. The Chwezi are said to have been fair-skinned, and to have possessed great wisdom and miraculous powers. Upon leaving Bunyoro, the Chwezi taught the Nyoro the techniques of spirit possession. By utilizing these techniques, the Nyoro have access to the same wisdom and powers represented by the Chwezi (Beattie, 1960:77).[2]

The Chwezi spirits are said to be nineteen in number, each one being associated with one of the localized agnatic descent groups into which the Nyoro community was traditionally organized. (The figure nineteen is

considered to be an auspicious number among the Nyoro.) Certain Chwezi spirits are associated with natural forces, such as thunder and rain. In such cases, these spirits are thought and spoken of as things rather than personal beings (Beattie, 1960:77).

For the Nyoro, misfortune may be due to the activity of a ghost, the disembodied spirit of a dead person. The ghosts of dead people affect the living, and are usually considered inimical. Ghostly activity is generally diagnosed on the basis of known or presumed social relationships; for example, a kinsman who has been neglected or offended may take revenge. Stressing the fact that fear of ghostly vengeance may be a sanction for good interpersonal relations, Beattie says:

> If ghostly activity is diagnosed as the cause of misfortune, the agent is most likely to be the ghost of somebody who has been wronged or neglected by the 'victim' and who has died with a grudge against him. Most ghosts are therefore those of deceased relatives, for, as we have seen, every Nyoro is bound to many different kinds of relatives and affines in a network of mutual obligations which should not be neglected. Where particular obligations are stressed, as between sons and fathers, sisters' sons and their mothers' brothers (a sister's son's ghost is specially feared), and brothers, so that a breach of these obligations is particularly serious, ghostly activity is often diagnosed. Few people can be sure that they have not at some time neglected or offended some relative who has since died (Beattie, 1960:76).

The relationship between ghosts and people is thought to be somewhat reciprocal, for the ghosts are dependent upon humans for needed services, and the well-being of

humans is dependent upon the goodwill of the ghosts.

As has been observed, a common denominator found among these three religious systems is the belief in the existence of supernatural beings or powers, whose ways are known through the rituals, songs, and tales of the people. These supernatural entities represent powerful and potentially dangerous forces with which mankind must come to terms. Supernaturals of human origin; that is, culture heroes and ghosts, are considered to be among the most fearful and treacherous. To some degree each society has found techniques by means of which powers in the universe may be approached in order to provide a long, full, and satisfying life for its members. Each individual member of a society may have his own ceremony or techniques for warding off evil spirits or gaining the favor of supernatural powers; however, each society also has members who, on a full or part-time basis provide ritual services on behalf of others.

B. Functional Aspects of Shamanism

Religion does not stand by itself discretely, but as a part of culture, intimately linked with other parts of the whole. While deeply implanted in the mythology of a society in which tribal or national interests are involved, shamanism provides a ritual buffer for members of society against the abrasive frustrations, anxieties, and stresses

which occur in daily life. Therefore, like practitioners in other shamanistic societies, Korean shamans are not particularly concerned with worship in the abstract. Rather, most acts of ritual are extremely pragmatic, revolving around needs to be satisfied, risks to be reduced, and problems to be resolved.

Utilizing techniques growing out of a belief in supernaturalism, the Korean shamanistic practitioner protects himself, his children, his agricultural, and his fishing activities from malign spirits. He uses productive ritual to multiply his crops, to ensure success in netting fish, and to guarantee offspring. He resorts to divination to give him confidence before planting crops, before marriage, before building a new home, and before selecting a gravesite.

The apparent need for shamanism among the Chiricahua cannot be separated from their cosmology. In the face of strong supernatural forces which are often malignant, the impotence of man must be compensated for by the acquisition and use of helpful supernatural power. The Chiricahua knows a great deal about his environment, and for its exploitation he has developed skills in the battle for survival and the "good life." He knows about hunting and gathering techniques, about the healing properties of certain kinds of herbs, and about raiding and battle strategies. However, every individual anticipates and seeks added

supernatural help in all areas of need, for he believes that one cannot expect to overcome all hindrances and limitations without this aid.

Herbalism and sweat-bathing are highly regarded as curative techniques; however, these methods are not always effective. Ailments which do not respond to ordinary herbal remedies or decoctions ritually administered are thought to have been contracted from unclean animals or from supernatural powers capable of sending disease (Opler, 1941:224). Some diseases are attributed to witchcraft or ghosts.

Among the Chiricahua, one of the most frequent uses of supernatural power is in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. Some Korean and Nyoro shamans devote their time solely to diagnostic pursuits and divination. This is not the case among the Chiricahua, although during the curing rite the shaman may receive additional information concerning the best method of combating the disease (Ibid., 213). Curative or protective amulets are used for sickness and warfare (Ibid., 311).

Ceremonies are needed in all areas of life; therefore, the Chiricahua resort to shamanism in cases of domestic trouble, childlessness, warfare, and hunting difficulties. Supernatural power enables him to locate lost persons, hidden objects, and fugitives (Ibid., 214-215). However,

health anxieties predominate and most shamanistic rites are curing ceremonies.

The function of shamanism among the Nyoro is suggested by Beattie's statement, ". . . for Banyoro, as for most people, recourse to the supernatural is usual only when things go wrong" (Beattie, 1969:162). The Chwezi are often referred to as "household" spirits, and are supposed to be concerned primarily with the well-being, health, prosperity, and the fertility of the agnatically centered groups with which they are associated. It is believed that if these spirits are neglected they may bring illness or other misfortune on the members of the group (Ibid., 160).

The powerful, extra-human agencies in the universe usually manifest themselves in situations of misfortune. Beattie writes:

> A man becomes ill, his children sicken and die, his crops fail, he loses his money or his job; a woman has repeated miscarriages or loses her babies in infancy (both all too frequent, alas, in Bunyoro): all these misfortunes and many more still bring Nyoro peasants to the diviners to find out what malevolent agency is responsible (Ibid., 163).

The Nyoro live hard and uncomfortable lives, in which illness and sudden death are frequent, infant mortality rates are high, and modern medical facilities are few. The people are unable to face these hazards and deprivations with resignation; they believe that their lives and fortunes are subject to the interruptions of spiritual

forces from outside themselves. Beattie says:

> But though these powers are sometimes capricious, they are not beyond human influence: being in some sense 'persons' they can be entered into relations with through the mediumship cult, and so dealt with in the familiar idiom of interpersonal social relationship (Beattie, 1969:168).

In addition to dealing with ghosts, malignant spirits, and sickness, shamanism among the Nyoro serves other interests.

> A man may hate another, and wish to injure him, and he may want to know the best kind of magic medicine or technique to employ. Women may be childless, and wish to discover what it is that is preventing them from having children. A woman may believe that her husband has lost interest in her, especially if he has just procured a second wife or is talking of obtaining one, and she may wish to know how to recover his affection. A man may want to discover the identity of a thief or an incendiarist, or at least to bring down punishment on such a person even though he remain unknown. In Bunyoro, problems of these and many other kinds are brought to the diviners, and the diviners provide what are on the whole acceptable answers (Beattie, 1960:71).

Beattie summarizes the functions of shamanism in the following statements:

> Instrumentally regarded, religious and magical beliefs and practices form part of systems of action; they have consequences, even if they are not always those envisaged by the people who have them. On the cognitive level, they provide satisfactory answers to otherwise insoluble questions: they fill gaps in human knowledge and experience and so diminish areas of doubt and uncertainty. Thus religious belief and practice may give confidence in the face of dangers which would otherwise be overwhelming. They provide institutionalized means of coping with such dangers, and even if these means are generally scientifically ineffective, they are satisfying morally and emotionally (Beattie, 1964:238).

C. Shamanistic Practitioners

In Korea shamanistic rituals may be conducted by almost anyone to some degree. Members of households seek to resolve certain difficulties through supernatural means at times of crisis and on a regular basis. The male head of a household may offer rice or wine to tutelary spirits, kill a chicken as an offering to the spirits of the soil, provide a rice-straw doll (chae-oong) as a scapegoat for the family, and burn incense before the ancestral tablets. Women may pile stones in a heap before the altar of the Mountain Pass spirits, or tie strips of cloth to sacred trees in order to guarantee childbirth. Children may tie amulets about their wrists in order to ward off evil spirits or diseases. However, ritualism in Korean shamanism is considered to be the domain of religious specialists.

The practitioners of shamanism of Korea may be said to fall into two classes: those who seem to be following the profession on a hereditary basis, and those who, having been directly called by supernaturals, are following the profession on a full or part-time basis. In a sense, both classes of practitioners are essentially those in contact with the spirit world through possession or by association with spirits. The source of their power lies in their ability to draw upon supernatural aid in providing ritualistic services for members of society. The shamans generally concern themselves with the irregular, contingent

needs of individuals, such as illness, barrenness, or spirit possession, but may also concern themselves with the needs of the community, such as seasonal rituals, plagues, or control of rain.

Frequently, persons entering into the shamanistic profession manifest somewhat unstable personality characteristics, and receive their calls into the vocation during times of illness, failure, or stress. In order to confirm his supernatural summons to practice shamanistic rites, the individual may associate himself with an experienced shaman for a period of time, during which time he will develop shamanistic techniques. There is no organized cultic system by means of which the shaman is initiated into his profession; this function is basically accomplished through group consensus and approval. Before the shaman receives public recognition of his calling, he must usually manifest certain symptoms of spirit possession or association, and achieve some degree of success in curing or divination.

There are at least five discrete types of shamanistic practitioners in Korea: (1) the mutang, a female shaman whose main functions include curing and exorcism, (2) the pak-soo, the male equivalent of a mutang, (3) the pansoo, who practices both exorcism and divination, (4) the chikwan, whose work usually involves only geomancy, and (5) the ilkwan, who is concerned exclusively with divination.

The greater number of these practitioners are females.

Among the Chiricahua, there is no hierarchy of religious leadership. Access to supernatural power is something that every Chiricahua can share. Not only does almost everyone ultimately acquire some sort of ceremony, but there are ceremonies for nearly everything in life. Every individual anticipates and seeks the added supernatural strength, especially in some endeavor in which he is especially interested, such as hunting, running, or raiding. Even children may receive power, although to receive a ceremony before or at the age of puberty is the exception rather than the rule (Opler, 1941:200-202). Women are not barred from the acquisition of supernatural power, and many are apparently as powerful as men. However, women are denied the privileges of impersonating a Mountain Spirit or using the sweat lodge (Ibid., 201). Although there is no hierarchy of shamanistic practitioners, and "The possession of any ceremony makes a person a shaman," individuals whose cures are consistently spectacular and whose prophecies are often verified do achieve a greater degree of renown and certain accompanying benefits, such as abundant gifts (Ibid., 200).

Adults, who have responsibility for families, are especially eager to acquire a ceremony.[3] However, no matter how desirous one is to acquire a ceremony, the first gesture is always attributed to the power, for power

requires man for its complete expression, and thus takes the initiative in seeking a likely human being through whom "to work" (Opler, 1941:202). While the "power quest" is a major concern among the Chiricahua, the individual does not necessarily have to prepare himself for his encounter by some rigorous means, for the power often comes unbidden. Opler describes the process by which the supernatural approaches the individual in these words:

> Power first makes its presence known by the spoken word, by some sign, or by appearing in the shape of some bird or supernatural. Whatever its first guise, it later assumes a human-like form and converses with the chosen individual. If the person approached is responsive, the details of the ceremony which he is thereafter to conduct are revealed to him, usually at the supernatural home of the power, within or near some well-known landmark (Ibid., 204).

