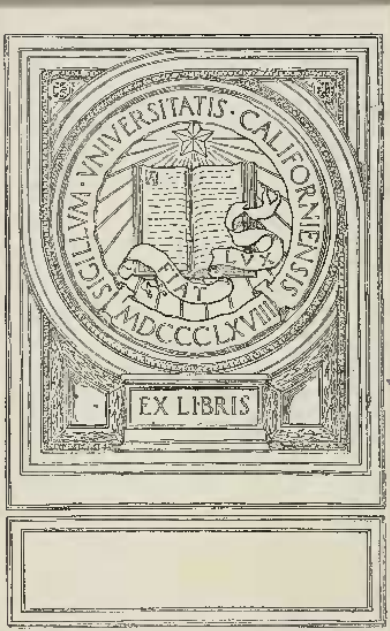
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A Pure Ainu.

A Civilized Ainu.

PREFACE.

My book entitled *The Ainu of Japan* was written in the year 1889, and published three years later. Since then it has been my privilege to have had further experience of some twelve years' duration in the midst of the Ainu, altogether making a life among them of nearly twenty-five years. On reading that book through in the light of the more extended knowledge thus obtained, I am bound to admit that I found many matters contained therein which need modification, as well as some others which struck me as being mis-

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leading. It was an earnest desire to make amends to the public by rectifying these blemishes which first suggested the idea of either writing a new book on the subject or revising the old one.

After thinking the matter well over, I came to the conclusion that it would be better to write a new book, especially as I had in hand a large quantity of new material in the way of legends and folk-lore. The present production is not, therefore, simply the old volume revised (though much has been quoted from it), but a new book with the mistakes found in the old one rectified as far as known. And it has been my aim throughout to let the Ainu themselves speak, while I have simply acted as translator in so far as the legends and folk-lore are concerned.

It may, perhaps, be considered by some readers that I have quoted too many similar legends and items of folk-lore. But the apology for having produced so many (if apology is necessary) is that I thought it best to give all I had, so that any one interested in this kind of research might have materials for purposes of comparison with the lore of other races; and the ethnologist knows (and who better than he?) that slight differences in lore sometimes mean a great deal. Others also may imagine that I might have made more use of Mr. Savage Landor's book on *The Hairy Ainu* than I have done. I have read that production through very carefully, and have come to the conclusion that his book is too inexact to be used for any purposes of ethnological science; it is, therefore, not quoted in this book.

Preface.

Through the courtesy of The Religious Tract Society I have been able to reproduce in this volume the illustrations contained in my old book, and for this I desire to express my thanks. But these have been largely added to by photos and sketches I have been able to obtain since writing that book, thus considerably enriching the present volume. I am also greatly indebted to the Society for the courteous way in which they have met me, for the suggestions made by them, and for the care exercised in bringing out this book. My best thanks are also due to my friend, Dr. Miyabe, Professor of Botany in the Sapporo Agricultural College, Japan, for kindly supplying me with the correct botanical names of plants mentioned in this book.

In conclusion (to quote from the preface of my old work), my 'object will be attained if it (*the present book*) leads my readers to appreciate the good points of this strange race; and, above all, if it leads them to feel renewed interest in the efforts that are being made to bring them under the civilising influence and saving grace of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.'

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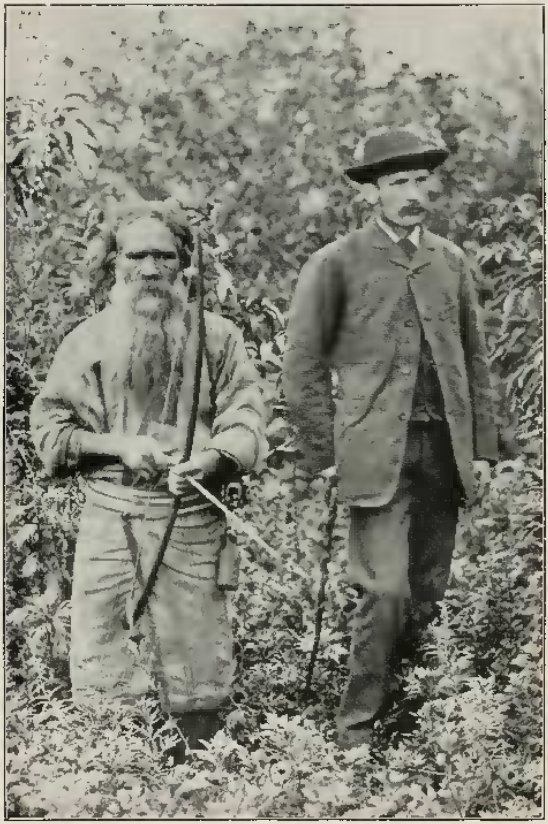


The Author and Chief Penri in 1879.

THE AINU AND THEIR FOLK-LORE

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Origin of the Ainu.

The Ainu in Japan prior to the Japanese—The early Ainu were cannibals—*Aioina* as the Ainu ancestor—Meaning of the words *Aioina* and *Ainu*—*Okikurumi* and *Wariunekuru*—How God created man—Calling names—Man imperfectly made—Dogs not totem animals—Ainu hairiness—Ainu descent from a bear—Ainu descent from an eagle—The Ainu are of Aryan stock.

THAT the Ainu inhabited Japan long anterior to the Japanese is a well-known fact. The names of many places all over the Empire, from Satsuma in the south to the Kurile Islands in the north, are of Ainu origin, and therefore go a long way towards proving this. The old histories of Japan also form another link in the chain of evidence. These tell us that on coming to Japan the ancient Japanese often made war upon the Ainu living at that time upon the mainland, and state that while many of them were slain in battle, others saved themselves by fleeing to the mountains. But do not let it be supposed for a moment that the Japanese were always the aggressors, for the Ainu of olden times were undoubtedly a very savage people, and sometimes provoked the wars by their barbarity and unruliness.

Nor must it be imagined that they were cowards, for there are strong grounds for believing that they fought many hard battles, and that the Japanese, even with their superior arms and armour, found them very difficult to subdue.*

That the Japanese really found the Ainu a very uncivilised race may well be believed, for Ainu tradition itself tells us the same thing. From it we learn that the Ainu forefathers were so far down in the human scale as to be given over to cannibalism, and cannibalism of the very lowest type. Thus says their legend on this point:—

'The Ainu were formerly cannibals. Not only did they eat the flesh of bears, deer, and other animals in its raw condition, but they used to kill and devour their own relations also. They even ate them without first cooking the flesh. But when the divine Aioina descended from heaven he taught the people to make fish-spears, bows and arrows, pots, pans and such like useful articles. He also commanded them to cook every kind of fish and all kinds of flesh before eating it. He furthermore warned them against the habit of devouring one another.'

The name Aioina mentioned in the above tradition is an important one, and will frequently occur between the covers of this book. Many of the people think that they are descended from the person represented by it, not in every case by way of natural generation, but by way of being

* These facts are collected from the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the first of which was written A.D. 712.

created by him. He, indeed, is supposed to be the deity who made the first ancestors of the race. They tell us that he was sent down from above by the supreme God, with full instructions to first form people, then teach them how to make various useful implements, and after that to tell them how to hunt and fish, worship the gods and perform religious rites and ceremonies. The tradition respecting these matters runs thus:—

'The divine Aioina is called by some people by the name *Ainu rak guru* (*i.e.*, "a person smelling of the Ainu"). This is the way in which he came by that name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first Ainu (*Ainu* means "man"), he stayed upon the earth with him for a very long time, and taught him and his children how to hunt and get their living. Whilst in the world he lived just as the Ainu did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing they wore. When he had finished all that had been given him to do he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his garments. On reaching Paradise all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking in one another's faces, said, "Dear, dear, what a smell of Ainu (men) there is! Whence can it come?" On making a closer search for the cause they found it to come from Aioina who had still his earthly garments on. He was therefore requested to go back to the earth and take off his clothes. After he had done so he returned once again to heaven, and, lo, the smell of men had departed from him.'

Notwithstanding the above legend, however,

there are many people who say that the name Aioina does not come out of Ainu, but that, on the contrary, Ainu is derived from it. This opinion must certainly be rejected, for neither is really derived from the other. Both the words Ainu and Aioina have their own special meaning, and therefore need no deriving such as the above legend indicates. Ainu means 'man,' for which there is no other word in their vocabulary, and Aioina carries the meaning of 'teacher' in it. I therefore conclude from this and other facts that Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as an instructor to this people. But as it will be necessary to say more about him later on, let us leave him for the present.

There is another myth very similar to the above, in which one called Okikurumi and his son, Wariunekuru, are spoken of as being the first of the race. But against this there is another story, which tells us that these two persons were some Japanese,* who fled to Yezo from the main island of Japan many years ago. This matter is so obscure, however, that one can make neither head nor tail of the legends, and they often give me the impression that they are nothing more than made-up stories.

The shortest and in some ways the most interesting legend of the Ainu origin I have so far heard runs thus:—

'When God made man in the beginning, He formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his spine of a stick of willow. When, there-

* Yoshitsune and Benkei.

fore, a person grows old, his back bends in the middle.'

Another legend on the same point says :—

'After the world had been created and put in order, God made many of the herbs and trees to grow out of the ground When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame-work, and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a person becomes very old his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer.'

During my sojourn among this people, I have often heard the men and women calling one another such bad names as 'crooked back,' 'aged, mangy deer,' and so forth. Before hearing the above legends, I was at an utter loss to understand why such names were used, but read in their light it is easy to see wherein the sting lay. The words would equal some such expressions as 'block-head' and 'beast' in English.

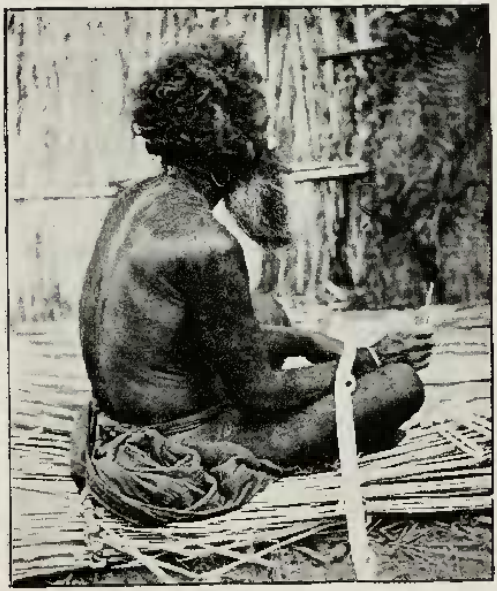
The Ainu have another tradition respecting their creation, by which they inform us that the first man was not fashioned so perfectly as the Creator at first intended him to be. He would, it is said, have been made in a much more comely manner had it not been for the extreme carelessness of the river otter. Part of the folk-lore concerning this matter runs as follows :—

'When God was in the act of making the first man, and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for Him to unexpectedly return to

heaven on important business. Before setting out for the return journey, He called an otter, which happened to be near at the time, and told him that He was going away, but would quickly send another deity to finish the work He Himself had already begun, and he (the otter) was to deliver a message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would deliver the message without fail, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by swimming up and down the rivers, catching and eating fish; he fixed his whole attention on this, and thought of nothing else. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message God gave him to deliver; yea, the otter forgot all about it. This is the reason why the first man was made so imperfect, and why all human beings are not quite in the fashion God originally intended. As a punishment for this delinquency and astonishing forgetfulness, God punished the otter with a bad memory; yea, he took his memory completely away. This is why no otter can now remember anything.'

It has been remarked by some travellers that the Ainu consider themselves to have had a dog as their ancestor. But this is pure fiction, for I am well assured by the people themselves that they think nothing of the kind. Nor do dogs in any way figure among them as totem animals, as they certainly would do, did they consider themselves to be their descendants. The Kalangs, indeed, who are supposed to be the aborigines of Java, really appear to think that they themselves are descended from a princess and a chief who had

been transformed into a dog. It is not at all impossible, therefore, that travellers may have brought this myth thence, and transferred it to the Ainu. Nothing could be easier, seeing that the native name Ainu (pronounced *i-nu* in English)



A Hairy Specimen.

looks so very like the Japanese word Inu (pronounced *e-nu* in English) which means 'dog.' But to say that the myth is in any way of Ainu origin is a purely gratuitous assertion, without the least foundation in fact.

The hairiness of the Ainu has also been brought forward by some as a proof that the people are nearly related to the brute creation. But this can, of course, be of no real value, for the Ainu, taken as a race, are not a whit more hairy than many Europeans, and nothing like so well covered as the Todas. Hairiness is not a monopoly of this people, and I cannot help wondering how it is that anyone can have the audacity to bring forth such puerile arguments as a serious contention. However, if anyone has an earnest desire to derive the Ainu hair from some four-legged animal, let him take the bear and not a dog as the ancestor of the race. This would be much more in accordance with approved Ainu ideas on the matter, for there are many Ainu who fancy that their ancestors were descended from bruin. Moreover, this animal is certainly looked upon as the great totem god of the whole race. The following legend tells of this :—

'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 that 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 to be born was nigh at hand, some said, "Surely this woman has married again." Others said, "Not so, but her deceased husband has risen from among the dead."' But the woman herself said that it was all a miracle, and the following is an account of the matter :—

'One evening there was a sudden appearance

An Ordinary Ainu.

in the hut in which I was sitting. He who came to me had the external form of a man, and was dressed in black clothing. On turning in my direction he said —"O, woman, I have a word to say to you, so please pay attention. I am the god who possesses the mountains (*i.e.*, a bear), and not a human being at all, though I have now appeared to you in the 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 am 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 very 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 of the 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 Kamui sanikiri—i.e.*, 'descendants of the bear.' Such people are very proud, and say, 'As for me, I am a child of the god of the mountains; I am descended from the divine one who rules in the mountains.' These people are very proud indeed.

I have sometimes been much puzzled to understand why the Ainu of a certain district often call one another by names which mean 'children of the eagle' and 'descendants of the bird' as a term of reproach when quarrelling, but have at last discovered that clan totemism lies at the bottom of it. It may be of interest to the reader to know that I

have a young man by my side at this very moment who honestly believed, before being further instructed, that the sire of his great-great-grandfather was either brought no one knows whence by an eagle, or was directly descended from one of these creatures in an ordinary manner. But as the legend concerning this is so similar to that given above, I refrain from repeating it here.

Such are the Ainu traditions relating to their origin. They tell us nothing whatever as to where they came from originally. For all they know, they may have been in Japan since the beginning of creation. That the race is not Mongolian is clear, for the people are as different from their Chinese and Japanese neighbours as the Malay is from the Negro. The construction of the language is Aryan, and differs radically from the Japanese. But to which branch of the Aryan stock the Ainu race really belongs has yet to be determined.

CHAPTER II.

The Pit-dwellers and Causes of Ainu Decrease.

The Pit-dwellers—Legend of the Pit-dwellers—Causes of Ainu decrease: (*a*) Clan wars; (*b*) Change of food; (*c*) Loss of vitality; Other causes—Adoption of Japanese children.

THE Ainu are not to be looked upon as the only aborigines of Yezo, for they have a tradition which speaks of a race of dwarfs who lived upon this island before they themselves did, and whom they look upon as the real aboriginal possessors of the soil. These, they say, their ancestors exterminated. All that is now left of them are the pits in which it is said they used to dwell, together with a few flint implements and some rude pottery. The pottery, however, must not be taken to prove anything, for there are grounds for believing that the Ainu themselves used to make it. Only in the year 1900 I heard of Ainu children playing at making pottery similar to that dug up about these pits. It is not at all unlikely that these dwarfs were simply an Ainu clan, and as much Ainu as the Ainu themselves. And it should also be taken into account that there are no native place-names on the island which are not pure Ainu words, and cannot be traced to anything else.

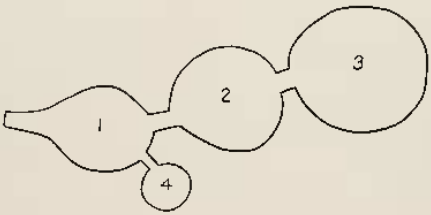
The people have a legend with regard to these dwarfs which is as follows:

Legends of the Pit-dwellers.

'In very ancient times a race of people who dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one burdock leaf. When they went to catch herrings they used to make boats by sewing the

Probable Shape of Koropok-Guru's Hut.

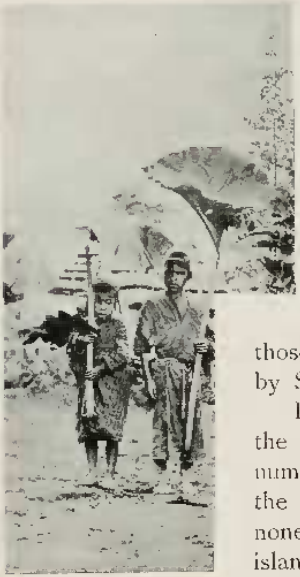
leaves of bamboo grass (*arundinaria*) together, and always fished with a hook. If a single herring was caught it took all the strength of the men of five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were required to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet, strange to say these divine little men used even to kill great whales. Surely these pit-dwellers were gods.'



Plan of Kurile Hut.

The above myth is, of course, a great exaggeration, so that a good deal must be taken off. Another legend makes the pit-dwellers a foot or two taller, but, at the same time, tells that quite a

number of them (say, from five to ten) were able to take shelter together beneath one burdock leaf, if caught in a shower of rain. The largest burdock leaf I have ever seen on the island measured 4 feet 1 inch across when spread out, while the length of the stem was a good bit over 5 feet. Thus a whole company of men might find a good deal of shelter in an acre or two of it. All things considered, the ancient dwarfs of Yezo are not to be looked upon as anything like those rediscovered in Africa by Stanley and Lloyd.



BURDOCK LEAVES.

It is pretty certain that the Ainu were once a numerous people, though at the present time there are none living on the main island of Japan, nor, indeed, have there been for many years. Even those in Yezo only make a total of 16,000 souls, and these we find are decreasing year by year. Till within quite recent times the Ainu had several capitals in Yezo, which appear to have formed centres of the various clans. After carefully talking the matter over with the people, I have come to the

conclusion that strife among the clans, as much as wars with the ancient Japanese, spoken of in the first chapter, had as much to do with the decrease

Stone Adzes.

Pre-historic Pottery.

of the race as anything else. It is said that different parties used to make night raids upon one another, and put as many of the adult males to the sword as

possible, while the women and children were carried off and used as slaves. This clan hatred has not yet wholly died out, for I myself have more than once met with it, and made people jealous by not taking heed of the fact. Indeed, I have been refused hospitality in one district because I went to

Flint Knives.

stay with and made friends of the inhabitants of another centre.

Of late years there has been a great influx of Japanese into Yezo. The latest statistics given stand at 1,000,815, of whom 58,661 are classified as immigrants within the last year (1900). It will not appear at all surprising, therefore, to hear

that the few Ainu left are being driven to the wall by their more enterprising neighbours. These

STONE-MALLET SWORD.

WAR-CLUB.

people have been fish and flesh eaters for untold ages, while at the present moment they can get neither of these articles of diet. They are forbidden

by the authorities to kill deer, and the fishing stations have been taken from them. They have become almost entirely vegetarians, and this sudden change has, I believe, told upon their constitutions. Some of them have, at times, a very strong desire

ANCIENT WAR-CLUB, SHOWING PLACE FOR THE STONE.

ANCIENT WAR-CLUB.

for fresh meat, and more than once men have come to me begging for a taste.

Upon asking an experienced medical man a short time since as to what he considered the chief cause of the decrease in the Ainu population, he replied that he was of opinion that the race was worn out. This is the true state of the case, for vitality appears to have truly died out. They

are not at all prolific. With the single exception of the Saru district, the births do not keep pace with the deaths. In some places, again, I have observed that there are not enough women to supply the men with wives. It was only last year that I was called upon to find a Japanese bride for an Ainu man, because there were no girls in his village whom he could marry. I am glad to say that the union is a happy one.

There are other causes of decrease which do not call for any special remark here, such, for example, as lack of the knowledge of the common laws of hygiene; giving way to their ardent longing for strong drink; also the consanguineous marriages which have taken place among them.

It has been remarked by more than one person that there are many children among the Ainu who look remarkably like the Japanese. The reason of this is twofold. In the first place many of the Japanese men have taken Ainu wives to themselves, and their offspring have, naturally, some of their fathers' traits. In the second place many women who have no children of their own have adopted Japanese boys and girls. This is one great Ainu way of keeping up the race, so that the present generation is probably the very last.

CHAPTER III.

Tattooing.

How tattooing is done—Legends of its origin—Reasons for tattooing—Why the custom dies hard—Real meaning of the custom—Frogs and tattoo—Woman metamorphosed into a frog—Names of frogs—The sparrow tattooing—The sparrows' feast.

THAT the Ainu women tattoo their lips and arms, and in some districts their foreheads also, has been reported often. The men, however, never tattoo themselves. It is an absurd habit! and does not add to the beauty of the people. Nor have I yet been able to get any simple, direct, and sensible reason as to how the custom arose, or why it is kept up. The tattoo is of a bluish-black colour, and the process of getting it in is both simple and painful. It is accomplished in this way. Some birch bark is taken and put into a pan to soak. Next a fire is made and an iron pot hung over it. After this some more birch bark is brought and burnt under the pot till the bottom is well blackened. When this has been thoroughly done, a woman takes a sharp knife, cuts a few gashes into the part to be tattooed, then takes some of the soot from the pot on her finger and rubs it well in. She next takes a piece of cloth, dips it into the decoction in the pot, and with it washes the part operated upon. In children the centre of the upper lip receives the first

touches, then the lower lip, and so on alternately till the tattoo reaches almost from ear to ear.

Tattooed Mouth and Arm of a Woman.

It has been said by some that the Ainu learned to tattoo themselves through seeing the women of

the ancient pit-dwellers, mentioned in the last chapter, who were so tattooed. They thought it very beautiful, and thus imitated them for the sake of ornamentation. But this explanation is not generally received. Indeed, the following legend bearing on this very point was given me against the theory.

'The pit-dwellers were a very little people, and were not tattooed at all. The Ainu made war upon them, and took many of their women prisoners. When they brought them home they tattooed them in the same way as their own wives were tattooed, so as to distinguish them from others of that race. All the smaller Ainu are descended from these women.'

A better legend concerning the origin of this custom runs thus: 'When the divine Aioina and his sister came down from heaven the latter person was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women.' This is a short legend, to be sure; but it is quite enough to satisfy the Ainu, though to us it may be a simple begging of the question.

The reason given by some for tattooing is contained in the following lore: 'There is a good deal of bad blood in women which must be taken out. Tattooing was therefore introduced, and is still kept up, as a means of letting the blood escape, and thus making the body strong.'

Upon inquiring why the tattoo should be placed on the mouth and arms rather than elsewhere, I was informed that, to quote the legend bearing on this point, 'The tattoo marks are placed especially upon

the lips and arms, because they are the most conspicuous parts of the body. They are put there in order to frighten away the demon of disease. Now the wives of the heavenly deities are every one of them thus tattooed, so that when the demons come, and find that the Ainu women are marked in the same way, they mistake them for goddesses, and forthwith flee away.'

That the people really imagine tattooing drives away disease and strengthens the body by letting out bad blood, the following lore places beyond all doubt:

'When the eyes of old women are growing dim and they are becoming blind, they should retattoo their mouths and hands, that they may see better. This custom is called by the name *pashka-oingara*—*i.e.*, "looking over the tattoo."' I am well acquainted with one old lady who actually tattoos herself quite frequently, in order to strengthen her eyesight.

Another piece of lore says: 'Should contagious disease strike a village, all the women should tattoo one another, to drive the demon away. This custom is called *upash-hura-rakkare*—*i.e.*, "making each other smell of tattoo."'

I have often tried to get this dreadful custom done away with, but have found the people too much given to the superstitions connected with it to accomplish much. Still, something has been done, and the people are beginning to see the uselessness as well as the barbarity of it. The women are, as a rule, very careful to so teach their daughters that they shall be afraid to discontinue the custom.

Their method of intimidation takes the form of a legend, and runs thus :—

'The divine sister, the sister of Aioina, has taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper manner, she commits a great sin, and when she dies will go straight to Gehenna. Upon arrival there, the demons will take very large knives, and do all the tattooing at one sitting.' This frightens the girls very much indeed, for tattooing is a painful process.

It is not the women only who insist on having the girls tattooed, but the men also have entered into the conspiracy. The verdict of these wiseacres is this :—'Untattooed married women may not take part in any feast, for to do so would be dishonouring to gods and men alike. Indeed, it would bring down the wrath of heaven upon both them and all the assembled guests.'

What then, it may be asked, is likely to be the significance of this custom ? I am quite convinced in my own mind that it means neither more nor less than *taboo*, or prohibition, though the Ainu appear to have lost this idea now. I have on various occasions been called upon to arrange marriages for the people, and whenever things have been properly settled I have noticed that the bride goes and finishes her tattoo round the lips, which is never completed till one has been really betrothed ; and when the tattoo is finished all men know that she is either a betrothed or married woman. She is, indeed, 'set apart' for some particular man—she is engaged ; nay, really married. Her tattooed mouth must now speak only for her

A Group of Young Ainu Men and Women (Christian).

husband, and her tattooed hands and arms must henceforth work for him alone.

Frogs and Tattoo.

It is curious to remark in connection with tattooing that the Ainu fancy they can see tattoo marks on frogs resembling those made on the women. The following legend concerning the origin of these creatures is peculiar, to say the least, for it tells us that their first parent was neither more nor less than a woman who was cursed by God, and had her bodily form changed, on account of her great wickedness.

He metamorphosed her as a punishment, and her human spirit was turned into that of a demon. All that was left to show that it had once been a woman, were very slight traces of tattoo marks, which may still be seen, if one will take the trouble to look carefully on the legs (hands) of the frog.

The Legend.

'In ancient times there was a man and a woman who became husband and wife. After the first few months they did not get on well together, because the woman was discovered to be a bad character, and proved undutiful to her husband. She was also disobedient to her parents, and in the end bewitched them so that they both died. In course of time she married no less than six husbands, every one of whom she soon killed. God observed all this, and was very angry with her, so that He punished her by turning her into a frog, and throwing

her far away into a marsh. At the same time He said to her: "O thou wicked woman, I indeed made thee good in the beginning, but thou hast lived an abominable and iniquitous life; thou hast not only slain thy father and mother and husband, but others besides. I am therefore now going to turn thee into a frog; thou shalt henceforth live in the marshes, lakes, and ponds, and thou shalt become a fiend. Thou shalt spawn young frogs, and hop about amid the slime of the most filthy places. If thou dost venture into the dwellings of men they will without more ado knock thee on the head, and throw thy dead carcase away."

'So spake God. And this then is a true account of the origin of frogs; any person will find, if he examines them closely, that their feet are slightly tattooed, like the fingers of a woman. It is because a woman was the ancestor of these creatures that they have the marks of the tattoo left. Now, there are some people who, out of sheer pity, say in so many words that frogs are divine; but they are not so in reality, for they are demons, and something akin to ghosts. Yet, as they were once human, and followed the customs of men and women, they still go to the Japanese of the main island every winter and do their marketing, and when they return eat, drink, and make merry in their dwelling-places. This is the noise one hears in the spring when they cry, *Ooat, ooat.*'

There is another curious matter connected with frogs which it will not be out of place to mention while on this subject. It has to do with their names and derivation. The legend runs thus:—

'Frogs are called by three names—*to-orunbe*, *Oki-orunbe*, and *Uimam yapte utara*. Their true name, however, is *Tereke-ibe*, though some people call them *otereke-ibe*. They are also called *ooat, ooat*; this is because the noise they make when croaking sounds as though they were saying *ooat, ooat*. The name *to-orunbe*, that is, "creatures of the lake," was given them because they are often found inhabiting lakes and ponds. They are called *Oki-orunbe*, that is, "creatures of the reeds," because they are also found living in marshes among the reeds. And they are called *Uimam yapte utara*, that is, "persons who come from trading," because they all migrate to Japan out of the cold in winter, and do not come back to Ainu-land, which is their native place, till after the snow has gone and the spring is well advanced. When they do return, however, they are always careful to bring back with them a supply of *saké* and rice, and they croak most when they are eating, drinking, and making merry. They are called *Tereke-ibe* and *otereke-ibe* because they eat as they hop along, for these words mean "jump and eat."'

No doubt the foregoing folk-lore, like all fairy tales and myths, is curious and fanciful. But in a cold climate such as that of Yezo the croak of the frog is not heard at all during the winter months, so that among the Ainu the idea of their going away to warmer climes during a cold, snowy season is a very easy, and for them fully satisfactory way of accounting for the absence of their cry. Of course, as they are able to live in both dry and wet places, the sea need form no obstacle in the way of migra-

tion. The name given them, 'jump and eat,' is also very reasonable, seeing that frogs do jump after and catch flies and insects for food. That they are in the habit of trading for and eating rice and drinking *saké* is certainly to be put down to sheer fancy and stupidity, but it is nevertheless interesting.

The common house sparrow is also connected with Ainu folk-lore respecting tattooing. Thus, this bird is called 'the little bird which eats millet,' and the tale given later explains this to be so, because he feeds chiefly upon the millet which bounces out of the mortars when being pounded for kitchen uses. The little spot of dark brown at the base of the upper bill is supposed to be tattoo, and it is so small because the original birds had not sufficient time to finish their toilette before going to bid adieu to the Creator, who having accomplished the work of creation was now about to leave the world for His home in heaven above. Although the sparrow's head, together with the feathers, is worshipped when he is killed, and *inao* are offered him, yet he is not kept as a charm. His flesh also is eaten, but not from any religious motive, and only because it is said to be of good flavour.

The Legend.

'When God had finished the work of creation He made the sparrow, and placed him on the earth. Whenever the people pound their millet he comes and gathers up that which is scattered over the sides of the mortar, and eats it. This is why he is

called "the little bird which eats millet." Now, when God had finished making the world and was about to return to heaven, all the birds determined to make Him a farewell feast. But the sparrows were not informed of this, and when the time came were busy tattooing themselves. However, as the time fixed had arrived, the birds and bears and all other creatures arose early in the morning and set about to say good-bye. The sparrows, hearing much ado, enquired what it all meant, and upon learning the cause left off their tattooing before it was finished, and went with the rest, for there was no time to lose. Therefore, as may be seen even at the present day, the sides of the mouth were not touched, and only a small part of the upper beak was tattooed. Ancients tell us this, and say that whenever a sparrow is killed, his flesh must be eaten and his spirit sent away with *inao*.'

There is another piece of folk-lore about the sparrow, which, as this bird is now in evidence, may perhaps be brought forward here, and thus save further reference later on when other birds are being discussed. It is about the sparrows' feast and the death of a crow.

'Once upon a time a little sparrow threshed out some millet, placed it in six tubs, and set it by the east window to ferment. After a few days the gods earnestly desired to partake thereof. The scent of the brew filled the whole house. When it had been strained and the time appointed for the drinking feast had arrived, a great multitude of gods were brought in, and the feast was well furnished with guests. There were eagles and jays, crows and

water-ousels, fish-hawks, ravens and other kinds of birds. All rejoiced much over the delicious wine. While they were drinking, the jay stood up and danced before the company. He went out of the house and when he returned he had an acorn in his beak which he dropped into the wine vessel. This improved the wine greatly, and the gods were delighted. After this the raven danced. He also went out, but when he returned he had a piece of dirt in his beak, which he also brought and dropped into the vessel containing the wine. This spoilt the wine and caused a great uproar to arise. It really seemed as though the poor raven would be torn to pieces. The guests, therefore, went out and called the woodpecker, and asked him to come in and mediate. But he said, "O sparrow, you made wine, but you did not invite me to your feast. I will not therefore come to help even though the quarrel be so great." After this they sent for the snipe; but he returned the same answer. As no one could be found willing to act as mediator, the poor raven was killed.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Creation of the World.

General idea of creation—Water-wagtail in creation—The formation of Yezo—How the demons of marshes were made—The tree of evil—The elm tree.

It may be taken for granted that what the Ainu actually know about the creation of the world is not very much, though it will be seen that the amount he guesses with respect to its origin, constitution, and government is not only quite considerable, but also in very many respects absolutely absurd. Indeed, this book will afford us one more illustration of what depths of intellectual blindness a race may sink into how warped the reason may become, how vain the imagination, and how much the soul, the intellect, and the judgment may run riot, and become a prey of all manner of perversion, when the thoughts of the heart are not guided first by revelation, and then by literature and science, backed up by intercommunication with the people of other lands.

It must not for a moment be imagined that these people think of creation as a calling forth of the various objects in Nature out of something which once had no existence. Such an idea is quite foreign to the Ainu mind. Foreign, they would say, not because God could not have thus produced them, had He determined to do so, but rather because He did *not choose* so to do; for the words '*could*

An Ainu.

not' are pre-eminently human, and do not apply to the actions of the deities in the work of creation. The substance and matter were there to work upon *before* all time, but the transformation took place *in* time according to God's own will.

Thus, then, it will be seen that the Ainu takes it for granted that both spirit and matter are eternal. Given the primal elements, he strives to account for the different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in his own rude way. Being the son of Nature that he is, he is very fond of theorising about what meets his eye, and sometimes he allows his imagination to run away with his judgment and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to him, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal, and spirit life between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel, or god. Many things have, he is fully convinced, been evolved and developed some by various deities, some by the divine Aioina, and others by the demons. Thus, for example, the supreme God is said to have created the world, a demon made rats, while Aioina produced snakes, among other things. Legends tell us that some deer were made out of the bones of dogs cast out of Paradise, and others out of hair. Hares are said to have been evolved out of the hair plucked from the skins of heavenly deer; squirrels are neither more nor less than the cast-off sandals of Aioina the divine; while some fishes are said to have been produced out of scales, and others out of bones, and so on. A certain flower (the *Adonis amurensis*) is said to have been a goddess, who was changed

from her real state and form by a curse of God and the mole for disobedience. Frogs have their origin in a woman who was cursed, and thus changed because of unfaithfulness, while the grebe is said to have been developed out of the unedible parts of a trout.

In speaking of the creation and origin of things, however, it is evident that we ought to touch upon the creation of the world before turning to the things contained therein. And in doing so we must, if we would enter into the matter from an Ainu standpoint, commence by granting this people's very firm and most reasonable belief in the existence of an all-powerful God, who takes a real interest in the things of earth and concerns of men, and who has innumerable hosts of angels and helps of various kinds and degrees of order and importance to assist Him in all that He does. God, they say and believe, is not alone, but is the 'Lord of Hosts.'

We gather from native tradition that when God created the world He called the water-wagtail to assist Him in the work, and the following stories form the folk-lore concerning this matter :—

'In the beginning the world was a great slushy quagmire. The waters were at that time hopelessly mixed up with the earth, and nothing was to be seen but a mighty ocean of bare, sloppy swamp. All the land was mixed up with, and aimlessly floating about in, the endless seas. All around was death and stillness. Nothing existed in this chaotic mass and nothing stirred, for it was altogether incapable of sustaining life : nor were there any living fowls flying in the airy expanse above. All was cold,

solitary, and desolate. However, the clouds had their thunder demons, the skies above their living creatures, and the Creator abode in the highest heavens with mighty hosts of subordinate deities.

'By and by the great God—the true God—determined to render the world inhabitable. He, therefore, made a water-wagtail, and sent him down from heaven to produce the earth. When he descended and saw what a dreadfully shocking condition the elements were in, and how they were mixed up in confusion, he was almost at his wits' end to know how to perform his allotted task. But he thought of a way, for he fluttered over the waters with his wings, trampled upon the muddy matter with his feet, and beat it down with his tail, till, after a very long time of fluttering, trampling, and tail wagging, dry places appeared, and the waters became the ocean. In this way the worlds were gradually raised, and made to stand out of the waters, and caused to float about upon them. Therefore, the Ainu call the world *moshiri*—*i.e.*, "floating earth," and hold the water-wagtail in great esteem, for was he not the angel of God?'

From this legend it would almost appear as though the Ainu had heard something of the first chapter of Genesis before they made it up; for there we read: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon (hovered over) the face of the waters.' But one feels constrained to remark that the legend is so thoroughly in accord with the Ainu way of thinking.

and agrees so well with the general run of their folk-lore, that if they ever had any knowledge of the Scripture quoted, and used it as a basis for the tradition, it must, in our judgment, have been in very remote ages.

A Further Myth of the Water-Wagtail's Work in Creation.

There is another legend dealing with the water-wagtail in creation which runs thus : —

'In very ancient times indeed, when God determined to create the world, He caused a water-wagtail to come down out of heaven to assist Him. The way he helped was in this manner. God caused him to fly down and settle upon the rough places He Himself had cast up with His mattocks and axes, and in order to make the ground level ordered him to jump and hop about on it, scratch with his claws, flap with his wings, and wave his tail up and down. Thus it happens that at the present day even whenever this bird is seen he is sure to be found beating the earth with his tail.'

To understand the drift of this legend it must be remembered that many of the Ainu believe the Creator to have made the world with stone tools, such as mighty hammers, axes, and mattocks; for God is never conceived of as working without means. He, it is said, did the rough digging, chopping, and hammering, while the water-wagtail hopped about and made the level places.

But in so far as the island of Yezo is concerned (and it is about the inhabitants of this island that I

am now speaking), the Ainu appear to believe that the Creator did not produce it immediately by Himself, but through certain other subordinate deities, who acted as His deputies. Thus, as I was one day walking from the interior towards the sea-shore with an Ainu companion, and talking about the west coast of Yezo, which is very wild and rocky, and saying that it would have been much more useful had the shore been flat, he rebuked me, and said that I ought not to murmur at these things, for I thereby reflected upon the good works of God. In the course of the conversation which followed, he volunteered the piece of folk-lore now to be given as bearing on the matter under discussion :

Legend why Yezo is so Rugged.

'It is said that the island of Yezo was made by two deities, a male and a female, who were the deputies of the Creator. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, and to the male deity was assigned the south and eastern parts. They vied with each other in their tasks, to see which should get through first. But as the goddess was proceeding with her work, she happened to meet with the sister of Aioina, and instead of attending to her duties, stopped to have a chat with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet. Whilst they were thus talking the time sped till the male deity, continuing to work away, nearly finished his portion. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened, and in order to

hasten matters did her work hurriedly and in a slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rough and dangerous condition of the west coast

Ainu, or Aborigines of Japan.

of this island, he should remember that it is not the Creator Himself who is at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the goddess was the original cause.'

It goes almost without saying that this legend

is sometimes quoted to women who are given to talking overmuch, and the moral drawn from it is this :—'Set a watch over your lips and attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to the chattering goddess.'

Another legend about the creation of the world runs thus : 'When God commanded Aioina and his sister, Tureshmat, to make the world, He gave her the western portion for her task. The work proved so difficult to her that when she heard what was assigned her she burst into weeping. Yea, much water gushed from her eyes. This is the origin of *nupe—i.e.*, "tears."'

The word *nupe* is a play upon words, *nu* meaning 'to hear' and *pe*, 'water'; the inference is 'to hear and shed water from the eyes,' *nupe* also being one word for 'tears.' Wild garlic is also called *nupe;* this is possibly because garlic makes one shed tears when peeling it or otherwise preparing it for the pot.

As regards the tools which were used in the formation of Yezo, it is said that there is a rock upon the sea-shore near Moruran called by the name *mukara-so—i.e.* 'axe rock,' which is thought to be the very axe with which one of the deities worked in making this island. It remains where it was thrown down, for no man has been able to move that mighty tool. Certainly the rock can by a violent stretch of imagination be said to look something like an axe, hence, I suppose, the idea as to how it came there. But then the exact form of the rock need not trouble one now, for axes in

those days may not have been quite of the same shape as they are now.

How Mattocks Evolved Demons.

We are informed by some Ainu that the Creator is supposed to have used no less than three score of mattocks in the work of knocking this world into shape. And they tell us that these tools were all thrown away when done with, and that they gradually decomposed where they lay. When far advanced in decomposition the constituent parts of some became demons, others bad water, while some of them grew into trees which originate some kinds of disease. The chief of the demons so produced is called by the name *Nital unarabe, i.e.*, 'aunt of swamps' or 'marshes,' and she, as her name implies, is supposed to have her home in low and marshy localities. Very many, though not all, of the evil-disposed ghosts and ghouls are thought to be her offspring, and those which really owe their origin to her by way of direct descent, go by the general name of *Toihekunra*. The following legend gives a fair idea as to what the people consider them to be like:—

Toihekunra or Demons of Marshes.

'All ghosts are closely related to the demon of swamps. They have very large bodies and extraordinary big heads, while their hair is always rough and stands perfectly upright. However, as they only appear after dark and are but dimly seen, one

cannot tell exactly what they are like. Whenever they reveal themselves it is only in order to bewitch people and do them harm. They are dreadful creatures, and as they are true demons are much to be feared. They came by their origin in this way. After God had finished making the world, He threw His mattocks away among the mountains, and there left them to rot; but as they decayed they changed themselves into demons and ghosts. They should be carefully avoided, for if one catches but a glimpse of them, possession immediately follows, even though the demons themselves should not see the persons who have observed them. These ghosts only walk at night; it is therefore best for all people not to go out of doors after dark. Such, indeed, is the command of the ancients. Now, if a person should have the great misfortune to meet one of these creatures he should hasten to say the following words: "O thou demon, I have been desiring to see and speak with you for a very long time, and now at last we have fortunately met. What I so particularly want to tell you is this. At the other end of the world, very very far away, there is a demon called *Moshiri-Shinnaisam*, who has been most grievously backbiting you. He says, 'There is a demon inhabiting the marshes who is unbearably proud and bumptious. She had better be careful, for if ever I come across her path I will give her such a sound whipping that she will never forget it.' Now, therefore, hasten away, for if he catches you you will be flogged, and it will go hard with you, for he is a mighty one." If one addresses the demon in this way she will believe it, and set

out at once filled with wrath to take vengeance. These words are spoken to the demon to deceive her, and so frustrate her evil designs; and unless they are said in her hearing, the person to whom she appears will immediately fall down and die. So say the ancients.'

When the Ainu are quarrelling among themselves they may sometimes be heard calling one another *Toihekunra*. I could never quite understand wherein the sting of the word lay, till I heard this legend recited. Now, however, I understand that to call an Ainu *Toihekunra* is tantamount to calling an Englishman 'demon,' 'devil,' or a Japanese *baka, chikusho—i.e.*, 'fool,' 'beast.'

Another legend on the same subject runs as follows and professes to account for the origin of all demons, elfs, mermaids and such like entities:—

'When God created the world on which we dwell, He used sixty obsidian axes in the work. It took Him a long long time to accomplish His task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, as He had no more use for His mattocks, He threw them away into a valley among the mountains and returned to heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away by the running water. As this water was tainted by the obsidian and became putrified, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elfs of the land and fresh waters find their origin in this water. Again, some of this tainted water also flowed down to the sea, and mixed with the salt waters thereof, and here became the origin of all the mermaids and demon-

elfs in that element. Not only so, but some of it gradually sank down through the earth to Hades, where it became a large river full of bogs and quagmires. The name of this river is *Kunne-pet*, "the black river," and out of this come all the elfs of the lower regions. In the middle of a large extent of quagmire in the river the principal demon of Hades has his home, and he himself has a large body of obsidian stone.'

A Further Legend of the Demon of Swamps.

Another myth concerning the demon of swamps runs thus :—

'When God created the world He first made sixty axes with which to labour. After He had finished all the work He intended to do, He straightway cast them into the valleys among the mountains where they gradually rotted away. However, as it was not possible for them to cease to exist altogether, they turned themselves into mire, which in its turn became "mother swamp," and "aunt marsh." These two demons took up their abode in the swamps and marshes and low-lying plains of trees. They and their offspring are essentially vicious, and do all the harm they can to men, by rendering them wicked and making them ill. Not only so, but they also possess bears, and cause them to kill horses and sometimes people. But even this is not all, for they enter into men, and cause them to be seized with fits of epilepsy. They are therefore to be very much feared and carefully avoided. These demons walk only at night, and

when wandering about make a noise as if someone were rubbing pieces of birch bark together.'

It may perhaps be thought curious that the people should have such a dread of swampy localities, but in reality it is quite natural that they should fear them. I believe that the so-called demons of such places are neither more nor less than malaria personified, and I believe so especially, because the Ainu consider every disease to be a demon, and every sick person to be possessed by one of these beings.

But, as has already been intimated, all the axes and mattocks used in creation did not become demons; some of them, we have seen, are supposed to have turned into trees producing evil. Of the origin of this kind of evil I have had two accounts given me. One says that the tree causing it descended direct from heaven, and the other that they sprang out of the aforesaid tools. The latter is, I believe, the orthodox one, and is accepted by most of the people versed in their folk-lore.

The Tree of Evil.

I learn from the people that they have a tradition to the effect that the alder, which they call *nitat kene-ni* (*Alnus japonica*) was the first tree created. And one man told me it must be, he thought, the same as 'the tree of knowledge of good and evil,' I had been speaking of a short time before. It is not supposed, however, that this tree was caused to grow, or was created in our sense of the word. But it is said to have been sent direct from heaven

already grown and planted in a land called *Wenpipok*, wherever that may be.

This tree is supposed to have been the origin of evil, or rather the means by which evil was brought into the world. I speak now not of moral evil, but physical; evil in the sense of causing bodily pain and suffering, but not evil in the sense of having brought sin into the world. The bark, not the fruit, is supposed to be the evil-causing agency. Even at the present day some Ainu consider it to be the direct cause of a disease they call *shihapapu*, a complaint which is said to consist chiefly in severe internal pains, and which often terminates in death.

After some time, as the tree grew old, the bark is said to have fallen off and rotted on the ground, as it does indeed at the present day. But as it decomposed and became fine powder or dust, it was blown over the face of the earth by the winds, and in some mysterious way became the cause not only of stomach complaints but also of many kinds of bodily ailments. But, strange as it may appear, the bark of this tree is not only looked upon as the *cause* of illness, but is also sometimes used as a *means* for its cure. The bark, if taken fresh from the tree and a decoction made by steeping it in hot water, is said to work wonders; and not only therefore are there special maladies for which it is to be particularly recommended, but, as might be expected, it is also supposed to be good for almost every kind of disease.

If, now, instead of saying that this tree came down from heaven already grown, we say that it grew out of the axes and mattocks spoken of on a

previous page, we have the second legend. There will therefore be no need to repeat it here.

The Elm Tree.

Do not let it be supposed that the Ainu are all of one mind on so important a subject to them as to which tree was really first created, for we must not expect to find unanimity of opinion on such a matter. Accordingly we are told that while some hold the alder to have been first produced, others give the preference to the elm, and stoutly maintain their belief by argument. The reasons for the elm as against the alder are something like these:

(1) Man existed before disease, for unless there were some person to be ill, sickness could have no place. Granted.

(2) Health is naturally prior to sickness, and is the proper condition of man. Also granted.

(3) Food and clothing are necessary to health, and cooking is equally necessary for the preparation of food. Granted also.

(4) But fire is necessary to cooking food, and the means for producing fire are also necessary before fire can be produced. Granted of course.

(5) But before matches were brought in by foreigners, and the flint and steel by the Japanese, our ancestors produced fire by either rubbing the roots of trees together, or striking flints against one another; also before clothing material was introduced among us from Manchuria or by the Japanese, bark was used for making clothes. Granted.

(6) Now the roots by which fire was produced

and the bark out of which the clothing was made came from the elm tree. This is also granted.

Mark then the conclusion of this Socrates. Hence as the elm roots were originally necessary for making clothes, as fire was necessary for cooking, and cooking necessary for food; as food and clothing were necessary for health, and health, being the original state of man, was prior to sickness; therefore there must have been fire to cook with and clothing to wear, and elm roots and bark to produce them; hence the elm tree and fire were the most ancient deities produced by God. The elm is therefore prior to the alder. This 'This is the house that Jack built' kind of argument is thought to be conclusive, and there is not much to be said against it.

Those Ainu, however, who protest for the alder against the elm, rest their main argument on the belief that fire came down from heaven in the beginning. But as no one living has ever seen fire descend therefrom, except in lightning, and as lightning is not a very desirable thing, this argument is not considered to be so strong as the other, and the sceptics have pretty sure ground to stand on. Here, I will remark in passing, that on points like these there are plenty of sceptics among the Ainu; but I feel bound to say that I have never heard of an atheist in their midst. Atheist is a term altogether outside of their thought and vocabulary.

There is one interesting point in the above statement which I think should not be lost sight of, and that is, that the Ainu cannot imagine their

Sick Ainu of the 'Ainu Rest' at Sapporo.

ancestors to have been ever without fire and the implements for producing it—namely, the roots of trees and pieces of flint. In this they are like all other savage races; for, vast as the antiquity of the remains of man may be, they never carry us back to the time when he was ignorant of the art of making fire. In so far as this world is concerned, so say the Ainu, the elm tree and fire were the most ancient deities produced by God. Whether totemism is to be found in this or not, will appear as we proceed.

CHAPTER V.

Matters Cosmological.

(A) *The Earth and the Depths.*

The world's shape—The world founded upon a fish—The cause of the ebb and flow of the tide—Of tidal waves—Of earthquakes—Tartarus—Heaven under ground—A dream about Hades.

It is perhaps curious that the ideas of some of the Ainu as to the shape of the world should differ from those of the ancient Japanese; for while these considered it to be flat, some Ainu look upon it as being round like a ball. According to them, the world is a vast round ocean, in the midst of which are very many islands, each governed by its own special orders of gods. In fact, the Ainu have no word for the whole world or universe. Islets in rivers and lakes, islands in the sea, and mighty continents, are all called by the same name, *moshiri*, *i.e.* 'floating earth'; but whether an islet, or island, or country is intended, is made known by adjectives. Thus *Rep-un-moshiri* is 'land in the sea,' *i.e.* an island; *Samoro moshiri*, Japan, *i.e.* 'the island next to us.' Upon asking the people why they supposed the world, taken as a whole, to be round, many of them replied, 'that it was because the sun rises in the east, sets in the west, and comes up the next morning in the east again.'

Like the Japanese, this people also appears to imagine that the world rests upon the back of a

large fish, the Ainu name for which is *moshiri ikkewe chep, i.e.* 'the backbone fish of the world.' It is said that whenever this creature moves it causes the earth to quake, and it is likewise thought by some to be the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. Although there are large tortoises sometimes to be seen on parts of the coasts of Yezo, yet I have never heard of one of these creatures occupying the place of the world's-supporting tortoise mentioned in the old Indian myths, and called in the Sanscrit *Kûrmarâya*, 'King of tortoises.' Nor is the snake or any other creature ever conceived of in the Ainu mind as sharing the honours of supporting the world with the trout mentioned above.

The following is a myth concerning the ebb and flow of the tide:—

'Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very large trout. This trout was indeed a mighty fish, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the other. Now, when the Creator produced the earth He made this creature to become its foundation. There lies the living trout beneath the world, taking in and sending out the waters of the sea through his mouth. When he sucks the water in, the ebb of the tide takes place, but when he sends it out the tide flows.' When this legend was told me it brought to my mind the following myth, related in my hearing some time previously, and of which I still find the original among my manuscripts.

'At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake, in which there used to live a monster trout,

A GROUP OF AINU, TAKEN AT PIRATORI.

which was so big that it used to flap its (pectoral) fins at one end, and wave its tail at the other.

'Now once upon a time the honourable ancestors met together and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

'Because, then, they very much desired to kill this fish, the gods, who had a special regard for Ainu-land, sent help from heaven.

'And so the heavenly beings descended and seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

'Upon this it plunged mightily, and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

'Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great creature to the surface of the water, brought it to shore.

'Upon this all the honourable ancestors drew their swords and chopped at it till they killed it.'

It is said that this mighty trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing animals, such as deer and bears, that might come to the shores of the lake to drink, but would sometimes swallow men, women, and children; nay, not only so, but even whole boats full of people! Yes, boats and all! Hence it was that the ancients were so anxious to slay this monster.

The Ainu even now appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of these monster fish suddenly appears, and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful creatures was found dead upon the shores of the

Skikot to (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all; but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

That tidal waves and earthquakes are supposed to owe their origin to this trout is clear from the following legend:—

'The trout upon whose back the world is founded is the cause of tidal-waves. Every now and again he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow of his breath. It is this which makes the tidal-waves.

'So, again, when he shakes himself the consequence is an earthquake. When he moves gently the earthquake is small, but when he is angry and moves furiously it is great. As this is such a dangerous fish, the Creator has sent two deities to stand one on either side of him, to keep him quiet. These divine beings always keep one hand each on him, to hold him down and prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink they must each keep one hand upon him without fail; they may never on any account take it off.'

As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men say, when they see the children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the deities who stand by the backbone fish of the world who are allowed to eat with one hand: are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them.

When discoursing upon cosmology the Ainu never forget to bring in the matter of Tartarus, so that it is evident that this subject figures in their mythology. It is not pretended, however, that the Tartarus of the Ainu is quite the same as the Tartaros (Ταρταρός) of Homer. Tartarus, as described in the *Iliad*, is a deep and sunless abyss, as far below Hades as heaven is above the earth. It is closed in by iron gates, and into this place Zeus hurled those who rebelled against his authority. Later writers undoubtedly considered it to be the place of punishment for the spirits of the wicked, and the poets of yet later date consider the name to be synonymous with Hades. But it seems to me, so far as I am able to judge by ancient Ainu traditions, and the interpretation as given by those living to-day, that the Ainu do not mean Sheol or Hades, where all men go at death, when they speak of that place. In the Ainu tongue Hades is called *Pokna-moshiri*, 'the under world.' Nor do they mean Gehenna, where the wicked are punished, for that is called *Nitne Kamui moshiri*, 'the world of the devils,' and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, 'the wet underground world.' Tartarus, in their idea, is not the abode of men in any condition. They consider it to be the bounds of this material creation. The word Tartarŏo (Ταρταρόω), 'to hurl into Tartarus,' occurs once, and but once, in the Christian Scriptures, and that only in the place where we are told that the angels, when they sinned, were not spared, but cast down to Tartarus, and committed to pits of darkness. Hence the Scripture meaning of Tartarus, being very closely allied to the idea of that

place as gathered from the *Iliad*, also differs from the Ainu idea thereof.

Yet, though their conception of Tartarus seems to differ from both Greek and Christian representations in some respects, it is found to agree with each in other respects. As regards *place*, it is thought by the Ainu to be situated at the very confines of all created worlds. There are supposed by some to be six worlds beneath this upon which we dwell. The very lowest of these is called *Chirama moshiri*, 'the lowest world.' I can find no word better suited to designate this place than Homer's Tartaros (Ταρταρός). But as regards the *nature* of this land, it is not supposed by the Ainu to be a place of darkness. It is said to be a very beautiful country, and as full of light as this world; and it seems not to be the prison-house or abode of fallen angels or any other living beings, whether they be gods, men, or demons. The thunder god, or more properly the thunder demon, after once waging war upon this earth, is said to have proceeded to do so in heaven, because this world was unable to stand such a grievous conflict. The Creator, who resides in heaven above, was very much distressed at this, and sent the demon to fight in *Chirama moshiri*, Tartarus. Here the thunder demon was slain, and, as no god or demon can actually die, his spirit again ascended to its original home, namely, the lower heavens or clouds. Such, then, is one Ainu tradition—vague indeed, it may be thought, still it is a tradition—concerning Tartarus.

There is another legend, however, which appears to militate against the above-mentioned doctrine of

there being six worlds beneath us. How the people reconcile the two I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

'The place in which we dwell is called by two names, first, *Kanna moshiri, i.e.* "the upper world," and then *Uwekari uotercke moshiri, i.e.* "the world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet." It is also called *Uare moshiri, i.e.* "the place in which to multiply one another." It is the upper world, because there is another world under foot. That world is very damp and wet, and when wicked people die they go there and are punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality, which is called *Kamui moshiri, i.e.* "the country of the gods" or "heaven." It is to this place that the good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

'When it is day upon this earth it is night in heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither do any work, nor trim one another's hair, nor cut the beard, for at that time the deities and ghosts of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death.'

This myth shows pretty clearly that the Ainu believe the soul to exist apart from the body after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated. A man once

told me of a dream in which the soul of a deceased chief appeared to him and said :—

'Listen to me. I am chief so-and-so, who now resides in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst I went to the underground world, where I am now undergoing punishment. But, alas, the punishment is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my charge were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all at once repent of their evil deeds, lest they too be punished when they join me.'

The man who gave me the foregoing piece of folk-lore also said, when speaking of dreams—especially bad dreams — that they were much dreaded by the people, also adding, 'When a man has had a bad dream, he should call the village elders together, tell them all about it, and ask them to make *inao*, and pray that the evil indicated by it may pass away.'

CHAPTER VI.

Matters Cosmological, *continued.*

(B) *THE HEIGHTS ABOVE.*

The confines of heaven—Materialistic expressions applied to heaven—The sun and moon—Legend of the sun and moon—The man in the moon—The raven and the sun—The stars and the Milky Way—Living creatures descend from heaven—The hobgoblin.

JUST as the Ainu consider Tartarus to be situated on the lower confines of the earth, so there is supposed to be a corresponding lower region to the heavens. It was stated in the last chapter that the demon of thunder once fought a very great battle, and that he, when defeated in *Chirama moshiri*, ascended to his original home in the lower skies. That home is thought to lie at the very confines of the air. Though some Ainu say that there are six skies above us, yet I have been able to get the names of five only. The lower heavens are called *urara kando*, or 'fog skies'; the next *range kando*, or 'hanging skies'; then follows the *nochino kando*, or 'star-bearing skies'; after these follow *shinish kando*, or 'the high skies of the clouds'; and lastly, *shirik un kando*, or 'the skies in the most high.' The highest heavens are supposed to be inclosed and guarded by a mighty metal wall or fence, and the entrance to them has a large iron gate. I have frequently heard the Ainu speaking of the opening

Our Ainu Servants.

and shutting of this iron gate of heaven. The highest heaven is said to be the special home of the Creator and the more important orders of angels. The second or 'star-bearing skies' comprise the dwelling-place of the second orders of gods and their angels. Demons are supposed to reside in the clouds and air immediately surrounding our earth.

Just as we find that the Ainu very frequently apply materialistic expressions to immaterial spirit, so, it is very interesting to remark, they often import most materialistic ideas into their conception of heaven; and yet, all things considered, it is so intensely natural that they should do so that we cannot possibly wonder at them or call them unreasonable for so doing. The Ainu have had no Christian revelation, to inform them as to the nature of heaven, and that they or anyone else should have any connate and intuitive knowledge thereof is, I suppose, altogether out of the question. As heaven, according to their ideas, is surrounded by a metal wall and has an iron gate, so the Creator is supposed to reside in an iron house. The idea the Ainu intend to convey by this is undoubtedly durability, security, richness and beauty. Even multitudes of Christians of every age and country are found to convey materialistic ideas in their thoughts of a spiritual place and state called heaven. It seems to be impossible, as things are now constituted and conceived of, not to do so. The 'portals,' 'shining gates,' 'pearly gates' of heaven, like 'Jerusalem the Golden,' are all Christian expressions. They are poetical and beautiful modes of expressing thought, indeed; and though we may say

that they are not exact, certainly are they not wrong or unreasonable modes of expression. They are highly figurative of the beauty and richness of heaven. I have called the reader's attention to the Ainu expression, 'iron gates of heaven,' because it is one which goes to prove the universality of the fact that all human ideas of the spiritual must be imaged by expressions drawn from the material; and that however much man may endeavour to express his ideas of the beauties of heaven, the attributes of God, and the infinitudes of number, space, and time, he must ever fall far short of his ideals. To understand many of the peculiarities of Ainu belief, it will be found necessary to keep this principle continually in view.

The deity who is supposed to hold the most important office next the great Creator of all may be said to be the goddess of the sun, for she is conceived of as being the special ruler of the good things God has made and fixed in the universe. The Ainu are also believers in a god of the moon, as might be expected. Some of them consider the moon to be the female principle, and the sun the male, and others *vice versâ*; but the majority speak of the sun as though it were of the feminine gender. However, neither the sun nor the moon is extensively worshipped by the Ainu, though some persons, few perhaps in number, may be met with who pay their respects to these useful works of creation.

The sun is really supposed to be the vehicle of a goddess who is its ruler, rather than the goddess herself. It is, therefore, not the sun that the Ainu

worship, but the goddess who resides in the sun, and whose brightness shines through it. Yet it is exceedingly interesting and curious to learn that the goddess who lives in the sun and the god who resides in the moon are the very life and soul of these useful objects. Take the goddess from the sun, and immediately all becomes darkness and blackness by day; and abolish the god of the moon, and there will not be a speck of light in the night. Hence it is that the Ainu, like many uncivilised people, fear a total or partial eclipse of the sun or moon.

In 1887 an eclipse of the sun occurred, and I blackened some glass so as to enable an Ainu to see the eclipse when it took place. At the proper time we bade him look at the sun. Immediately the exclamation rang out, '*Chup rai, chup rai,*' 'the luminary is dying, the sun is dying.' Another person called out, '*Chup chikai anu,*' 'the sun is fainting away,' or 'the luminary is suddenly dying.' This is all that was said; silence ensued, and only now and then an exclamation of surprise or fear was to be heard. But it was plainly evident that the people were in fear lest the eclipse should be total, in which case the sun might quite die away and not come to life again, and so all living beings would perish. It might be expected that the Ainu would worship the sun at this particular time; but such is not the case. They are consistent, and treat the sun as they do a dying or fainting person. When a person is dying one of the company will either fill his mouth with fresh water, and squirt it into the sufferer's face and bosom, or will bring water in a

vessel of some kind and sprinkle him with his hand, thereby attempting to revive him. In like manner when there is an eclipse, particularly a total eclipse, of the sun, the people bring water and sprinkle it upward towards that luminary, thinking thereby to revive it, at the same time calling out, '*Kamui-atemka, Kamui-atemka*,' 'O god, we revive thee; O god, we revive thee.' If the water is sprinkled with branches of willow, it is supposed to have special efficacy and power in bringing the sun back to life.

The sun having been restored to his normal condition of brightness and glory, the cunning old *saké* drinkers have a fine pretext for getting intoxicated. Of course libations of wine must be held in honour of the sun's recovery from faintness and return to life, and the subject must be duly talked over, and ancient instances of a like occurrence recited. But a few cups of *saké* soon cause the talkers to speak what is not true or reliable, and they are not long before they begin to show signs of being in a somewhat maudlin state.

Sober Ainu traditions of eclipses are all of one stamp, and run thus: 'When my father was a child he heard his old grandfather say that *his* grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people wore an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again.'

Eclipses are quite inexplicable to the Ainu; nor

have I ever heard a single theory advanced with reference to their causes.

Since the above was written the following folk-

Another Hairy One.

lore regarding the sun and moon was told me by another Ainu, and in his story we are informed that the sun is the male and the moon the female principle.

Concerning the Sun and Moon.

Legend of the Sun and Moon.

'The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule heaven and earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the daytime only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen travelling across the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothes to wear, and this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake made of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so one may see by looking at her with care. Now the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancients of the people.'

The myth concerning the man in the moon is curious, but very characteristic, and runs as follows :—

The Man in the Moon.

'In ancient times there was a lad who would neither obey his father nor his mother, and who even disliked to fetch water ; so, the gods being angry, they put him in the side of the moon, as a warning to all people. This is the man in the moon. For this reason let all the world understand that the words of parents, whether they be good or evil, must be obeyed.'

The Ainu give a curious explanation of this legend, which is as follows :

'Though the lad was ordered to draw water, he

was idle, and sat chopping at the fireplace with an edged tool. As he went out he struck the door-post, saying, "Ah me, you, being a door-post, do not have to draw water." Then, taking the ladle and the bucket, he went down to the river; and when he came to the river he saw a little fish coming up the stream, to which he said, "Ah me, because you—you awfully bony creature—are a fish, you do not have to draw water." Then, descending thence, he saw an autumn salmon, to which he said, "How do you do, how do you do, Mr. Salmon?" and straightway he was seized by the salmon, and, for the instruction of all people, placed in the moon. Thus did the angry gods to him who disliked to draw water.'

Among all the feathered kind of Yezo there is no bird so saucy and bold as the crow. It has been known to fly into the Ainu huts and take the food from the very vessels out of which the people have been eating, and to settle upon the bundles of fish which the men and the women have been in the act of carrying on their backs. On talking this matter over with an Ainu, he informed me that crows had reason to be saucy, and, as they once did a good thing for human beings, we must not grumble about them. Indeed, they were made for man's preservation. His tale about them is as follows:—

Legend of the Devil Attempting to Swallow the Sun.

'When God created the world the evil one did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were

made, the devil perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy that beautiful and useful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up early one morning, long before the sun had risen, with the intention of swallowing it. But God knew of his designs, and made a crow to circumvent them. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat, and so saved it. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they like with men, and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and families. Thus we find that they have good cause for being bold and saucy, and it is not for men to say that crows are useless creatures.'

A further legend on this subject runs thus:

'A very long time ago, when the sun was about to rise for the first time, the devil opened his mouth to swallow it. Upon this a multitude of crows — they being the most numerous birds in the world — flew down his throat. This disconcerted him so that while he was busily engaged in getting rid of the feathers out of his mouth the sun arose, and it became daylight. And so the Ainu were all able to hunt and fish, and did not come to nothing, as the demons desired. For this reason, then, ravens must be borne with and not grumbled about, even though they are bold and saucy and take the food away from the people. And although they

should not be prayed to, yet *inao* * may be offered to them.'

The last part of this myth is somewhat difficult to understand. Prayers, it is said, should not be made to ravens, though *inao* may be offered to them. But the act of offering *inao* is in itself worship; and, as a matter of fact, I find that crows and ravens are prayed to by people living in widely separated districts, and that they are actually brought up in cages and killed in sacrifice.

It is quite possible that this apparent incongruity may be explained by supposing the crow to have once been the totem bird of the inhabitants of a certain district, and that those who were of this clan somehow incurred the displeasure of the members of other clans. But one cannot now speak with certainty on this point, and it is only mentioned as a possible if not probable solution of the difficulty.