The trip to the "holy home" is often a time of testing for the novice, for the way is usually guarded by frightful animals, made hazardous by insecure bridges, and impeded by forbidding elders who challenge his way.[4] Upon arriving at the "holy home," the novice will receive the details of the songs, prayers, and ritual gestures of a ceremony. He also:

> . . . learns what functions the rite can perform what ceremonial presents to request from those in whose behalf it is exercised, what restrictions to impose on patients, what design elements, what paraphernalia, what sacred substances to employ (Opler, 1941:205).

Having bound himself to his power, the ceremony belongs to the shaman. The ritual details are important,

but not inflexible, for the crucial circumstance is that the power will recognize its songs and prayers, and honor its pledges. The success of the shaman depends upon the goodwill of his power; thus intimate relations must be maintained by mutual cooperation. The shaman must observe certain agreements, and if there comes a time when the power does not respond favorably and consistently, the shaman may cast off the power (Ibid., 207).

Apparently old age brings with it a weakening in the vital relationship of the shaman with his power and ceremony:

> The older you get, the weaker you become with your ceremony. Your mind is weak. Your praying is mixed up. You get the lines in the wrong order in the songs and prayers. Your voice is weak in praying. Your voice is feeble and you can't sing as you used to. You can't have a good vigorous talk with your power any more (Ibid., 209).

There are times when waning power may be restored to the shaman, but old age essentially militates against the shaman.

Among the Chiricahua it is also possible to gain supernatural power and ceremony by learning it from another. Opler stresses the fact that "No inconsistency is involved; these two basic methods of acquiring ceremonies have been skillfully blended in theory and practice" (Opler, 1941: 210). An old shaman can teach his ceremony to another, but the crucial issue is that a new relationship must be established between the power and the new individual.

The power must accept the person in training and indicate its satisfaction with him.

Much of Chiricahua ritual is concerned with curing and longevity. Not all sickness is treated ceremonially, for the Apache have learned a great deal about certain types of sickness and injuries. The Chiricahua practice blood-letting, use trusses for ruptures, engage in massages and the use of splints for broken bones, and know a great deal about herbalism (Ibid., 216-22). However, the Chiricahua generally believe that persistent or unusual sicknesses are somehow connected with malevolent forces in the universe. There are supernaturals capable of sending disease, there are a number of animals and birds from which one might contract diseases, and witchcraft is often a source of physical suffering. Someone skilled in divination is usually summoned in order to discover the cause of the sickness. Hand-trembling, as a divination method, is used rather extensively.

Among the Chiricahua, there is a general belief that if power is used for evil the practitioner is not a shaman but a witch. Ceremonialists are capable of becoming witches, for the power of sorcery is obtained and perpetuated by procedures similar to those by which beneficial power is acquired. Usually witchcraft is practiced in secret, but witches not infrequently can be detected by aberrant behavior, dress, costume, or smell (Opler, 1941:

243-248).

With regard to the religious practitioners among the Nyoro, Beattie adopts Firth's distinction between spirit possession, spirit mediumship, and shamanism. In Beattie's words:

> We have spirit possession when a person assumes a state of apparent auto-hypnosis or dissociation, and his behavior, which is not that of his ordinary self, is understood to be due to control by some spiritual agent normally outside him. Where the presumed spirit not only possesses someone but also communicates with other people through the possessed person, usually in a voice, accent and perhaps language not used by that person in ordinary life, but culturally accepted as appropriate to the spirit believed to be mediated, then we may speak of spirit mediumship. And when the medium is not only a vehicle for spirits, but is believed, like Prospero in The Tempest, to be able to command them, we have shamanism (Beattie, 1964:229).[5]

Each one of the various localized agnatic groups into which Bunyoro is said to have been divided has a shaman or medium, who may be either a man or a woman. On ceremonial occasions a medium may become possessed by a Chwezi spirit associated with his or her group; at such times, the spirit may express its needs and wishes. Sterility and other afflictions among the Nyoro are sometimes diagnosed by diviners as being due to the neglect of the wishes of these tutelary spirits (Beattie, 1960:78).

In Bunyoro most diviners work part-time; they are usually subsistence farmers, and they are not held in any particular regard except when they are actually divining. There are many different techniques of divination, but

one of the most popular is by throwing nine cowry shells on a goatskin mat and interpreting the ensuing pattern. However, divination may also be accomplished through spirit possession (Beattie, 1969:163-164).

When a spirit or power is seeking to possess an individual, the person sought is said to "suffer" and be "afflicted." The suffering will only cease when the individual has been initiated into the cult of mediums.

> Initiation is a long process. It involves the participation of a number of previously initiated mediums, and it may require the payment of a substantial fee, nowadays up to twenty pounds or more. In addition, the initiate and his family must provide large quantities of food and beer for the feast. I cannot here describe the complex rites involved in initiation, which culminate in the manifestation of symptoms of possession by the initiate and others, after a state of actual or simulated dissociation has been achieved through the rhythmic use of drums, gourd rattles, and singing (Beattie, 1960:79).

Spirit possession and mediumship are strongly institutionalized in Bunyoro. Almost everyone knows that spirits of different kinds can be induced, by techniques of singing, the rhythmic shaking of gourd rattles, drumming, and sacrifices, to bless all who share in a ceremony; however, participation in the Nyoro mediumship cult is largely, though not exclusively, something that women do. The social status of women in Bunyoro is low, but as mediums, they can command attention and respect, as well as provide themselves with a substantial source of income (Beattie, 1969:168-169).

A strong incentive for taking up mediumship among the Nyoro is in connection with sorcery. Beattie says:

> If a man wishes to injure or kill another, he can do so either by paying a medium-diviner to send a spirit to inflict his enemy, or by himself becoming a shaman, through initiation into the cult, and doing so himself. This, however, is believed to be a recent use, or abuse, of the mediumship cult, and the 'white' Cwezi [sic] spirits have no part in sorcery..... (Ibid.).[6]

The Nyoro say that sorcery is more common now than it was in the past, and they attribute this to the much milder penalties now imposed by the society. However, Beattie insists that the increase in sorcery "reflects the increase in interpersonal tensions and the growth of individualism which are involved in the breakdown of many of the traditional standards and sanctions" (Beattie, 1964: 75).

D. Procedures in Shamanistic Ritualism

The performance of ritual is predicated on a belief in supernatural powers, and the acceptance that the ritual will be efficacious in achieving certain ends.

The ceremonials of Korean shamanism are called koots; they may be conducted for individuals in times of crisis or on behalf of entire communities on a calendrical basis. The ceremonies may be of short duration or require several days for their performance. While there are allowances for individualized stylings, the procedures for Korean shamanistic rituals are more or less standardized. It is

evident that some aspects of ritualism are credited with automatic efficacy, and are considered to be compelling. On the other hand, this aspect goes together with conscious expressions of petition.

Important features of a Korean shamanistic ritual involve elaborate offerings, dancing, drumming, a complex array of costumes, and experiences of ecstasy. The altar is prepared with a great deal of care and ladened with cakes, fruits, prepared foods, candles, incense burners, and other special offerings. Meat dishes are prepared from the flesh of sacrificial pigs or oxen. The heads and hooves of the animals become important artifacts of the ritual. Paintings of auspicious shamanistic deities further embellish the altar, and become objects of worship. Dry painting, such as that occasionally practiced by the Chiricahua, is not found in the Korean shamanistic complex. During a curing ritual, a shaman may draw an outline of a human's figure on the ground as a representation of an actual person, and a knife or sickle may be plunged into the area of the body where an evil spirit or infirmity is thought to be located. Of course, this is not a counterpart of ritualistic dry painting.

Dancing and drumming are considered to be pleasing and entertaining to supernatural beings, and serve to reinforce the petitions and dialogue which are articulated in the songs and chants of the shaman. In the more lengthy

ceremonials the shaman changes frequently into costumes believed to represent powerful culture heroes and supernaturals. By this process, the person of the shaman is altered, and he is believed to be the personification of the supernatural represented by the costume. At such times, the shaman may act as a medium and convey messages to the living from the spirit world. These ecstatic experiences are known as kong-soo.

Curing rituals, exorcism of ghosts, cleansing of homes, and rituals for increasing productivity generally follow the same patterns. Divination may be accomplished through the use of books and charts, the casting of small metal bars or through spirit possession. In the latter process, the shaman summons a familiar spirit and dispatches it to gather the desired information. Though it is present in the Korean shamanistic complex, the "magical flight" theme is not greatly emphasized.

Many Korean people believe that Korean shamans heighten the effects of their rituals through the use of ventriloquism and legerdemain.

Regarding the ritualism of the Chiricahua, Opler makes the observation that "no two ceremonies are exactly alike, yet all the rites conform to a general pattern" (Opler, 1941:257).

> In a setting where each person is allowed wide latitude in the acquisition of power, the threat of public ridicule is a force in the maintenance of the

> pattern. The individualistic principle itself becomes a curb. Any person may claim extraordinary supernatural experiences, but any other person may equally question the validity of the assertion. Each shaman knows that there are those who believe in the efficacy of his rite and those who do not and that it is wise not to swell the number of the latter by radical departures from established custom (Ibid., 314-315).

The Chiricahua shaman tends to shelter his rituals and to confine his audiences to families or small groups. He is always on his guard against the interference of a witch. Every shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in his rite. Many of these ritual objects have a logical association with the power source. However, there are a number of ritual objects which appear in almost every ceremony. These include such items as pollen, paints, herbs, eagle feathers, and possibly a cap or vest made of buckskin. A curing ceremony may last four days, starting after dark and continuing until midnight. Food is provided by the patient's relatives at the conclusion of each night's performance (Opler, 1941:260-261).

To determine the cause of an ailment and learn what he must do to cure it, the shaman sings and prays. In this way he attracts the attention of the familiar spirit with whom the songs and prayers originated. The shaman may sing without musical accompaniment, or he may beat on a pottery drum with a curved drumstick. Sometimes the shaman has an assistant to drum for him. Less frequently the musical accompaniment is a rattle made of eagle claws

and mountain-goat hooves (Ibid., 262).

The songs of the shaman are highly formalized, but his prayers tend to be extemporaneous. Opler comments on this:

> The songs are formal and unvarying for any one ceremony. The prayers tend to be extemporaneous, however, reflecting the need and the occasion. The song, and often the prayer, is divided into four parts or verses, all alike except for different associations of color and direction. The traditional color-directional association which is found in the mythology is black for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north (Ibid.).[7]

It is at the second or fourth verse of a song or prayer, or at the end of the second or fourth song, that the shaman ordinarily receives a message from his supernatural with regard to the outcome of the curing ritual and further methods to be employed.[8] Sometimes the shaman needs only to complete the rite in its briefest form, or suggest a plant remedy, or extract the "arrow" of a sorcerer from the patient's body. Opler says that, "To produce some ritual object, to extract the 'witch,' or to demonstrate the potency of his supernatural source, the shaman may employ legerdemain" (Opler, 1941:263). Under the direction of his supernatural power, the shaman may suck out objects of witchcraft from the body of the patient with his lips or a tube. Objects of many kinds are sucked from the bodies of patients, including bones, sticks, bits of horsehair, needles, human hair, or spiders (Ibid., 264).

After the healing ceremony is concluded, the promised fee is extracted, and warnings regarding certain foods or behavior are given to the patient. Quite often a close relationship is established between the shaman and the patient, resulting in continued obligations and displays of interest (Ibid., 265).

Some of the most elaborate ceremonies among the Chiricahua are the masked dancer ceremonies. These ceremonies involve a greater number of participants and incur more expense than most other ceremonies. Although the dancers are local people, they are dressed to impersonate the Mountain Spirits; therefore, it is important that no one admits knowing who these men are while they are performing their role (Opler, 1941:268). The masked dancer ceremonies are performed at a girl's puberty rites as a form of entertainment, but are most useful in keeping illness away, controlling the weather, and generally providing protection for society.

A Mountain Spirit shaman can perform his ritual without dancers if for some reason he is unable to get a group of men together to perform; at such times, the shaman may use only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear during their ceremonies (Ibid., 276).