There is not much to be said about the stars, except that they are not worshipped, though the term used for 'god' is sometimes, but not generally, applied to them. The term 'god' is merely used of them on account of their usefulness in the system of Nature, particularly out of regard to their usefulness in giving light. Comets are known by the name of 'broom star,' and the Milky Way is called 'the picture of the crooked river.' This 'crooked river' or Milky Way is also sometimes called 'the river of the gods,' and the various deities are supposed to spend much of their time on this 'river'

* *Inao* are religious symbols and fetiches made of whittled sticks, and are fully described in later chapters.

in catching fish. The appearance of a comet is regarded with fear and consternation, for it is thought to be the sure forerunner of some dreadful calamity, as, for instance, war, disease, famine, or

Ainu Woman and Child.

death. It is a very curious thing, but it is a fact nevertheless, that the Ainu imagine paradise to be stocked with birds, beasts and fishes, as this world is. Indeed, we are told that this earth was in part

first supplied with living creatures from heaven. Thus a certain legend says —

'Long before this world was made heaven itself was stocked with all kinds of birds, beasts and fishes. When these creatures saw how beautiful the earth had become, and how fresh the rivers and mountains looked, many of them had an ardent desire to come down and reside here. Upon asking permission from God to descend, He granted their request, saying: "You may go to the world in which men dwell, but whenever you see the Ainu meet with accidents, get ill, or become hungry, you must be sure to attend to their wants, and cure their disease." Having received this permission they came down, and here they live and multiply. As, then, birds and beasts were sent down for such a good purpose, they should be worshipped without fail, for those who pray to them will receive their special aid when needed. This is the reason why such creatures are loved, and why they are worshipped and treated as deities.'

But it must not be supposed that all animals came down from heaven in the beginning, perfectly whole, or as entirely ready-made creatures, for the following tradition tells us that some of them were evolved out of the remains of feasts enjoyed in paradise by the deities. Thus the legend runs: —

'In very ancient times, after God had formed the rivers and seas and made the land, He returned to His heavenly home. Upon His arrival there He entered His house, and took from a corner two bags, one containing fish bones and the other the bones of deer. These were the remains of His

great feasts. He emptied the bag having deer-bones in it upon the mountains, where they at once became living deer, beautiful to behold, and that containing the bones of the fish He cast into the rivers and sea, where they became fishes of various kinds. As this, then, is the way in which these creatures came into the world, the people pray to God when deer and fish are scarce, asking Him to send more down, for as He produced them in this way in the beginning, He is able to do so now.'

But, lest it should be concluded that *all* living creatures came down from heaven in this way at the beginning, the following story is related to show that they did not do so. Some we are informed came out of a hobgoblin.

'Once upon a time,' say they, 'many years ago, there was a great hobgoblin, who had his home far away in the midst of the mountains of Ainu-land. In bodily shape he was like a man. His carcase was exceedingly large, and was closely covered with hair; in fact, his skin was like that of a bear, so hairy was he. However, he had but one eye, and that was situated in the middle of his forehead, and was as large as a common pot-lid. This creature was a very great nuisance to the Ainu, for he had such a tremendous appetite that he was actually in the habit of catching, killing and eating everything and everybody coming in his way. For this reason the people were afraid to go far into the mountains to hunt, for, though the one-eyed monster had been shot at many times, not an arrow had taken effect upon him. Now it happened one day that a brave hunter, who was an expert with the bow,

unconsciously went near the haunt of the cannibal. While he was in the pursuit of game he was astonished to see something brightly glaring at him through the undergrowth of the forest. Upon drawing near to see what it was he discovered it to be the big-bodied, hairy, fierce-looking hobgoblin.

'When he saw what it was the hunter became so frightened that he knew not what to do; but he soon mustered sufficient courage to draw an arrow from his quiver, and, fitting it in his bow, stood on the defensive. As the creature drew nigh the Ainu took a steady and deadly aim at his solitary eye, and, being a good shot, hit it fair in the centre. The hobgoblin immediately fell down dead, for the eye was the vital—the only vital part of the body. To make sure that so foul a creature and so deadly an enemy was quite killed, and would not come to life again to trouble the people, the brave hunter made a great bonfire over his body, and burnt it quite up, bones and all. When this was done he took the ashes in his hands and scattered them in the air, so as to make doubly sure that the monster was thoroughly destroyed. But lo, the ashes became gnats, mosquitoes, and gad-flies as they were tossed upward. However, we must not grumble at these things, for the lesser evil of flies is not so bad as the greater evil of having the one-eyed man-eating monster amongst us.'

CHAPTER VII.

Cupid and the Hero Okikurumi.

The water-wagtail as Cupid—He instructs husbands and wives in their conjugal duties—Legend of Okikurumi in love—Yoshitsune not worshipped—The shrine at Piratori.

If the ancient Greeks and Latins had their Cupid, the Ainu also are human enough to have theirs. But, instead of being a saucy, winged, chubby child, with a malicious smile and cunning twinkling eyes, he appears in this case with wings indeed, but the wings of a bird. He is, in fact, no other than the water-wagtail.

It has already been shown elsewhere that, by one account, this bird is supposed to have brought the earth out of chaos, and by another to have simply made rough places plain and level. We are now about to learn that he first taught the ancestors of the Ainu race their duties to each other as husbands and wives, and that he has been known to act as Cupid in watching over love-stricken people. I find that some young Ainu men keep the skins and skeletons of these birds in boxes, as love charms, carefully wrapped up in *inao* shavings. These they sometimes worship, especially if their possessors are in love or want a wife. The legend recounting this is as follows:

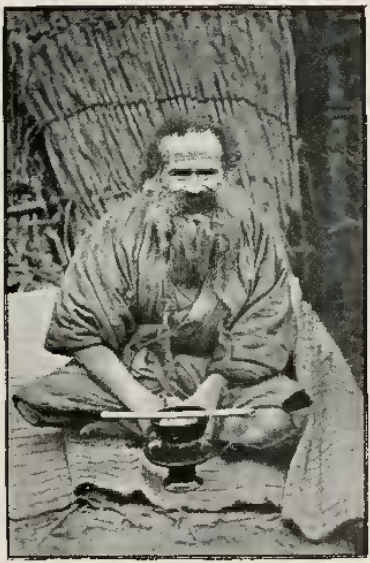
'The water-wagtail is called *Ochiu-chiri* by some

people, and this means the "bird of passion" or "desire." He is thus named because he has strong sensual desires. After God had created human beings and placed them in the world, the water-wagtail came to them, and first taught them their duties to one another as husbands and wives. It is through his kindly offices of instruction that men increased and multiplied in the world. He is known to be a good charm, and therefore to be highly prized. Once upon a time a man killed one of these birds, and used the body as a charm. It was soon observed that its possessor was becoming very lustful, and was continually getting into all kinds of trouble. He had to pay a great many fines for his misdeeds. This kind of thing lasted just six years. After that time had elapsed he repented, and completely turned over a new leaf, and grew very rich indeed. This was all owing to his possessing a water-wagtail as a charm. Whoever, therefore, keeps this kind of fetich must expect to be very wicked for the space of six years; but after that time he may, by exercising care, repent and grow rich.'

In the first chapter of this book, which was on the subject of the origin of the Ainu, we had occasion to discuss an ancient hero named Okikurumi. It was there shown that in all probability this person was no other than the Japanese Yoshitsune, who is said to have come to Yezo and married an Ainu damsel. The following legend shows him to have been really in love with his bride, and the purpose of it appears to be to teach young lovers never to despair, even though they cannot always

obtain the object of their affections, and to show young men that they ought never to look too much after the softer sex. It also shows the water-wagtail acting in his capacity of Cupid.

'The great Okikurumi fell deeply in love; he became very ill, yea, exceedingly love-sick; he lost



Ainu Man about to Drink.

his appetite and bodily strength; he lay down in his hut in sullen despair, and would eat neither good food nor bad; he was, in short, ready to die of love. And, mark you, all this happened through taking just one glance at a beautiful woman. "Dear,

dear!" says the legend, "how badly he felt!" Therefore let the young beware.

'But Okikurumi was cured of his dangerous malady. A little bird, the water-wagtail, flew to the cause of this affliction—the object of his affections. Word was brought to her of his deep-seated love and critical condition. The pretty little bird wagged his tail, and whispered in the lady's ear that if Okikurumi died the soul of Ainu-land would also depart. Therefore the bird begged her to have mercy upon poor Okikurumi for the sake of Ainu-land. The intercession was successful. An unreal, unsubstantial woman was made in the likeness of the beauty with whom Okikurumi had been smitten. She was brought to his hut, and forthwith proceeded to arrange the mats, furniture and ornaments. Okikurumi took a sly glance at her through his sleeve; he was encouraged; he got up, rejoiced, ate food, was revived, and felt strong again. This done, the lady took her departure; she was not. What then did Okikurumi do? Why, he saw that he had been deceived in the woman, and, as there was nothing to be done, nothing to be said, he got well again, like a sensible man.'

The following is the explanation of the legend:—

'The goddess (*i.e.* the beautiful maiden) felt lonely, and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the hut. She went out, and behold! the clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon of Ainu-land. Yes, that is what she saw; so she returned into the hut backwards and took down her needlework.'

(By this we are taught how it happened that

Okikurumi in Love.

Okikurumi first caught sight of this beautiful woman with whom he fell in love. She had been sitting in the hut, and now felt a little lonesome, restless, or tired. Her eyes had been wandering about from one object to another with weary solicitude. She gets up, goes outside in an aimless kind of way, and scans the horizon, which she sees is very beautiful in its grandeur, the clouds being piled one upon

An Ainu Patriarch.

another in terrace-like masses. She revives and returns into her hut. But we are told that she returns backwards. This is a sign that she was paying great respect to someone or something outside. The Ainu say that she was paying respect to the brilliant beauties of Nature which were depicted upon the heavens; hence she came into her hut reverently walking backwards. Now women never pray to the heavens, indeed, they never worship

any deities at all; I therefore venture to think that she was paying her respects to Okikurumi, whom she saw outside.)

'Again, she looked to the point of her needle, and fixed her gaze upon the eye-end thereof.'

(That is to say, she paid great attention to her work.)

'Then came a little bird, called the water-wagtail, and sat upon the window shutter. He wagged his tail up and down, and waved it from right to left.

'Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside of her ears, and what she heard was this: "The mighty Okikurumi, who is governor of all Ainu-land, went out of doors for a little while, and seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account. And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat."'

(Two good and two bad fish is merely an expression meaning that whatever food was placed before Okikurumi he could not touch it, he was so love-sick.)

'"Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu-land will depart."

'Then the little bird called water-wagtail, waving its tail, spake two words to her and said, "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

'Thus, then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him he could not eat.

'Dear, dear, how badly he felt!

'Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

'The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

'Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve, and saw the beautiful woman. He got up greatly rejoicing. He ate some food; strength came back to his body, and the woman was gone!

'Okikurumi saw he had been deceived; but there was nothing to be done and nothing to say, so he got well.'

It has been thought by many that Okikurumi or Yoshitsune has been and is still worshipped by the Ainu, and the fact that a shrine has been set up to him at Piratori has lent colour to this idea. But that shrine is of purely Japanese manufacture, while the idol within it, which is also of Japanese make, only dates back one hundred and ten years. Beyond this there is nothing of antiquity about it. Indeed, no Ainu would think of offering prayer at this shrine. The very idea of such a thing would have been ridiculed by the people twenty years ago. As a matter of fact, Yoshitsune was not spoken at all well of by the Ainu when I first came to Piratori. It is true, indeed, that he is supposed to be the maker of some things in creation. But of what kind of objects? The cuckoo, for example, which is looked upon as a bird of evil omen; and snakes also, which are not pleasant creatures by any means.

I have sometimes seen *inao* offered at the above-mentioned shrine, and on one occasion heard a semi-prayer said, which was as follows:

'O my divine Yoshitsune, through thy divine favour I am frequently getting *saké*. I salute thee; I thank thee.' This can hardly be called proper prayer, and it was old Penri who said it. This old gentleman is very fond of *saké*, as is shown in another chapter, and this shrine used often to be the means by which he obtained it. Indeed, the nickname the shrine used to be called by, a very few years ago, was 'Penri's *saké* trap.'

He considered it a great joke when some Japanese appointed him keeper of the shrine, and was duly pleased and thankful.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Willow Totem.

Totemism defined—The seat of life in the backbone—Willow totem made at birth—Life bound up in the willow totem.

LIKE all other uncivilised races of whom anything definite has been learned, the Ainu also are, it is not surprising to find, totemistic in their religious notions. Indeed, it would be wonderful if they were not, for so universal is this cult that there are those who claim, and that very truly, that every race under the sun was at one time imbued with ideas which find their centre in it, and they are even prepared to maintain that the crests and emblems of the various clans and houses in Europe are but remnants of it.

The most unvarnished examples of late and even present day totemism are undoubtedly to be found among the American Indians, where the wolf, bear, beaver, turtle, deer, snipe, heron, hawk, crane and duck, among a variety of other things, are taken not only as personal but also as the tribal totems. Though the totemistic cult is still in practice among the Ainu, it has never yet been brought to public notice as such, nor even discovered hitherto, so far as I can learn; yet it is nevertheless true that the Ainu are just as strongly totemistic in faith and practice as the red man, and far more so than their

present Japanese neighbours. Their ideas on the subject may not be quite so well defined, perhaps, as those of the American Indians, nor so constantly and emphatically expressed; but, notwithstanding this, when some of their actual and private every-day practices are illustrated by their ancient traditions—traditions which have been very carefully handed down from father to son, and constantly and zealously kept secret from outsiders—the thing itself is seen to stand out in such bold relief that its existence cannot for a moment be doubted.

It may very likely be thought by some who have not dipped into the matter very deeply that the totems of the American Indians are neither more nor less than the carved poles set up at the principal wigwams in their encampments, and perhaps used in some cases as idols to be worshipped. Webster's definition of the word *totem* is 'a rude picture, as of a bird, beast, or the like; used by the North American Indians as a symbolic name or designation of a family, etc.' He then quotes Longfellow thus :—

> 'And they painted on the grave-posts
> Of the graves yet unforgotten,
> Each his own ancestral totem—
> Each the symbol of his household;
> Figures of bear and reindeer,
> Of the turtle, crane, and beaver.'

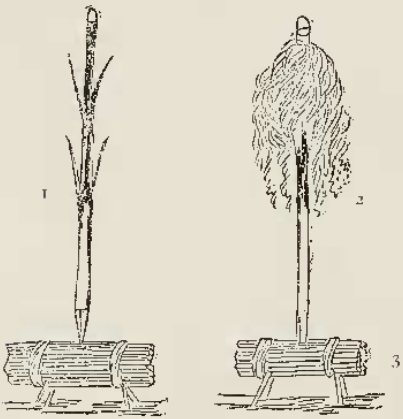
That this definition is insufficient will be readily acknowledged by all who have made a study of such subjects, or lived among people practising totemism, for it by no means covers all there is in this cultus. The totem is not merely a 'picture'

of some object, nor is it simply a 'symbolic' name; but it is really the animal, fish, bird, reptile or tree represented by the picture, and with which the people imagine they have some close affinity, in many cases of blood relationship, and in others of friendship. The deity represented by the willow tree is supposed to be very closely connected with —very nearly related to—every individual born into the Ainu race. Indeed, were this tree but an animal, it would not be out of place to say that the two, the man and the tree, were blood relations. It was shown in Chapter I. that the backbone of the original ancestor of this people was believed to have been made out of wood—out of willow, in fact. This is said to be the reason why the human spine is so very pliable and elastic. It seems to me that this mutual resemblance in the matter of elasticity, though it does not appear to be much in itself, yet is a point which should not be lost sight of when considering this matter, for it takes us directly back to a time when the Ainu did not distinguish between the nature of the life existing in widely different objects—in objects belonging to totally distinct and widely separated kingdoms—as much as they do now.

And so the backbone, having been expressly taken from a willow tree, forms the principal part of the human body. The life of the man is supposed to have its seat in it, and not in the blood, as many other races believe. Hence the connection between the willow and human life is seen to be most close and vital. No wonder, therefore, that this tree is thought so much of. It is supposed that

in olden times no warrior could be slain in battle unless his backbone, the very seat of life, were cut through. He might be stripped of every particle of flesh and bone, but unless the spine itself were seriously injured his soul could not depart to the other world- the land of the gods.

Now, when a child is born into the world, or even sometimes before that event has taken



Willow Totem.

place, the grandfather will go to a river's bank and cut a nice green stick of willow. This he will bring home and shape into an *inao*. When made he will proceed to worship it, after which he will reverently take it in his hands, carry it to the bedside, and there set it up as the tutelary deity of the child. The accompanying illustrations show what it is like. That marked (1) is the willow stick itself, and is

called the *shutu*, *i.e.* 'club'; and that marked (2) is the 'club,' with the sacred shavings, called *inao hike*, *i.e.* 'fetich shavings,' tied round it. The pillow marked (3) is called *kamui set*, *i.e.* 'god's chair' or 'throne,' and is made of stout reeds. The end is stuck into this, so as to keep it dry, and thus prevent it from rotting. That this totem may be correctly called the angel of the child's growth the following folk-lore makes clear :—

Tutelary Deity or Willow Totem.

'As the backbone of man is made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make *inao* of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly whittled they should address it thus : "As thou, O *inao*, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning, He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow *inao*, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him, and give him strength, together with long life." After this prayer has been said, the *inao* should be reverently stuck in its pillow or "seat," and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure *saké* or millet beer, and worship this, his guardian fetich.' Such is the folk-lore, and from it we conclude that the willow is the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born in Yezo. As might be expected, this *inao* is particularly worshipped in time of sickness by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught to children for their use on such occasions :

'O thou willow god, as thou art my spine and backbone, do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body is weak; pray help me soon.' If this prayer is said devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from the malady.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders often meet together and make *inao* of this tree. After these have been worshipped they are taken out to the sacred place and stuck up among the *nusa*.* If after being stuck up they strike root and grow and flourish, it is supposed to be a very good sign, showing that the person on whose behalf they were made will recover, and have a long life. It also gives much pleasure if the *inao* made for the baby mentioned above happens to grow (which is a very rare thing, inasmuch as it is stuck in dry reeds), for that also means either health and strength or a long life, or else that the child will be a great leader of the people. This is very like the old belief of the Aryan peoples, Romans and Teutons, who held that the fate and life of a person was mystically involved with that of the 'birth-tree,' *i.e.* a tree planted at his birth. We shall see something of the same idea expressed when we come to treat of the subject of 'Household *inao*,' where it will be found that a man's life was supposed to be affected by the decomposition of his *inao* fetich.

* For the meaning of *nusa* see next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

General Remarks on Nusa and Inao.

Nusa defined — When *inao* are made — Where placed — *Inao* defined - About fetichism - The Ainu as idolators.

A VERY few decades ago, before the Japanese had mixed with the Ainu of the interior to any very great extent, the first thing that would have struck a visitor on coming to a purely native village would doubtless have been the large groups of whittled wands and pilled sticks he would have seen set up together with the skulls of various animals outside of the eastern end of each of the huts. Particularly would this have been the case had the visit been paid about the very early spring, for he would then have found them new and white, and glistening brightly over the snow in the winter's sunshine, it being at this time that they are chiefly made. This large cluster contains many kinds of these wands, some long and others short; some shaved upwards towards the top, others downwards towards the base, while some again are not shaved at all. When taken singly, each is called by the name *inao*, and when grouped together, as now mentioned, and as is shown in the accompanying illustration, they are collectively called *nusa*. This being so, we may here, to save space further on, once for all define

nusa as being a collection of *inao* or wooden wands used for religious and ceremonial purposes.

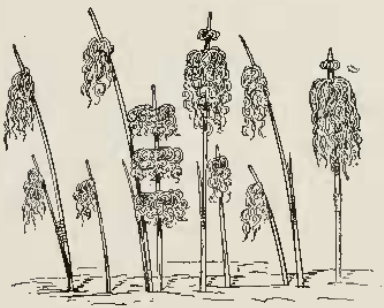
It is not intended by these remarks to imply that the *inao* are formed into *nusa* only in the early spring. There are other occasions on which they are made and set up. Such, for example, will be the

Nusa and Skulls at east end of a Hut.

time of erecting a new hut; also in cases where death is present; when also a bear feast or any other great function or solemn rite or ceremony is in progress. But these, one may say, and that very rightly, are merely individual or occasional instances, while in the early spring it is the universal custom of those Ainu who are untainted with Japanese

usages, or untaught in the first principles of Christianity, to make them.

These *nusa*, however, are not only to be seen near the huts in which the people dwell, but also upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up for the gods of the sea, and are called *kema-ush inao*, *i.e.* 'the fetich with legs.' They are so called



Nusa, or cluster of Inao.

because they are tied to stakes in the ground, which go by the name of *kema*, 'legs.'

It will have been noticed by those who have read about the Ainu elsewhere that *inao* have been defined as 'whittled willow shavings,' or 'willow wands with overhanging shavings'; but such a description, when compared with that to be now given, will show this definition to be true only in part, for not only are many kinds of wood besides willow used, but in making them the men do not whittle or shave all of the pieces of wood employed.

I have often insisted both in my lectures and also in my writings that the Ainu do not worship their *inao*, but that they make them as offerings to the deities, and set them up as signs showing reverence towards them. This, I must now remark, is true but in part, for while some of the ordinary or less important kinds are not worshipped, there are several others which are. Those *not* worshipped may almost always be regarded as offerings and charms pure and simple, while those which *are* worshipped must generally be regarded as messengers sent to the higher deities. The fact is that, having due regard to the light we now possess on the subject, *inao* must for the most part, and taken together with a variety of other subjects, be looked upon as fetiches, some of which are invested with life of a higher or lower degree and nature as the case may be, while others are to be considered as having no life at all apparent in any particular, though, if the truth be told, the essence of life will be found to be latent in all. This is how it comes to pass that these religious symbols and instruments of worship are regarded in different lights and treated in various ways by the people on varying occasions; for that they are so treated and regarded by the inhabitants of separated districts and at varying times and under certain circumstances cannot be questioned.

It would be a very difficult task indeed to give anything like a concise definition of fetichism as believed in and actually practised by the Ainu. It will require several chapters rather than a few lines to do so. The pages next following are an attempt

to explain, by illustrations gained from personal observation, what I find it to be among this people. Whether I shall succeed in this explanation or not remains to be seen. Broadly speaking, however, Ainu fetichism may be said to consist in a belief that the possession of a thing can procure the services of a spirit which is either supposed to actually reside in it, or to be in some other mysterious way very closely connected with and allied to it. Fetiches, so long as they are kept in good condition and are duly respected, are, we find, generally looked upon as continual guardians against harm from Nature, disease and evil spirits; but it is a doctrine which must never be forgotten by those who possess them, that when they decay their influence ceases. Nay, more, the life of the possessor is also supposed, in some cases, to pass away as the fetich decays.

The chief *inao* should be made, so far as the stem of it is concerned, of lilac, because this is said to be a hard kind of wood, and does not quickly rot even if stuck in the damp ground out of doors. Upon questioning an Ainu on this subject, he said: 'It is not considered wise to use any wood other than the lilac for making the stem of this kind of fetich, for in ancient times a certain man made one of *cercidiphyllum*, the end of which rotted after a short time, so that it fell over. Not many months elapsed before the owner himself became weak and died. This was owing to the influence of the fetich being withdrawn. For this reason it is now known that the stem should be made of lilac only, that being the most durable wood of all. However,

should he happen to be in a place where he cannot obtain lilac, he may use either willow or *cercidiphyllum;* but these must not be kept long, for fear they should rot away. When they become a little old, they should either be cast right away in the forest or reverently burnt upon the hearth, before they have a chance of rotting. Others should then be made in their place.' Hence it will be seen that the unwritten letter of the law must be fulfilled by possessing the *inao* fetich; but latitude is mercifully granted, by allowing those who cannot obtain lilac to use other wood.

If we define idolatry as being worship paid to an image which is taken to be the usual or temporary abode of a *superhuman*, or perhaps one should say, *other than human*, personality; or if again we take it in a lower sense, as merely bowing down to images and fetiches used to excite the eye and mind, whether the image itself is supposed to be animated or not—then, whichever way it is looked at, the Ainu must certainly be classed among the idolators, and some of their *inao* fetiches may with truth be called idols. There is no escape from this conclusion. I formerly had many doubts on this point, but have long since found that it may not be disputed for a moment, as the illustrations of the *inao* which will be described in the following chapter will clearly show. These *inao*, one of which may surely be found in every hut, are said to be the chief of this kind of fetich, because they are of the highest importance; since they are especially made to represent a god who, in so far as this world of men is concerned, is supposed to stand next in

order to the supreme God or Creator. There are many orders among the deities; this is an undoubted article of faith among this people; and it is also a fact that there are some kinds of *inao* which are offered to the 'distant gods,' and others which are presented to the 'near gods.' By 'distant gods' is meant those who are remote from human beings, and by 'near gods' the minor deities who are said to deal immediately with this world. For, be it understood, the greater and higher and more honourable the deity, the further off is his dwelling, and the more in number are the lesser intermediaries through whom he is supposed to act. It will thus be seen that the Ainu idea of the divine government of the world and men is fashioned very much after the model of human governments with their kings and officers.

CHAPTER X.

The Chief of the Inao Fetiches.

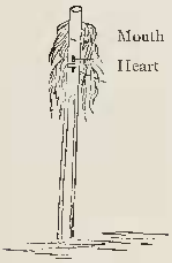
The household fetich—How made—Dedicated—Husband of the fire goddess—The fetich with curled shavings—The fetich with shavings spread out—The fetich shaved backwards.

THE most important and relatively highest *inao* fetich the Ainu possesses (and every family must have this one) is called *Chisei koro inao, i.e.* 'the *inao* which keeps the house'; *Chisei koro Kamui*, 'the divine keeper of the house'; and *Chisei epungine ekashi*, 'the ancestral governor of the house.'

This fetich is invested with life, and it is his province to be continually looking after the health and general well-being of the family. His special abiding-place is in the north-east corner of the hut, at the back of the family heirlooms. He is not only worshipped where he stands, but is also occasionally brought out from his corner, stuck in the hearth, and there prayed to by the head of the family. This is done, however, only quite occasionally and in times of exceptional trouble. This kind of *inao* is, as the names given it imply, of the male gender, and his consort's name is *Abe Kamui, i.e.* 'divine fire,' of whom an account will be given in another chapter. When questioned on the subject, some of the men informed me that

they believe the original pattern of this fetich to have been sent down from heaven by the Creator Himself when the world was first made; and the lore given me concerning it runs thus :—

'The deity who keeps the house was originally made by the true God, and it is because he was sent down to be the husband of the goddess of fire, and to help her attend to the wants of men, that he is called the "ancestral governor of the house."'



Inao Netoba.
Stem of the Household Inao.

Chisei Koro Inao.
The Household Inao.

The way this kind of fetich is made is as follows: A piece of wood, say an inch or so in diameter, is taken from a green lilac tree. This is to form the stem, and is usually about two feet in length. One part of it is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, to represent the front of the idol. Near the top a gash is cut across, in imitation of the mouth, and a little below this the so-called heart is carefully bound in. This heart consists of a warm black cinder, freshly taken from the hearth, and firmly bound to the stem with a

string made of twisted willow shavings. The Ainu call this stem the *netoba*, or 'the body.' I was formerly led into supposing this word was the name of the whole fetich, but that, I am sorry to say, was my mistake. The *netoba* is the stem only, the whole thing itself being called by the names given above.

After the heart has been nicely bound in, a number of shavings taken from a willow tree are tied all round, as shown in the illustration given on the preceding page, and thus the mouth and heart are completely hidden from observation. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside, and the following dedicatory prayer devoutly said to it: 'O fetich, you are henceforth to reside in this house with the goddess of fire; you are to be her husband, and your place will be in the treasure corner. Please help her to watch over and bless us.' After this prayer has been said *saké* is drunk, and the fetich is called 'the divine possessor of the house,' and 'the divine ancestor.'

There are two things of special interest in the foregoing account which deserve, I think, to be kept before the mind's eye when trying to understand this people. The first is recorded in the last chapter, and is the fact that the life of the man who made the stem of his *inao* out of cercidiphyllum wood was believed to have been so bound up in the fetich that when the end of it decayed he himself died also. I am inclined to think that what is called by that very ambiguous term 'sympathetic magic' is the great principle under-

lying the idea; and it is certainly well worthy of notice that in very many cases the Ainu of the present day actually believe that their fetiches exercise a strong influence upon their lives and personal comfort. Somewhat of the same kind of thing was seen to exist in Chapter VIII., when showing the connection between the backbone and the willow tree.

KIKE-CHINOYE INAO.
Fetich with curled shavings.

The second thing worthy of special note is the connection of fire with their chief *inao*. The fire goddess is said to be his wife, and a cinder is placed upon his bosom as his heart. This is indeed curious, but yet it is not to be wondered at, when it is remembered that the Ainu think so much of fire as to be out and out fire-worshippers.

We come next to consider a fetich which has especially curled shavings. The 'household *inao*' was found to be an idol pure and simple, and as such is continually worshipped. The fetich standing next in order to him is called *Kike-chinoye inao*, and this means 'the fetich with curled shavings.' This one has a long stem, and is that which is so often seen elevated above the rest among the *nusa* clusters. It is tied to a long stick to make it fly high, and this, like the stem of the 'household *inao*,' is called its *netoba* or body. This kind, though sometimes worshipped and kept as a

KIKE-PARASE INAO.
Fetich with the shavings spread out.

charm, seems usually to be presented as an offering to many of the deities in the Ainu pantheon. Those I have had in my hand to examine have invariably been made either of willow or dogwood, which wood is really the material the Ainu assure me ought always to be used in making them.

I have seen these fetiches offered on several occasions. At one time they were presented to the goddess of fire, together with a little *saké*. On that occasion the following prayer was said: 'O divine goddess of fire, have mercy upon us, and please take care of this house. I now present thee with some *saké* and *inao*.' The fetich was here regarded not only as a sign of reverence, but also as a present, in return for which the great blessing of preservation from evil was to be vouchsafed to the worshipper.

At another time I saw one offered to the Creator of all things, and on that occasion the following prayer was said to him: 'O thou God who dwellest in the highest heavens, who hast Thy dwelling in the highest and most glorious heavens above! O Creator of the world, condescend to accept this wine and *inao*. In return for them mercifully bless us.'

The next fetich to be considered closely resembles that last spoken of in use and nature, and is called *Kike-parase inao*, *i.e.* 'the fetich with the shavings spread out.' It has a shorter stem than the other, and, as the name implies, the shavings are more wavy and extended. They are made of either willow or dogwood, whichever should happen to be nearest at hand when required.

Prayer to the God of Mountains.

This kind is used very often indeed as an offering to such deities as are supposed to inhabit the mountains, rivers and seas. They are sometimes set up singly, and sometimes in clusters of from two to five or six. The prayers used when they are being presented are all of one stamp, and the following one, made to the god of the mountains, may be taken as a good representative example: 'O thou god of the mountains, should the people at any time fall sick, condescend to heal them; should food become scarce, favour us

CHIEHOKOKAKEP.
The Fetich which is shaved backwards.

by bringing plenty. Thou art a mighty god, and we therefore present thee with these beautiful *inao* which our forefathers taught us to make. Please accept them graciously and rejoice over them. Such is the prayer; and we learn from it that these particular fetiches are regarded as offerings pure and simple, and nothing more, and that the gods are pleased to have them presented to them.

Another kind which is very extensively used is called *Chiehorokakep, i.e.* 'the shaved backwards.' These, as the name implies, are made by being shaved downwards from the top. Some of them

have three sets of shavings left attached to them, while others have but two. I have never been able to learn the rule which governs the exact number of sets of shavings which should be left in given cases. The Ainu themselves do not appear to be quite certain on this point, for they seem to fashion them each one after his own uncertain ideas about what will be acceptable. But, though they may not be particular as to the number of clusters of shavings they leave on the stick, many of them are extremely careful about having six distinct shavings in each cluster upon either side of the stem, this being the sacred or perfect number of the people.

These *chiehorokakep* symbols are made as offerings to the *Ehange Kamui*, *i.e.* 'the gods near at hand.' By this term they mean those gods who are supposed to be between them and the higher deities, who are thought to be too honourable to act immediately and of themselves. Thus, for example, this kind of *inao* is often seen by the springs of water, near precipices, and sometimes, when the lesser deities are invoked, by the fireside. It will thus be observed that this special kind of offering is presented to the local and tutelary deities, or those deities which are thought to be in direct touch with men.

CHAPTER XI.

The Inao Fetich called 'Little Carved Birds.'

Use of these fetiches—Their shape—Wood used in making them—Food placed upon them—The nature of disease.

FOR purposes of worship and defence from evil the Ainu use a fetich which is supposed to represent the eagle and eagle-owl. In vol. xxiv. p. 61, of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, I wrote of this fetich under the name of 'Little Carved Birds,' and I now reproduce what I there said, with such slight revision as I find, after further study, to be required. The article runs as follows :—

CHIKAPPO-CHIKOMESUP.

(Little Carved Birds.)

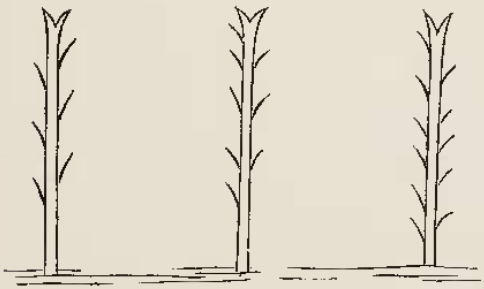
In the event of a village being attacked by an epidemic disease of any kind, but more certainly and particularly if the disease be of a severe and dangerous nature, the Ainu of the villages immediately surrounding the infected one will proceed to get sticks of elder or *cladrastis*, about four feet in length, and make them into a kind of charm or fetich. These sticks are named *Chikappo-chikomesup*, *i.e.* 'little carved birds,' by some; and *Rui-shitu inao*, *i.e.* 'great' or 'thick war-club *inao*,' by others. As soon as made, and this is done with scrupulous

care, they are set up with grave reverence and due ceremony by the chief and elders of the people, and of course, if possible, with plenty of *saké* drinking, at the end of the village nearest the one attacked. After being properly established in their places, they are devoutly worshipped, and called upon to defend the people by keeping the malady from their midst. I need hardly remark that these fetiches are looked upon as most powerful charms, and that the people have very great faith in them, for the Ainu is nothing if not sincere and devout in his belief and trustful in his worship. Indeed, so highly do they think of and reverence these 'little carved birds,' and so great is their faith in them, that they have given them the special name of *Kotan kikkara inao, i.e.* 'the *inao* who are the defenders of the village.'

It will be seen by the accompanying illustrations that the sticks are shaved downwards, the shavings being left attached and standing upright, while a slit is made in the top. The reason for this slit will be understood, when it is known that the *inao* are intended to represent the eagle and eagle-owl. These birds, it is supposed, are able to prevent harm from coming to the individuals of any village where their images or fetiches are set up.

The shavings left on the sides of the sticks are intended to represent feathers or wings (the latter being much more probable in this case than the former), and the split top the bird's mouth. I have a few times seen portions of food and herbs placed in the mouth, to render the fetich more potent and

certain in its operations and more obnoxious to the disease. Not only so, but I have often seen small ones so extensively used as to be nailed on the window-frames and door-posts of nearly every Ainu hut in the village, the special purpose of which is acknowledged to be the keeping out of sickness. The smaller ones, however, are not worshipped; and the only difference I can discover between the *raison d'être* of these and that of the horse-shoes



Chikappo-chikomesup, or Little Carved Birds.

one may sometimes see nailed to doors, gates and posts in country places in England, is that the former are intended to keep misfortune and ill-luck out, and the latter to bring fortune and prosperity in.

The particular number of shavings to be left on the sticks is left to the religious taste and theological ideas of the individual. Some have six left on them, and are therefore called *iwan rapushbe inao, i.e.* 'six-winged *inao*'; others have seven, and are called

arawan rapushbe inao, *i.e.* 'seven-winged *inao*,' for by some seven appears to be thought the perfect number, and others again have as many as twelve (which is the sacred number six doubled) left on them, and are called *tup ikashima wan rapushbe inao*, *i.e.* 'twelve-winged *inao*.'

There is one thing here which may be a little mystical and confusing to anyone not initiated into Ainu theological and mythological notions. I refer to the fact that the supposed wings of the owl are left standing up, and therefore pointing forward rather than backward, as one would naturally expect in the fetich of a bird. But to the Ainu it would be most unnatural to have the wings, under the present circumstances, the right way on. For the fetich is angry because death is abroad. The demon of disease is near at hand, and there are mourners among the people. Everything is the reverse of what it ought to be. Disease and death are not natural, but they are the spiteful works of malignant demons. Thus, as when following a corpse to the grave the mourners wear their coats inside out and upside down, and as when they return from a funeral their clothes are hung out in the air, also turned inside out and upside down, so do the men make the wings of the owl fetich the reverse of their natural way of growing.

The elder tree itself, the proper name of which is *Oshpara-ni*, *i.e.* 'tree with a broad heart,' out of which these fetiches are made, is sometimes called *Kashkamui-yewen chikuni*, *i.e.* 'the misfortune-giving' or 'unlucky tree.' Why this is so, no one now appears to know. Posts of this wood are in some places

used to mark the graves of children, for the elder, being brittle, is thought to be a fitting symbol of a frail and snapped-off life. The stronger branches are used to carry the mat in which the dead bodies of children are borne to the grave. These are also left at the place of burial, and generally on the grave itself. The *cladrastis* appears to be used because it is believed to be of a poisonous nature, and therefore obnoxious to the disease it is intended to drive away. In fact, should a disease approach too near it, it is thought by some that it would be poisoned to death.

The food and herbs I have seen in the mouths of the *Chikappo-chikomesup* consisted of, in one case, highly putrified fish mixed with brimstone, the odour of which was nearly enough to kill anyone, and in the other, of *ikema, i.e. Cynanchum caudatum*. The smell of these things is so powerful, and diseases of every kind have such a strong dislike to them, that they will not, unless the people of a village are especially great sinners, or the demons of disease extraordinarily spiteful and wicked, bring their noses near them—nay, indeed, they will flee away post-haste to a more pure and congenial atmosphere. The brimstone is thought to have the power of suffocating disease. I find that the use of carbolic acid and lime in my own house as disinfectants have been looked upon in the very same light by some Ainu as the use among themselves of their own orthodox materials when taking their pathological and hygienic precautions. I have no doubt also that if I were to make a fetich like the Ainu, and stick a piece of prime Gorgonzola or Gruyère cheese

in its mouth, especially if the cheese from which it was taken be a good one, the Ainu would consider it to be a fairly potent precaution, and well able to slay a demon.

What are called by us the living germs and bacteria of disease are by the Ainu called demons. From this fact it might perhaps appear at first sight that there is very little difference between them and us in our conceptions as to what disease really is. We speak of the living germs of disease awaiting favourable opportunities and conditions in which to attack persons, and the Ainu speak of the living demons of disease under the very same terms. Notwithstanding this, however, the difference between them and us is real and vital. With us indeed the germ is, as I suppose, the disease itself in embryo, but with the Ainu the demon is not the disease itself, but the direct cause and parent thereof. The difference in thought, therefore, between us and them is as great as that between a cause and its effect. With the Ainu this living germ, cause or demon has an essential, spiritual and personal existence, and is able to think, will and act; while with us the living germ is simply an adventitious, blind, irrational force, whose life is more vegetable and animal than spiritual. By mere casual expression the two may appear identical, but in essence and thought they are the very antipodes of one another.

The terms *Rui-shitu*, *i.e.* 'great war-club *inao*,' and *Kotan kikkara inao*, *i.e.* 'the *inao* who is the defender of the village,' by which these 'little carved birds' are called, refer to the mode of action

in this great dualistic warfare. Undoubtedly war-clubs are not made to play with, or simply to look at. They were used to kill with. Just so, then, the war-club is symbolical of killing by knocking on the head, and this is what the owl fetich is supposed to do to the demon of disease.

CHAPTER XII.

Inao as Living Mediators.

Inao as angels—*Inao* used in brewing—*Inao* sent to hell—Demon worship—*Inao* for sick man—Bush fetiches—Fetich shavings.

In some instances *inao* fetiches are clearly and definitely supposed to be living angels, mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities. Nay, some of them are even sent to hell itself, to propitiate the demons for men. Unequivocal evidence of this fact may be observed in the two fetiches now about to be described.

Whenever the Ainu brew beer, which they often do from millet in the early spring and after a good harvest, they always make a kind of fetich known as *Inumba shutu inao, i.e.* 'refining-club fetich.' This is used as a messenger to the goddess of fire, and is sent to her with some of the lees at the time of refining. It will be seen in the illustration now given that a hollow place is left in the top of the fetich. This is called the 'seat' or 'nest,' and is made so as to hold the lees to be presented. When these have been put on the 'seat,' drops of beer are offered to the various deities, and the fire worshipped as follows: 'O divine grandmother, we drink beer to thee; we offer thee *inao*. Bless this household, and drive evil far away. O keep us from all harm.'

After this, prayer is offered to the fetich itself thus: 'O refining-club fetich, take the lees now placed upon thee to the goddess of fire, and thank her on our behalf for all the blessings she has bestowed upon us. Tell her of our estate and welfare, and solicit her continual help and favour.' After having been thus offered and addressed the fetiches are sometimes reverently burnt upon the hearth while prayer is being said, and so, in a way, the manes are sent to the spirit world. But sometimes, however, they are not burnt, but set up by the door as offerings to the gods of the doorways. The husband of the goddess of fire, that is to say, 'the household inao,' is also associated with his consort in the prayers on such occasions.

INUMBA SHUTU INAO. Refining-club Fetich.

NITNE INAO. Evil Fetich.

The illustration next given represents a fetich called by the name of *Nitne inao*, or *Nitne hash inao*, the former of which names means 'evil fetich,' and the latter 'evil bush fetich.' This kind is used especially in times of sickness, when a person is particularly supposed to be possessed by the demon of disease. It is not called an evil fetich because it is itself regarded as being of an evil nature, but rather because the occasion on which it is used is a bad one. It is sent to the wicked demon of disease, that is why it is called 'evil fetich.' When it is made, a kind of stew called *Nitne haru, i.e.* 'evil stew,' is also prepared and offered with it. This consists of fish-bones, vegetables, and the remnants

of any kind of food mixed together and well boiled. When all has been prepared, the *inao* is stuck in the ground upon the hearth, and the stew, which has by no means an inviting smell, placed before it. Then a so-called prayer is said as follows: 'O evil fetich, take this evil food, together with the disease of this sick person, and also the demon who has possessed him, and go with them to hell. When you arrive there, please make it so that the demon will not again return to this earth. I have supplied you with food, take it to the demon and propitiate him; please feed him with it.' After this the sick man is beaten with a bunch of grass called *takusa*, and if the fetich is successful, a cure will be certain soon to follow.

This may be called genuine demon worship, and it is a small part of a large system which will be gradually unfolded in this book. After the worship has been performed by the fireside the fetich is taken to the *nusa* cluster, where it is set up and has the stew placed before it. The following prayer is then said to the demon of the rubbish heap: 'O angry demon, O thou demon of the rubbish heap, accept this fetich and food; make haste and heal this sick person.' The Ainu who officiates at this ceremony then returns to the hut, and again exorcises the demon by brushing the patient down with the *takusa* mentioned above.

On a certain occasion I remember seeing a war-club *inao*, in shape like the illustration next following, set up in the hut of a sick man and earnestly worshipped. I cannot, however, find among my notes the prayer which was said on that occasion,

but I distinctly recollect this much of the matter. After being prayed to, the spirit of the fetich was supposed to walk about the earth and visit the various demons of evil on behalf of the suppliant, and after having found them, was said to consult with them as to what was the best thing to be done for the patient.

Shutu Inao. War-club Fetich.

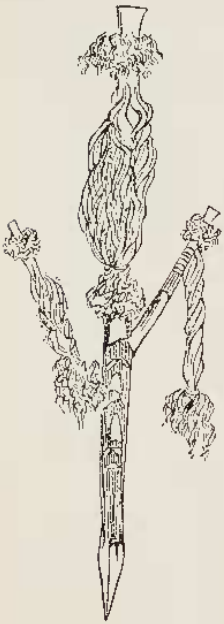
On such occasions as that now referred to, the fetich is told to wander about among the demons till he discovers the one who has attacked and possessed the sick man, and when he has found him to proceed to supplicate for the removal of the curse he has subjected him to. If this be done in a right spirit and with tactful judgment, the result is certain to be as required; but if not, the patient must surely die.

Hash Inao.

The Ainu are accustomed to make a further kind of fetich which they call *Hash inao, i.e.* 'bush fetich.' These are made by cutting a short stick, and either splitting it at one end and inserting a shaving or two in the opening thus made, or else by cutting a few gashes in it in an upward or downward direction, as shown in the foregoing illustrations. The gashes cut across the top are said to represent the mouth of the fetich.

This kind of *inao* appears to be of somewhat high importance, and it may be made of willow,

dogwood, lilac, cercidiphyllum, ash, magnolia or oak, whichever kind of wood happens to be nearest at hand when needed. They are set up as offerings to almost all the deities. Hunters and fishermen make them very often, and I suppose it is on account of their being so often required, and at so many different places, that such a variety of wood is allowed in making them, for one cannot expect to find all these kinds of wood growing in one vicinity. When the fishermen go to fish they set up this kind of *inao* at the place where they push the boats off, and after having set them in order they pray, saying, 'O thou great god who governs the waters! O thou water deity, we are now going to catch fish. Please accept these "bush fetiches" and watch over us. Please grant that we may catch fish. O grant that we may kill many fish to-day.'

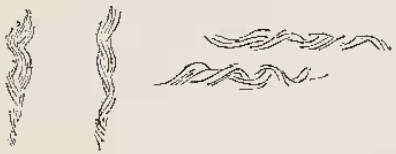


Inao of Saghalien Ainu.

Besides all the *inao* now described, I have come across one of quite a different pattern, made by an Ainu from Saghalien. The above illustration is a representation of it. It is said to be made especially for use at fishing stations, as an offering to the gods of the

sea, whose province it is to cause the fish to increase, and come and be caught.

During the course of the preceding chapters it has been frequently necessary to mention the *inao kike*, *i.e.* 'fetich shavings.' These things are, as their name implies, just wood shavings, and



Inao kike—Fetich Shavings.

nothing else. Fetiches of any other kind whatsoever, as has been shown (and the Ainu have very many), are wrapped up in them. The heirlooms and treasures are ornamented with them, and the successful hunter uses them to embellish his trophies with. The fishing boats often have them stuck about them, and when upon the waters, whether of the rivers or sea, the men throw some to the gods and demons inhabiting those regions. The *Tusu guru*, *i.e.* 'medicine men,' always carry them about stuffed in their bosom. When venison, bear's flesh, or other things have been brought me as presents, there have generally been some placed about them. All these little things serve to show in what high esteem these fetiches are held by the people. They are not much to look at, perhaps, but etiquette, if not religion itself, certainly required them to be made and used very extensively. They are perhaps used as signs of consecration, or to show

that certain things have been set apart for some special object.

From the description now given it will be observed that the *inao* fetich forms a very important item in the practice of Ainu religion. It will be seen that they are made upon almost every occasion of prayer and worship, and may be said to be in daily use. Thus it comes to pass that when a person is taken ill, his friend or relative will at once go and get a piece of green wood fresh from the forest, and, sitting down before the fire, peel off the outer rind and shave the stick into an *inao*. When it is finished he will place it in the corner of the hearth, and ask the gods and demons to look kindly upon the sick one and heal him.

When the men are out hunting also they will, when they build their lodge to sleep in, most devoutly make and set up *inao* before the fire and about the building. At this particular time they worship, and offer earnest prayer, saying, 'O goddess of fire, we present this *inao* to thee. Pray watch over us to-night, and ask the deities to grant us success when we awake.' At the spring, too, where they get their drinking water, they will set up another, and say, 'O goddess of water, we come to drink at this thy spring. Please look upon this offering, do us good, and watch over us.' On the morrow, before beginning to hunt, they again make *inao*, offer them to the great God of all, and, using the goddess of fire as mediator, ask Him to render them successful.

CHAPTER XIII.

About Huts.

The hut a living creature—Its heart—How huts are built—Prayer to the hut—The sacred east corner—Store-houses—Fear of fire—Hut at Horobetsu—House-warming—Hut-burning.

At the end of the last chapter I attempted to describe the pattern and use of fetich shavings; but there is another very important kind which has not yet been mentioned, and which is called *Chisei sambe*, *i.e.* 'the heart' or 'pulse' of the house. Many of these may sometimes be seen hanging from the windows, and they will also be found suspended from the upright posts and beams which crown the outer walls of the huts. They are taken from various kinds of wood, among which may be mentioned willow, magnolia, cercidiphyllum and dogwood. In some way or other these *inao* are supposed to preserve life in every part of the building; for every house or part thereof is looked upon as having a distinct and separate individual life. It is also believed that when it ceases to exist in this world it will live in the next, which is called *Kamui moshiri*, *i.e.* 'the kingdom' or 'country of God,' and be for the use of those who occupy it here.

The huts are most uncomfortable places to stay in, for amongst this race household comfort, according to our ideas, is quite a secondary consideration.

If the people can secure bare existence and animal sustenance, they are content. Their villages, seen from a distance, indeed appear quite picturesque, situated as they generally are along the banks of rivers. And the individual huts in some districts are neat and pretty-looking buildings, for some of

Chisei Sambe—the Pulse of the House.

the people take quite a pride in thatching their homes. But all the picturesqueness and the beauty disappear upon a closer inspection. After a few weeks or months—some people think a few days or even minutes are fully sufficient—spent in one of them, a Japanese hotel seems in comparison a very paradise for comfort.

They are so unsubstantially built that at times the wind whistles through them at such a rate that it is next to an impossibility to keep a lamp or candle burning. On one occasion I had mats hung up all round me in the attempt to keep my candle burning; but all my efforts were of no avail, and there was nothing for it but to retire early to bed. My bed was somewhat hard, for it consisted of bare boards. The chief difficulty about a board-bed is that in winter the boards seem to throw out no heat; hence I had to keep myself warm with the hard and dry untanned skins of animals and hot-water bottles—

for Ainu huts are remarkably cold in winter. Moreover, the dried fish, some of which hangs rotting in the roof, emits anything but a savoury odour. The smoke, too, is a great nuisance, and causes the eyes to smart and run with water. As for beetles, earwigs, and other objectionable insects, the huts in some districts swarm with them during the summer months. Snakes occasionally visit the thatch of the roof in search of mice and sparrows' nests. Fleas are the most troublesome of the insects, and appear to have a special liking for white man's blood. On one occasion when I arose in the morning I found my body completely covered with bites; but, strange to say, ever since that night fleas have been unable to make any impression whatever upon me. Intending travellers in Ainu-land should carry with them a large supply of insect powder.

In building their dwellings the Ainu commence at the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end, and a long ridge-pole at the upper, and across these again are laid smaller poles, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants, are used as rope or strings for tying the separate poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about five or six feet long—and, on account of its durability, magnolia by preference—are driven into the earth at a distance of four or five feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied, and thus the walls of a hut are formed. These poles have each a fork or branch in the top. When they are all set up in their proper places the

roof is lifted bodily up, and the bottom horizontal poles allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights.

The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes several days to finish, for the huts are almost entirely thatched with reeds, from the ridge-pole of the roof to the bottom of the uprights, which are stuck into the earth. Both men and women work

HUT-BUILDING.

at house-building, and the spring and autumn are the proper seasons for this occupation.

When the framework has been set up the 'house pulse' mentioned above are made, and prayer is offered to the house itself and the household god as follows :—

'O god of the house, O caretaker of the room, we worship thee, pray hear our prayer. In olden times when the fire goddess was sent down from

heaven a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The "house pulses" were there also. Now when god sent the building down he said, "This house, together with the goddess of fire, is to watch over the people. When it becomes old another must be made in its stead, and children born and brought up in it." So now, O god, this room is finished, and the heart has been given to it. Do thou and the goddess of fire keep the people in good health. We offer thee *inao*; pray see that those who inhabit this place do not become ill.'

After this prayer has been said to the house itself, the goddess of fire, and her consort the 'household *inao*' are worshipped, *saké* drunk, and many fetiches made.

A very short legend told me on the origin of the first house that ever appeared in Ainu-land runs as follows:—

'When the first hut came down from heaven with the goddess of fire, it was called *Iresu Kamui aeanu tumbu, i.e.* "the room in which the divine nourisher is placed," and *Chirange tumbu, i.e.* "the room which descended," and also *Kamui kat tumbu*, "the room which god made."'

Almost every hut is furnished with two holes, made just beneath the eaves, which serve as windows, one in the east end and the other in the south side. Screens made of rushes or reeds are placed on the outside of these, and in some cases wooden shutters also. They are all so fixed as to admit of being drawn up or let down from the inside at will, according as circumstances may

require or the occupants desire; for the strings or cords to which the screens and shutters are attached pass upwards under the eaves and over the horizontal roof pole into the hut.

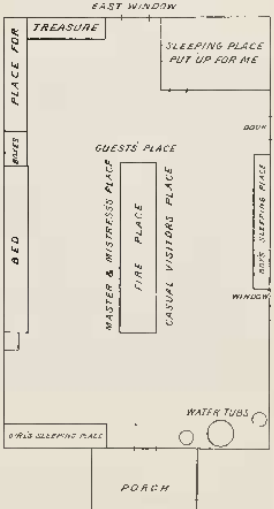
There are no chimneys, but a hole is purposely left in one or both angles of the roof for the escape of the smoke. These, together with the two windows, are considered fully sufficient for all practical purposes: but the smoke is sometimes very trying to the eyes and throat.

At the west end is a door which leads directly into a porch or antechamber, which the Ainu call a *shem*. In the south wall of this is another door, which leads into the open air. This porch is used for various purposes, such as storing firewood, pounding millet, and shelling peas and beans. The dogs also are allowed to inhabit this part of a house.

A few of the larger huts are furnished with a doorway in the south wall of the main or dwelling part of the building. The entrance is situated near the east end corner of the hut, and is fitted with a sliding door somewhat resembling the Japanese *amado*. The outer door of the porch is generally fitted with a hanging mat only, but the inner porch doorway has both a mat and sliding door. The wooden doors are, as a rule, closed only when the household is away from home or gone to bed.

That part of the hut extending from the head of the fireplace to the east window is especially held sacred, and is set apart for special strangers and visitors, particularly for honoured guests. The right-hand corner is the place where all the Ainu treasures are kept, also a great number of family

charms and fetiches; and upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with fetich shavings, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornamental clothes and important things belonging to the master of the hut.



PLAN OF AN AINU HUT.

The east-end window is held peculiarly sacred, and there are certain taboos regarding it which must be respected. One piece of lore given me with reference to it runs thus:

'The east window is a very blessed thing and of great importance. When the highest deities are worshipped, or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when *inao* are to be placed among the *nusa* outside, they should be made and consecrated by the hearth and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed, it ought always to be taken into the house through the east window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by

some *inao kush puyara*, *i.e.* "the window through which *inao* pass"; and *Kamui kush puyara*, *i.e.* "the window through which divine beings pass." For these reasons the east-end window is to be held in high esteem, and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a hut through it.'

Outside, a short distance from the west end of the building, is placed the family godown or storehouse. This erection consists of a little lodge placed upon piles. The reason why they are built in the air is to keep the rats and mice from making raids upon the stores. Upon the top of each pile, and between it and the floor of the godown, the Ainu generally place a square piece of wood, which makes it next to impossible for a rat to enter by climbing up the pile. Peas, beans, millet, pumpkins, and other garden products are stored in these places.

Each hut generally has a small plot of land to itself. This is done as a protection against fire, of which the Ainu are very much afraid. In fact, the Japanese affirm that the Ainu fear a conflagration and the fire goddess so much that if a house once takes fire they will not even attempt either to extinguish it or save any of their property. They will not be so foolish as to rob the fire goddess of that which she desires to have. This, however, the Ainu deny. The Japanese have made a mistake; and the fact is that when an Ainu hut once catches fire there is no time to save anything, for the thatch naturally burns very rapidly indeed.

I have seen two huts on fire, and they were both

burnt down in less than fifteen minutes. In one case a few things were saved, but in the other the household only just managed to save themselves and the clothes they had on. The Ainu are not so senseless as to attempt the impossible—that is, to put out the flames of a burning hut—but they do all they can to save their treasures, especially their heir-

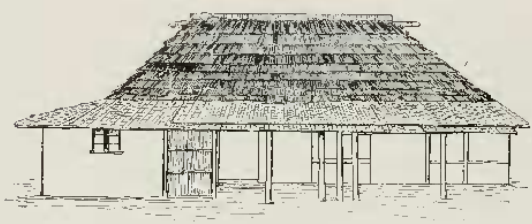
Hut of a newly married Ainu.

looms, and to prevent the fire from spreading. The Ainu call or alarm of fire is a shrill, weird, unearthly noise, somewhat resembling the note of the screech-owl, and can be heard for a great distance. The women can best utter the scream; the men generally call out, 'Wooi!'

The dwellings vary very little in size. The chief's is generally a little larger than the rest in a village.

When a newly married couple, however, commence housekeeping, their first hut is very diminutive,

their second is a little larger, the third perhaps larger still, and so on, till the husband can afford to build one of more imposing dimensions. The first dwelling almost always forms the porch to the second, and the second to the third, and so on: thus all is not labour in vain. However, a hut very rarely consists of more than two sections, and



Japanese Hut with Ainu Room.

these are the porch or antechamber and the main dwelling place.

The Ainu are in some things nearly as conservative a people as the Chinese, and it is exceedingly difficult to get them to change any of their customs. In short, a very few years ago, if one man amongst them desired to make some improvement or other—even so slight a matter as adding a few planks or boards to his hut—he could not do so unless the gods were propitiated, and all the other Ainu in his village made joyful with strong drink, and so led to give their consent. A man at Horobetsu who, for an Ainu, was a rich man, determined to build a new house. He intended to improve on the Ainu mode of architecture, and built his house

A Hut, Bear's Cage, and Store-house.

in a Japanese style. He had finished all but the roof, when a deputation of his brethren waited upon him and informed him that unless he put a roof thatched after the approved Ainu style on the house he would be boycotted. He was obliged to listen to this, for he was part proprietor of a large fishing station. The house has, it is needless to say, a proper Ainu roof upon it, as the illustration (p. 126) shows. The secret of this conservatism will be found in the fact that the people believe the original pattern of the huts to have been especially sent down from heaven.

The completion of building a hut is a great time among the people, for then comes the feast of house-warming and ancestor worship. The women now all bestir themselves, and set about pounding millet and making dumplings, while the men whittle their *inao* and prepare the *saké*. When all this has been accomplished, the various deities, indoors and out, are worshipped, the deceased ancestors praised and propitiated, and the feast partaken of.

At this particular feast the men make large numbers of *inao*, some to hang inside, and others outside the huts; some, again, to stick by the fireside, next the sleeping places, in the treasure corner, at the east window, at the corner where the water-butts are kept, and at the doorways; and others at the springs in the gardens, and by the out-houses. This feast is a most important affair among them, for the favour of the gods, without any exception, must be solicited with proper words and in a befitting manner. None must be left out, lest they be jealous and angry, and so be incited to

revenge themselves upon the inhabitants by bringing disease and death, misfortune and famine. Were the goddess of the water-spring, for example, forgotten, she might revenge herself by drying up the springs and ceasing to give water. If the gods who preside over the sleeping places are omitted, they might take away all sleep from the family.

The various gods are worshipped as follows: Each man dips the piece of wood used to keep the moustache out of the vessel from which he may be drinking into the wine, and offers three double drops to the particular god or gods he may wish to worship. In this way a multitude of blessings are invoked from innumerable deities. For instance, one man addresses the goddess of fire; another the god of the sleeping places; another the god who presides over the treasures and hunting paraphernalia; another the god who is supposed to look after the pots, pans, kettles, water-tubs, and other household utensils; whilst another worships the gods who keep the windows and doors, and the east and west ends of the huts. After all the deities who are supposed to preside over the different places and goods within the hut have been duly honoured, the men go round the outside of the hut and invoke those who guard the water-springs and outhouses, garden plots and paths. The men next return to the hut and continue their eating and drinking, and when they have satisfied their appetite they give a little wine to their wives and daughters, who, seated behind their husbands and fathers, have to take what they please to give. Each man likes to obtain all the wine possible, and

delights in getting as drunk as he can. They often quarrel because they fancy some one person has had more than his share of drink. The hut is a pitiable sight after one of these feasts, the floor being covered with men dead drunk.

Some Ainu assert that in years long gone by the ancients used to burn down the hut in which the oldest woman of a family had died. This curious custom was followed, so some of them say, because it was feared that the spirit of the woman would return to the hut after death, and, out of envy, malice and hatred, bewitch her offspring and sons and daughters-in-law, together with their whole families, and bring upon them various noxious diseases and many sad calamities. Not only would she render them unprosperous, but she would cause them to be unsuccessful in the hunt, kill all the fresh and salt-water fish, send the people great distress, and render them childless. She would curse the labour of their hands, both in the house, the gardens, and the forest; she would blight all their crops, stop the fountains and springs of drinking water, make life a weary burden, and eventually slay all the people and their children. So vicious and ill-disposed are the departed spirits of old women supposed to be, and so much power for evil are they said to possess.

For this reason, therefore, the ancients used to burn down the hut in which an old woman had lived and died; the principal idea being that the soul, when it returned from the grave to exercise its diabolical spells, would be unable to find its former residence and the objects of its hatred and fiendish

intentions. The soul having been thus cheated of its prey, and its malignant designs frustrated, is supposed to wander about for a time in a towering rage, searching for its former domicile; but of course to no purpose. Eventually the spirit returns, defeated and dejected, to the grave whence it came, and woe betide the person bold or unlucky enough to venture near that spot.

The custom, however, is now being discontinued; but customs die hard, and part of this one is still seen to survive. Thus, whenever a woman is getting to be very old and likely to die soon, her children build her a tiny hut somewhere near her old home. When finished she is sent there to reside, where she is provided with food till she dies. But when she is dead and buried this hut is burned instead of her old house.

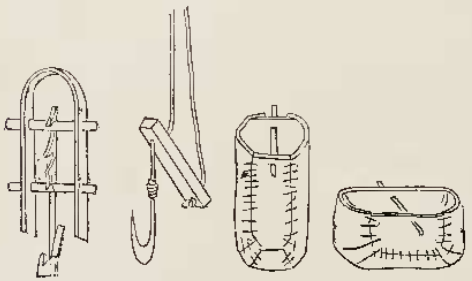
A Cup.

Hearth-rake.

I think we must certainly not believe that the above account as to why these huts were burnt contains the true reason for this custom. It is altogether unnatural to suppose that these or any other people should fear their fathers and mothers, or that the parents should seek the harm of their offspring either in this life or in the next. Indeed, it has already been intimated, and will be shown more fully in another place, that the men and women actually worship their ancestors and offer them libations of wine. I have also been assured by several Ainu that the huts were burnt for the pur-

pose of sending them to heaven for the use of the departed spirits; and I find this thought to be entirely in keeping with the Ainu ideas as to heaven and the future life: nor, in this connection, should what was said above be forgotten, viz. that the Ainu believe huts to be invested with life, and appointed to live hereafter.

The instructions said to have been given by Aioina on this subject are as follows: 'When a person's wife dies, the husband must burn the hut, and in that way send it off with her to heaven. The husband may not marry a second time, hence he will not require the house upon this earth; but he will want it in heaven, when he there rejoins his spouse.'



POT-HOOKS. WATER LADLES.

CHAPTER XIV.

Household Furniture.

Cooking frame — An incident with Penri — Pot-hooks — Bark cooking-pots—Spoons – Moustache-lifters—Cups and other things—Treatment of babies.

THERE is not much furniture in an Ainu hut. The centre of the building is taken up with the hearth, which is a long open space surrounded with pieces of wood. In this space as many as three or four small fires can be kept burning at one time, if necessary. Above the fireplace is suspended from the roof an apparatus or frame containing pot-hooks and all kinds of cooking paraphernalia. This instrument is called *tuna*. Above this necessary piece of furniture, fish, bear's flesh and venison, when obtainable, are hung to dry; and as the *tuna* is a kind of framework with a few bars at the bottom, wheat, barley or millet are placed in mats and put upon it, that they may be cured ready for threshing and pounding into flour.

Sometimes the Ainu, especially when they expect visitors, place mats made of a hard kind of reed upon the floor; and upon these they spread yet another softer mat made of rushes and grass. These are used instead of stools and chairs to sit upon. Hence, to spread a mat for a person is equal to offering him a chair. I once got into a

dreadful scrape, though quite unintentionally, through jokingly telling an Ainu that I would roll him in a mat. On this occasion I was packing up some of my things preparatory to paying a visit to another village. An old man, who was very eager to assist me, would insist on rolling up in mats for transportation the things I did *not* want to go. I jokingly said at last that unless he ceased I would roll him up too. The old man flew into a passion at once, and I was quite at a loss to understand why he should be so angry. I have since learnt that to tell an Ainu one will roll him up in a mat is equivalent to informing him that you are ready to bury him. This is due to the fact that the Ainu, when they die, are usually rolled up in mats and buried; they are not now placed in coffins, so far as the Yezo Ainu are concerned.

The domestic implements used by the Ainu are not very numerous. Some of them are very simply made, but others are quite nicely carved. The earthenware cups, dishes, pots and pans are all of Japanese manufacture, but the wooden trays, spoons and pounding mortars are home-made, as are also their weaving looms. Ainu children are not brought up on pap administered with silver spoons, and it does not appear that this people ever knew the art of making metal. Sometimes pap made of millet is given to young children with a wooden spoon or with a piece of shell, sometimes with the fingers, and occasionally mothers give their offspring food from their own mouths. This is a favourite method of making very young children take medicine. By this means even babies are

made to swallow noxious physic before they know what has taken place. It is certainly not a cleanly habit, but it is very effectual, and quickly done.

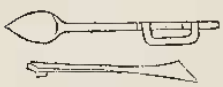
When out far away in the mountains hunting I was astonished to find that the Ainu, should they happen to have no iron pot in which to cook their food, make saucepans out of cherry bark.

Cooking Pot made of Cherry-tree Bark.

The above is an illustration of one now in my possession. Such pots are filled with water, together with the flesh or vegetables to be cooked, and then hung over a slow fire, where it is left to simmer gently till fit for eating. It was a surprise to me to find that the bark did not burn away, but I am assured that with care such pots will last three times. Thus do we get another most likely example

of what the Ainu, among some other races, did, before the Iron age.