One of the more important rites among the Chiricahua is the girls's puberty ceremony. Preparations for the rite involve a great deal of time and money. Unlike

the more private shamanistic rituals, the puberty rite is a public affair. The role and function of the leading ritualist for the occasion, "the singer," is also somewhat of a departure from ordinary shamanistic practice.

> The most conspicuous ritualist of the ceremony is one who will be called 'the singer' because it is his primary task to superintend the erection of the sacred shelter in which the songs of the rite are chanted and to sing the songs.
>
> The role of the singer also hovers on the borderline between shamanism and priestcraft. He does not depend on a personal supernatural encounter for obtaining his songs, nor does he believe that he can intercede for the benefit of the girl through impromptu appeals to supernatural forces with which he is in special rapport (Opler, 1941:85).

Much of the ritualism among the Nyoro is concerned with divination, and while most diviners in Bunyoro work part-time, a few practitioners gain reputations as doctors and diviners, and these make large profits.

There are different ways of divining, but the most common is by use of cowry shells. Nine shells are used for divination; these are cast on a goat skin spread out on the ground between the diviner and the client. There are certain patterns which everyone knows how to interpret, indicating that there are some conventions established in the system, but it is basically up to the diviner to make his own interpretation (Beattie, 1960:71-72). There are other forms of divination which Beattie describes as follows:

> Other oracular techniques are the throwing on a mat of nine small squares of leather, the ensuing

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> Other oracular techniques are the throwing on a mat of nine small squares of leather, the ensuing

> patterns being studied as in the case of the cowry oracle, and the sprinkling on water of the ashes of the burnt leaves of certain species of plants, the forms the ash assumes being interpreted by the diviner. There is also a rubbing oracle, a short stick which the diviner smears with the blood of a slaughtered goat and rubs up and down with his fingers; this oracle gives its decisions by causing the manipulator's fingers to stick at certain points. Like the ancient Greeks, Nyoro also practice divination by examining the entrails of animals and birds, especially fowl; from certain signs in the internal organs a diviner can determine whether his client will recover (Beattie, 1960:73).

Divination is also done by means of spirit possession; it is believed that through their living mediums certain powerful spirits may answer questions put to them by clients (Ibid.).

Among the Nyoro, illness or misfortune is often attributed to sorcery. Sorcery may be accomplished in different ways, but one technique involves making a medicine out of bits of hair, nail parings, and other parts of a certain person's body, putting this medicine in an animal horn, and placing the horn in the roof of that person's house in order to injure him (Ibid.).

Sometimes illness or affliction is diagnosed as being caused by ghosts. A shaman, possessed by the ghost, may be given instructions to sacrifice a goat or build a small spirit hut for the ghost. At other times, the offending ghost may be induced to leave the tormented victim and to enter an ordinary earthenware pot. The pot is closed and, with the ghost inside it, is disposed of either by

burning it or by throwing it in an unfrequented part of the countryside (Beattie, 1960:77).[9] Additional techniques for dealing with ghosts are described as follows:

> Different bafumu [doctor-diviner] have different techniques for inducing ghosts to mount into the heads of their clients, but always the use of medicines, singing special ghost songs, and the rhythmical shaking of gourd rattles form part of the ceremony. Usually the sick person who is to be the ghost's medium is completely covered in a barkcloth, and often special medicines are burnt or infused and the patient required to inhale the fumes. Medicines, one of which is an infusion of chalk, may be rubbed on his body (Beattie, 1964:263-264 [reprint, Gods and Rituals, Middleton, John, ed., 1967:255-287]).

While strongly institutionalized in Bunyoro, shamanism allows some latitude in the performance of rituals, involving the use of special clothes, masks, ornaments, insignia, and special gestures. Apparently ventriloquism is practiced by the shamans among the Nyoro, for Beattie refers to their use of "ghost talk" in a falsetto voice (Beattie, 1969:166).

During the performance of their rituals, Nyoro shamans frequently experience moments of ecstasy or dissociation. As in the case of shamanism found in other parts of the world, this raises the problem of whether or not shamanism or mediumship is just a fraud. Beattie discusses this matter:

> But even though Nyoro mediums are not always in a state of genuine dissociation when they appear to be so, it does not follow that they never are. And it may be suggested, further, that there are degrees of dissociation, of the extent to which an actor may be 'carried away' by the role he plays. Certainly

> the fire-lit darkness of the hut, the noise and steady rhythm of the rattles and drums, the singing, and (sometimes) the use of inhalants such as tobacco and other herbs, may well induce in the suggestible an abnormal psychic state. Even where it does not do so, or where it does so only in limited measure, it would be an over-simplification simply to assert without qualification that mediumship is a fraud (Beattie, 1969:167 [See also 1964:230-231]).

In Bunyoro shamanism is an important force for social conformity. The emphasis on ghosts of dead kin tends to uphold kinship values of mutual cooperation and solidarity. A patient may be warned against repeated acts of aberrant behavior.

E. Ritual Paraphernalia

In the performance of their rituals, shamans employ verbal and manual skills, such as singing, dancing, ventriloquism, legerdemain, and beating the pervasive drum. On a comparative basis some of the procedural techniques of shamanism among the Koreans, the Chiricahua, and Nyoro have been indicated. In everyday life the shaman may not be distinguishable from other people except by occasionally deviating from normal behavior, but when he is engaged in ritual activity he has to make use of special dress and special religious paraphernalia.

The shaman's dress and equipment may serve several important functions: (1) the shaman may wish to make an impression on the people by the eccentricity or ornateness of his costume, (2) the beating of the drums, the blowing

of the flutes, and the monotonous sound of the rattles may produce desired effects upon his hearers, and upon the practitioner himself, and (3) the dress and accessories have symbolic meaning for everyone connected with the religious conceptions of shamanism. There is yet another aspect which must be emphasized; the shaman's equipment is considered to be sacred because of its relationship with supernatural power. Opler says, "Many of these ritual objects have logical association with the power source" (Opler, 1941:260). Without them, the shaman may have little power or influence with supernatural power. In many instances, the form and purpose of each ritual object has been outlined by the supernatural. Each shaman has paraphernalia of his own which he uses in his rites, and it is guarded with jealous care.

The available materials and components from which the shaman may procure or make his ritual objects may depend a great deal upon ecological and environmental factors, but as our review of shamanism among the Koreans, Chiricahua, and the Nyoro has shown, there are some ritual objects which are quite similar in form and function and which are found in the shamanistic practice of all three cultures reviewed.

Summary

The features suggested in the preceding discussion

are not the only characteristics that merit consideration. These aspects have been cited because of their greater relevance to a final assessment of the general characteristics of Korean shamanism. Some general features of shamanism are indicated in the following summary:

(1) In each society examined, shamanistic practitioners gained their power through direct association with their supernatural powers. Under a tutor the shamans characteristically learn about certain ceremonials and techniques in connection with them, but the essential efficacy of the ceremonials is dependent upon the personal relationship between the ritualist and supernaturals.

(2) The myths of society tend to support the procedures of a religious system. In some cases, such as those noticed in Nyoro and Korean mythology, historical events have become associated with the mythology. It is evident that mythology both serves to support and provide rationale for a belief system, and tends to perpetuate it from one generation to the next.

(3) Potential shamans may make an effort to find supernatural power for personal reasons, but usually supernatural power is pictured as taking the initiative. In most societies the symptoms of a shaman's call are culturally defined.

(4) The private nature of its ceremonials is characteristic of shamanism. As we have noticed, some

of the principal functions of a shaman have to do with rituals for curing and divination. This is usually carried out in the privacy of someone's house, and indicates that the services of the shaman are principally sought at times of crisis. However, the shaman may be involved in rituals on a larger scale and his services may then superficially resemble that of a priest.

(5) Shamanistic practitioners tend to maintain a private ritual practice, but they may engage a number of assistants. Since many of the shaman's rituals are well known by other practitioners and members of society, the indication is that rituals are generally standardized. However, in each society there is a degree of latitude possible for individual stylings in each ritual. Only among the Nyoro was there a formalized organization with prescribed initiatory procedures to induct a novice into shamanism.

(6) Power is available for beneficial ends, but in each society studied, it is believed that the same power may be directed toward evil ends. Among the Chiricahua and Nyoro the concept of witchcraft is highly developed, but, while hinted at in Korean society, there are very few references to witchcraft among Korean shamans. As a functional aspect of culture, witchcraft may indicate conflicts within society, but it may also serve to resolve certain conflicts.

(7) Shamanism, as a religious system, is not greatly concerned about moral and ethical issues. It tends to deal with the pressing concerns of health, material security, childbirth, and matters pertaining to personal guidance rather than with metaphysical issues. Ethical practices may be dealt with at another level in a shamanistic society.

(8) Among the three societies, there is a remarkable degree of similarity in the form and function of certain items and practices related to the use of ritual paraphernalia.

In conclusion, it is evident that a comparative study may result in the classification of cultural expressions which are differentiated only by the degree of emphasis or elaboration placed upon them. On the other hand, such an analytic procedure serves to accent in a meaningful way the unique characteristics and variations within a field of inquiry.

Having concerned ourselves with the general and comparative in shamanism, it is to the consideration of the special features of Korean shamanism that we now turn.

NOTES

Chapter V

[1]Nyoro speak of themselves as Banyoro, their language as Lunyoro, and their country as Bunyoro. The Nyoro number about 110,000, and occupy a region of about 4,700 square miles (Beattie, 1960:1).

[2]In addition to the "white" Chwezi spirits, Beattie says that there is a large and increasing number of "black" spirits which are thought on the whole to be inimical rather than beneficial. All of these "black" spirits are said to be of foreign origin. Apparently foreign contacts have resulted in a proliferation of these new kinds of spiritual entities with which Chwezi power must compete (See Beattie, 1960:79).

[3]Among all three of the societies under discussion, it is believed that children are especially vulnerable to attacks by evil influences. Therefore, it is necessary for parents and other close relatives to provide them with amulets, arrange special rites, and employ shamans for them when necessary (Opler, 1941:202 and Beattie, 1960:76).

[4]The shamanistic complex manifests two important themes, the intimate experience of the shaman and group consensus. The shamans believe that their calling is based upon a personal experience with the supernatural, during which they underwent hardship and privations. Upon beginning their religious practice, the shamans usually relate their experiences with the supernaturals to members of their group, and since power is made evident through examples of curing, the shaman receives the approval of the group.

[5]Among the Nyoro, these three roles are carried out by different individuals; therefore, these distinctions are appropriate. However, a shaman, as broadly understood, may perform each of these roles. Furthermore, as Beattie points out, diviners may be "doctors" as well; in addition

to diagnosing the cause of the trouble they may also provide a cure (Beattie, 1960:71).

[6]In this particular article Beattie uses the spelling Cwezi to designate the Nyoro spirits. In other articles he spells the name Chwezi.

[7]The traditional color-directional association which is found in Korean shamanism is blue for the east, red for the south, white for the west, and black for the north.

[8]The number four is an auspicious number among the Chiricahua. Nine and nineteen are ritually important numbers among the Nyoro. The number four is considered to be an unlucky number by Koreans.

[9]A similar ritual is practiced by Korean shamans.

CHAPTER VI

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF KOREAN SHAMANISM AND CONCLUSIONS

In an effort to gain some systematic understanding of cultural systems, one approach has been to assume that human behavior and interests are the same everywhere and therefore every culture can be understood in terms of its particular position on the scale of universal development, the various stages of which are usually taken as a continuum. Those who take this approach tend to stress similarities at the expense of the differences and are usually interested in origins or causal factors. What is implicit in this line of thought is that similar circumstances may have produced similar results (Tylor, 1873, in Lessa and Vogt, 1965:10-21).

On the other hand, it is often assumed that universal components of culture, of which religion is one, rest upon some basic needs or capabilities which are common to all mankind, and whatever cultural elaborations of form these universals take, they apparently persist because they continue to satisfy certain needs inherent in all mankind (Malinowski, 1931:621-646). As a religious system Korean shamanism functions to serve some important needs

in Korean society. This statement is not meant to imply that the relationship between Korean shamanism and its functions is a teleological or causal one (Durkheim, 1961:20). To conclude that Korean shamanism serves some useful purposes in Korean society is not to assert that shamanism is indispensable to the societal or individual needs which it may serve. As a conceptual alternative, it is conceivable that another religious system might serve the same ends. However, as we have seen, shamanism in Korea has been able to compete favorably with other major religious systems in the country for many centuries; therefore, we must conclude that at particular levels of society shamanism makes some recognizable contributions.

Most functionalist studies tend to emphasize the societally supportive and unifying effects of religious systems (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:165). In small societies in which all members are seen to participate in community rituals, this interpretation may be easily inferred. However, in a large and socially segmented society such as that found in Korea, religious orientations often serve to accent social distinctions and religious differences. In this regard, Korean shamanism seems to have a limited integrative effect upon Korean society as a whole.

The analytic approach of this study has been to emphasize practical utility and functional relations of Korean shamanism rather than causal and integrative interests.

In this process, we have not limited the study to an investigation of the belief system, but have made use of data gained from observable behavior in its cultural context. A religious system does not exist in a vacuum; no phenomenon can be solely and exclusively religious. Religion embodies a human dimension; therefore, it cannot be separated from society (Radcliffe-Brown, 1935:396-397). The contingencies of society often result in distinguishable elements or expressions within a religious system which give the system a somewhat unique or differentiated cast (Opler, 1945:198-206). In the comparative study of Korean shamanism with that of the Chiricahua and the Nyoro cultures, certain aspects of religious behavior bore remarkable similarity. On the other hand, some aspects were significantly different in essential expression or degree. We now select for treatment some significant features of Korean shamanism which are current within Korean society, which can be regarded as functionally important, and which set Korean shamanism off from other shamanistic systems.

1. Korean Shamanism is Eminently Syncretistic in Nature

In general, syncretism takes place by the addition of new elements, resulting in a synthesis or modification of an existing religious system. The selectivity and degree of acceptance of religious traits largely depend

upon their compatibility with existing religious patterns. Those ideas and practices that fit readily within the system are generally incorporated with relative ease. The tendency to reinterpret and to ramify new concepts is not haphazard but, generally speaking, in accord with the life style of the borrowing society.

Situated as it is on the eastern periphery of the Asian continent, the Korean peninsula has been placed under the dominant influence of China from an early period. Although its inhabitants were ethnically more closely related to the Manchu-Tungustic peoples to the north, they early decided to emulate the Chinese people (Hahm, 1971:7). The official introduction of a Sinified Buddhism to Koguryo in 372 occurred as part of a diplomatic transaction between China and Korea. In connection with goodwill missions, the Chinese dispatched monks, Buddhist sutras, and images to Korea. The Korean kings provided the monks with lands, temples, and other conveniences for the promulgation of their teachings. Therefore, Buddhism established a foothold in Korea first among royal families and the families of high ranking officials. Under royal patronage the elementary teachings of Buddhism spread widely throughout the peninsula. Eventually, an ecclesiastical hierarchy of Buddhism was centralized under royal authority (Joe, 1972: 112-113).

In the initial contacts of Buddhism with Korean shamanism, shamanistic gods were incorporated into Buddhism in the form of Boddhisattvas. Buddhist temples were erected on sites believed to be sacred by Korean shamans, and shamanistic deities were worshipped at Buddhist temples. In spite of royal and state support, we may conclude that Buddhism was unable to gain and hold the allegiance of the masses of Korean people for the following reasons: (1) Buddhism received greater patronage from the upper classes because of its political and philosophical implications; however, the uneducated lower classes were unable to grasp the ideological content of Buddhism, and they received no particular benefits from the ecclesiastical organization. (2) Buddhism became so syncretized with native shamanism that it finally lost its vitality and uniqueness (Hahm, 1971: 14). (3) Buddhism offered a rather pessimistic view of life. As a religion, the negative and futuristic view of life offered little comfort for the pragmatic, earthy concerns of the common man. Consequently, instead of being radically displaced by Buddhism, Korean shamanism was given added conceptual strength and elaboration through syncretism with Buddhism.

Taoism, with its mystical and naturalistic inclinations, found congenial soil in Korean society. However, as a systematic philosophy, many of its principles were

incorporated into shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The apparent fatalism of Taoism did not appeal to the lower classes. For obvious reasons, the upper classes supported the ideals of Taoism which offered a rationale for keeping the status quo. However, the Korean shamanistic devotees were more interested in overcoming their disadvantages, and sought supernatural power for this purpose.

It was by means of Confucianism that much of what is Chinese was transported to Korea. Confucianism was especially strong during the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) when it was established as the official ideology of the State (Reischauer and Fairbank, 1960:426). Confucianism was used to discredit Buddhism, which had been the State religion of the preceding dynasty. Confucianism was used to consolidate the power base of the new ruling elite who developed a highly centralized authoritarian form of government (Hahm, 1971:9).

The metaphysical bent of Confucianism, along with its promotion of the status quo, appealed to the ruling elite, but its precepts were too difficult for the lower classes to grasp or appreciate. Confucianism provided a doctrinal basis for an orderly society, but it tended to discourage individual initiative and spontaneous activity. In addition, Confucianism promoted an indifference

to religious pursuits among its adherents. Hahm writes:

> Its complacent contempt for religion as 'a superstition of ignorant and gullible womenfolk and children' only resulted in an insipid spiritual life for the rulers. In many instances, the prosaic vapidity of their spiritual life drove the egotistic yangban (the literati-bureaucrats of Korea) males to secretly worship Buddha or to vainly attempt to transform ancestor-worship into a tasteless superstition (Hahm, 1971:11).

On the other hand, the Confucian traditions were able to blend with the Korean shamanistic traditions at several points. Confucianism strongly influenced shamanism by providing a rationale for ancestral worship, methods of divination, and theories regarding the constituent nature of man.

As we have seen, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism were superimposed upon Korean society through political integration and implementation. Each religious system continues to maintain a place of influence in Korean society. However, we may deduce that the intellectual and moralistic features of these three religious systems failed to meet the pragmatic and everyday needs of significant segments of Korean society. On the other hand, Korean shamanism rests upon personal religious experiences, and concerns itself with the basic exigencies of life. Korean shamanism demonstrates a flexible and adaptive attitude toward other religious systems. As a result, Korean shamanism has retained its vitality to a remarkable degree.

2. Female Practitioners Occupy a Prominent Position in Korean Shamanism

The dominance of females in Korean shamanism may seem strange in the light of the inferior social and political status traditionally assigned to women in Korean society. However, female dominance is seen in their greater numbers as practitioners and as ritual participants. Males are in evidence on many ritualistic occasions, but, except for large community affairs, Korean shamanism accords them only minor roles. Male practitioners, except for geomancers and diviners, are becoming increasingly rare in Korean society. Male shamans often adopt certain feminine attributes of the female shamans, such as dress, mannerisms, and role in society.

Concerning the reasons for female dominance in Korean shamanism, there is no certain knowledge, but there are several conjectures. One view is that a matrilineal society existed in ancient times in Korea. Joe has stated that the evidences strongly suggest this, and adds, "as the farming, religious worship, and recreational sports, all strictly group activities of the village, expanded in tribal scope, the patriarchal leadership inevitably emerged and ultimately yielded its allegiance to a tribal authority or leader who might well have been hereditary" (Joe, 1972:11). (See also Ha and Mintz, 1972:17-18 and Hahm, 1971:7-8.)

On the other hand, there are some indications that the early political and religious leaders of Korea were males. Hahm writes:

> As with the primitive civilizations everywhere, religion and politics were undifferentiated in the early days of Korean history. The legendary heroes of the Korean people were shamans as much as they were political and military leaders. The appellations used for early political leaders and various mythologies associated with them abundantly show the religious attributes of these leaders. The gold crowns used by the Kings of the Silla Kingdom (57 B.C.-935 A.D.) show striking similarities to the head-dresses worn by the shamans of the Tungus and other Siberian peoples up until very recently (Hahm, 1971:13).

The early kings of the Silla Dynasty were sometimes called Ch'ach'a Ung. This word is said to be derived from an old Korean word denoting a shaman (See Chapt. II, p. 50). Korean shamanism recognizes the first "king" of the Korean people, Tan'gun, as a shaman-king.

It has been suggested by some that the female dominance in Korean shamanism is due to Siberian influence. In the quotation above, Hahm has alluded to the influence of Siberian shamanism upon Korean culture. Czaplicka, in her study of Siberian shamanism, has indicated a degree of female preeminence in the religious complex of that culture. However, she does not attribute this to a matriarchal society or a moral supremacy of women in that region north of Korea. Czaplicka says, "In spite of the low social position of women among these natives, it is personal ability, irrespective of sex, which is the decisive

factor in the case of the shamanistic vocation" (Czaplicka, 1914:246). The same writer has indicated that among some cultures in Siberia family shamans preceded the individual or professional kind of shamanism in which women play such an important role (Ibid.).

Eliade asserts, "The present predominance of shamanesses [sic!] in Korea may be the result either of a deterioration in traditional shamanism or of influence from the south" (Eliade, 1964:462). Lee has stated that the mutang complex, in which the female shaman is so prominent, probably represents a deterioration of traditional Korean shamanism (Lee, 1973a:148-149).

From these references, we may suggest that the predominance of women in Korean shamanism is not essentially due to an early matriarchal society or the influence of Siberian shamanism. At the moment, the explanatory merits of these arguments must be regarded as tentative and inadequate until further evidence is made apparent.

There is another element in Korean culture which merits some consideration as a contributory factor to the importance of female involvement in Korean shamanism, the impact of Confucianism on Korean culture. During the Yi Dynastic period in particular, Confucian policies, based upon a paternalistic concept of authority, were directed towards the substitution of Confucianism for Buddhism as the ideological and religious foundation of

the dynasty. Buddhism was systematically weakened by means of taxation on monasterial properties and fees attached to the ordination of Buddhist monks (Joe, 1972:271).

With a restricted political base, and weakened as it was by syncretism with shamanism, Buddhism was unable to challenge the supremacy of Confucianism. However, the loss of Buddhistic political influence was accompanied by a loss in religious influence which resulted in a spiritual vacuum for the Korean people. Confronted by a humanistic Confucian ethic and disturbed by the moribund status of Buddhism, the Korean people sought the comfort and spiritual resources of shamanism.

Social stratification constituted the basic fabric of the Confucian society. In such a society, prestige, power, and wealth were gained through birth, examinations, or purchase of office titles. Upward social mobility and the performance of family rituals exacted significant amounts of time and energy of the male population. In such a male oriented society, women found few opportunities for individual fulfillment, except by being a faithful wife and giving birth to sons. According to Joe, prior to the Confucian period women had enjoyed a considerable degree of equality with men in social and sexual freedom. He says, "During the Silla times, they were allowed to be legitimate rulers and during the Neolithic period, they

were probably the very central authority in a matriarchal society as it is conjectured to have existed then. But, under the Confucian Yi Dynasty, the decline in social status of women seemed complete" (Joe, 1972:308).

Confucianism discouraged individual initiative among women. Joe accents the regimented life of women under Confucianism in these words:

> A new-born baby girl was usually laid on the floor of the room, whereas a boy was served upon the bed; thus the girl's life-long career of obedience got started. The entire social mechanism and education, allied with the restrictive legal setup, were geared to molding an obedient and faithful personality out of whatever native disposition and abilities. In the family she was expected to be a silent servant and producer of male children. In a larger society, she was made anonymous; upon marriage, she was known in her husband's register only by her surname and in the genealogy of her father's family only as the wife of so-and-so (Ibid.).