The spoons used for cooking purposes are of various shapes, and two of the most common patterns are shown in the illustration. That marked 1 is used for stirring millet cakes when they are being cooked for a feast; that marked 2 is used for ladling out millet or rice or stew from the pot. There are spoons of other patterns and sizes, but they call for no special remark. The ornamentation is mere matter of taste, and is devised according to the carver's own fancy.



Spoons.

The engravings on the next page represent moustache-lifters. They are of course used only by the men. The moustache lifter is a curious instrument, and is only called into use when drinking. Its purpose is twofold. The men invariably use it when they are at worship, for with the end of it they offer drops of wine to the gods to whom they pray. Further, they are used to keep the moustache out of the cup whilst drinking. It is considered to be very unseemly and impolite to allow one's moustache to go into the wine as it is being drunk. It is disrespectful to the persons present, and is thought to be dishonouring to the deities.

At drinking ceremonies—that is to say, at a funeral or house-warming feast—the Ainu use what they call a *kike-ush-bashui*, 'a moustache-lifter having shavings attached to it.' They are made

of willow. All these instruments, however, do not have shavings attached to them, for those men who pride themselves on their hunting abilities have

A Common Moustache-Lifter.

A Ceremonial Moustache-Lifter

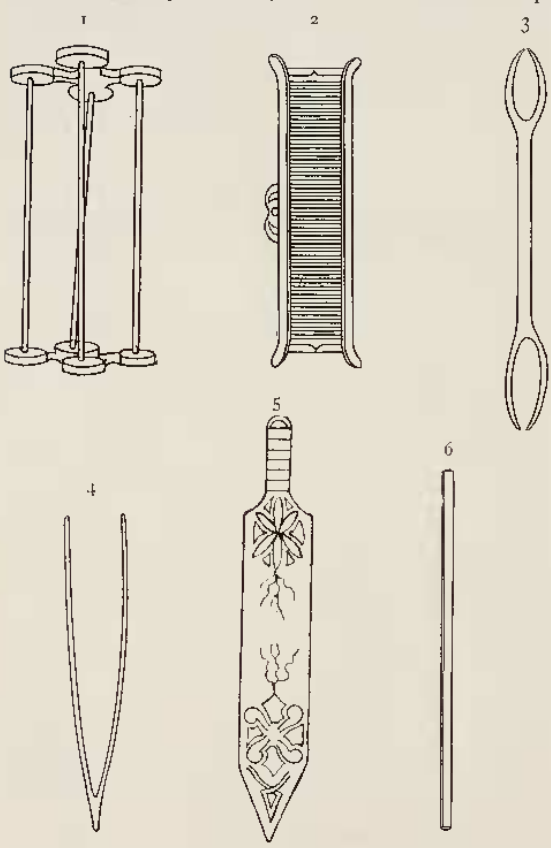
bears and other animals carved upon them, while some are decorated with imitations of the sun, moon, and other objects. They are very proud of these, and set great store by them.

The mortar and pestle are also in common use in an Ainu hut. These instruments are home-made, and each consists of a solid piece of wood. The mortar is used for threshing out wheat and millet, also for beating millet into flour and paste. This paste is used for making cakes for the special feasts. The pestle is held by the middle, so that it has really two ends.

Ainu Pestle and Mortar.

Next to implements used in the preparation of food, the weaving loom is a most important article. It is a simple affair, consisting of six parts.

The illustrations show what they are. No. 1 is called a *kamakap*; it very much resembles a ship's



Parts of a Loom.

log-winder. It is used to keep the warp thread separated. No. 2 is called an *osa*; it is something

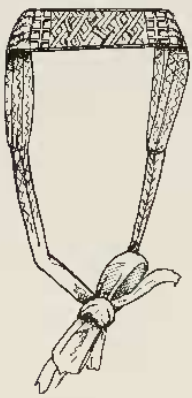
like a comb, and is used to keep the warp straight. No. 3 is used for carrying the thread of the woof from one side of the cloth to the other, between the threads of the warp; it is called *ahunka-nit*. No. 4 is called a *peka-o-nit*, and is used for the purpose of changing the warp threads. No. 5 is called *attush-bera*; it is used to knock the woof close home. No. 6 is merely a small piece of wood used as a beginning or foundation for the cloth. It will be easily understood that this very primitive mode of weaving is most tedious, and therefore requires a great amount of patience. It takes a very long time to weave a yard of cloth with such a machine. However, the Ainu do not understand the value of time, so that does not matter.

Candlesticks and lamps are not very elaborate affairs. They consist merely of a piece of stick split at one end. This stick is stuck into the hearth, and a piece of lighted birch bark fixed in the split end. This kind of bark burns very well indeed, but the light it gives is of a very glaring kind; one cannot see to do much by it, and it smokes terribly.

Fire used to be produced by rubbing very dry pieces of the roots of elm trees together, as was shown at the end of Chapter IV. Friction is said by the people to work quicker upon this kind of wood than upon any other. But as soon as the Ainu came into closer contact with the Japanese they bought and used flints and steels. These were worked so that the sparks fell upon touchwood or tinder, which takes fire easily and quickly when

dry. Now, however, matches of Japanese make are in daily use.

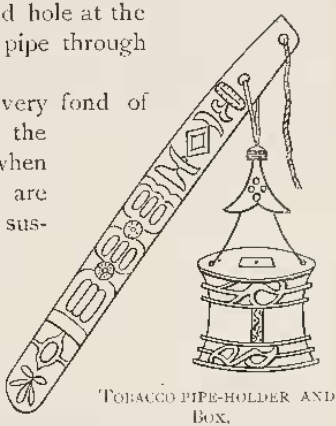
The people like to carry their loads of fish or wood or whatever it may be, upon their backs. They prefer to have their hands free, and use their heads to help carry their bundles. The person about to walk off with a bundle ties what is called a *tara* or *chi-ashke-tara* round the bundle, throws it on the back, and places the head-piece of the *tara* over the forehead. There is not so much work for the head to do as one would perhaps expect, for the main part of the weight of the load lies on the lower part of the back.



A Tara.

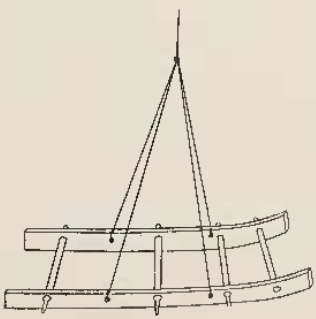
Smoking tobacco is not a real Ainu custom, any more than tobacco itself is indigenous to Yezo. Smoking was probably learned from the Japanese. Certainly many of the pipes used are of Japanese origin, though some appear to have come from Manchuria. The old women smoke as well as the men, though the younger do not. The tobacco box and pipe-holder shown in the engraving are said to be very old. They are made of walnut wood. The box itself has some small pieces of deer bone inlaid, and the pipe-holder is prettily carved. It is very difficult to get hold of so good a set, for the Ainu prize them very highly, and sometimes have them buried with their owners, although they are smashed

to pieces before being thrown into the grave. The little piece of wire which is attached to the top of the pipe-holder is used for cleaning out the bowl of the pipe, and the round hole at the bottom is to put the pipe through when finished with.



Tobacco pipe-holder and box.

Ainu women are very fond of their children. But the poor little mites, when about a month old, are often left quite alone suspended from the roof in their cradles. Nevertheless this is not from want of feeling, for the Ainu women do love their children; but to let a child lie in its cradle and cry is not only thought to be good for its lungs, but is a part of its education. 'Babies,' say they, 'are like talkative men and women, they must have their say.' So the best way to keep a child quiet is to let it cry as much as it will. It soon learns to grow tired of howling. Such, at any rate, is the Ainu feminine belief.



An Ainu Cradle.

The cradle is made of wood, and is generally suspended from a beam in the hut in such a manner as to hang in a warm place by the fireside. It is about two feet and a half or three feet in length, and twenty inches or so wide.

Now although the women undoubtedly have a great affection for their offspring, yet some of them have a curious way of treating their babies, which appears to me to be somewhat cruel. They cut the

Mortar for Mashing Salmon Eggs and Knife-sheath.

fat part of the legs of both males and females at the joint near the pelvis, and then bind the wound up with the leather-like layers of the fungus mycelium, found between the bark and wood of dead oak, elm, or ash trees.

I have sometimes wondered whether or no this custom may not be a remnant of a ceremony resembling circumcision; but there appear to be no certain grounds for concluding it to be so. The cutting is said to be done, first, to keep the child from chafing by rubbing when it moves its legs, and

then to keep the youngster from kicking about too much, and so inconveniencing its mother when being nursed. The fungus has nothing of totemism in it, so far as I can discover, and is said to be placed over the wound simply to heal it; but the chief reasons why I think the idea of circumcision is absent are because, in the first place, it is performed by the women alone, and without prayer, the men taking no part in it, and secondly, because there is no ceremony whatever attached to it.

CHAPTER XV.

Clothing.

The *Attush*—Fancy needlework—A man's coat—Leggings, head dress and apron—Winter clothing—Bark shoes.

THE chief article of dress worn by the Ainu is a long garment, which they call *Attush*. This word really means simply 'elm fibre' or 'elm thread,' and, as the words indicate, the dresses are made from the inner bark of elm trees. Such garments are very brittle when dry, but when wet they are exceedingly strong. Elm bark is peeled off the trees in the early spring or autumn, just when the sap commences to flow upwards, or when it has finished doing so. When sufficient bark has been taken, it is carried home and put into warm stagnant water to soak. It remains here for about ten days till it has become soft, then when it has been sufficiently soaked it is taken out of the water, the layers of bark separated, dried in the sun, and the fibres divided into threads and wound up into balls for future use. Sewing thread is sometimes made in the same way, only it is chewed till it becomes round and solid. Sometimes, however, thread is made by chewing the green fibre as soon as taken from the trees. When all the threads have been prepared, the women sit down and proceed with their weaving. These garments are very rough

indeed, reminding one of sackcloth, and are of a dirty brown colour. It is therefore no wonder that those Ainu who can afford it prefer to wear the softer Japanese clothing.

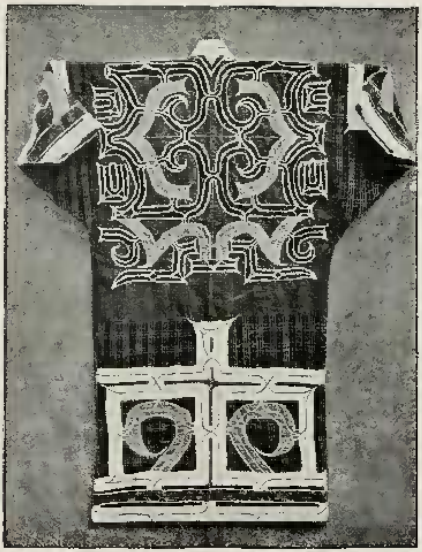
But the cloth made of elm bark in its natural condition is not so dark a colour as some of the people seem to prefer. In order therefore to make it darker they dye it. This is done by first steeping

A Woman Weaving Cloth.

it in a hot decoction made from the bark of oak or the *Alnus incana*, and then immersing it in marshy places rich in iron for a week or so. This turns the bark to a reddish black colour, and the whole product is called *kunnep*, 'the black article.'

The women take pride in fancy needlework, as to be sure good housewives should do, and are very tasteful in their arrangements of both pattern and colour. This embroidery is done with Japanese

stuffs and coloured threads and cottons, generally upon a groundwork of their own elm-bark cloth. One of these dresses, in the writer's possession, took up all the spare time of a woman during a whole year to make. The work of different villages



Ainu Chief's Coat (Back).

presents different patterns ; those of one village are not necessarily the same as those of another. In fact, when an Ainu of one district goes into another clothed in an embroidered dress, the people he meets can with almost certainty tell whence he comes, from the pattern of his coat.

Patterns of Clothing.

There are patterns recognised as suitable for men, and others especially for women. No man would think of wearing a coat with patterns on it which are recognised as belonging to women, any more than an European would think of putting on

Ainu Man's Coat (Front).

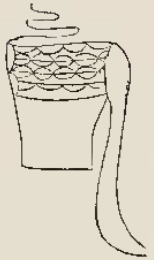
petticoats; nor would a woman put on a coat that has patterns appropriated by the men, any more than an English lady would think of donning a man's coat and trousers. The women's garments are not so highly decorated as those of the men, though with us this is *vice versâ*. The wives take

pride in dressing up their husbands, especially on the occasion of a bear feast; but they themselves prefer a good show of beads, ear-rings, finger-rings, necklaces and bracelets, set off with a tastefully-tattooed mouth.

Ainu Woman's Dress (Back).

The men, on the other hand, take great pride in their wives' needlework, and they are exceedingly particular about having the corners of their ornamental patterns properly turned. If a curve is not quite so well turned as a man thinks it should be, or a line not quite straight, he will storm away finely,

and sometimes make his wife unpick her work and do it all over again.

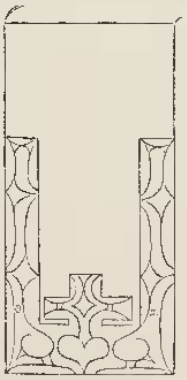


Leggings.

All the grown-up people wear head-dresses to keep the hair back and head warm, as well as leggings and aprons of the pattern shown in the following illustration. It used to be the custom also, and is still so in some places, for a

Chipanup, or Woman's Head-dress.

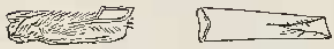
woman upon the loss of her husband either to have the hair plucked out or her head clean shaven. Not only was she supposed to remain indoors as much as possible, and keep herself entirely by herself till her hair once more grew long, but as soon as it got any length she was obliged to have it shaved off again. This was to show her great loss and sorrow. This shaving of the head must have been a painful process before the Ainu got Japanese razors, and when they used either flints or sharp shells for the purpose. As soon as a woman has her head shaved she puts on a widow's bonnet, which she is obliged to wear during the whole period of her



An Apron.

widowhood. These bonnets are now generally made of thick Japanese cloth, and have a hole left in the hinder part of the crown for ventilation. I have also sometimes met widowers wearing these hoods.

Skin Coat.



Skin Shoes.

For winter wear the women sew dog, bear, deer, wolf, or fox skins upon the back of their *attush* or elm-fibre garments, and wear skin shoes made of deer or salmon skins. Both men and women wear gloves on the back of their hands. Formerly they used also to wear skin trousers; but as skins are now somewhat scarce, these articles of dress are dispensed with. The women, both in summer and winter, wear leggings made of grass or rushes, and both men and women sleep with their heads wrapped up in a cloth or head-dress.

A Snow-shoe.

I suppose one would not be far wrong in placing snow-shoes under the heading of clothing, for they are part of the walking outfit. The first illustration shows the form of a pair formerly in

the Hakodate Museum, but which really came from the island of Saghalien. The shoe consists of a single piece of wood neatly covered over with sealskin. The dimensions are five feet seven inches long, by seven-and-a-half inches wide. They are fastened to the feet by means of a skin thong. The second illustration shows the kind used in Yezo. They are made of vine, but being so short it is difficult to walk any distance in them, for they sink far into the snow. Indeed, they can only be worn with any degree of comfort from January to March, while the snow is hard.

Yezo Snow Shoes.

During the summer months the people usually go barefoot; but should it be necessary to cover their feet, as for a long journey, for example, they make sandals of bark—the bark of the vine being taken by preference.

CHAPTER XVI.

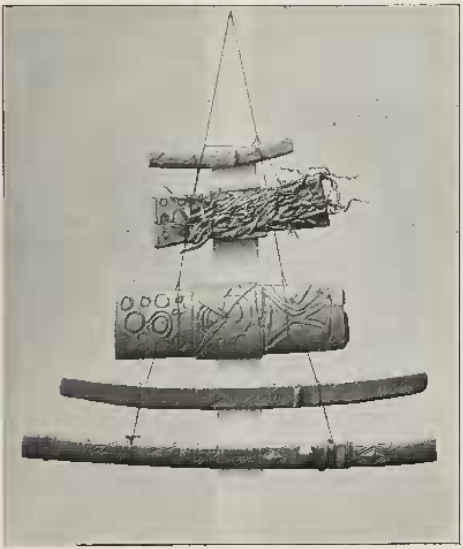
Treasures and Ornaments.

Ainu treasures and ornaments—Swords—*Ikoro*—Women's fondness for ornaments—Finger-rings—Ear-rings—Ear-rings probably totems—Crown-wearing a survival of totemism.

THE treasures and ornaments of well-to-do Ainu consist not in such things as gold, silver, or precious stones, but in Japanese lacquer-ware vessels and old swords. The former are called *shintoko*—that is, 'things of beauty'—and the latter *tombe*—that is, 'shining things,' and also '*ikoro*'—that is, 'possessions.' The *shintoko* used to be paid to the people, well filled with rice or wine, in return for the skins of animals or fish, and were sometimes bestowed upon the chiefs as a mark of distinction. They are nearly all of Japanese manufacture, but some evidently came from Corea. The *tombe* and *ikoro* are spears and ancient swords and such-like heirlooms, which, however, are now bladeless (for it is said that the Ainu were not allowed by the ancient Japanese to have any blades to their swords). They also prize pieces of wood made in the shape of their old swords and daggers. These bladeless swords are usually stowed away in long boxes and placed upon the beams of the huts, and are not shown to strangers. They also set a high value upon old bows and arrows and tobacco

boxes, while the smaller wooden instruments are used for decorating the heads of bears after they have been sacrificed.

The women are very childish in their fondness for toy-like ornaments, and some of the wary



IKORO.

Japanese pedlars have been known to take advantage of this weakness, and make large profits out of it. For instance, the ear-rings made of white metal, but called silver and worth about sixpence in Hakodate, I have seen sold to the Ainu women for the value of six shillings; and rings which sell at a

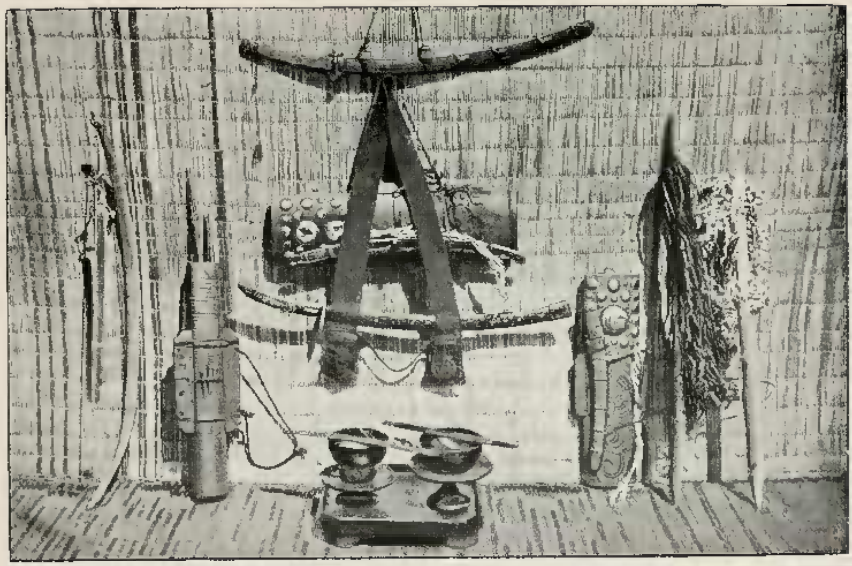
shilling in Hakodate sold in Piratori for twelve shillings.

If those who bought had not the money required for the purchase ready to hand, the pedlars did not mind, though they haggled a great deal about it. Finally, at the earnest request of the buyer, I have seen them condescend to take skins or fish in payment. In this way two or three fox skins or a deer's skin have gone for a pair of metal ear-rings.

Besides ear-rings, the women are extremely fond of glass beads. Some of these are of Japanese make, others appear to have come from China. The people believe that the ancients got them from the *Rushikai*—that is, Russians and Manchurians. Beads which cost a penny or two in Hakodate were sold to the Ainu for three shillings.

Finger-rings—some made of brass and called gold, others made of white metal and called silver—were also eagerly acquired, and many a pedlar has made a good harvest out of such gimcrack trumpery. The necklaces of the Ainu women and children are generally home-made. This consists of a collar of leather or Japanese cloth, upon which melted white metal is fixed into shape something like a flower. They are sometimes made of lead. The women of Saghalien wear belts of the same shape, but ornamented with large rings and Chinese cash instead of lead.

The women are also very fond of fastening their clothes together by means of any shells which strike their fancy as being pretty; but if they can get hold of an old sword-guard, they place it in the fire to make it look like bronze, and then their happiness is complete.



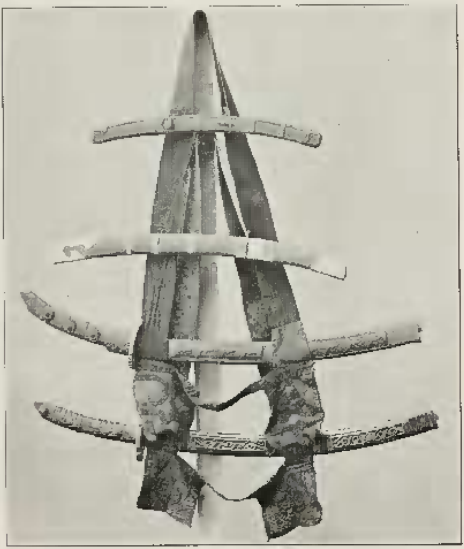
AINU TREASURES.

Both men and women wear ear-rings, although those worn by the men are as a rule nothing more than pieces of red material. This fact reminds me of a circumstance of a somewhat peculiar nature which happened a few years ago. I had one evening been speaking about the brotherhood of man, whatever the country, race, colour, language, or civilisation might be. The address was well received, and appeared to have made some impression on the listeners, and upon finishing my remarks I was politely invited to have my ears bored, that my brotherhood with the Ainu race might thereby be sealed. Much of what good feeling may have been stirred up by my address was reduced, I fear, to a nullity because I refused to have my ears bored and a piece of red cloth stuck through. Of course it would have made matters far worse had I attempted to explain to them that I desired to raise them to the Christian level in their ideas regarding these things; for they might possibly have thought I was looking down upon them on account of this custom of ear-boring, and it always behoves us in such cases to be careful about causing any unnecessary offence.

I have been informed by several old men that their ancestors always wore a piece of actinidia or grape-vine through their ears in the most ancient times, and I cannot help thinking that in this we have an evident case of the survival of tree totemism. The lore supplied me about these vines is as follows :—

'The actinidia and grape-vines have their origin in Paradise. Now, all the trees of Paradise are of

silver, gold, and bronze. After God had created the world He sent Aioina down to inspect it. Upon arrival he discovered that there were no actinidia and grape-vines growing out of the earth. He therefore returned to Paradise and fetched one



Old Swords.

silver and one gold actinidia and one bronze grape-vine. The grape-vine was climbing up a bronze tree, while the silver and golden actinidia were entwined round a silver and golden tree respectively. Thus it happens that these once heavenly vines are now upon the earth.'

As they thus had their origin in Paradise, the Ainu, when they are sick, take the stem of any one of them, and, having made it into an *inao*, worship it, saying: 'O thou divine vine, I now call upon thee in prayer. This man is very ill and near to death's door; make haste, I beseech thee, and save him. O thou divine vine, thou didst have thy origin in Paradise, and didst come down thence to this earth. Thou art therefore the one who ought to help this man. In Paradise the soil is metal, and all things which grow out of it are endowed with strength and life. Besides, if thou art made into medicine and drunk, thou oughtest to work cures, for this is thy duty. Do thou, therefore, make haste and heal this man.' After having said this prayer, the worshipper salutes the *inao*, cuts some of it into small chips, steeps it in very hot water, and then hands it to the sick person to drink.

CROWN WITH FOX TOTEM.

Here, then, do we find a clear case of tree worship or totemism connected with the vine; and this is a matter which is of special interest, when remembered in connection with wearing ear-rings made of this kind of wood.

Now, if totemism may be discovered in the fact of wearing ear-rings, it may much more surely be found in the use of Ainu crowns.

That the Ainu wear crowns upon their heads

Crown with Kite Totem.

when indulging in their feasts and solemn ceremonies has already been mentioned, and it is a fact so well known that all writers have remarked upon it as a matter of course. Indeed, no traveller appears to think that he has *done* the Ainu unless he photos or sketches old Penri ornamented with his crown. But it is a very great mistake to imagine that these ornaments imply anything regal, for all, even quite young lads, sometimes don them. They are, I am informed, simply used for the purpose of keeping the hair out of the eyes and the eating and drinking utensils. They are called by three special names: the first is *sapa-umbe*, *i.e.* 'the thing for the head': then, *inao-ru*, *i.e.* 'strips of the fetich': and lastly, *ekashpa-umbe*, *i.e.* 'things for the heads of the ancients.' The article worn by the women is called *chipanup*, *i.e.* 'the head tier,' and was mentioned in the chapter on clothing.

The folk-lore concerning them is as follows:—

'In ancient times when the people made their feasts, neither the men nor women tied up the hair of their heads. The consequence was that the hair was constantly falling over the eyes and into the drinking cups. Then the men said: "This is not good. It is very unseemly for the hair to be allowed to fall thus into the food and drink. Let us encircle our heads with *inao-ru*, *i.e.* 'strips of the fetich'; they will keep the hair back." And so a council was held, in which it was decided that the men should wear crowns and the women tie up their hair with a piece of cloth.'

No doubt such an account is sufficient to satisfy the Ainu of the present day; but I cannot say that

I am altogether in love with the explanation. It is my firm conviction that in so far as the men are concerned the crowns are just totemistic signs. If not, why, it may well be asked, should they have the heads of animals and birds carved upon them, or the bills of the very birds themselves fixed to them? The Ainu say that those of their race are the most proud and haughty who have their brows ornamented with crowns decorated with the heads of bears, while those who prefer the bills of birds are of a quieter disposition. If this is taken in connection with the undoubted fact that some of the people imagine themselves to be descended from bears, and others from birds, and that they actually worship very many kinds of birds and animals, I think we have no alternative but to call them totemistic signs.

In addition to the heads of bears, I have seen some crowns ornamented with the representations of hawks, owls, foxes and wolves. The inside or foundation of the crowns consists of a plaited or braided framework of bark, and to the lower edges of this six pieces of cloth are suspended, three on each side. Long twisted shavings of willow are bound round the framework, the ends being allowed to protrude behind, so as to look something like a tuft of curls or a short tail. Some of the bears' heads are also decorated with a hunter's quiver carved beneath the lower jaw, and others, it is curious to observe, are furnished with long beards. On first remarking these last, I was forcibly reminded of the beards to be seen attached to the people represented on the old Babylonian and

Assyrian sculptures, but a closer inspection shows that they bear a greater resemblance to the ancient Egyptian 'beard cases,' as a comparison with the beard of Memnon in the British Museum will show.

Although these crowns may at present be nothing more than totemistic signs, yet one may well ask what it is that lies at the back of totemism itself, which caused particular birds and animals to be chosen as totems rather than others. That the people originally held themselves to have been descended from the lower orders in creation would appear, on due consideration, to be quite beyond belief. Let us therefore examine the matter a little further.

It will be remembered that in ancient times the beard was considered by many nations to be a sign of strength and manhood. Among the Persians and Arabs, and other nations, the removal of the beard was regarded as a great punishment and degradation. The case of David's ambassadors, recorded in 2 Samuel, chap. x, illustrates the same feeling among the Jews. The Ainu also, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, have a great affection for their beards. They regard them as a sign of manhood and strength, and consider them as especially handsome. They look upon them indeed as a great and highly prized treasure.

Now when we consider that the Ainu regard the bear as 'the king of the forest,' that he is the greatest and most powerful animal in Ainu-land, and that he is worshipped by the people, we see at once the appropriateness of carving bears' heads with human beards, and placing them as ornaments

upon their festive and sacerdotal crowns; for the beard would appear as an emblem or symbol of power. It seems to me to be no more strange that bears should be represented as having human beards than that certain Babylonian gods should be conceived of or represented as being bulls with birds' wings and human heads, or that Diana of Ephesus should be carved with a castle upon her head; which things are all symbolical.

Ainu Men wearing Crowns.

A further ray of light may be thrown on this subject, if we take into consideration the fact, that in the buffalo dances which used to be indulged in with great spirit and enjoyment by the Red Indians of America, each of the dancers was in the habit of arraying his head with buffalo's horns. The carved bear's head set in a crown is as much part and parcel of a bear feast amongst the Ainu as the buffalo horns were part and parcel of, and so

necessary in, the buffalo dance amongst the Red Indians. Further, we are told by travellers in Abyssinia that those of the people who are governors of provinces wear a head-dress ornamented with a horn, which is an emblem of power.

In so far as the Ainu are concerned, the conclusion at which we arrive is this. The bear was originally worshipped on account of his great power, endurance and majesty; the wolf on account of his ferocity, tenacity and quickness in attack; and the fox because of his cunning and fleetness of foot; the eagle was worshipped because of his sharp-sightedness; the kite on account of his swiftness in flight; and the owl because of his power of sight in piercing the gloom of darkness; while trees were worshipped owing to their durability, and cereals on account of the sustenance they give the body. It was in order to obtain these individual qualities of power that these various objects were first prayed to; the next step was to make totems of them and then deify them. It required after this a very little stretch of the imagination for the people to think themselves to have had one of these creatures for their ancestor. Moreover, when we find crowns and other objects nicely decorated with beasts, birds and trees, they must be taken as symbolical embodiments of the powers above mentioned. In this, then, we find the origin of totemism, and in totemism the foundations of clan organisations. For a further illustration of this matter I would direct the reader's attention to the chapters on totemism.

CHAPTER XVII.

About Ainu Men.

General appearance of the men—The hair—Finger-nails—Objection to having the hair cut—Prison troubles—Malodours and dirt—The men as family priests.

ALTHOUGH the Ainu have a sturdy physique and usually look strong, being a thick-set, squarely-built and full-chested people, yet they are not what one would call handsome or strong. Most of the men have fine bushy dark beards; their eyebrows are long and shaggy, their eyes deeply set, and of a sparkling dark brown colour; their cheek bones are prominent, foreheads high, and heads well covered with hair. Their skin, like that of Europeans, is whiter by nature than that of their Japanese neighbours, though the sun has tanned the parts exposed to his rays and given many of them a brunette complexion. For some reason or other the hair and beards turn grey somewhat early in life, so that comparatively young men often have a venerable appearance.

The people prize the hair of the head very highly, and take great care not to lose any of it. That of both men and women is cut and trimmed behind in the shape of a half moon, while the fore part is allowed to reach to the shoulders. The nape of the neck and top of the forehead are clean shaven. No doubt the operation of shaving was

very painful in olden times, when the work was performed by means of sharp stones and shells. Nor are there any professional barbers among them. It is the duty of the women to shave their husbands and sons.

It was shown in Chapter I. how it is supposed by some that the body of the first man was made of earth, while the backbone consisted of a stick of willow, and the hair of the head of chickweed; and it was also shown that the willow tree is regarded as the special tutelary deity of every individual of the race; indeed, it was noted that the willow should be regarded as the 'birth-tree' of the Ainu. This is a phase of totemism, and closely borders on sympathetic magic. Now, like so many other uncivilised people, the Ainu also imagines it to be very unlucky to allow an enemy to get hold of any of his hair, and also, for the matter of that, of any of his nail-parings either. They are extremely careful therefore that this should not be done. Sympathetic magic, pure and simple, lies at the foundation of this superstition. Should an enemy manage to obtain some, however little it might be, it is said that he would pray over them that curses might fall on the original possessor, after which he would bury them. It is supposed that the life of the person from whom they were taken can only last after this just so long as they do. When they decay the man dies, for it is believed that the body sickens and gradually becomes weak as they rot away.

An instance of the Ainu objection to having their hair cut after any other fashion than that

mentioned above will be found in the following story related to me by an old Ainu many years ago. He said:—

'In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people were ordered by the Governor of Matsumae to cut their hair after the Japanese fashion. Upon this order going forth the chiefs of Yezo held a great meeting, at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be countermanded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And although a few Ainu who lived at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight.'

I have met with several instances where the men have considered the hair-cutting that people are subjected to in the Japanese prisons a peculiarly great hardship. Nay, where they have thought the greatest punishment to be that of cropping the head. To be cast into prison after having had the hair cut has been considered by them as a great injustice, and they have therefore come out of that place far more hardened than they went in. But this, of course, could not be helped, as the judges did not, in all probability, know the Ainu feelings respecting the matter, or what superstitions were mixed up in it.

A special rule concerning hair and forbidding the cutting of it is enshrined in the following folk-lore:—

'Should a person lose his wife by death, he should immediately cut his hair, and assume a look

of sadness. But he ought not, however, to wear a hood, for he must worship the gods and mix with men; and it is not fitting in a person to approach gods and men having his head covered with a hood. Should a person cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near and dear friends will die soon after it. So taught the deities. Let all therefore beware.'

Again :—

'In ancient times, when the divine Aioina came down from heaven to instruct the people, he said: "Let any woman whose husband dies cut and tear her hair, and look miserable and sad. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, the men will come and sport with her, and that is a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should any person who has lost a husband or wife marry a second time. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave." So taught the divine Aioina.' It is needless to remark, however, that such superstitions as these are now fast disappearing.