Confucianism appealed essentially to men. Women, therefore, unable to find comfort and fulfillment in that religious system, could turn to Buddhism or shamanism. However, since women were expected to stay at home, it was difficult for them to make pilgrimages to Buddhist temples.

In addition, the Confucian ethic for women did not permit mendicant Buddhist monks to visit the women in Korean homes. In such circumstances, it seems natural that women would turn to shamanism and female practitioners. Since women did not enjoy an important status in the Confucian society, participation in shamanistic rituals did

not necessarily add to further social ostracism. In fact, by appealing to certain myths regarding the noble or supernatural origin of their practice, women were able to contend for an element of prestige through the shamanistic profession. Because the religious concerns of the women basically centered about the home and the family, the shamanistic activities of the women received tacit approval of the men. In the light of these factors, it would appear that Confucianism, by its very limitations, has contributed rather significantly towards the preeminence of females in Korean shamanism.

3. Korean Shamanism is Characterized by Two Discrete Orders of Shamanistic Practitioners, Distinguished by Hereditary and Geographical Considerations

Beginning with a line just south of the Seoul area, and extending northward to the Yalu River, Korean shamanism is characterized by a shaman whom we have identified as a *mutang*. The *mutang* most nearly approximates the representative descriptions of shamanism in Siberia in which there is a strong emphasis on the ecstatic experiences of the shaman. In the southern parts of Korea there is an order of shamans in which ecstatic manifestations are much less pronounced, and whose profession is considered to be obtained on a hereditary basis. This class of shamans is called *tangol*. The *mutang* form of shamanism is

decidedly crisis oriented while the tangol serve families on a regular basis.

It has been suggested by some Korean informants that the dissimilarity between the mutang and the tangol is due to the differences in the geographical and climatic conditions of northern and southern Korea. A regional typology of Korean shamanism still needs a thorough analysis. Further study may show that mutang and tangol shamanism have developed on the foundations of general shamanism, but that each system has become an ecologically conditioned special form of shamanism. Czaplicka attributes great importance to the influence of climatic conditions upon religious behavior when she says:

> Indeed, Shamanism seems to be such a natural product of the Continental climate with its extremes of cold and heat, of the violent burgas and burans, of the hunger and fear which attend the long winters, that not only the Palaeo-Siberians and the more highly cultivated Neo-Siberians, but even Europeans have sometimes fallen under the influence of certain shamanistic superstitions. Such is the case with the Russian peasants and officials who settle in Siberia, and with the Russian Creoles (Czaplicka, 1914:168).

Through a similar line of thought, based upon ecological factors, some Korean informants have come to the conclusion that the more vigorous and intense behavior of the mutang is in keeping with the more energetic characteristics of the peoples from the northern regions of Korea. It is commonly believed that the northern Koreans work harder, manifest stronger emotions, and reflect

greater individualism than the Koreans who live in the southern regions.

Without totally discounting the geographical factors of cold, isolation, and deprivation, given the data available at the present time, it seems premature to attribute differentiations in Korean shamanism to these matters alone. There are some cultural factors which may have contributed to the distinctive characteristics of northern and southern Korean shamanism.

Korean culture manifests considerable regional differences. These differences in matters of local customs, dialects, and religious orientations are partly due to geographical factors, but to a greater extent to political and historical circumstances. In historical perspective, the northern regions of Korea have been characterized by constant warfare, cultural and political upheavals, and the migration of great numbers of refugees of various northern tribes. This has resulted in a mosaic of cultural traditions. In the unsettled, migratory nature of the northern peoples, Korean shamanism was constantly under the influence of those forms from the northern regions with which it had basic affinity.

On the other hand, to the south, especially during the period of the Silla Dynasty (approximately 57 B.C. to 935 A.D.), cultural traditions were much more formalized and established. The Silla society reflected the influence

of strong consanguineous relations in which matrilineal systems existed side by side with patrilineal systems in limited areas until 668 (Sohn, Kim, and Hong, 1970:54). The influence of Buddhism on the Silla culture was much greater than that of Confucianism. Women were given important consideration.

Under the Silla King Chinhung (546-575), the Hwarang, an elite organization composed of young men from the finest families, was established. The Hwarang, which means "flower boys," were drilled in such martial skills as horsemanship, swordmanship, and other forms of warfare. They were taught music, art, and history. The Hwarang acquired social prestige of enormous proportions. Regarding the Hwarang, Joe says:

> The spiritual prop of the Hwarang was, in the beginning, beliefs in the gods of Sinkyo: the Ch'omji sinmyong (God-Light of Heaven and Earth), spirits of the holy mountains, dragon kings of great rivers and seas, and ancestral spirits were some of the divine guardians whom the Hwarang (or the Silla people in general) worshiped. And the Hwarang so often confined themselves in mountain retreats for prayer and suyang or mental cultivation (Joe, 1972:84).

Joe goes on to say that the people of Silla generally regarded the Hwarang as personifications of the Maitreya, or "Messiah Buddha" (Ibid., 85). This strongly suggests that the role of the Hwarang was not essentially military but a religious one.

Reischauer and Fairbank indicate that Silla maintained a strongly aristocratic and hereditary social

system in which the Hwarang played an important role. They write:

> The old cohesiveness of Silla society had begun to disappear by the late eighth century. The Hwarang bands lost their fighting prowess and degenerated into groups of effeminate dilettantes (Reischauer and Fairbank, 1960:415).

Rutt believes that the disappearance of the Hwarang is not related to the loss of their military role, but due to their specialization in some aspects of their original activities and to the changing conditions of later society. The Hwarang became travelling singers and shamans (Rutt, 1961:53). The Hwarang bands dressed some of their members in women's clothing, applied women's cosmetics, and arranged their hair in the style of a woman or had them wear a woman's wig. The Hwarang provided entertainment for village celebrations through music and dancing. This tradition is still maintained throughout the southern regions of Korea by village or farmer's bands. Young boys, dressed to appear as girls, take part in these exercises. The bands are very popular in the countryside of Korea, and are invited to perform for certain villages on a regular basis.

The Hwarang tradition has been replaced by two other institutions: the farmer's band, still quite often associated with shamanism, and the hereditary shamanistic system of the tangol shaman. In 935, the Silla Dynasty collapsed and was incorporated into the new state of Koryo.

The Koryo Dynasty adopted Confucian political ideals and class distinctions (Sohn, Kim, and Hong, 1970:81-88). Shamanism was considered to be unfit for male practitioners. This historical contingency made it possible for female practitioners to enter the vocation. Instead of male shamans practicing transvestism, men were gradually replaced by the female shaman who was called a tangol.

At the same time, apparently conditioned by their cultural heritage, the temperament of the peoples of the south is not disposed toward the strongly emotional and unpredictable behavior of the mutang. As a member of a family with established relationships in the society, the tangol shaman finds greater acceptance as a religious practitioner.

These suggestions as to the development of the mutang and tangol differentiations must be regarded as tentative pending further study and evaluation.

4. Korean Shamanism Has a Low Incidence of Sorcery

In my usage, sorcery refers to the belief that certain members of society harm their fellow men illicitly by supernatural means. Many scholars have postulated a relationship between a high prevalence of beliefs in sorcery or witchcraft and a lack of other legitimate social controls. Swanson says, "The widespread use of black magic suggests a serious lack of legitimate means

of social control and moral bonds. It implies that people need to control one another in a situation where such control is not provided by means which have public approval" (Swanson, 1960:146).

This negative approach to social control embodied in sorcery is not found, or is weakly developed in the cultural traditions of Korea. Confucianism has played a great role in this attitude, for Korean society has idealized the social controls of society and state. Hahm says:

> The state was conceived of as a kind of huge educational institution where the rulers taught ethics to the people. It was also a family blown up out of all proportions. Since there was only one Universal Way the correct knowledge of which constituted virtue, no distinction was made between family and state (or political) ethics. To do otherwise would have meant that there were two different Ways of the Universe and two different sets of virtues. No qualitative distinction was allowed among ethics applicable to an individual, his family, his state and the universe, nor was any qualitative difference admitted between the physical law of the universe and the ethical standard upon which human conduct should be modeled. The law of nature and the moral law were one and the same (Hahm, 1971:17).

It would be too idealistic to believe that such a "moral universe" could resolve all conflicts and frustrations; however, such a view, if accepted generally, would place extremely tight external and internal controls upon human behavior. The "family" must live in harmony!

It is a common practice for people in all societies to seek retrospectively for the causes of misfortune, and

in those societies in which a belief in sorcery exists, people who suffer misfortunes often attribute their misfortunes to some malevolent person. It is frequently assumed that people who traffic in supernatural practices may turn their power toward evil ends. It must be pointed out that Korean shamanism postulates a universe that is populated by many evil spirits and malignant ghosts. It is the shaman who protects society, not from anti-social individuals, but from these malevolent agencies.

A chief cornerstone of the Korean shamanistic complex is the belief in Tan'gun, the founder of Korea and first shaman-king. Tan'gun is regarded as the personification of goodness and benevolence. As indicated in chapter one, the foundational myths related to the formation of Korean shamanism assert that the shaman receives supernatural power in order to alleviate suffering in society and make life more bearable for its people. In a word, if the Korean shaman resorts to sorcery, he is basically violating his raison d'etre! This acts as a strong deterrence against aberrations by shamanistic practitioners.

It must be assumed that the possibility of sorcery and witchcraft is present in the shamanistic traditions in Korea, and many writers, both Western and Korean, often refer to the shamans as sorcerers, wizards, and witches; however, there are few indications that techniques of sorcery are generally employed in Korean shamanism.

Historically, it might be added, Korean officials have exhibited little tolerance towards any religious behavior or movements which pose a threat to members of society.

5. Korean Shamanism Is a Force In The Revitalization of Contemporary Movements

The Korean term Sin Jong-gyo (New Religions) is a term used to describe a number of dynamic and popular religious movements that have arisen in postwar Korea. Unlike the Soka Gakkai movement in Japan, these "New Religions" have not gained a strong political base in Korea. However, their influence in economic concerns and religious matters is growing at a rapid rate. They correspond in most details to the theoretical model of "Revitalization Movements" as outlined by Wallace (Wallace, 1966:158-166).

These movements in Korea became prominent after World War II. Regarding causal factors for these movements Moos says:

> Whenever a culture faces periods of accelerated change, uncertainty, and discontent, members of that culture are looking more intensely for a belief which will provide answers to their physical, mental, and spiritual aspirations. At such times of often intense stress, i.e. war, foreign occupation, conditions become fertile for the emergence of new expressions of religious, economic, and political feeling and aspirations (Moos, 1967:11-12).

Though the term "New Religions" is widely accepted by writers, its meaning is somewhat vague. Although emerging from common socio-ideological traditions and generated

and shaped by impingements of the same forces, the so-called "New Religions" are not totally new. In matters of doctrinal content and practices the movements are prominently syncretistic in nature, and grounded in Korean shamanism. Regarding the syncretistic characteristics of these movements, Palmer writes:

> Like much else in the cultural life of this peninsula, the various sects and patterns of religion are a mixture of things. Ancestor worship and Buddhism, Taoism, Confucian ethics, magic, divination, geomancy, astrology, fetishism, and the doctrines of Christianity, are joined together in strange and varying degrees of emphasis and harmony (Palmer, 1967:2).

Moos indicates that the aspirations of the "New Religions" are generally the same as those found in shamanism:

> Doctrinally and ceremonially the "New Religions" tend to be quite simple, almost superficial, at times. Related to doctrinal simplicity is the primary emphasis upon "this worldly" benefits. The "New Religions" are often more concerned with meeting man's physical, material needs in the present than giving hope for the future or engaging in speculative reasoning about the notions of another world. Physical healing plays an important and almost indispensable part (Moos, 1967: 14).

Some of the more prominent of these recent religious movements are: the Ch'ondo-gyo (The Religion of the Heavenly Way), the T'ong-il gyohoe (The Unification Church), the Jingsan-gyo (The Religion of Jingsan), and the Chondo-kwan (The Evangelism Church, which is popularly known as "The Olive Tree Church"). Palmer says that these contemporary religious movements manifest the following characteristics:

(1) They are utopian in their ultimate aims, (2) they appeal to national consciousness, (3) they are syncretistic in nature, and (4) they draw upon shamanistic beliefs, the primitive ethos of the Korean people (Palmer, 1967: 5-7).

To achieve a satisfactory understanding of these movements is not an easy task; however, the motifs of Korean shamanism may be seen in certain features relating to the founders of these movements: (1) The typical founder of these "New Religions" has had an unhappy youth, having experienced both poverty and illness. "At times he may show symptoms of paranoia with its concomitant meglomania, delusions, and hallucinations" (Moos, 1967:13). A divine being or beings are said to take possession of him and entrust him with a mission to society, (2) the founders of these movements, and many of their followers, frequently experience moments of ecstatic trance during which they commune with gods and ancestral spirits, (3) many of the founders of these religious movements claim powers of healing. In ways quite similar to the techniques practiced by shamans, these religious leaders recite incantations, rub their patients vigorously with their hands, and anoint them with magical concoctions.

How may these "New Religions" be assessed? Moos evaluates them as follows:

> These new religious cultures in Korea have not only helped to fill the psychological vacuum resulting from the end of the Japanese occupation and the subsequent liberation of Korea in 1945, but also have succeeded in providing a seemingly hopeful and more secure psycho-economic future to many hitherto economically depressed and hopeless individuals (Moos, 1967:16).

It must be observed that the hardship and disarrangement of life for the Korean nation following the Korean conflict (1950-53) have added to the psychological and economical stress placed upon the Korean people. The "New Religions" have become a viable popular spiritual force during the reconstruction period following the war.

Not only does Korean shamanism influence contemporary religious revitalization movements, but it contributes to an increasing quest among Koreans for national identity. Hatada speaks to this issue in these words:

> Korean history, being so much a story of hardships brought about by foreign nations, has caused the Korean people to nurture a fierce resentment against external enemies. Although the ruling class in Korea has frequently compromised or given in before such enemies, among the common people a tradition of not surrendering has grown up. The acts of ancient heroes who defended the country against foreign invaders have been given a mystical aura in popular legends passed down among the peasants. No matter how inaccurate or spurious these legends may be, they have delighted the hearts of the peasantry. They are the traditional heritage of the people molded in adversity (Hatada, 1969:142).

An expression of the religio-nationalistic sentiments of the Korean people is clearly seen in the movement called Tan'gun-gyo (The Religion of Tan'gun). In this movement Tan'gun is believed to be a Divine-King who

established the Korean nation. As a supernatural being, Tan'gun provides certain benefits for devotees, and becomes a focus for nationalistic aspirations. Members of the Tan'gun cult usually worship in small groups, their rituals normally consisting of offering a bowl of pure water before a portrait of Tan'gun twice every day, before sunrise and at sunset. The worshipers bow numerous times before the portrait while saying prayers.

In Korean society there is a growing interest in Tan'gun, the legendary founder of Korea. As a national hero, he is especially remembered in national celebrations on October 3, National Foundation Day for the Republic of Korea. In association with Tan'gun worship a reverance for ancestors on this day makes this movement highly compatible with an important element of Korean society, the family. In addition, the beliefs of the Tan'gun movement are of such a nature as to encourage believers to be proud of their national heritage. Therefore, it is not surprising that other military and cultural heroes, such as General Kwan-u and the "Five-point" Generals, all established deities in the Korean shamanistic pantheon, are worshiped on the same day at shamanistic shrines throughout Korea.

The suggestion has been made that the hwarang, the elite youth organization created during the Silla

Dynasty, ultimately became male shamans (See page 291). In modern Korea the hwarang have been widely misinterpreted as a military organization (Rutt, 1972:334). As a corollary to this belief, the ideals and symbolism of the hwarang are now attached to the National Military Academy and other military organizations of the nation. However, the hwarang were actually shamans.

Korean shamanistic beliefs and practices, grounded upon a mythology with overtones of nationalism, is on the increase throughout Korea. Shamanistic practitioners number in the thousands (Lee, Korea Times, Dec. 11, 1966:4). While shamanism, as a religious system, does not receive governmental patronage directly, it is reported that a public official paid for an elaborate shamanistic ceremony at the Kooksa-dang, a nationally recognized shrine located on the slopes of Inkwang Mountain in Seoul (Nydahl, 1973: 16). At this shrine shamanistic rituals are held daily.

Contemporary Korean shamanism does not conform to a classical revitalization movement as Wallace defines it; that is, "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace, 1956:265). There does not appear to be a concerted effort to perpetuate shamanism as an organized form of religion. However, as a religious faith, it promotes traditional values of an ancient culture while dealing with contemporary needs of modern society.

This study has drawn attention to the importance and function of shamanism within the context of Korean culture. Much of what one might want to know about this ancient religious system is lost in antiquity. However, social change, resulting from the impact of technologically developed cultures, has not brought about a great decrease in the magical and religious consolations of this religious system. There have been modifications in the system to accord with changed conditions, but the central affirmations of Korean shamanism still persist. Osgood has stated that "the Koreans are intrinsically the most deeply religious people of the Far East" (Osgood, 1951:330). If it is the main function of religion to provide important symbolic statements about the changing world, and an indispensable means of coping with the problems of life, it is not surprising that shamanism remains very much a part of Korean culture.

GLOSSARY OF KOREAN TERMS

An-t'ak Gyung. A Buddhist Sutra which is often used in shamanistic rituals as a form of prayer.

Aryong-jong. In the mythology of the Silla Dynasty (c. 57 B.C. - 935 A.D.), she was the first queen, a supernatural woman who was born of a dragon.

Awhang-Kongchu. Sometimes called the Princess Yao, this daughter of a mythical king of China is believed to be an ancestress of all female shamans in Korea.

Bok-heulk Hum-jigi. A ritual usually taking place on the 14th day of January during which earth is taken from the courtyard of a wealthy person's house and transferred to the home of one who desires prosperity.

Bok-jori. A bamboo ladle used for washing and sorting grain.

Byul-shin-je Koot. Called "Ritual of the Dead," this is a large ceremonial which is held every three years at Eun-san village in Ch'oong-nam Province.

Ch'a[illegible]a Ung. A title which may mean "high chief" or "sorcerer," but refers to Namhae Kosogan, a king of the Silla Dynasty, who was also a shaman.

Chae-oong. A rice-straw doll, or effigy, used as a fetish.

Changgo. A drum which is shaped like an hourglass, sometimes called a kalgo.

Chang-nae. A particular geographical area over which a certain shaman has ritual jurisdiction, sometimes called tangol p'an.

Chang-nae Koot. A shamanistic funeral ritual.

Ch'ang-pu Ku-ri. The tenth stage of the Chi No Kwe ritual, performed for the benefit of the male head of the household.

Chang sam. A long-sleeved gown often worn by a female shaman.

Chang-seung. Carved wooden effigy representing the "Five Direction" gods which are placed along roads leading into villages, and function to frighten away evil spirits.

Che-suk Chu-mun-ni. A household spirit usually associated with the harvest.

Che-suk Ku-ri. The eighth stage of the Chi No Kwe ceremony during which prayers are especially said on behalf of children.

Che-suk shin. A "harvest deity" in Korean shamanism, possibly borrowed from Buddhism, sometimes called Che-suk.

Chikwan. A geomancer.

Chilsung. The seven stars of the Big Dipper or Big Bear (Ursa Major) which is worshiped in Korean shamanism, but was possibly borrowed from Taoism.

Chil-sung Kyung. "Book of the Seven Stars." A book which describes divining techniques, probably of Taoistic origin.

Chil-sung p'an. The bottom lining board of a coffin in which seven holes have been arranged in the pattern of the Big Dipper.

Chin mukyuk. A term which refers to one who is believed to be an authentic shaman. An individual who pretends to be a shaman is referred to as a ka mukyuk.

Chi-no Kwe Koot. A shamanistic séance for the dead which often involves twelve elaborate steps or stages. This ritual is known as sae-nam in some sections of Korea.

Chin-si. An auspicious time for performing rituals to the sea dragon spirits, usually during the hours between 7:00 and 9:00 a.m.

Ch'o Ka Mang Ku-ri. The term refers to a "short ceremony" which is the third step of the Chi-no Kwe ceremony in which the shaman waits for the spirits to descend.

Chok-chebi. A weasel.

Chok tu-ri. A pompadour fashion in a female's hair style.

Cho Sang Ku-ri. The fourth stage of the Chi-no Kwe ritual during which ancestral spirits are summoned to provide oracles for members of a family.

Chosen. "Land of the Morning Calm," or another name for Korea. This name for the country was first officially adopted in 1392.

Cho-wang. A tutelary spirit of the kitchen, possibly adopted into Korean shamanism from Taoism.

Chuk Chae Chang Koon. The red "general" or spirit who has jurisdiction over the southern ward of heaven, and the summer.

Chum-chaengi. One who practices divination on behalf of others.

Chum sung sool. The art of divination by the stars.

Ch'ung-bae. "Invitation," the first step or stage of any shamanistic ritual during which spirits are invited to attend the ceremony.

Ch'ung ryong do. "The blue dragon sword," an ancient sword used during a shaman's ceremony.

Ch'ung sa-ri. A popular breed of Korean dog.

Chung-ju. "Lord of Heavens," the pure Chinese word used by the Roman Catholic Church in Korea to designate God in Christianity. Protestants use the ancient Korean term Hananim.

Chun Keui Tayo. A book, probably of Taoistic origin, which teaches principles of divining.

Chun-lip. A soldier's coat worn by a shaman during a ceremony.

Chu-nae. An altar or sacred tablet before which a shaman performs certain rituals.

Chung Chae Chang Koon. The blue "general" or spirit who has dominion over the eastern ward of heaven, and the spring.

Chun-sin. A tutelary spirit over the soil or plains.

Ch'un-wang. "Heavenly King," a deity whose domain is in the heavens. This spirit is sometimes called Ch'un-Koon or Ch'un-che.

Di. A sash worn around a person's waist.

Dong-sin Je. A rite in honor of a village tutelary spirit.

Dwet-chun Ku-ri. The final phase of the Chi No Kwe ceremony, usually characterized by happy farewells to the spirits and all visitors who have attended the ritual.

Dwet-puri. A ritual designed to cleanse a house from all evil spirits.

Haegum. A Korean violin made of bamboo.

Hal-eu-pang. The patron saint of Cheju Island, usually represented by an effigy carved from volcanic rock.

Ham-ji. A papier-maché jar used for storing rice.

Hananim or Hanunim. The most common term for the Supreme Being, God, Lord, or King of Heaven in Korea.

Hae nyuh. "sea-women," a term referring to women who earn their living by harvesting sea-plants, shellfish, and sponges from the sea.

Han-eul. "sky or heaven," a concept from which Hananim, the term for the supreme deity, may have been derived.

Han-geul. The Korean alphabet or syllabary, consisting of twenty-eight phonetic symbols.

Han-Sam-Wei-I. "Three religions in one," referring to the synthesis of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism.

Han-mun. The Korean term for Chinese writing.

Han-yak. The term used for Korean folk medicine.

Ha-paik. A tutelary spirit of seamen and boats.

Heuk Chae Chang Koon. The black "general" or spirit who has jurisdiction over the northern ward of heaven, and winter.

Ho-juk. A type of clarinet, sometimes called a taepyongso.