When I first came into contact with the Ainu, especially with those who were then found living near to or among the Japanese, I could not help noticing what a chilling air of depression they wore on their countenances. They were anything but pleasing to the eye, but aroused a strong sense of pity within me, and an earnest desire to do something to make them happier. I noticed too that they very seldom washed their entire persons, and

still less often their clothes. They also carried, and many of them still do, a large stock of insects in their apparel. However, many of the people have vastly improved in all these respects. Indeed, so careful are some of them becoming that, for want of

Back View of Ainu Head of Hair.

something better, a woman was seen but a short time since tubbing her baby in her largest stew-pan.

So far as manual labour is concerned the men do not as a rule like it. They will get as far away from it as they can, or lie down by their task and sleep. But there is nothing they love so much as

hunting; at this employment they are all alive. They have an untamed, wild nature, which it will require another generation to soften. Our old servants of fifteen years ago had at times to be allowed to go off to the mountains for a day, and have a good run and scream in the fresh air, or perhaps a horse ride or a day's fishing, to let off their spirits. If we did not give them leave, they simply took it. This used to cause us some little inconvenience; but as it always did them good, and put them into a good temper, we did not mind.

From what was said above as regards cleanliness, it will be gathered that the people are malodorous at times. And truly this is the case. They sometimes walk long distances in a hot sun carrying heavy loads of dried fish upon their backs. Such fish have an unpleasant and strong smell, and, when once the odour and oil gets well into their clothes, it remains there always, and only requires a little perspiration to bring it out in its strength. Not only so, but it is sometimes quite painful to sit in a hut where there has lately been some kinds of such fish cooked and partaken of. On such occasions I have more than once found it convenient to take a turn at exercise out of doors.

That the men should be very much looked up to by the women is to be expected, for it is they who attend to the religious wants of the family, and, as has already been intimated, the only part the women take in the practice of religion is to prepare the feasts and offer libations of *saké* or beer made of millet to the ancestors when special circumstances suggest it.

Ainu Wit.

It must not be supposed that the Ainu are without a certain kind of wit, for the two following incidents show it to be otherwise.

One day I happened to be addressing an audience on a certain subject, and in the illustration I was using there was a camel. This animal took the fancy of the people at once, and I found myself obliged, in order to satisfy the demands of my audience, to leave the matter I was speaking on and confine myself to the camel alone. There is plenty to tell such childlike people about in that wonderful creature. In fact, there seem to be more wonders connected with the camel and its anatomy and powers of endurance than some of the people can believe. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking on the soft and yielding sand; the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store up and carry water for future use; how lives have been saved by killing these animals and taking the water; the use of the hump in repairing the wear and tear of tissue; all these and other things taken together really seemed too wonderful for the brain of these docile Ainu. One person was like that Indian prince who, prior to experience, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. He was heard to say in a very quiet but distinct voice, 'And, sir, is not the camel so constructed that it can carry a drop of *saké* inside?' Undoubtedly the camel was more than that docile, simple and child-like man could swallow. He probably thought I was drawing the long-bow, and

desired to see how far I would go if properly led on.

On a certain occasion a gentleman happened to be travelling through the forests of Yezo with an Ainu as guide. He had his gun with him, in case he should chance to meet a bear. As they were proceeding on their journey the Ainu pointed to something alive under the bushes. The traveller thereupon dismounted, and fired at what he supposed to be the living animal. Immediately after the report of the gun an animal, which seems to have been a wolf, bounded off further into the forest, leaving something behind, however, which appeared to have been shot. On going to the spot the Ainu discovered a half hare, which he brought back with him. Evidently the wolf was fired at when in the act of devouring his breakfast. The Ainu took the half hare along with him, and, on reaching the Japanese inn in the evening, proceeded to skin it. This was observed by the inn-keeper, who, the Ainu appeared to think, was a little too inquisitive about the matter. A conversation something like the following was heard to take place between them :—

Inn-keeper : What have you there ?

Ainu : As you see, merely half a hare.

Inn-keeper : What are you doing with it ?

Ainu : Skinning it for my supper.

Inn-keeper : How is it you have only got half a hare ?

Ainu : My master shot it.

Inn-keeper : How ?

Ainu : By aiming at it with his gun and pulling the trigger.

Inn-keeper: But how did he shoot half only?

Ainu: Well, it happened like this. Hares, as you know, are among the swiftest running animals in creation, and this one was the fleetest of the fleet. My master too is a splendid shot; among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

Inn-keeper: *Hai. Doshita?* Yes! How?

Ainu: Thus; you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One clever at shooting, and the other at running away. It was therefore impossible for master to miss the hare, and equally impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half was shot and half escaped. In short, the other half of the hare ran away on four legs, though you see two here.

Inn-keeper: *Uso da!* It's a lie!

Such childlike docility and simplicity were altogether too much for that inn-keeper; he smiled, called the Ainu a *chikusho*, 'beast,' and left

CHAPTER XVIII.

About Ainu Women.

General appearance of the women—Woman's status—Woman's work—Angry women—A child turned into a goat-sucker.

WHEN I first came into contact with the Ainu women they appeared to me to be an astonishingly ugly, spiritless, and dejected set of human beings. The dark sooty-coloured tattoo marks upon the mouth and arms treated of in Chapter III., the unshod feet, the hair, matted and unkempt, the scanty, untidy garments, and a variety of other things, went together to give me that unfavourable impression. To me it is not surprising to find, therefore, that some who have come into contact with them should have gone away disgusted, and with the opinion that it would not be any great loss to humanity if the Ainu were to become extinct. But that I am not of this way of thinking the appearance of this work and my life among them will prove.

On better and fuller acquaintance with them, however, I do not find the women to be so sullen and uninteresting as they at first sight appeared. I am well acquainted with some two or three thousand of them, and among this number I find many who are indeed bright, modest and intelli-

gent; while some, barring the tattoo (yet even tattoo has a quaint kind of beauty peculiar to itself), are quite good-looking. All, indeed, are at times happy and merry, particularly when there are no strangers near, or a bear feast is in progress.

That the women are treated more or less as inferior beings has already been noticed. Their whole life is, in a vast majority of cases, a slavish drudgery, caused chiefly, I believe, through the hard drinking of the men. From morning till night, and from one year's end to another, it is work almost without cessation, and much of their work is manual labour of the most tiring kind.

In the spring-time they crawl out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, with perhaps a morsel of uncooked dried fish by way of relish, shoulder their tools, and proceed to the patches of land they call their gardens, to dig up the soil and sow the seeds, returning to their huts at sunset, only to take another meal like that of the morning, and again lie down to sleep. They often take but two meals a day—one in the early morning and the other at night; but then they make up for the mid-day meal by eating in the evening perhaps twice or thrice as much as an ordinary person. Sometimes they eat a good meal, rest for about half-an-hour, then take another, and retire to bed in quite a happy frame of mind.

Some women appear able to go without food for a very long time, and can carry heavy loads upon their backs all day without touching a particle

of food. In the early spring they and girls go to the mountains to get the fibre from elm-trees, with which they make the kind of cloth they call *attush*.

During the summer months they have not quite so much to do in their gardens; they therefore work a good deal at weaving cloth, making and mending clothes, twisting string and coarse thread, and cutting wood. But as soon as the autumn comes round and the crops of barley and millet have to be reaped and harvested, the beans and peas gathered, and the potatoes dug up and stored, all is astir.

The mode of reaping is a long process, for it consists of merely walking through the gardens and pinching off the millet and barley heads with sharp shells. The straw is left standing, for they have no use for that. Then, a little later on, just before the snow begins to fall, the women and children go away into the forests to pick up chestnuts, which are used as an article of food among them. About the same time they dig up the roots of the dog-tooth violet (*Erythronium dens canis*). These they wash, boil, and mash up into a pulp, then make into cakes and dry in the sun for winter food.

The gardens consist merely of small patches of land, generally upon the banks of rivers or in a valley. They cultivate one piece of land for two or three years running, then let it go to waste, and take a fresh plot. This is quite necessary, for they use no manure. The Ainu understand nothing about agriculture; they have no idea as

to how to cultivate the land. So long as a woman can procure sufficient food for her family to last through the winter, that is all she cares about. Whenever the gardens fail, the people live as well as they can by hunting in the mountains, by what they can catch in the sea, or by such things as grow naturally.

An old Ainu was once working for me in my garden. It was the early spring, and the proper season for digging up the ground preparatory to sowing and planting the various seeds. Upon telling him to improve the ground by digging in some manure, that we might reap a good and plentiful harvest, he replied to this effect: 'What, will you, a clergyman and preacher of religion, so dishonour and insult the gods? Will not the gods give due increase without your attempting to force their hand or endeavouring to drive Nature?' Considerably surprised, I looked at him to see if he were joking. But he was quite serious.

In the conversation which followed it came out that the Ainu believe strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and consider that they must be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings must not attempt to interfere with their dispensations, and desire to get more than they intend to freely bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men, and not of men to help the gods. Man must sow, but the gods alone can give the increase. After a long conversation with this old man I found it easy to understand why the people never manure or

attempt to improve their scraps of cultivated land. Instead of this, they change their garden plots every second or third year, or even oftener, if the land shows signs of exhaustion. The readiest explanation that occurs to the stranger is idleness; but the people strenuously assert that this is not the case. However, they are very sensibly now modifying their belief, and, as a consequence, their actions in this respect.

A few generations ago it is said that there was a great famine in Yezo, so that thousands upon thousands of animals—deer, bears, foxes, wolves and rats died. The Ainu would not have minded the famine so much but for this. The death of the animals was far worse than the failure of the crops; for the staple food was flesh. A great number of them died, starved to death. Those who lived toward the south of Yezo saved themselves by fleeing to Mororan, in Volcano Bay, where they were kept alive by eating shell fish- the *H liotis tuberculata*, or 'sea-ear.'

These fish are very plentiful about Chiripet and Mororan. I believe the story of this ancient famine is quite true, for near the seashore, about two miles from Mororan, there are some very large heaps of sea-ear shells to be seen, covered with nearly a foot of black earth.

In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assist the men to net or spear the large salmon which are found in the rivers about this time. After this, the main stock of wood for winter firing has to be cut, split, dragged or carried home,

and stored away. Then millet must be pounded, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to. Thus is the woman the slave of the man.

It might be thought that if an Ainu woman's lot is hard and laborious out of doors, she must surely

Ainu Woman, and Child in Cradle.

lead an easier life at home, and there find rest and a little comfort.

But even here she has a great deal to do, with little rest and next to no comfort. The cooking must be attended to. But this is not a very formidable task, as cooking has not yet attained to any very high perfection. In no sense are the

Ainu epicures. The women also must attend to the cleaning, smoking, and drying of fish, when there are any; must keep the fire going and the water-butt full; must look after the children, and pay due attention to the husband's wants, and see to the mending and making of clothes. There is, to be sure, very little scullery work to be done—not, indeed, because the utensils are in every case scarce, but because the Ainu do not see why an eating cup, shell, or platter, should be washed at all excepting upon very rare occasions. 'After all,' they argue, 'it is only food that goes into our utensils; why need they then be washed? They will be used and dirtied again directly, therefore let them remain dirty.' Hence there is very little 'washing up' in an Ainu hut. Nevertheless, there are a few exceptions to this, as well as to every other rule; and the Christians are certainly more cleanly in this respect.

The existence of Ainu women being one of such trial, sorrow, and hard work, it is not to be wondered at that many of them have a down-trodden, hopeless look. They have no special joys in the present, and no bright hopes for the future; their whole time and thought are given to the necessary tasks of every-day life. No wonder some of them, overcome by the troubles and worries of every-day existence, think life a burden and sorrow, and give way to despair.

The way in which an Ainu woman can curse when she is angry is simply wonderful; and no trick is too mean, unclean, and unseemly, for the expression of her wrath and vengeance upon the objects of her hate and fury.

This cursing is not always an invocation to the gods for harm or injury against the person, for Ainu women very seldom, if ever, pray for anything; nor is it what is commonly called swearing, or using profane language, for the women are not addicted to this useless and evil habit. They have, it is true, no word in their vocabulary which means 'to blaspheme,' but their cursings consist in uttering imprecations against a person, and in calling him bad names.

A very young man she will call *tontoneppo*, which means, I believe, 'a little hairy thing,' and the 'wild boar,' next 'leather-like,' and lastly 'bald-pated.' A middle-aged man she will call *hokuyuk*, 'a man-eating bear'; but the worst term of contempt a woman can apply to anybody is, *rai-guru*, 'a corpse.'

Besides calling the men hard names, the women have other means of venting their spite against them. They will, for instance, peep at them round corners, make grimaces at them behind their backs, put out their tongues to the utmost extent, and roll their eyes about, and otherwise act in a manner too indecent for description. Now, many of the men are dreadfully afraid of angry women; not, indeed, so much that they fear their hard words and ugly looks, but they fear their actions.

Two things they particularly dread; that they should steal and hide their religious *inao*; or that they should make them eat partially decayed human flesh, or some other filthy substance.

Angry women have been known to steal and hide away or burn their husband's *inao*. This is a particularly bad kind of sacrilege, for the gods, not

being able to find their representative offerings, will think they have been neglected, and thus be led to cease blessing and extending their favours to the people, and perhaps requite them by sending some calamity or trouble, especially in the shape of madness or paralysis.

Not only will the gods cease blessing any Ainu who neglects to set up his *inao*, but his own tribe and people will cast him out. He then loses his fraternity, and is, in a sense, boycotted: such a man is looked upon by his household and friends as an atheist. Perhaps the worst name that can be applied to an Ainu, and that which most deeply wounds his feelings is, *inao sak guru*—'a person without *inao*.' Such a person is not able to take part in the great national bear feast, and thus misses a good chance of getting drunk. He becomes, in fact, an object of hatred and ridicule, and is an outcast.

It is curious that no punishment appears to be devised for such misdemeanours. It might be thought that the women of so religious and superstitious a race as the Ainu would not have nerve enough for such things. But the religion, so far as worship is concerned, is all on the male side—the women have no share in it, and hence, when they are thoroughly angry, fear neither gods nor men.

I will conclude this chapter on women by setting forth a most interesting illustration of evolution in its downward course as shown in an Ainu tradition of the goat-sucker, owing its origin to the carelessness of a woman nursing her child. No doubt many funny things have been said about this bird, and

Daughter of Japanese Father and Ainu Mother.

Pliny and Aristotle call it by the name Caprimulgus and Aigothelas, which, by translation, mean 'goat-sucker.'

And these names were given to it because they believed in the popular notion that this bird lived by sucking the teats of goats. But the Ainu, it must be remarked, know nothing of goats, excepting so far as I myself have introduced these animals among them, and so give quite a different version of the origin of the name by which they know the bird now under discussion, indeed, he is called *habo-totto*, and that means, curiously enough, 'mother, feed me,' or 'mother, suckle me.' This name is said to have been given him because when he was once in the bodily form of a human baby he is supposed to have been heard calling out, 'Mother, suckle me,' 'Grandmother, feed me.'

The legend tells us that the goat-sucker was once a human child, and that out of sheer mischief a demon changed it into a fiend. No doubt the mother herself was to be blamed for neglecting her baby; and the transformation of it into a bird and demon is to be taken as a warning to women to take proper care of their offspring. I have already spoken of the demon called *nitat un rabe*, *i.e.* 'the aunt of swamps,' in Chapter IV., and we are now told that she is the demon who stole the child and did all the mischief. No wonder, then, that she is hated and feared. Now, although the child once managed somehow to escape out of her clutches, yet, because its cry for food was left unheeded by the mother, the fiend came again and caught it, turned it into a goat-sucker, and possessed its

nature. Here, then, is a warning to all mothers to attend to their babes when they cry, and to keep them near at hand. It need hardly be remarked that this bird is not regarded with any favour by the women, and that the sound of its note is looked upon as an omen of evil.

Legend of the Origin of the Goat-Sucker.

'Once upon a time, in far-away and bygone ages, a certain woman took her baby on her back and went to work in her garden. Upon arriving there she placed the child securely in a cradle, and left it hanging to a branch of a tree while she went further off to labour. After working for some time, she began to feel tired, and so returned to the place where she had left her child, thinking to take a little rest and give it some food. But, alas, both baby and cradle were nowhere to be found. Thereupon the mother was greatly distressed, and wept bitterly; the people also gathered together to see what the matter was, to weep, and render assistance. After listening to the cause of her grief, they searched high and low for the lost child; but all was in vain. As they were unable to find it, search how they might, they concluded that some wild beast had stolen it away. So, too, thought the mother. Having arrived at this conclusion, they all returned to their huts with aching hearts and weeping eyes. After many days had elapsed and many nights had passed away, a voice was suddenly heard in the garden where the child had been lost, crying, *Habo-totto, huchi-totto*, "Mother, suckle me. Grand-

mother, feed me." But the people thought the voice was that of some demon or wild animal, and so were afraid to go near, especially as the cry was heard at night. After a time all the people in the village had a dream, which was as follows: In their dream the lost child came to them, and in an angry voice said, "Pay ye attention to what I now say. I am the child which was lost, and this is the way it happened. The demon of swamps came suddenly upon me as I was hanging there on the tree near the garden, and stealing me away, hid me among the marshes so that you were unable to find me, search as you would. By and by, I seized an opportunity which offered to escape, and came back to the garden and called in a loud voice, 'Mother, suckle me. Grandmother, feed me,' for I had become hungry. But you would not come to my assistance. The demon, therefore, came and caught me again, and this time changed my body into that of a bird. Yet although I am like a bird in outward appearance, my voice will always be human, and my cry will ever be, *Habo-totto, huchi-totto*, 'Mother, suckle me. Grandmother, feed me.'" Such was the dream. After the people had dreamed this, they awoke and went to the place where the cry had been heard. Upon arrival they saw a bird which was in bodily shape something like a cradle, and the cry was indeed as though one said, "Mother, suckle me. Grandmother, feed me." For this reason the Ainu call the goat-sucker, *huchi-totto* and *habo-totto*, as well as *tokitto*. As such is the origin of the bird and its cry, and as the sound of its note is so like a child calling "Mother, suckle me.

Grandmother, feed me," the women, remembering its origin, weep every time they hear it. Whenever, therefore, the people hear this bird, they say to one another, "There is the cry of the *tokitto*," they may not say *totto chikap*, "breast bird," because the very mention of that name makes the poor women weep. Again, the goat-sucker only flies about and cries at night. The reason of this is that the demon of swamps only comes out at night and works in the dark, and this bird, having now her nature, resembles her in that habit. Thus, the goat-sucker was a human being in the beginning, a dear little baby, indeed, but it is now, alas, a dreadful demon.'

CHAPTER XIX.

Etiquette.

Rules of etiquette to be observed—Men's salutation—Salutation of women—Saluting children—How to enter a hut—Various matters of etiquette—How to get rid of a guest.

THERE is probably no race, however barbarous or savage, which has not some special and recognised forms of etiquette which must be observed in the social life of its individual members. These, when rightly and duly performed, cause a person to be regarded as an individual of good breeding; if neglected, he is looked upon with disfavour, and his negligence is taken either as a slight or personal insult, or as a sign of ignorance and ill-breeding.

Now the Ainu have various matters of national decorum, and about the observance of these they are very particular indeed. Personal behaviour is a subject in which they are always careful to instruct their youth. The salutation of the men, for example, is at once a common and yet an important and curious part of Ainu decorum. When living in an Ainu hut, as I have done for many months at a time, I have often seen two men saluting one another. The people also always saluted me after the orthodox Ainu style, as though I were one of themselves. Of course I endeavour, according to the best of my ability, to do the proper thing in return, after the most correct manner.

An Ainu Family.

The first step is to give a low cough and gently clear the throat before entering a hut; after this is done, and if no one comes out to invite the visitor in, he walks steadily up the centre of the hut by the right-hand side of the hearth, and sits down before the master, bare-headed and cross-legged, as though he were a tailor. Then, when the throat has again been cleared, he stretches forward his hands, as shown in the illustration.* The person he is saluting goes through similar actions, looking both attentive and respectful. The two next proceed to gently rub their hands together, by drawing back first one hand and then the other, in such a way as to allow the points of the fingers to rub the palms of each hand alternately. This is done for some little time. While rubbing the hands, the parties, one at a time, ask after each other's health, and express a wish that every heavenly blessing may be bestowed, first upon each other, then upon their wives and families, next upon their relatives, and, lastly, upon their native place. Sometimes this form of salutation is kept up for a long time, at others for only a few moments, according to circumstances and the amount of business there may be on hand. However, when this part of the performance has been satisfactorily gone through, they finish by each stroking his own beard, and at the same time making a soft rumbling sound in his throat.

When this preliminary salutation is over the visitor, after a short interval, again proceeds to rub the palms of his hands, and to tell his business.

* See page 193.

The listener also always rubs his hands in like manner as long as the speaker does. This is a very tedious affair, especially as the palm rubbing goes on very often for twenty minutes or half-an-hour. As soon as the particular matter which has led to the interview is settled, the master of the house intimates by a few familiar remarks that all formality is at an end. They then stroke their own beards to each other, and commence to talk in a natural and unrestrained manner.

This common salutation of the men is in a sense a religious exercise, because in the first part of the ceremony they ask God to bestow blessings upon each other and upon their families, and this, as will be seen, involves an act of prayer. When worshipping their fetiches and unseen gods, they salute them in exactly the same way as they do their fellow-men.

The women's mode of salutation is very curious. They never, so far as I am aware, perform the ceremony to their own sex, but only to the men. On entering a hut the woman removes her headdress, and hangs it neatly over her left arm. She then brushes back the front locks of her hair and places the right hand over her mouth. All this is preliminary. When she sees that the man she desires to address has condescended to look at her, she draws the index finger of the right hand gradually up the middle of the left and up the arm to the shoulder; then from left to right across the upper lip and close under the nose, ending by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair behind the ears. She then waits for an invitation to speak.

When the women have been away from their native villages for a long time, and again meet their sisters and other female relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another by the shoulders and weeping upon each other's necks. I have seen women in this position for half-an-hour or more at a time. In fact, in this position they will chant to each other their whole personal history since they last met. Questions are put and answered in this weeping, sing-song fashion.

The men salute the boys and girls by seizing their heads and stroking their hair from the crown to the shoulders. The engraving* shows how this is done. This possibly partakes more of the nature of a caress than of a salutation.

Whenever a person desires to visit a hut, he should never enter without being asked. But, as there are no wooden doors to knock at, what is to be done? Being unable to knock, one has to make a noise with his throat; something like a long guttural sounding, *he-he-he-he-hem.* If the person who desires to enter belongs to the village, he goes in without more ceremony; but if he is a stranger he must wait until someone who has heard the noise comes out and takes him in; once inside, he must go through the palm-rubbing, beard-stroking, and all other formalities of salutation. Men, after calling upon a person, always go out walking sideways.

Women also say *he-he-he-he-hem* before entering a hut, and as soon as they get inside make an obeisance like that which has been already

* See page 195.

described. They leave a hut by walking backwards. It is impolite for a woman to turn her back upon a man.

There are many minor rules which have to be observed. Thus, for example, never enter a hut with a head-dress on; never rush either in or out of a hut, but always go steadily and softly; never look into a hut through the window, especially the end window; never go eavesdropping; do not throw things out of the window or into the fire;

Ainu Men Saluting.

never address a stranger unless quite necessary before he or she has spoken to you. These rules are binding upon all, men, women, and children alike.

The women are always expected to take their head-dress off when they meet a man, except widows, who never remove their head-dress, but always wear the widow's hood. Women always step out of the way when they see a man coming, and make room for him to pass. They always

salute a man when they meet one by covering the mouth with the hand and fixing their eyes upon the ground. They keep out of the way as much as possible, and consider they are quite an inferior order of beings. They ought to be obedient

Ainu Woman Saluting.

to their husbands, and never rudely answer them back when they speak.

One should also be very careful not to throw anything into the fire upon the hearth, for the fire is looked upon as something very sacred. To do such a thing is not only insulting to the head of

the house, but is also a form of blasphemy towards the gods. One should therefore be extremely cautious of his behaviour in this respect. He should also be careful not to look out of or throw anything through the east-end window, for that

Saluting a Child.

also is very sacred. One's finger-nails too ought not to be cut inside the hut, for if a single piece, however small, should happen to fall into the fire, it would cause a smell, which in its turn would generate disease.

The Kamtchatdales were said to have been a

very hospitable race of people, especially among themselves. So hospitable were they, indeed, that should a guest come to stay with them it was considered disrespectful to ask him to take his departure. Dobell, writing on this point, says: 'They pay one another visits, which last for a month or six weeks, until the generous host, finding his stock of provisions exhausted, is forced to give a hint to his guest to take his departure. This is managed by presenting to him at dinner a dish called *tolkootha*—a kind of *olio*, or hodge-podge, composed of a number of meats, fish, and vegetables, all mixed together, and very difficult to prepare. It is the *dernier ressort* of the master of the house, and the moment this dish is served up the guest takes the hint, and leaves him the following day, without feeling the least dissatisfied, the proceeding being understood amongst them.'

The Ainu are also very kind and hospitable to one another, but they do not carry the sentiment above referred to to such lengths. They are very much more outspoken. They gladly take a friend in for a few days, but if they find him inclined to stay too long they tell him plainly that they would be much obliged if he would take his departure. Nevertheless, it is not considered to be the best of manners to be so plain spoken; but, on the other hand, it is not considered proper for a visitor to stay more than a day or two, unless he is particularly invited to do so, or has a good supply of *saké* with him. I have known Ainu men invite their friends to work, if they were

inclined to stay too long. This had the effect of getting rid of them post haste.

I am told that it was an old custom, however, among this people, a custom which seems to have now died out indeed, to hint to a friend that his absence would be more valued than his presence, by making a feast and inviting a few of the neighbours to share it with him. If, soon after the feast was over and the neighbours gone home, the visitor also did not take his departure, the host and hostess would leave him alone in the hut. He would not stay long after that, if sober, but if intoxicated would sleep till he became sober, and then go away. This feast was called *Paro-a-oshuke wa hoshipire maropto*, 'the feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for.'

CHAPTER XX.

Food.

The kinds of food eaten—Places at meals—How the food is helped—Mode of cleaning cups—Grace before meat—Cereal totemism.

AINU food, though not in every case that which Europeans prefer, does not, when properly cooked, come amiss at a pinch. For example, fresh salmon, codfish, venison, bear's flesh, beans, millet, potatoes, and peas, are all good in themselves when cooked in the right way. But the Ainu do not know how to cook. They are remarkably fond of stew, strongly flavoured with badly-dried fish, and almost every article of food is cast into the stewpot, and is there, according to our taste at least, completely spoiled.

However, their food is not always cooked in this manner, for fish is sometimes roasted before the fire, and potatoes are baked in the ashes upon the hearth. A hungry man can make a good and enjoyable meal off such things. They are very fond of salmon, salmon trout, young sharks, swordfish, and whale; and, in the way of flesh, bear's fat and marrow-bones, the haunch of venison, and any part of a horse or bullock, entrails included. Seaweed and various herbs, the roots of some kinds of lilies, and many water plants, as well as leeks and onions,

are used as vegetables; while grouse, wild geese, and ducks, serve for game.

The fact was mentioned in a previous chapter that the roots of the dog-tooth violet (*Erythronium dens canis*) are dug up and made into cakes and used for food. The same remarks apply also to the arrowroot (*Lilium Glehni*, Fr. Schm.) which they call *turep*, for the people extensively use the bulbs of this plant as an article of diet. They prepare them as follows. After having well washed the bulbs, they pound them in their raw state in a mortar. The flour or finer portion, which is called *irup*, is then separated from the coarser, and put in the sun to dry. When eaten this is generally made into a gruel and cooked with millet or rice. The coarser part, which is often called *shirari*, is boiled at once, and then again pounded and put into a tub to decompose. When thoroughly rotten it is again boiled and pounded. After this it is made into large cakes, called *onturep* or *turep-akam*, with a hole in the centre, and hung up to dry. When needed for food, the Ainu throw them into the millet pot and boil them. The flour is, it may be remarked, sometimes applied to burns as a remedy.

The stem and leaves of the mugwort (*Artemisia vulgari*, L.) called *noya* by the Ainu, are also used for food, when very young, in the early spring. They are taken and first boiled; next they are well pounded in a wooden mortar, and lastly made into cakes and dried for future consumption. A good deal, however, is eaten at once, having been first pounded with millet or rice. This is said to be a very nutritious food, and of itself quite sufficient to

sustain life and keep the body in a healthy condition. It is said to be of a very sweet flavour, and the people are remarkably fond of it. The ancient Ainu used to live upon this herb a great deal, we are told, and it has been the means of keeping them alive throughout more than one famine. Later on in the year, when the plant becomes older, the leaves only are taken (without the stem) and dried for future use.

Chestnuts also form an important article of food among the Ainu. They prepare them in various ways. The favourite of which is to well boil them, then take off the skins and pound them into a paste; they are then reboiled with millet or rice and eaten.

It is considered to be a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon or trout and boil them together. Another way is to mash them with the fat of animals. Sometimes they are eaten roasted, but in that case never by way of taking a meal. This latter way of cooking chestnuts is looked upon as more of an agreeable pastime than anything else.

When taking a meal, the mistress of the house, together with her husband and youngest children, sit on the side of the fireplace that is on the left-hand on looking into a hut from the west-end door. The rest of the family occupy the right-hand side, strangers the lower end, near the door, and honoured guests the east or sacred end of the hearth.

There is no dishing-up to be done. The mistress ladles the food out of the stewpot as it hangs over the fire, and passes it to the one for whom it is

intended. One advantage of this is, a person gets his dinner really hot, and meat and pudding covers are not required. Visitors are generally served first, then the husband, and lastly the remaining members of the family.

The Ainu have a very limited supply of eating utensils. If the cups are not sufficient to go round the whole number taking food, two or more have to

Arrowroot.*

use the same cup. But this is not often the case, for each member of a family has generally his own cup or shell safely stowed away near his sleeping place, ever ready to be produced when required. When a person wishes for more food, it is the correct thing to ask the mistress to replenish his cup. If she is too much engaged, or at all inclined

* This photo was kindly given to the author by E. C. Richardson, Esq., Earl's Court.

to be familiar, as she is, for instance, among her own friends and relatives, she simply removes the pot-lid and points to the ladle, thereby indicating that the person may help himself.

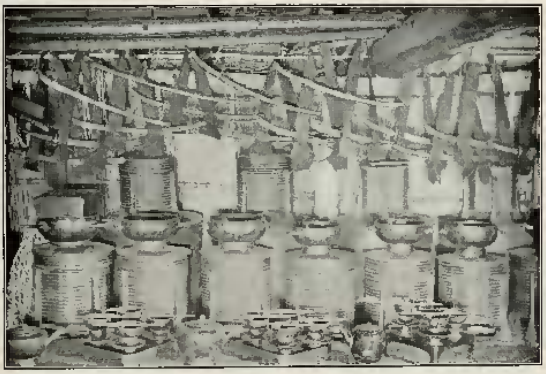
The Ainu cannot be commended for their cleanliness in the treatment of food. They very seldom wash their pots and pans, and still less their eating cups. It is therefore worthy of remark that the index finger is called in Ainu *Itangi kem ashi-kipet*—that is, 'the finger for licking the cup.' It is so called because people generally cleanse their eating cups by first wiping the inside of them with their index finger and then licking it!

In Christian lands it is customary for every true Christian to acknowledge God's providential goodness by 'saying grace.'

This is a right and godly act. But think for a moment what this act implies and involves. It implies a knowledge of a living, sentient Being higher than man; it involves the idea of dependence upon that Being; it is an act of worship indicating a proper sense of devotion. It further implies that the worshipper believes himself to possess some natural yet mysterious faculty or power by which he can approach that living Being whom he calls God, and to whom he returns thanks.

I was very much surprised, when I first visited the Ainu, to see many of them, especially the heads of families, acknowledge God's goodness, and give Him thanks before eating. I do not mean to say they always do this, but they are all taught to do so, and that in a set formula. And I have never yet met the Ainu who does not, before drinking wine,

make his salutations, stroke his beard, worship and thank the gods for their benefits. One of their forms of 'grace' is: 'O God, our Nourisher, I thank Thee for this food: bless it to the service of my body.' Here, then, by this common every-day act, we get one article of Ainu religious faith, viz., that he believes in a power above himself, on whom he depends for his daily food, and whom he can



Household Treasures and Drinking Cups.

approach in prayer and thanksgiving by a faculty within himself.

Now, it appears to me that in some cases, though not in all, the fact of saying grace among this people is simply an expression of deeply rooted totemistic belief, and not grace at all, in our sense of the term. This will appear very clearly in a certain religious practice, which consists in eating new millet, and which may very appropriately be called

'partaking of the first fruits.' With regard to this custom an Ainu said to me: 'There are several kinds of millet which come under the head of *Munchiro*, but they are all of the male gender; and there are also some kinds which come under the head of *Piyapa*. These latter are all females. Those which are classed under the term *Munchiro*, and are males, are as follows:—

(1). *Furc munchiro, i.e.* 'red *munchiro*';
(2). *Nitne munchiro, i.e.* 'hard' or 'tough *munchiro*';
(3). *Etui munchiro, i.e.* 'flat-headed *munchiro*';
(4). *Eparo munchiro, i.e.* '*munchiro* with mouths';
(5). *Pitne munchiro, i.e.* 'flint *munchiro*';
(6). *Riten munchiro, i.e.* 'soft *munchiro*';
(7). *Muri-kunne munchiro, i.e.* 'black-shelled *munchiro*.'