Ho-Kwe. The deity of smallpox, also referred to as Princess Pali.

Ho-mae-sun. A small model of a boat or raft, loaded with an offering for the sea gods, which is set adrift.

Hon. The spiritual essence or nature of man, the soul.

Hunminjungeumhaenye. "The Right Sounds to Inculcate the People," a book written in order to explain the sounds and usage of the Korean phonetic alphabet or syllabary.

Hwan-in. "Heavenly Being," a deity associated with the birth of Tan'gun. Tan'gun is the mythical founder of the Korean nation.

Hwang Chae Chang Koon. The yellow "general" who has dominion over the central ward of heaven.

Hyangchal. A system of writing in which all Korean words are written in Chinese characters.

Idu. Chinese characters used for their sound values to write Korean particles, endings, and auxiliary verbs in order to facilitate the reading of Chinese texts.

Ilkwan. A professional diviner.

In-sam. (Panax Ginseng) An aromatic root valued in Korea as a medicine; ginseng.

Ji-sin balgi. The "Treading Down the Earth Spirits" ceremony during which musicians and dancers march around a house to suppress the evil spirits in the soil.

Jok-bo. A book of genealogy or registry in which the names of all members of a family are entered.

Joo-yuk. "Book of Changes," a book of Chinese Origin which teaches divining techniques.

Ju-in. A title for the male head of a household.

Jyul. A term for temple, sometimes called sa.

Ka-sa. A Buddhist monk's robe, often worn by a shaman during a ceremony.

Kae-chun Chul. "The Opening Day," a nationally celebrated day commemorating the founding of the Korean nation on October 3.

Ka-mang. A rite for ancestral spirits.

Kat. A traditional Korean male's hat made of horsehair and bamboo.

Kee. A term which refers to the strength or vigor in seeds or plants which makes them grow.

Keem. Laver, an eatable sea-plant.

Keum. Gold.

Kija. (In Chinese, Ch'i Tzu), a Chinese nobleman who is believed to have migrated to Korea in 1122 B.C., bringing with him many Chinese arts.

Ko-ggal. The inner liner of a Korean horsehair hat, often worn by men while they are lounging about the house.

Koguryo Dynasty. An early Korean state (c. 37 B.C. - 688 A.D.), one of the "Three Kingdoms."

Ko-mu shins. Korean shoes made of rubber.

Kooksa-dang. "Shrine of the National Teacher," a nationally known shamanistic shrine located on Inwang Mountain in Seoul.

Koot. A shamanistic rite or séance.

Kongsim. A princess in Korean mythology who became an ancestress of female shamans.

Kong-soo. The ecstatic trance of a Korean shaman.

Koon Oong Chang Koon. "Divine Army General," a deity in the Korean shamanistic pantheon.

Ko-sa. A term used for a shamanistic ritual performed by a male shaman, or a village elder. The term is seldom used in connection with a ceremony in which a female shaman is in charge.

Ku-pook. The turtle spirit, associated with strength and renewal.

Ku-pook jum. A method of divination involving burning a turtle shell, and interpreting the cracks which have been formed.

Ku-ri. A term used to describe a step or phase of a shaman's ceremonial.

Kyeh. An association formed by persons for mutual benefits; a guild.

Li. A measurement of distance, approximately one-third of a mile.

Majong. A shamanistic god of heaven in the Pali-Kongchu myth, a story which describes the origin of Korean shamanism.

Mama Kongchu. The spirit of smallpox, sometimes called "Grandma Pak." The skin eruptions and permanent scars of smallpox are called pak pak.

Mansin Singju. "The Mistress of Ten Thousand Spirits," another name for the goddess of smallpox in some areas of Korea.

Mago pam. A mythical snake believed to be found only in the Chiri Mountain region in the southern part of Korea.

Ma-ryu-bang. A room in a Korean house with a wooden floor. This room usually opens toward the courtyard.

Ma-shin. The term often used for a demon or evil spirit; also called Kwe-shin or devil.

Man-su Baegi. A shamanistic song entitled "Ten Thousand Blessings."

Mishin. Animism, the belief in spirits.

Mom. A term which refers to the physical body of man; also shin ch'eh.

Mong doong-i. Another term for the sin-kan, or "god rod," a short stick down which spirits are believed to descend during a shamanistic ritual.

Mu. In Chinese writing, the character used for shamanism.

Mu goo-ri. A ritual of divination, usually involving the use of charts and mystical Chinese characters.

Mu-pyung. The illness that a person suffers while being called to the shamanistic profession.

Musok. A colloquial term for shamanism.

Mutang. A female shaman.

Mutang supang. The husband of a shaman; also mu-pu.

Namoo shi-chip. "Tree Wedding," a fertility ritual in which rocks are placed in the fork of a tree as a phallic symbol.

Nam-sa Kui. The ghost of a virgin, considered to be extremely vindictive and dangerous; also called Son-kak si and Tong-ja po-sal.

Nam-san. South Mountain in Seoul.

No-il ja dae. The spirit believed to inhabit old wells, caves, and toilet sheds.

No-jang. "Road Burial," the practice of burying a virgin beneath or beside a path or road in order to prevent her escape.

No-rae karyak. "Song of Farewell," a song usually sung at the close of a shamanistic ritual.

Nok-Kwie shin. The spirit or ghost of those persons who have drowned.

Nok-too-ri. The utterances of a shaman while in an ecstatic trance.

Nuk hon. A term referring to the soul or spirit of a person who has died; also called chung-ryung.

O-bok. A Confucian concept which emphasizes the "five blessings": longevity, wealth, health, love of virtue, and a peaceful death.

Ok Hwang Sang Jeh. The highest of the heavenly gods of Taoism, a deity who has been incorporated into Korean shamanism.

Ok-jo Kyung. "The Jade Book" a textbook on techniques of divination, possibly borrowed from China.

Ondol. A heated floor system in which heat is drawn through flues in the floor of Korean houses.

Oo-joo kwan. The universe or cosmos. In Korean shamanism, the universe is composed of an upper world (haneul or heaven), the middle world (jeegoo or this world), and the lower world (jee-ha kyeh or lower regions).

O Pang Chang Koon. The "Five-point Generals," the shamanistic deities who have dominion over each of the five spatial directions or wards of the heavens.

Paek Chae Chang Koon. The white "general" or spirit who has jurisdiction over the western ward of heaven, and the autumn.

Paek che. An envelope made of white paper, sometimes called ch'ang ho je.

Paekje Dynasty. An early Korean state (c. 18 B.C. - 600 A.D.) founded in the southwest part of Korea as one of the "Three Kingdoms."

Paek-no. A type of white crane valued for its feathers.

Paksa. A term which means "scholar," but a term which may have been used to designate a male shaman in ancient Korea.

Pak-soo. A male shaman.

Pali-Kongchu. Sometimes called Chil-Kongchu (Seventh Princess), this shamanistic deity is the goddess of smallpox.

Palkwan. An ancient shamanistic festival consisting of eight stages.

Pam-nal. "Prime Serpent Day," the first day of the lunar year which is symbolized by a snake.

Pan-eul. A type of rattle consisting of a cluster of eight small brass bells wired together on a brass handle.

Pansoo. A male shaman who is often blind; sometimes called chambong.

P'i ri. A flute made of bamboo reed.

Pi-ryuk jil. A gesture of begging or petition in which the palms of the hands are rubbed rapidly together.

Pom-chul. A ritual held on the first day of spring. Sometimes called Kyeh-chul, this rite is characterized by ancestral worship.

Poo-jung Ku-ri. The first stage of a ritual designed to cleanse the premises of all unclean and obnoxious influences.

P'oong-soo. Called feng-shui in Chinese, this is a geomantic theory widely used in Korea in divining practices.

Posal. A Bodhisattva or Buddhist saint.

Pu-chung. An exorcism in which evil spirits are driven from the premises.

Pu-jang. A fetish or amulet.

Pu-juk. An inscribed colored card which is fastened to the wall of a house as an amulet.

Pul-sa Machi. The second step of the Chi-no Kwe ceremony, in which the principle spirit is of Buddhist origin.

Pung ku-je. An ordinary soldier's hat, a type worn by soldiers during the early Yi Dynastic period (1392-1910).

Pu-sun. A female's cotton-lined stocking.

Pu-sut. Mushroom.

P'u-tak Ku-ri. A shaman's ritual for healing.

Ryong. A dragon. The dragon spirits are associated with rivers, waterfalls, and the sea.

Ryong-gung Chul. A rite for the dragon spirits, usually conducted on January 14, in order that fishermen will be successful during the fishing season.

Ryong Wang. The dragon king who rules over the seas.

Ryun-ra Tae Wang. The king of the underworld or hell, possibly of Buddhist origin.

Sae-num. The second level or tier of a shaman's altar.

Sa-ji. A term for the paper decorations on metal skewers used for holding meat offerings together.

Samkuk-Saki. History of the Three Kingdoms, compiled by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151), a high official of the Koryo Court.

Sanguk-Yusa. Legends of the Three Kingdoms, written by the Buddhist monk, Ilyon (1206-1289), during the Koryo period.

Sam-sin. "Three Spirits," referring to three spirits associated with the founding of the Korean nation, Hwan-in, Hwan-ung, and Hwan-Keum. Portraits of these three deities are usually found in shamanistic shrines.

Sa-ko-ji. A paper envelope.

Sakyoung Koot. A shamanistic ritual designed to provide protection for a family.

Sam-chi-ch'ang. An iron trident with a wooden handle used during a shaman's ceremony.

Samjae. A shamanistic ritual intended to protect a house from flood, wind, and fire; sometimes called Whang-soo.

Sam-sin meh Koot. A shamanistic ritual for women who are in their seventh or ninth month of pregnancy.

Sam-si-ryang. The ghost of a baby.

Sandang. Shrines dedicated to the "Mountain Gods."

Sang-bok. A mourning attire made of course linen material.

Sang-che. "Heavenly Emperor," a shamanistic deity whose domain is in the heavens; sometimes called Ch'un-Wang.

Sang moon sal. A ritual which is designed to ward off evil influences emanating from a place where someone has died.

Sang-mun p'ul-e Koot. A shamanistic ritual held on behalf of people who have attended a funeral.

Sang San Ku-ri. The sixth phase of the Chi-No Kwe ritual during which prayers are directed towards the "Mountain Spirits." The objectives sought are good health, long life, and material blessings.

Sangsaram. The lower classes of Korean society as determined by a Confucian social system.

San Hai Kyen. A Chinese historical document, possibly written during the first century.

San-p'a. A midwife.

San-Ryung. A spirit who dwells near a mountain pass.

San-shin. The "Mountain Spirit," one of the most lovable spirits identified with Korean shamanism.

Saryang pang. The living room of a Korean house.

Shin bang. A shamanistic order of practitioners on the island of Cheju.

Shinkyo. Animism, or the belief in spirits.

Si-chip. A term designating a young woman about to be married.

Silla Dynasty. An early Korean state (c. 57 B.C. - 935 A.D.) located in the southeastern area of the peninsula; one of the "Three Kingdoms."

Sin-ack. Music which is played in order to entertain spirits.

Sin-chang. A term referring to the host of minor evil spirits believed to inhabit the universe.

Sin Chang Ku-ri. The seventh stage of the Chi No Kwe ritual during which the shaman enlists the assistance of the O Pang Chang Koon, or "Five Directional" spirits.

Sin-kan. "Divine rod," or "god stick," down which a spirit is believed to descend during shamanistic rituals.

Sin-kil. The first level or shelf of a shamanistic altar.

Sin-t'ak. A phase of a shamanistic ritual at which time the spirits are said to communicate with the shaman.

Soek heung kup. Strips of clothe tied to the limbs of a tree near a shrine of a "Mountain-pass" spirit. The practice reflects a petition for children.