The names of the female kinds, which come under the head of *Piyapa*, are these:—

(1). *Ai-sak piyapa, i.e.* 'beardless *piyapa*';
(2). *Furc piyapa, i.e.* 'red *piyapa*';
(3). *Chak piyapa, i.e.* 'bursting *piyapa*';
(4). *Setak piyapa, i.e.* 'early *piyapa*';
(5). *Yamraita yoko amam, i.e.* 'food of the appearance of chestnut shells.'

It will be observed that all these kinds are named after their nature, quality, or general appearance. With a further regard to this subject my informant also added:—

'When taken together these kinds of millet are called *Umurek haru kamui, i.e.* 'the divine husband and wife cereal.' So say the ancients. Therefore

An Ainu Family.

before millet is pounded and made into cakes for general eating, the old men have a few made for themselves first to worship. When they are ready they pray to them very earnestly and say: –

'O thou cereal deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The goddess of fire will be glad, and we also shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O thou divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. I now partake of thee. I worship thee and give thee thanks.' After having thus prayed, they, the worshippers, take a cake and eat it, and from this time the people may all partake of the new millet. And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the Ainu. No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute paid to god, but that god is no other than the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I arrive at from all this is, that the cereals are also considered as totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods, is by eating them, and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving powers. Such communion as this is of the very essence of religion, and will again appear more clearly marked when we come to discuss the subject of 'bear-worship.' The ceremony above mentioned is called by the Ainu, *ashiri amam aekap marapto, i.e.*, 'the feast of saluting new cereal food.'

On a certain occasion I gave some of Sutton's cauliflower seeds to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit at his home during the succeed-

ing autumn found the plants (which had grown very finely indeed) all running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, as they had seen me do at Sapporo, rather than allow them thus to spoil, the wife replied: 'The master (meaning myself) has not yet partaken of them; we cannot touch them till he has first eaten some himself.' Upon receiving this explanation I felt—well, how shall I say? I had all sorts of feelings. First old Adam came of course! My pride was touched, and I felt flattered! Then I felt like a man of superior knowledge to them, and was inclined to laugh in derision. After that again I thought that I should like to call them and their whole family wasteful and foolish; but before I could express myself at all for the great conflict of feeling within, I remembered their totemistic ideas regarding eating the first-fruits, and so remained quiet. However, the incident closed by my telling them never to allow such matters to weigh in such a case again.

I had a curious anomaly in my garden last year. It was a double vegetable marrow. I was going one day to cut half of it, to use in the kitchen. My servants entreated me not to do so, for, said they, should I eat it I should certainly be bewitched. Why, they could not tell me; none of them seemed to know. It is a fixed belief among the Ainu that double fruits and vegetables will, if eaten, bewitch a person and bring misfortune. Should, however, one half of a double fruit be eaten, the remaining half must be partaken of also by the same person, the idea being that one half would counteract the

evil influences of the other. Out of regard to my servants' scruples and fears, I allowed that vegetable marrow to remain untouched. It was left to rot where it grew, and I am not bewitched, so far as I know.

CHAPTER XXI.

Women's Charms or Fetiches.

Snakes' skins—Cuckoos' nests and eggs—Pigeons' nests and eggs—The snipe—The crane—Eggs broken over seeds.

It has already been shown that while it is the woman's place to work it is the man's prerogative to pay special attention to the praying to and general worship of the deities. But although the women do not worship the gods, they are very superstitious, and keep quite a stock of charms in their store-houses and treasure-boxes when they can get them. These are not for worship, but are used simply for the purpose of bringing good luck, keeping off misfortune, or in some cases to work evils produced by curses upon others by way of sympathetic magic. Before they are placed on duty, however, the best are always brought to the head of the family, who prays over them and in this way dedicates them for their special work.

Among such charms one finds just what he would not expect to find, namely, snakes' skins. This is very curious indeed, when it is considered that the people in general have the greatest horror of these reptiles. The lore given me on this matter runs thus:

'The skin of the snake is a woman's charm. Should one of these creatures climb up into her

store-house and get among the grain and there leave its skin, the people, when they discover it, ought to take it up with great care, at the same time reverently saying, "This will indeed be a good year for the garden crops; this store-house is likely to be well filled with garden produce, for the divine snake has been and left his clothing behind him."

'The men should then take the skin, present it with *inao* made of walnut, and make it into a charm or fetich. As this is a woman's charm it should be placed in the store-house. But the snake is not a very excellent deity. He enters the store-house for no good purpose, for his object is to damage the food there stowed away. His skin is taken as a charm, not in sincerity, but by way of craft, for the purpose of deceiving him. For the snake is a very quick-tempered and evil-disposed reptile, he also brings much misfortune to the people; the men ought, therefore, to offer him *inao* made of walnut, in order to appease and flatter him, by making him fancy that they consider him to be a god; for when this kind of *inao* is given him he smiles sweetly with delight, and as a return will be sure to help those who so honour him.'

This is a very remarkable legend, and shows how the people imagine they have the power to cheat and outwit the gods above and the demons below. But as this is a phase of religion which will come up again and again in this book as it progresses, no further notice will be taken of it here.

The women are very pleased if they can find what they suppose to be a cuckoo's nest, and they go into ecstasy of joy if the nest should happen to

Group of Ainu by a Ferry.

have an egg in it. It is the same with the nests and eggs of the pigeon, snipe, and crane.

To ensure the proper treatment of these things, the following command is given to them:

'Should a woman go in the spring-time and find the nest of a pigeon, cuckoo, snipe or crane, let her carefully take it, together with the eggs, and carry them to her husband or father. Having safely brought them let her say, "I have found the nest of such-and-such a bird, please make *inao* and worship the goddess of fire." She should then take her millet, and having smashed the eggs in it, mix it well up together. After this has been done she should say, "I have now damped the seed with the eggs, do thou pray over them likewise." The man should then make more *inao*, take it to the nest and pray that the garden may be fruitful. Then the woman may take the nest away and place it in her store-house.'

On asking why the eggs are mixed with the seed my informants say:

'Birds of a good kind originally came down from heaven, and they now live upon garden produce. They were sent to assist men in securing food. If the eggs of birds are broken over and mixed with any seeds one should be happening to sow, all the seed which is touched by the liquid would be quickened, and soon germinate and grow strong.'

The cuckoo plays its part in the same department of Ainu lore. The Ainu know of two kinds, viz., the ordinary cuckoo, which they call *kakkok* (*Cuculus canorus*, L.), and the Himalayan cuckoo,

which is known as *tutut* (*Cuculus intermedius*). These names are, it will be observed, onomatopœia for their cry. Neither of these is worshipped or kept as a charm; indeed, I have come across some Ainu who look upon them both as birds of evil omen, and as partaking somewhat of a demoniacal nature. All, however, appear to be anxious to hear their first note in spring. The tales given below will show why this is so. Now, although the birds themselves are not sought after as charms, yet, curious as it may appear, I am assured, as above stated, that the nest is very highly thought of by the women, as also are the eggs. When found they are said to carefully stow them away in their store-houses, as charms for bringing good crops. Like the bird itself, these fetiches also are said not to be worshipped after having once been dedicated; they are merely kept as charms. The chief ends the cuckoo appears to fulfil is simply that of letting people know when to commence work in their garden plots, and also to indicate what kind of year it will be for the crops.

Legend of the Tutut or Himalayan Cuckoo.

'The *tutut* is so called because of his voice. He descends from heaven every spring, just when the grass is becoming green, that he may work in his garden. Therefore, whenever his note is heard saying *tutut*, one should not delay to commence digging his garden. Should a person be so fortunate as to chance upon a nest of one of these birds, he should take the eggs, carry them carefully

home, break them and mix them with any kinds of seed about to be planted. This will cause them to germinate quickly, and there is certain to be a good crop. The *tutut* should not be worshipped, for he is not a god. Now, as soon as he has finished his garden he always returns to heaven, and this is why his cry is not heard in the summer.'

Legend of the Kakkok or ordinary Cuckoo.

'The ordinary cuckoo and the Himalayan cuckoo both descend from heaven at about the same time. If the call of these birds should be heard very early in the spring, the autumn frosts will come early and spoil the crops. If, however, their cry should be heard late in the season, the crops will be very good. If, therefore, one will listen attentively for the cuckoo's note, he will be able to tell beforehand whether the year will be a good one for the gardens, or the reverse. Hence the old men and women annually watch for the appearance of these birds.'

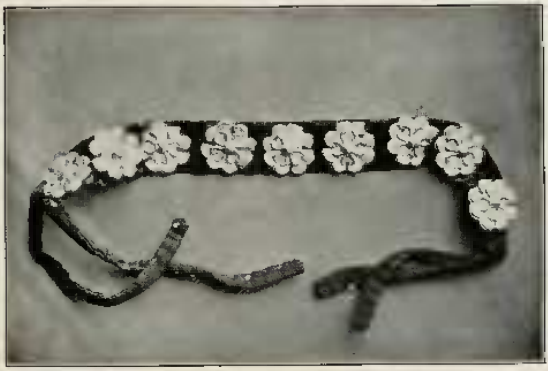
The Origin of the Cuckoo.

Although most of the Ainu I have spoken to on the subject seem to imagine that the cuckoo had its origin in heaven, and that it returns thither every winter to get out of the cold, yet I have been told by a few that some consider him to have been made, not by God, but by none other than the Japanese hero, Yoshitsune, and if not by him by Aioina, their reputed ancestor. And although, again, many Ainu do not look upon the cuckoo as

a bird of evil omen, but have a kindly regard for him, yet, on the other hand, there are certainly others who regard him as a bird of ill omen. The next myth will explain this.

LEGEND OF CUCKOO'S ORIGIN.

'The bird was crying every day: he filled the whole earth with his noise. After a while he



A WOMAN'S NECKLACE.

descended towards the mouth of the Saru River and came to the house of Benkei. As he sat upon his *nusa* crying, Benkei put his head out of the window to look at him. He then gave the following command to the people:—

'"As the witch of the world, as the witch of villages has come down, let the chiefs of the people keep themselves out of sight, and let the common people insult him." So commanded he. There

upon the chiefs hid themselves and the common people insulted him.

'After this the bird went on further down the river till he came to the house of Yoshitsune, and sat upon his *nusa* and cried. Yoshitsune then put his head out of the window, looked and spake thus: "Sir, you are indeed a great one, but you are now crying because you know not who your ancestors were. In very ancient times a foreigner landed at the mouth of the Saru River, and as he was exploring the river's mouth dropped his pipe and tobacco pouch, and lost them. But as it was not possible for them to lie upon the ground and rot, they were turned into a bird. You are that bird. It is because you know not who were your ancestors that you are crying so." So spake Yoshitsune. This is an account of the origin of the cuckoo; this is the origin of the bird which calls, "*kakkok, kakkok.*"'

Pigeons' Nests and Eggs.

Although the women do not say prayers to anything excepting, as has already been indicated, it be to their ancestors and the snake idol, which by the bye, is worshipped by such of the women only as are witch-doctors, yet they do worship by way of bowing to and making salutations before some things. All their special charms or fetiches are saluted in this way, and thus get a kind of worship paid them. The following legend states clearly that the nest of the pigeon is to be so treated, as well as that the eggs of these birds also are to be prized.

The Pigeon and Snipe.

Legend of the Pigeon.

'When a pigeon has been killed it is a very good thing to seek after its nest, for the possession of one is sure to bring good fortune. Any woman who should make a charm of such a nest is certain of blessing. After one has been found the men should make *inao* and present them to it, at the same time using the following prayer: "O divine pigeon, henceforth bless this woman, and make whatever she does to prosper greatly. When she works in the garden, bless the labour of her hands, whether she plants beans or sows millet, make them to increase much." After this prayer has been said the woman should take the nest, salute it, and then carefully put it away in her storehouse. If eggs have been found in it, they should be taken and smashed over and well mixed with whatever seeds a person happens to be planting at the time. This will secure strong germination and much fruit.'

The Pigeon and Non-Migratory Snipe.

(Kusuwep and Riya Chikap.)

The pigeon and non-migratory snipe are associated together in some things, and the following legend shows in what respects. 'Pigeons and non-migratory snipes are birds which stay among the mountains all the year round. They really had no business at all in the world, for in the beginning they fled from heaven to this earth of their own accord. God was therefore very angry with them, and said that He would not allow them

to return to their former abode. And so it happened that they stay in the mountains all the year round, and are called *riya chikap*, *i.e.* "birds which stay." So said the ancients.'

Notwithstanding this legend, however, I find that the feathers and heads of both these kinds of birds, as well as the nests and eggs, are kept by some of the people and used as fetiches.

The Snipe.

The migratory snipe was created for a good purpose, for he is said to have a long bill given him, not indeed for his own special convenience, but for the general good of men—particularly for the good of Ainu men. The people firmly believe him to have been sent down from heaven for the definite purpose of keeping them in good health. Indeed, he is looked upon as a kind of physician.

Legend of the Snipe.

'The migratory snipe was sent down from heaven to preserve men. He is a healer of headache and ear disease. This may be understood by the length of his bill, for, being long, it can penetrate the inmost recesses of the ear. For this reason his head should be cut off when killed, and *inao* fetiches offered to it. When the ear aches, it should be scratched inside with the bill. If this be done, a cure will be speedily effected. Besides the fat is good for sore eyes, and it cures deafness, and should therefore be carefully kept. Women should keep the nest as a charm, and smash the eggs found in it over their garden seeds.'

About the Crane.

The Crane.

The crane is thought much of by the people. He goes by the name of *sarorun chikap*, that is to say, 'the bird among the tall grasses.' He is so large and of so much importance in Ainu bird cult that I am doubtful as to whether or no he should not be regarded as standing next in order to the eagle-owl, which will be spoken of in another chapter. Although we are informed that this bird was not worshipped in the beginning, yet he is at the present day. The reason given for this is that he was formerly so fierce and dangerous that the people were afraid to approach him. But by and by, when his temper became softer, the people began to say prayers to him, offer him *inao*, and drink *saké* in his honour.

The legend of the crane appears to be either an endeavour to account for the origin of clothes of a particular pattern, or to preserve the knowledge as to where such clothes originally came from. Whether this is the main object or not, it at all events shows the direction whence the Ainu suppose they got the pattern of some of their best and highly prized garments, and that is Manchuria, which they call *Santa moshiri*. The legend says that the crane brought the clothes found in its nest directly from heaven. But the name given these garments being *Santa sarambe*, *i.e.* 'Manchurian garments,' shows this particular heaven to be no other than Manchuria. Moreover it is to be gathered from other things that the Ainu were formerly acquainted with that country.

The inner lining of the crane's nest is said to consist of wool, and the name given it is *setsambe*, *i.e.* 'the pulse or the heart of the nest.' Should an Ainu find one of these, he considers himself a rich man at once, for such a treasure will, it is supposed, speedily bring prosperity and riches. The nest lining is taken, wrapped up in *inao* shavings, and carefully put away in a box at the north-east or sacred corner of the hut. I am told that this treasure is sometimes taken down, placed by the fireside and devoutly worshipped by those who possess it. *Inao* also are then made and presented to it, and *saké* drunk on its behalf. When they can get it, the women stow it away in their little storehouses as charms. They believe that the possession of one will procure an abundance of garden produce, and give them special skill in their embroidery.

Legend of the Crane.

'The crane came down from heaven in the beginning, and the origin of presenting *inao* to him is as follows. On coming to the world of men this bird, in order to multiply, made a nest and laid some eggs in it. After a time some little cranes came out of the eggs. As they began to grow, the mother crane found it necessary to go further afield to secure food for them. One day some Ainu who knew of the nest, having watched for a good opportunity, went and took the young while the mother was away. They wanted the young birds to bring up in cages for

sacrifices. Now, the crane was known to be a very fierce bird, and the people were greatly afraid of him. This is why they went and robbed the nest when the old ones were away. They came quickly, and found the young, and, on lifting them up, saw something very beautiful beneath them, which, after closer inspection, proved to be beautiful garments neatly folded up. The men were greatly pleased, and ran off with both birds and garments. By and by the old cranes came home and found their offspring gone. They were very angry at this, and rushed after the Ainu, pursuing them in hot haste. But the men, when overtaken, begged the cranes' pardon, saying, "O divine cranes, pray do not be angry; henceforth we will offer you both *inao* and wine; besides this, we will promise to bring your children up very well indeed."

Thus they begged their pardon. The cranes were soon appeased, and returned quietly to their homes. The Ainu also went their way in peace, divided the clothes, and so became very rich. The names of those garments was *Santa saramip*, or *Santa sarambe*, *i.e.* "Manchurian garments" They were brought down from heaven by the cranes. These birds were not worshipped in the beginning, but from this time they were. Some hunters say that even now bundles of clothes may be found in the nests of cranes. Again, the nests of the birds have a place in them resembling a large basin, and in this is to be found a substance like wool. This is called *setsambe*, *i.e.* "the pulse or heart of the nest," and is a very good thing to possess, for it is a wonderful charm. The man or woman who should

be fortunate enough to get hold of them is certain, without any shadow of doubt, to become rich. But never let it be forgotten that the crane is a most fierce bird, and must therefore be treated with great reverence and circumspection.'

In this connection it may also be remarked that the Ainu, like many nations of the Northern origin, hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine, good in almost every disease, and it is sometimes taken in food and at others separately as a decoction. The leaves are used in preference to the berries, the latter being of too sticky a nature for general purposes. Some Ainu have been known to use the mistletoe leaves merely for tea, without any reference to their supposed medicinal properties; others sometimes mix it with their stews; while some, again, extract starch from the branches by pounding them in a wooden mortar, and washing in water. However, mistletoe is not generally partaken of as food excepting in time of great scarcity.

But many, too, suppose this plant to have the power of making the gardens bear plentifully. When used for this purpose, the leaves are cut up into fine pieces, and, after having been prayed over, are sown with the millet and other seeds, a little also being eaten with the food. Barren women have also been known to eat the mistletoe, in order to be made to bear children. That mistletoe which grows upon the willow is supposed to have the greatest efficacy. This is because the willow is looked upon by them as being an especially sacred tree.

CHAPTER XXII.

Marriage and Divorce.

The Ainu and their courting —Betrothal—It is not improper for young women to propose— The marriage ceremony - Betrothal of children —Voluntary service with a view to marriage—Concubinage—Why children are desired— Divorce.

THE Ainu consider marriage to be a social and family arrangement, which affects the parties immediately concerned more than any one else. The young people need not marry unless they choose. They may have been betrothed in childhood by their parents, but they cannot be forced to marry each other; both the young man and his *fiancée* have a final word in the matter. However, until the age of maturity, the bond entered into by the parents is held sacred, and is only made void by the parties themselves, should they desire to bring the contract to an end. In short, the young people do their own courting and wooing, and no one, as a rule, grumbles at this arrangement.

Let us suppose a young couple to have made up their minds to marry. If the young man made the first proposal, he asks his father and mother to call upon the parents of his chosen one, and try to arrange for the marriage to take place. If, however, it was the young woman who did the wooing and courting, she gets the mother and father to call

upon the parents of her choice. If all is well, the marriage takes place at once. If the parents do not agree, the young couple take the law into their own hands, build a hut, and become husband and wife without any ceremony; and that relationship is sacred, and stands good in Ainu society.

After the father has duly called on a friend to ask the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the following little ceremony takes place between them, if all has gone well.

The bridegroom's father takes a small sword, and placing it in the hands of the father of the bride, says: 'This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the goddess of fire.' Then, having received the sword, he worships the fire, saying: 'We have here and now settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou goddess of fire, hear thou, and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness, and watch over them till they grow old.'

The bridegroom's father then receives the sword back, and worships in like manner. This done, the old people procure *saké*, and make a great feast, to which they invite their friends and relatives. The drink is called *uwechiu saké*, *i.e.* 'matrimonial *saké*,' and the food eaten goes by the name of *uwechiu marapto*, *i.e.* 'matrimonial feast.' After this has been satisfactorily concluded, the newly-married couple build their hut, and the old men assemble and make *inao*, especially the household *inao* mentioned in Chapter X., and the *chisei s mbe* described in Chapter XIII.

If the young woman herself or her parents have

been the main movers in the business, the bridegroom is removed from his own family to take up his abode close to the hut of his father-in-law; he is, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing, or his parents were the prime movers, the bride is adopted into his family. Or if a woman of one village chooses a man of another, he, if agreeable, goes to live with her; or if a man chooses a woman who resides at a distance, she, if agreeable, goes to live with him. Persons who marry in their own villages are all called *uiriwak*, 'blood relations,' 'brethren,' but those who remove from their homes to be married into some distant family are called *uirilak*, *i.e.* 'relation taken away,' or 'distant relations,' 'brethren brought in.'

The people consider their daughters to be marriageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men marry when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen amongst them took place when the bride's age according to the Japanese register was sixteen years.

The marriage ceremony consists in nothing but a little feast of cakes and rice with wine, at which the mother and bride officiate. The bridegroom has a few heirlooms given to him, should there be any, and the bride a few trinkets, such as beads and ear-rings, and sometimes an old sword guard to wear as a charm.

Owing to certain superstitions, to be mentioned in another place, the wife never takes her husband's name, but retains her old one. When not called by her own maiden name, she is merely called so-and-so's wife, that is to say, so long as her husband

is living. Should he die, she is always known by her name as a maiden, or called so-and-so's mother, should she have a son or a daughter. The social position therefore of the woman before marriage is looked upon as being equal to that of man, but after that event she becomes subservient to her husband, and may neither take nor use his name. The husband is the head of the wife; but this principle is carried too far when the woman is not considered good enough to take her husband's name upon her lips. In this matter, therefore, we must regard the people as somewhat low in their social status.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom makes a knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and weaving loom, and presents them to his bride. This little ceremony is called *mat-eikara*, *i.e.* 'making my wife.' The bride then makes a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace, and a head-dress, which she presents to her husband; this is called *hoku eikara*, *i.e.* 'making my husband.'

This ceremony appears to be a second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they are satisfied with each other. When it is done it gives great satisfaction to both parties concerned.

Another piece of lore given me on this matter runs thus: 'When a couple are newly married the first thing to be done is for the bridegroom to give the bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride must give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom, and should always be observed. So say the ancients.'

It seems to have been an ancient custom, though not general, to sometimes betroth children. But

even in this case the persons so betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry. Either of them could, when the time for marriage arrived, veto the decision of their elders. But the curious thing about this

Betrothed.

betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothes, and, I believe, homes, until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise,

the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

The Ainu, I find, marry their cousins very often, and in some cases their nieces even, and the men marry a deceased brother's wife and become foster-fathers to their children. But there is a more remote relationship where union may not take place; it is that with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. Two sisters or two brothers must not, in fact, marry into the same family. A few years ago one man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. These were truly formidable requests to make, and I felt it to be a very delicate matter to take in hand. As a rule, I will never have anything to do with such important family arrangements, for I consider it is dangerous to meddle with them. However, as all the parties immediately concerned had, with the exception of one, lately become Christians, I brought myself to stretch a point, and promised to do the best I could for them. I therefore paid the aforesaid lady a visit, and asked her about her love affairs. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I had to dispose of for a husband. Thereupon I called upon my intended bridegroom, and inquired into his matrimonial wishes. He also, strange as it may appear, wanted the same young lady. I then had a suspicion that the parents of this couple had been in collusion, particularly as they were near relatives, and that under such favourable circumstances match-making for others was quite an easy matter after all. But, alas, I was doomed to experience an early disappointment. On telling the

respective fathers of my happy arrangement, and asking for their approval of and final consent to the little scheme, I was quietly informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife, and accordingly, on account of customs handed down from time immemorial, two brothers may not marry two sisters. Upon being informed of this fact, I then and there washed my hands of the whole matter. The people say that it is unlucky for a marriage of this kind to take place, and is displeasing to the gods, for one of the two sisters will probably be punished, and die within a year after the marriage, should they marry two brothers; or if indeed they do not die, there will be no issue. I have been asked to make such arrangements in two other cases, but I have steadfastly determined to have nothing to do with it.

Speaking of the Kamtchatdales, Dobell wrote,* 'Should a young man fall in love with a girl, and he is not rich enough to obtain her by any other means, he immediately enslaves himself to her father as a servant for three, four, five, or even ten years, according to agreement, before he is permitted to marry her. When the term agreed upon expires, he is allowed to live with his father-in-law as if he were his own son.'

This well-known custom seems to be universal in the East, and is, I believe, known to every Asiatic nation. I personally knew of a like case happening at a Japanese village called Ono, near Hakodate.

* See Dobell's *Travels in Siberia*, vol. i., p. 52.

The custom also prevailed in old times among the Ainu, and even at the present day some rare cases are heard of. There is, however, one great difference among this people, for not only the young men, but any girl also who should fall in love with a young man may enslave herself to his parents as a price for their son. The young men and the maidens of this race are sensible about this matter, and are not in the least ashamed for it to be known when they are smitten with Cupid's arrows.

One great reason for marriage among the Ainu is the reproduction of children. It is a well-known fact that among all Asiatic races there is always to be found a very strong desire to perpetuate the family name, and a great dread of its being allowed to become extinct. In many countries the lack of male issue was, prior to the introduction of Christianity, considered fully sufficient reason to justify a husband in divorcing the wife; or even, should there be female issue, men frequently added another wife to their families, in the hopes of thereby obtaining a son. Concubinage may to a very great degree have arisen from this desire for male issue. What was at the foundation of this sentiment I do not here intend to inquire, except in so far as it is current among the Ainu.

For a married couple to have no children is supposed to be a great disgrace, and is by them traced to the belief that one or other of the parties has committed some sin. This world is named *uare-moshiri*, *i.e.* the multiplying world, and people were placed in it to increase and multiply. If,

therefore, no children are forthcoming, it is considered to be a special punishment from the gods; and I know an Ainu who is said to have divorced no less than three wives because they bore him no children.

Notwithstanding that they have no family names to perpetuate, yet it is very curious; but considering the conditions in which they live and the religious and superstitious notions prompting many of their actions, it is eminently natural to find that they, both men and women alike, are most anxious to acquire children. The men wish for at least one boy, and the women a girl or two.

I always find among this people that though a man's wives live in separate houses, they are often not on speaking terms with one another. The system does not work well among the Ainu, whatever it may have done among the Mormons. In prosecuting my work among them I have sometimes had occasion to point out the immorality of this custom; and although they agree with what I say, they generally wind up by informing me that it is an old Ainu custom. Of course nothing remains to be said after so strong a reason.

There are three principal reasons why the men so much desire a son: the first is that he may act as family priest when the father dies; secondly, that he may inherit, preserve, and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures: poor enough these seem to us, truly, yet to them they are precious; and thirdly, that he may act as the head of the family, and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof, should

there be any. Not only so, but that he may keep the father in his old age.

I can assign but two reasons for the fact that the women wish for girls. These are: first, that they may have some one to assist in looking after the house, fetch water and wood, and work in the gardens; and secondly, that they may have some one to feed them in their old age. The principal reason for desiring male issue is that they may please their husbands, and escape the disagreeable consequence on not having a son.

It may appear contrary to expectation that, as I stated in Chapter II., Ainu women should adopt Japanese children, or that the Japanese should care to allow their babies to be adopted by them. Nevertheless, it is very often done. I know of four women who adopted children from the Japanese in the year 1893. I know of one who paid fifty *sen* for her baby two years of age. A very few days ago an Ainu woman informed me that she was going into the Japanese town to adopt a child, and in the evening she returned, and told me that she would not take it because it had bad eyes, and that she was going to inspect another she had heard of in a few days. Incredible though it may appear, yet the Ainu women find not the least difficulty in getting, either by means of a few *sen* or as a free gift, low-class Japanese children from their parents.

Among the Ainu release from the matrimonial bond was very easy of accomplishment, and often executed on the slightest grounds imaginable. I am, of course, speaking of the remote ages. We

are therefore not surprised to find that divorce was consequently of frequent occurrence among them. It seems, indeed, that the members of this race regarded the marriage rite as very little more than a conventional union binding for so long a time only as suited the mutual convenience of the spouses. And, it should be remarked, it was just as easy, and considered just as possible for a woman to cast off her husband as for a man to divorce his wife.

Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were as follows:— Want of love towards her, or of her towards him; incompatibility of temper; general disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the hut supplied with fuel and vegetable food; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. A woman might dissolve her connection with her husband for the reason of adultery, dislike to him, idleness, inability to keep the larder supplied with fish and animal food. Divorce might take place with the simple consent of the parties, though it was very seldom that the husband would condescend to talk with the wife on the subject. When a man divorced his wife, he merely made her a present and sent her back to her parents; and when a woman wished to be free from her husband, she simply walked off and left him to shift for himself. In cases which have actually occurred under mine own eye, the subject was made more of a family affair, and the presents were sent to the parents of the women who were divorced, and were not given to the women themselves. When a separation took place, the children,

if any, were divided, the father taking the sons and the mother the daughters. I have also heard of cases where the father has, in anger against his son-in-law, sent and fetched his daughter away, thus divorcing him from his daughter.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Birth and Individual Life.

Curious customs at birth—Purification—Physical life originates in the mother—Spirit life originates in the father.

It was shown in Chapter VIII. that the personal life of human beings is supposed to have its seat in the backbone, and that this portion of the human body was originally made of willow. Hence, it was further pointed out how the Ainu imagine their life to be mysteriously bound up in their 'birth tree,' or willow totem. There are various other curious things connected with human life which need a few words, and which I purpose to lay before the reader forthwith.

A very remarkable custom used to exist among this people, and still does exist to some slight extent, in connection with the birth of a child. After it is definitely known that a child is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband, father and mother, tells them the happy news, and prepares them a feast of which they quietly partake. This particular function is called the *hon-oinonno-itak*. During its performance the two men make many *inao* fetiches, and offer them to the goddess of fire with much earnest prayer, making special request that all may go on well. Then, again, when the birth is about to take

place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time, where he has to be very quiet, as though forsooth he was ill, for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This performance is called *yainnuuke*, and that signifies simply 'comforting' or 'blessing,' or 'resting oneself quietly.'

On the morning of the seventh day he is said to *shotki chupu*, *i.e.* 'fold up his bed.' On this day he returns to his own hut. But even here he must abide quietly at home for another six days. For the first period he must not drink wine nor worship the gods. This is said to be out of special reverence to the supreme powers. During the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, *i.e.* 'have his friends in for a drunken carouse'; nor must he *hainare*, *i.e.* 'go fishing or hunting,' though he may eat, drink, worship, make *inao*, and be merry quietly by himself as he pleases.

When the child is six days old there is a certain function performed called *po-oinonno-itak*, *i.e.* 'praying for the child.' On this occasion a small feast is prepared at which the father, mother, and grandparents only partake. At this time many *inao* fetiches are made and offered to the gods of the west-end doorway, whose special province it appears to be to watch over the birth of children. It may also be remarked here that during childbirth no man soever may come in or go out of the west-end door. On such occasions, if it is necessary for a man to enter or go out of

the hut, and there should be no doorway in the south wall, the sacred east-end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

There is an idea among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when God has some particular message to make known to the race. Thus the old men and women say, 'The women ought to be told that people are sometimes reborn into this world. They should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back, and if this be the case, he has returned for some very good purpose.'

After the child has been born the mother is fed on thin gruel, made of millet, for two days, and during that time is positively allowed to take nothing else whatever, not even water. After the second day she may eat pretty well whatever is going at the time. For six days it is considered best for her to stay quietly in the hut by the fire-side; but on the seventh day she must get up and go to the spring or river and there wash herself. After this kind of purification has been done, she must bring some water home to her hut and use it for cooking purposes, after which she is supposed to work as she is able, for in theory she is now strong again. This particular ceremony is called *roro-oshiraye*. The custom of drawing water on the seventh day, whatever its origin may have been, does not now appear to have any special significance or purpose beyond

that of showing society in general that the mother is now safely and happily over her trouble, and has again resumed her household duties. However, it may in ancient times have found its origin in the idea of purification, and if so may be connected with religion, like the purification of the Jews, Indians, and Persians. Purification in a Biblical sense was an act through which an individual became fit to approach the Deity, or mix freely in the community, in cases where a certain bodily or other disability had kept him or her out of the pale of the latter. Childbirth rendered a woman unclean, and she was not allowed to approach God in His temple, nor take part in public religious exercises until she had been purified. It is just in this way that Ainu women are treated after they have given birth to a child. After parturition they may not properly mix in the village community until they have drawn water; and water was used in the ceremonies attached to certain kinds of purification by the Jews, Indians, and Persians. As water is a cleansing element, it may be regarded as a fitting symbol of purity.

So far as I can see, the only difficulty lying in the way of accepting this theory as to the origin of thus drawing water lies in the circumstance that it is used only for cooking purposes, and not for cleansing the body. But this need have no weight with us, for the washing takes place at the spring or river. The sign of purification is there all through, and the water is drawn after the sixth day is passed. It is not drawn with an ordinary

tub or bucket, but with a fitting and clean lacquer-ware basin. Moreover, the woman may not mix with the community before the water has been drawn, but she may after. The Ainu themselves do not appear to have retained any idea of purification in this ceremony. With them it is simply an old habit, and they seem to know nothing of the origin of the custom. The circumstances accompanying this ceremony, such as washing at the stream, using not an ordinary, but an extraordinary vessel with which to draw the water; its connection with the sacred number six, and the woman being well and considered free to mix in the community, are matters only to be obtained by long and careful observation and kindly questioning.