Sok-dam. A folk saying or proverb.

So-mu. An understudy of a Korean shaman.

Son-kak si. The most common name for the malevolent ghost of a virgin.

Soo simpang. A head shaman who tutors novices in shamanistic ritual practices.

Suldi. A type of sash worn during a shaman's ritual.

Sungcho-Magi. A ritual held upon the occasion of the completion of a new house; a shamanistic dedication ceremony.

Sung-joo. A class of household gods.

Sung-joo Ku-ri. The ninth stage of the Chi No Kwe ceremony during which the "Guardian Spirit of the Household" is the object of worship.

Sungmo. "Holy Mother," a title in Korean mythology for an ancestress of all female shamans; sometimes called Chungwang.

Sun-hyang. A joss stick or incense rod.

Sung-whang tang. An altar or shrine of the "Mountain-pass" Spirit; sometimes called Sun-ang.

Sun-whan chwa. The top shelf or tier of a shamanistic altar.

Sup-su. A type of fringed gown worn by a shaman during a ceremony.

Taeguk. The circular symbol of Taoism which has been incorporated into the design of the Korean National flag, the Taegukki.

Tae Kam Ku-ri. A tutelary spirit, usually associated with a military cultural hero.

Tae pul po. The main beam of a Korean house.

Tal-je. A community ceremony celebrating the New Moon.

Tang. A temple, shrine, or altar.

Tang-chip. A small shed or shrine, usually located behind a village, where shamanistic rituals are held.

Tangol. A class of hereditary shamanistic practitioners who tend to serve some Korean families on a regular basis. The tangol shamans are more numerous in the southern part of Korea. They are called shim-pang on Cheju Island.

Tan'gun. "Sandalwood King," or "Shaman-King," the mythical founder of Korea who is believed to have been born October 3, 2457 B.C. Tan'gun is said to have founded the Korean nation on October 3, 2333 B.C.

Tok-kae-bi. Mischievious, but harmless, spirits who play tricks on human beings.

To-mu. A shamanistic dance of welcome for the spirits, performed in the early stages of a ceremonial.

T'oo-joo Kwan. A tutelary spirit, particularly associated with agriculture.

Tu-joo. A tutelary spirit of a house site, i.e. the soil.

Tu-joo ka-ri. A small straw shrine which is constructed as a dwelling place for "House site" spirits.

T'ut Ku-ryungi. A tutelary serpent spirit, often associated with a snake which lives on the premises, which is believed to bring good fortune to the household.

Um-yang. A Confucian concept which refers to the dualistic energy forces in the universe; Yin-yang in Chinese.

Up-kkupi. A mascot toad that lives on the premises and considered to bring good luck.

Wako. A term for marauding Japanese pirates who often raided Korean villages along the coasts.

Yaksu. Water believed to have magical healing properties.

Ya-Kwang-i jod-ki. A ceremony held on the first day of the New Year for the purpose of warding off evil spirits and misfortune for the coming year.

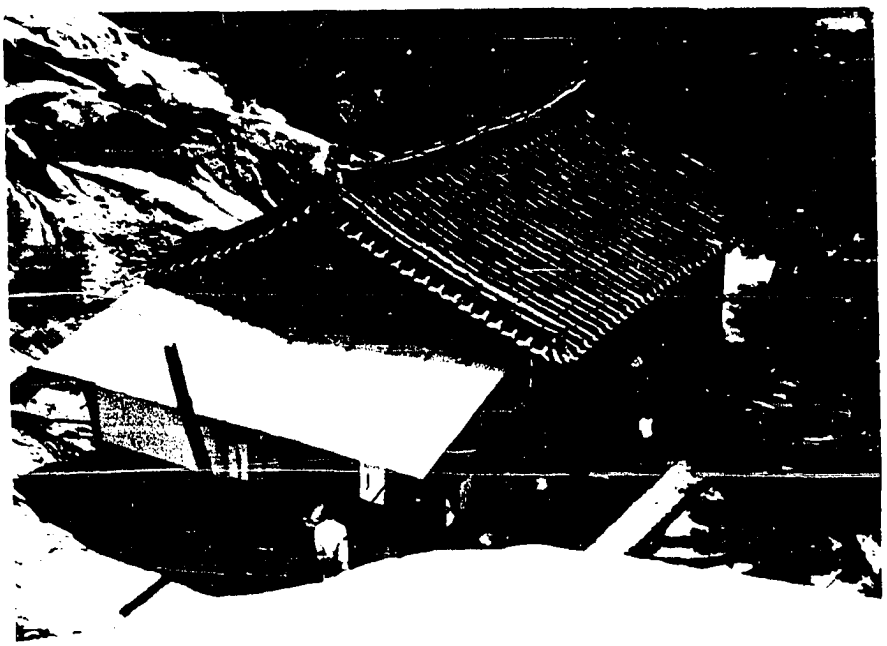
Yangban. A term to designate the upper classes or aristocratic class of Confucian Korea.

Ye. In a Confucian sense, good manners or propriety.

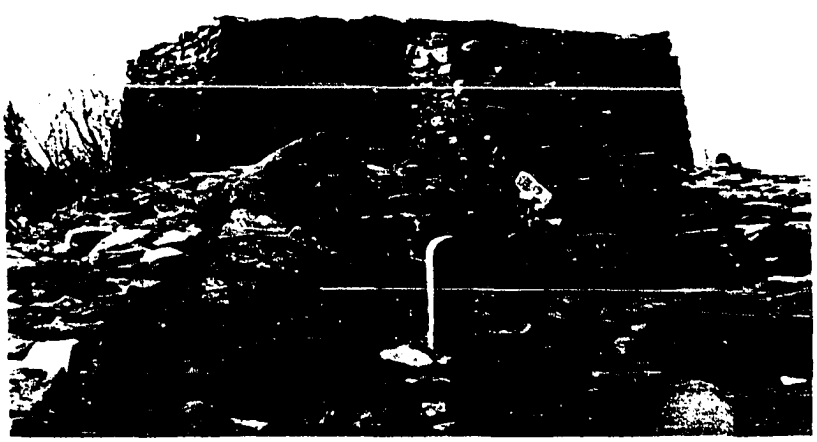
Yum-pul. A shamanistic invocation, possibly borrowed from Buddhism.

Yundung-Halmuni Koot. A ceremony, most prominent on Cheju Island, in which tribute is given to the "Spirit of the Wind."

Yu-oo. A fox. In Korean shamanism foxes are associated with ghosts, and their appearance warns of impending misfortune.



Kooksa-dang or "Shrine of the National Teacher,"
Mt. Inwang, Seoul, Korea (1972)

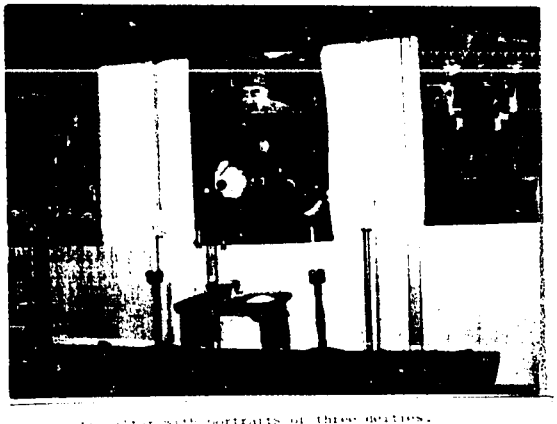


Tan'gun altar, Mt. Mari, Kanghwa Island,
Kyonggi Province, Korea (1972)

Female shaman (mutang) on Mt. Inwang, Seoul, Korea (1972)

Rural shrine (tang-chip), An-song, Kyonggi Province, Korea

Shaman drummer during a ceremony (koot)



[illegible] with portraits of three deities, [illegible] Three Spirits (Sansin), Mountain Spirit (Sanshin), [illegible] (Tok-chae-bi).

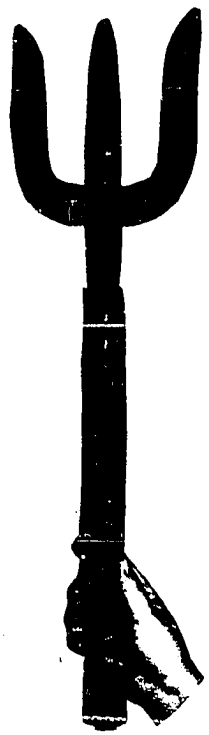
Roadside Guardian Spirit (Chae-[illegible]) Seoul, Korea

Brass bell with cloth streamers
Diameter: 11 cm.

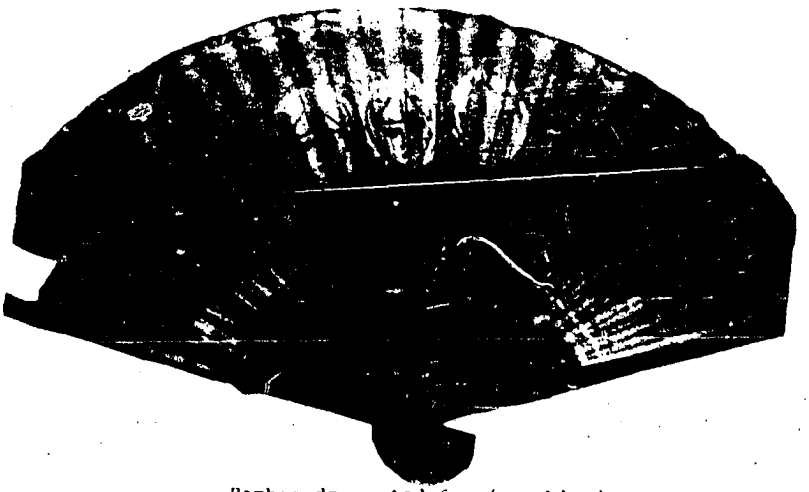
Brass rattle with iron handle and multiple colored streamers Length: 20. cm.

Brass handle and cluster of eight bells (pan-eul) Length: 20.3 cm.

Sword (ch'ung ryong do) made of iron
Length:81.2 cm.



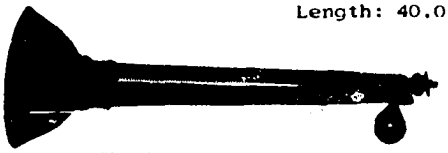
Iron trident with wooden handle
Length: 55.9 cm.



Bamboo decorated fan (pu ch'ae)
Folded length: 35.0 cm.

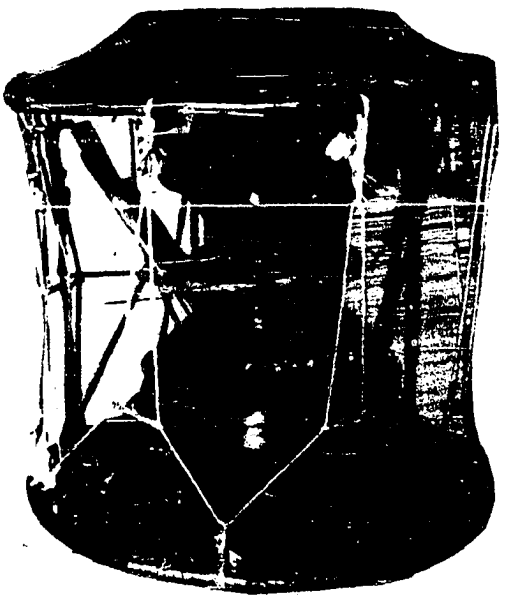
Brass cymbols (ja-bara)
Diameter: 35.6 cm.

A bamboo flute (p'iri)
Length: 40.0 cm.



Clarinet (ho-juk) made of wood and brass
Length: 45.7 cm.

Brass gong (jing)
Diameter: 45.7 cm.



Drum (changgo) made of wood and leather
Length: 66.0 cm. Diameter: 40.6 cm.

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