Now the special fact connected with childbirth to which I wish to draw the reader's attention is that which I mentioned just now, viz., that the father of the child must rest in a friend's hut and take great care of himself for six days; he must also abstain from strong drink and all religious exercises. But why, it may be asked, must he abstain from all worship? The Ainu answer is, 'Out of humbleness of heart and honour to the deity.' Again it is asked, 'How can it be an honour to the gods to let them severely alone for six whole days?' To this question the Ainu finds no answer. As for myself, I can think of only one way by which such an act can be construed into humility and honour to the deities, *i.e.* by the Ainu looking upon himself as impure in the eyes of his gods on these occasions, and so unfit to approach them. It must be taken into account

that it is again for the sacred six days, for on the seventh he returns to his own home, where he may pray and make his *inao*.

No doubt the question as to why the father should rest for six days, as though he were ill and suffering, has arisen in the reader's mind. The idea underlying the fact and causing the custom to be practised is a curious one, and partly shows what the Ainu think as to the origin of life in their offspring. They appear to imagine that the bodily or animal life of their children is in great measure, if not indeed exclusively, derived from their mother, while that of the spirit comes from their father. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually, from the time of conception until birth takes place; while the spirit-life is thought to come by degrees from the father in some mysterious and secret manner during the six days immediately following its birth, and goes on growing and being augmented for another six days after he has returned to his own hut. At the end of the last period of time the child may be looked upon as a unit in itself, but while the spirit is being derived from the father it is not yet one; therefore, unless the father is very quiet and careful during these twice six days, the life of his offspring will take harm, and in injuring his child he will himself receive harm in return.

But it may be inquired, What happens should the father be far away in the mountains? For this we can only reply that even in that case the birth takes place just the same. But how does the father's spirit get to the child? Even here

there is no difficulty at all, for every man is supposed to have his own private genius, guardian angel, or tutelary deity, called *Ituren-Kamui*, who attends to all such things.

By what process in the working of the psychological wheel the individual life can be supposed to have a connection with the willow-tree, as previously mentioned, and also at the same time with the father and mother, I can neither make out myself nor get any explanation from the people. But every individual personal life having once been brought into existence, remains a living entity for ever. It will and must live in the next world as in this. But this the reader will see does not necessarily or by any means imply a resurrection of the body; indeed, the Ainu know nothing of that subject. But as this matter bears on religion, a further discussion of it shall be left till that subject is under consideration.

CHAPTER XXIV.

About Names and Name-giving.

Selection of names — Difficulties — The ceremony of naming children — Surnames — Names for husband and wife—The names of a deceased husband or wife tabooed.

A CHILD having been brought into the world, the next great problem to be solved is that of finding a proper name for it, the selection of which is often extremely difficult. Indeed, it seems to me to be one of the greatest problems of married life, especially where the family is a large one. It is indeed true that the people only have one name to trouble about; but the Ainu have so many superstitions and curious customs connected with this subject that the choice of a fitting name for a person is quite an important and formidable task.

The chief difficulty connected with this matter arises hence:—

(1) No one may be called by the name of a person who has passed away. When anyone dies, his or her name must die also. Should the names of a dead person be applied to a boy or a girl, it is supposed that it would grieve the soul of the departed, and be likely to call forth his or her displeasure. Some evil would be pretty certain to follow, for the spirit of the dead can, it is

thought, act upon the living for good or evil. No person can therefore take the name of his deceased parent, friend, or ancestor. Ainu names do not therefore knowingly recur. This may very probably account for the fact that the Ainu have no heroes. Not only so, but according to the Ainu it is far better not to revive the name of the dead, because one would be thereby reminded of death itself, and this is a thing of which they are in constant dread. They always endeavour to banish the very idea of death from their thoughts. To mention the name of the dead brings to mind that which it is desirable to forget, and should therefore be carefully avoided. Nor is this all. The fact of receiving a deceased person's name is calculated to bring back to the mind of the living the dear one parted hence, and it is considered better not to do this. It is looked upon as very bad taste to do so. But why? Because by mentioning the name of the dead the partially healed wounds of the sorrowful bereaved are likely to be thereby reopened and caused to bleed afresh. It will easily be seen, therefore, that there must always be a great dearth of Ainu proper names, and that the mere naming of a person must necessarily be a source of great difficulty.

(2) Names in themselves are supposed by the people to be lucky or unlucky, and to bring fortune or misfortune on a person, as the case may be. They appear to invest them with power for good or evil, so superstitious are they: in short, the Ainu seem to live in a great whirl of superstition with regard to this as well as every other subject.

Thus, for example, a child is of a weakly disposition, and is consequently always ailing; this is often thought to be because the name is an unfortunate one. It has therefore to be changed. I have repeatedly been asked to name or re-name persons varying in age from four to eighteen, for this very reason. I know also of one sickly child who is continually ill, and whose name has been changed by her parents and friends no less than four times, and only to-day I was asked as a great favour to think of a new and more fortunate name for her. This superstition is very deeply fixed in the mind of the Ainu, and it will take a long time to eradicate it, for such ideas among such a people die very hard.

It is quite easy to understand why a new name should thus be sought for by the sick, when it is remembered that the Ainu look upon all disease as the direct work of the devil. The name is changed for the one simple purpose of outwitting the demon, for when he next comes to inquire for a certain person called by such-and-such a name, there is no one to be found bearing it. The name has been changed, and the demon has in consequence been hoodwinked, and can have no more power over the sick person.

(3) Another difficulty lies in this. I mentioned just now that a person must not be called after his or her ancestors or deceased relatives. In the same way he must not take the name of his living neighbour. Should such a thing be done, it would certainly be looked upon as a direct theft, and treated accordingly. This custom probably arose

from the idea that names bring good or evil, and the person needs all the good it may bring, and does not care to have it divided with another. In trying to find the name for a person, I have several times been asked not to use such-and-such a name because it belonged to some one else.

(4) Again, the name must have a good sound and meaning. That seems reasonable enough. In choosing one for a person the other day, I spent two hours before I could fix upon one which would do. At last I suggested *Rei-peka*. Yes, that would do very well indeed, because it meant 'a fitting name.' I certainly thought that difficulty was got well over; but, lo, shortly after word came asking me if I could kindly change it. The first syllable sounded too much like that of her mother's name, who had been dead about six years. In sheer desperation I therefore coined a name on the spot, and, much to my surprise, it is considered beautiful, and suits well. It will therefore be seen that, in naming Ainu children, many knotty points have to be avoided, and nice, delicate, and perplexing crotchets humoured.

However, do not let it be inferred from anything I have said about this that all Ainu are scrupulous about naming their offspring. Some fathers, chiefs, and elder brothers, in whom is vested the right of giving names, have now become uncommonly mean and inconsiderate in this respect, and many utterly absurd and unmentionably filthy names are given. Chief Penri, of Piratori, is a very great transgressor in this respect; he is, even for an Ainu, an exceptionally filthy-minded old man. He does, of

course, avoid all names by which others are and have been called, but he is very fond of bestowing such names as 'the pot,' 'the kettle,' 'the chop-stick,' 'sooty,' 'dirty,' and so on, besides many I cannot possibly mention here. Among the better class of names are 'the grace of God,' 'graceful,' 'brightness,' 'comforter,' 'the eloquent one,' 'deer-catcher,' 'the bird's mouth,' and such like.

The naming of Ainu children does not take place before the child is two or three years of age. The parents generally wait till some trait of character has developed itself, or the child has performed some peculiar act, before they give it a name. These circumstances decide what it shall be called, for the word used generally points to something which took place in early life, and is sometimes not at all a bad index to character.

Name-giving is called by a word meaning 'name ceremony.' This ceremony does not constitute a religious service, for prayers are not said, and wine is not necessarily partaken of. It is customary, however, for the person who names the child to make it some small present, and it is considered to be unlucky not to do so. In the case of a boy, the most lucky thing to give is a sword-guard or wine-cup, and in the case of a girl, a piece of cloth. Thus one is forcibly reminded of the spoons and knives and forks presented to infants at their baptism in Christian lands.

That boys should be presented with a sword-guard or wine-cup, or, as in some cases, with both, is in itself of great significance. A sword-guard is, as its name implies, used specially for protection.

As a present to a child, it indicates a wish that the defence and protection of the gods may be especially extended towards the recipient. It is worn round the neck as a charm, and is called by a word meaning 'a thing for keeping safe.' In cases of sickness I have known of its being used to charm away disease. On such occasions it is moved several times over and across the body, and at last placed upon the bosom of the sufferer. The presentation of this to a boy is, therefore, full of meaning, and has religion, and that disease of religion and imagination, which we call superstition, at its basis.

It may also have been formerly given as a token that the lad must grow up to be a defence to his country, hearth, and home. However that may have been, I can only bear witness to what the main idea is now; and in this case the presentation of a sword-guard to a newly-named child is a token that the giver desires and prays that the protection of the gods may be bestowed upon and abide with him.

The presentation of a wine-cup would seem to convey rather the idea of priesthood, and indicate that libations are to be offered with it, for the principal function of a priest (the head of every family is a priest among the Ainu) seems to be the offering of libations of wine. It might possibly be objected to this that the Ainu had no wine before the introduction of Japanese *saké*, and therefore the idea of a wine-cup indicating libations is of late growth. Such, however, is a mistake. The Ainu say they had a wine of their own long before they knew anything of the Japanese *saké*. *Saké* in

Ainu is called by three distinct names. Firstly, *saké*, pure and simple; secondly, *tonoto*, 'official milk;' and thirdly, *chikusaashkoro*, which means 'wine we import,' or 'imported wine.' Before the Ainu knew anything of this Japanese production, it is said that they made a wine of their own out of millet, which they called *chirangeashkoro*, 'wine we produce.' I have seen this drink both made and used, but could never bring myself to taste it. It is the colour of milk, very thick, and quite harmless. At the present day it retains its old name, *chirangeashkoro*, and is often used in religious ceremonies. I know of no single case in which Japanese influence has been allowed to intrude itself upon the Ainu religion; for though the Ainu do often use *saké* in their religious exercises, yet the partial substitution of one kind of wine for another cannot be truly said to affect their religion. Wine is not religion, but merely a subsidiary to the performance of religion. It cannot, therefore, be fairly objected that the presentation of a wine-cup to a newly-named child, did not originally convey the idea of priesthood because wine is of recent importation, for, according to the Ainu, they had both wine and a name for wine before the importation of Japanese *saké*. However, what is the fact to-day? At this present moment, when a person presents a wine-cup to a child, he certainly means to convey the idea that the recipient is a priest of the gods, and must before all things do his duty to them.

It follows quite naturally that the Ainu had not till within very recent times any surnames to bless themselves with. Every person had but one name,

and that was given as a rule between the age of, say two and ten years, and, as has already been pointed out, as any circumstance may have suggested, or particular trait of character asserted itself.

But the people are undergoing a rapid change with regard to this now. The women are beginning to take the names of their husbands in addition to their own. They have been obliged to do this, as it is more convenient for registration purposes at the Japanese offices. But old customs die hard; hence before registration the men generally adopt a Japanese name, and are registered in it, though among themselves they often retain and are known by their own native names. Thus, for example, my old servant's Ainu name is Korarashukup, but he is registered in Japanese as Nakano Kinzō, a purely Japanese name; Kannari Tarō's name was Ekashioka.

It is also very interesting to notice another way in which family names come into existence. Thus the Japanese call Piratori by the name of Hiramura, and every native now born in that place has become Hiramura So-and-so.

In my intercourse with the people, I have frequently had occasion to ask the women the names of their husbands; and I have found that, when asked, they invariably blushed, and, instead of answering themselves, called upon some friend present to do so. This struck me as being somewhat curious, and as I at first thought that it was merely a form of shyness on their part—just as many a young lover would, as I suppose, be a little

shy if asked to tell one the name of her sweetheart —I passed the matter over without paying any great attention to it. For many years—more than ten, in fact I had no idea that, by asking the women to tell me their husbands' names, I was tempting them to a breach of a jealously-guarded piece of etiquette, and asking them to trample on one of their deeply-rooted superstitions. I now know that it is considered to be a very unlucky and most disrespectful thing in a woman to mention the name of her spouse. To do so will, it is supposed, bring misfortune to the family.

There are, of course, times when it is necessary for a woman to speak of her husband; but if she can by any subterfuge possibly avoid it, she will not utter his name or call him her 'husband.' The word for 'husband' is *hoku*, but it is considered to be as disrespectful and unlucky for a woman to mention her spouse by that designation as to mention him by name. Others, indeed, may speak to a woman of her husband by his proper name, but must never call him her husband to her face, for that is also considered to be incorrect. There are, therefore, some more or less indirect and circuitous ways by which the women speak of their lords. Thus, *ku goro guru*, 'my person'; *ku gorō ainu*, 'my man'; *en rorogeta an guru*, 'my person at the upper end of the hearth'; *en hekote guru*, 'the person who binds me.' The term in most common use among the women is 'my man,' and that used by others, when speaking to a woman about her husband, is 'your man.'

The men, indeed, may constantly be heard

addressing their wives, or speaking of them to others, by name, though it is considered incorrect to do so; but during all the years I have been among the Ainu I have but twice heard a man speak of his spouse by the term *machi*, *i.e.* 'wife.' It is considered unlucky to do so, and that designation is, therefore, carefully avoided. If a man desires to be very nice and affectionate to his wife, he will call her his *katkimat*, 'female doer of the heart'; but when speaking of her to another, he calls her *ku goro shiwende guru*, or *ku goro shiwentep*, 'my person who is slow of foot,' or *en usaragela an guru*, 'my person at the lower side of the hearth.' Many Ainu who speak mixed Japanese call their wives by the term *ku goro menoko*, which is a very low and incorrect way of speaking, for it really means 'my mongrel,' and is not Ainu, but a Japanese and Ainu hybrid compound.

It must not be supposed that when a woman speaks of her husband as 'my person at the upper end of the hearth,' or the husband of his wife as 'my person at the lower end of the hearth,' there is any sentiment intended. These terms refer to nothing but their respective places as they sit in the hut. *Rorogeta* is 'at the upper end of the hearth,' and is the chief place, and *usarageta* is 'at the lower end of the hearth,' and that is not an honourable place at all.

The word *katkimat*, 'female doer of the heart,' as applied to the wife by the husband, may have originally had something of love and sentiment in it; but however that may have been, it has now come to be just an ordinary term for 'wife,' then

'mistress,' and then 'hostess.' It is well, when speaking to a person of his wife, to call her his *katkimat*, or when addressing the mistress of a house to call her by that term, for it always gives pleasure.

It is sometimes necessary for a man to speak of his wife or a wife of her husband after the death of either, but in no case may the name of a person deceased be pronounced. Hence a widow will speak of her departed husband *shopake, i.e.* 'head of the floor,' and the husband of his deceased wife as his *shonep* or *eshonep, i.e.* 'floor' or 'person of the floor.'

Since penning the above, an Ainu has furnished me with the following folk-lore on the subject being treated. He says:—

'It is the special province of men to worship the gods, while women must not presume to pray. When people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities in prayer. The husband is the head of the house, and it is he who approaches the divine beings when their help is required. The wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and hold them in high honour. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their rulers and superiors.

'Again, the wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it surely takes away his life. Women should, therefore, be very careful in this matter.

'This teaching came down from the divine

Aioina, and is to be strictly obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but that it also dishonours the gods, and is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command.'

CHAPTER XXV.

Education.

General education—Religious and moral matters taught—Reliance on the gods for daily food taught—Greediness discouraged—Reverence for old people taught—Legend of the mole and goddess—The skylark—Boys taught to make *inao*—The Ainu without literature—Story of Yoshitsune stealing Ainu books—Inscription at Otarunai.

AINU children never knew the advantages of schools and schoolmasters. The mountains, the rivers, and the sea were their school-houses, necessity was their instructor, inclination and the weather were the only forces which made them work.

The first and chief duties taught to the children were obedience to parents, a careful regard to their elder brother, and reverence for the old men of their village. They were to speak when spoken to, and at other times to be seen and not heard. By no means were they allowed to interrupt their elders when engaged in conversation.

The men attended to the education of the boys, and the women looked after the girls of a family. The boys were taught to fish and hunt, to make bows, arrows, and traps, to set spring-bows on the trail of animals, to decoy deer, and to judge of the weather by the skies. They were never taught to make poison for the destruction of animals until full-

grown, and even then only a few were taught the secret.

Next they were taught the names and shapes of certain mountains and hills, the names and courses of the chief rivers and streams, so that they might not get lost when out on a hunting expedition. They also had to learn the secret and quickest routes to different places. And last, but not least, they were taught how to make *inao* and *nusa* offerings, and what forms of prayer to use upon different occasions; the various salutations and the proper course to pursue in the various ceremonies; also, the ancient traditions.

The women taught the girls to nurse children, and to prepare bark and weave it into cloth; to sew, embroider, and mend; to work in the gardens, to cook, to thatch huts, to cut wood, and a thousand and one other things. They were also instructed in the art of tattooing their arms and lips, and how to weep and howl for the dead. Lastly, they were particularly taught to honour and respect and wait upon the men; always to wait to be spoken to before addressing them, always to get out of their way when they came along a path, to cover the mouth with the hand when meeting them, and to uncover the head in their presence; and they were instructed to never forget to enter a hut with the face towards the household, and to go out backwards.

Moral and religious matters were taught by legends, myths, and fairy-tales. Thus, for example, diligence was encouraged and idleness discouraged by reciting the tale of the 'man in the moon,' as set forth in Chapter VI., while girls were taught the

danger of carelessness with regard to looking after children, by recounting to them the origin of the goat-sucker explained in Chapter XVIII. It is proposed to give a few stories illustrating these matters in the present chapter.

In teaching the children to rely on the higher powers for daily food, the following legend is sometimes recited :—

'There was a woman who ever sat in the window of her hut doing needlework, and by her side there was placed a large wine-cup, so full of wine that the ceremonial moustache-lifter danced about upon it. In explaining this matter from the beginning and setting it forth to the end, the story is as follows: In Ainu-land there was once a great famine raging, and though the people were dying for want of food, yet with all the rice-malt they had and with every scrap of millet they possessed they proceeded to make some wine. For, thought they, if the great God should have mercy, and produce deer and fish, the people would be able to eat. By and by that cup of wine was emptied into six lacquer-ware vessels, and in a very little time the inside of the house was filled with the smell of the wine, and all the local deities were led in one by one, and regaled with that delicious beverage. The goddesses who preside over the river-courses, as well as those who guard their mouths, were very pleased, and danced and clapped their hands. Then all the gods smiled and laughed with joy. Whilst the gaze of the whole company was earnestly fixed upon them with delight and keen expectation, God

plucked out two hairs from a deer and blew them over the tops of the mountains. Upon this there immediately appeared two separate herds of deer, great and beautiful, one of bucks and the other of does, skipping upon the mountain-tops. Next He pulled out two scales from a fish, and these were blown over the rivers, so that the waters at once superabounded with fish. After this the Ainu went fishing, and made their boats to dance upon the rivers in a manner delightful to behold. In this way fish and deer became once more very numerous, and the young people were able to hunt and fish with great success.'

Greediness is discouraged by the tale of the foxes now to be given. Thus :—

(*Characters*—PAN'AMBE and PEN'AMBE).

'Pan'ambe, having a great desire to become rich, stretched his tail across the sea to the town of Matsumae. When the lord of Matsumae saw the tail he said, "This is a pole sent from the gods; hang all my clothes upon it to air." So all the short-sleeved garments and good clothing were hung out. After a time Pan'ambe drew back his tail, and all the soft silky garments and good clothing adhering to it came also, so that he gained a whole houseful of things, and became very rich. Pen'ambe, hearing of his good fortune, called upon him and said, "My dear Pan'ambe, what have you done that you have become so rich?" Pan'ambe replied, "Come and take some refreshment, and I will tell you." When he had

heard all, Pen'ambe, withdrawing, said, "This is the very thing we ourselves had intended to do, and you—you abominable Pan'ambe, you disgusting Pan'ambe—have forestalled us!" So saying, he went down to the sea-shore and stretched his tail across the sea to Matsumae. When the lord of Matsumae saw it he said, "Here is a pole sent by the gods; hang out all my best clothes to air." So the clothes were hung upon it. But Pen'ambe, being in a great hurry to become rich, began to withdraw his tail too quickly. The lord of Matsumae, seeing the tail move, said, "Even thus it happened once before. There came a pole from the gods, upon which we hung our clothes to air; but a thief stole the pole away, and we all became poor. Now again a pole has come, and we have hung our clothes upon it; but look! there appears to be a thief about; be quick, and cut the god's pole in two." So the officers drew their swords and cut the pole, thereby saving all the clothes. Pen'ambe was left with but half a tail, so he drew it in, but had obtained nothing, and was in a very sorry plight. Now, if Pen'ambe had listened to what Pan'ambe had said to him, he might have been a rich person, and able to live; but he did not like to be advised, so he became a very poor man.'

Reverence to old people was taught by the following legend:—

'At the head of Japan there was a metal (*i.e.* very hard) pine tree. Now, the ancients, both noble and ignoble, came together and broke and bent their swords (upon that tree). Then there

came a very old man and very old woman upon the scene. The old man had a useless old axe in his girdle, and the old woman a useless old reaping-hook. So they caused the ancients to laugh at them.' (That is, the Ainu laughed at the bare idea of such an old couple coming to render assistance.)

'Even the ancients were unable to cut down that tree, so they said: "Old man and old woman, what have you come hither to do?" The old man replied, "We have only come that we may see." As the old man said this he drew his useless old axe, and, striking the metal pine tree, cut a little way into it. And the old woman drawing her useless old reaping-hook, struck the tree and cut it through. There was a mighty crash; the earth trembled with the fall. Then the old man and woman passed up upon the sound thereof, and a fire was seen upon their sword-scabbards. The ancients saw this, and greatly wondered, and then they understood that it was Okikurumi and his wife.'

Therefore the Ainu say: 'Let not the younger laugh at the elder, for even very old people can teach their juniors a great deal, even in so simple a matter as felling trees.' Also they say: 'Do not treat strangers slightingly, for you never know who you are entertaining.' These strangers who appeared to the Ainu were no other than the great hero Yoshitsune (Okikurumi is his Ainu name) and his wife, and yet the people did not at first know them.

The legend now to be given is sometimes

quoted before girls, to make it clear to them that they ought to marry those whom the parents choose for them, whether they like it or not. But its value does not consist alone in this, as its recital will show. I have called the myth :—

Legend of the Mole and Goddess; or, the Origin of the Adonis Amurensis.

The fable concerning the origin of this plant, which the Ainu call *kunau nonno*, and *kunaipo nonno*, makes it clear that its blossom is considered by them to be the prettiest of all flowers. Its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess, the daughter indeed of one of the gods who are supposed to rule over the lowest heavens. To my mind the special value of the myth consists in its illustration of the fact that the Ainu believe that spirit life sometimes becomes the life of a vegetable. The *Adonis* is the earliest of all flowers in Yezo. The blossom is of a bright yellow colour, and appears before the leaf. It may often be seen even before all the snow is melted off the plains, being sometimes found in February. It is very plentiful in some localities in the month of March; and it is most likely this fact which causes it to be so much beloved by the people, for it is the first sign of the approaching spring. Indeed, it holds the high place in the Ainu mind that the snowdrop does in the English. The myth runs as follows :—

'The divine mole is a god who originally came down from heaven to take up his abode upon this

earth. He stands very high indeed among the earthly deities, and the people should therefore treat him with great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there has never been a female so beautiful as the daughter of the god who resides in the lower skies. This deity one day called his daughter to him, and said, "There is no divinity upon earth more honourable and higher in rank than the mole; you, my daughter, must wed no other than he." The goddess gave her consent, and the mole having been notified of the arrangement went to heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and, when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the house in proper order. After all had been prepared, the ceremony performed, and the wedding feast well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house as if to fetch something, but did not return. After a time the mole, therefore, went to look for her. He searched heaven, earth and sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass of the earth, and after a further search found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and, trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, "O you wretched creature, why did you slip away and hide yourself among the grass? As you have thus disobeyed your father and run away from your home, I will punish you most severely. You may no more return to the heavenly dwellings, but must live in this world only. You shall now be turned into grass." Having said this, he trampled

her under foot with all his might, and she was changed into grass. Her name became *Kunau* (Adonis). It is because this plant had such an origin that it produces the most beautiful and handsome flower there is. In the beginning it truly lived in heaven, and was a goddess of great beauty. But let it ever be remembered that she ceased being a goddess because she disobeyed the wishes of her father. She was punished for this, and this why she became a flower of the field. As then the mole is known to be such a grand and noble deity, his head must be wrapped up in fetich shavings when he is killed, and reverently kept as a charm. And when he is first killed the men must take the head and worship it, saying. "O thou divine mole, we know that thou art a great god, henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our lord." If one does this in a reverential manner the mole will bless him and make him very rich.'

Another example showing how dangerous it is not to obey one's betters, but to loiter, when told to hurry, is found in the history of the skylark. This bird is said to have disobeyed God when He sent him on a journey by not returning at the time he was told. For this he was never allowed to go to his heavenly home again. This story is told young folks, and the lark is held up as a warning against disobedience to parents. Moreover, the lark was also impudent, and answered God back when scolded for his fault. Had he begged pardon and promised to lead a better life, things might have been different. The course he took only served to harden his nature, so that often, even

now, he ascends up as high as he can go, and there storms at his Maker.

THE LEGEND.

'The skylark used to live in heaven. One day the God of heaven sent him down to the earth with a message for the gods who reside here, telling him to return the same day. But the little bird thought the earth such a nice place that he stayed to play. He was here so long that it began to grow dark, and he therefore determined to spend the night on the ground. The next day he arose in the air to return to heaven; but God met him when he was about six score feet up and said: "Why did you not return as I told you? As, therefore, you have disobeyed my words, you shall not return to heaven, but live upon the earth. Although you may attempt to fly as high up as heaven, yet you shall never be able to get any higher than one or two scores of six feet." The little bird was exceedingly angry at this, and, arguing with God, said: "O great God, as the world you made is so beautiful, I could not help taking a look at it, and so got late. Although you chide me for this, yet I will fly back to heaven." In this way he answered God. But God did not consent. Therefore the little bird grew very angry, and daily went as high as he could, and then flew about arguing and wrangling; yet God would never consent to his entrance into heaven again. He therefore returned to the earth to play. After a time he ascended and did the same thing, yet God did not consent. The same thing continues to happen now every summer, but God never will

allow him to return. The lark is called *riko* ("to ascend up on high") and *chiripo* ("little bird") because he is a small bird and goes high up in the air. He is also called *charange chikap*, *i.e.* "the bird which argues," because he goes up in the air to argue with God.'

Boys are initiated into the mysteries of Ainu religion and superstition very early in life, and their education, though not forced, is nurtured day by day as circumstances call forth, and I have been greatly astonished sometimes at the amount of lore some of the lads carry in their heads. Thus, the appearance of a snake will be almost certain to evoke a lecture on snake-cult, or the sight of an owl will serve as a text upon which to base a disquisition on bird-cult. So it is with the appearance of the tit. The sight of this bird serves as an occasion for initiating young lads into the art of making *inao*, for the tit seems to be peculiarly the boys' bird.

Legend of the Tit.

'The tit was made by God upon this earth, and now lives here together with those birds which came down from heaven. God also made at the same time a great many other small birds to reside here. He first made them for His own amusement and to converse with, because when, in ancient times, He lived in this world, He felt very lonely. The little birds were made to fly above in the expanse over the earth in large companies, and God used to amuse Himself by shooting at them

one by one with His bow and arrows. The tit is called *enumnoya* because he feeds upon the *noya numihi*, *i.e.* "mugwort berries." Ainu boys at the present time shoot the tits, and when they kill them, worship them and present them with *inao*, and after that throw them away.'

It will thus be seen that the education of Ainu children was formerly done by word of mouth, and moral precepts were enforced by quotations drawn from the lore of the people. I do not believe they ever had literature of any kind, for no certain examples of any can be found. They do not like, however, to admit that they never had any books or writing materials, for they seem ashamed of being such dunces. There is not even a native word for either pen, ink, or paper, and their word for book itself is of Japanese origin. Notwithstanding all this, many of them tell us that their ancestors did understand reading and writing, but that they have now lost the art. They have invented a tale by which the Japanese hero, Yoshitsune, is made to steal and carry off a certain book—the only book—the Ainu chief of Saru had in his possession. The name of this book is said to be *Tora no maki mono*, a purely Japanese name. It is, in fact, the name of a Japanese book on strategy.

The tale of the theft runs thus: 'When Yoshitsune came to Yezo he was kindly taken in by the Saru chief, who had his residence at Piratori. This chief had amongst his treasures a very ancient book called *Tora no maki mono*, but he would never allow Yoshitsune to see it. After a time the chief adopted Yoshitsune, and gave him his younger

daughter in marriage. One day, after he had been in the family some time, Yoshitsune pretended he had bad eyes, and could not go out to work as was his wont. So he stayed at home. On that day he reproached his wife greatly and refused to eat, and told her that neither did she love him nor did she nor her father trust him, so that he might just as well go back to his native land. She asked him in what he was mistrusted, and he replied that he had heard his father-in-law had an ancient book somewhere in his possession, but that, although he had let him see all his other treasures, he had never produced it. Why was he so distrustful? Upon this his wife fetched the book and let him look at it. "Now," says he, "my eyes are quite well, and I shall go to work to-morrow." Yoshitsune noticed where his wife had put the book, so as soon as an opportunity presented itself he stole it and ran off with it.

'Now it happened that Yoshitsune's father-in-law was far away in the mountains, but he felt within himself that something wrong was going on at home. He therefore left his work to return. As he neared home he saw Yoshitsune fleeing down the river in his very best and swiftest boat.

'Now, the chief always carried two harpoons about with him, a black one and a white one, which he could cast, with unerring aim, to any distance. He therefore cast the white one at the stern of the boat and transfixed it, but Yoshitsune—the cunning man—had a file with him, and filed the line in two. Then the black harpoon was cast with a similar result. Upon this Yoshitsune stood up in the boat

Inscription at Otarunai.

and reviled his wife and her father, and fled, not only with the book, but also with the harpoons and the boat.'

This legend tries to account for what is undoubtedly the fact, that the Ainu have no literature.

A very few years ago there was a small cave at Otarunai which had a few scratches upon it, thought by some to have been an inscription. But it is very doubtful after all whether it was not the work of some one wishing to play a practical joke. The preceding illustration is a photograph taken of it before it became washed out by the weather, for having been scratched on very soft material it has at last come to nothing. No other like inscriptions have been found on the island, nor indeed anywhere in the whole world, so far as one can find out.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Pleasures of Life.

Music and singing—How legends are sung—Musical instruments—Dancing—Games.

PASSING from the education of children, the pleasures of life demand some attention, and chief among these are music, dancing and games. These things, but more especially music, are not of course very highly developed among such a crude race as the Ainu.

Those who belong to Western nations are apt to suppose that all music must be formed of notes in scale, with their crescendos and diminuendos. This is the kind of music to which we have been accustomed from childhood. But the songs and chants of the Ainu do not as a rule run in fixed notes of tones, they are in general bound to no scale, so that their airs cannot always be written down. In fact, the Ainu have much of their music without tune, but this refers particularly, as one would naturally expect, to such singing as that whose character is recitative.

Some of the women and girls have really rich voices, and it is very pleasant to hear them hum their songs. And when they sing in unison, as is of course the case in churches, one is struck with the fulness of tone, accuracy of time and general harmony. Some of the boys and girls we have trained have been found to possess a very quick ear, and have

been able to pick up tunes with far more alacrity and ease than, prior to experience, we should have expected.

The men and women make up some very pretty tunes in which to recite their recent acts and experiences. Thus, I have sometimes sat and listened to our servants when they have returned from Hakodate, Sapporo, or other places to their homes. I have seen them sit for an hour at a stretch, and relate in chant or song that which has happened to them whilst away: where they have been, what they have seen, and what they have heard. Their friends, too, have in the same way made known to them what has taken place in their midst: what children have been born, who have died, who have married, how the fishing and hunting and gardening has gone on, and all such things. It is very interesting to listen to these chants, for they give many a peep into the inner workings of the mind, and show a good deal of the true nature of the Ainu, and their ways of looking at things.

Nor do the people appear to have anything which we call metre, or verses accurately measured into syllables. Rhyme, too, is quite unknown to them, and poetry only exists in the mind.

The following myth will show the general manner in which the Ainu recite or chant their traditions. It was sung to me by an aged Ainu, to whom I had just been explaining the dangers and evil of drinking too much *saké*, and to whom I had been endeavouring to show how much better it is to worship God in spirit and in truth, than by offering Him wine and whittled pieces of wood. The old

man's object in singing this tradition was, in all probability, to enforce upon my mind the fact that, notwithstanding all I had said, the gods were, at the time of the famine indicated below, pleased with these offerings, and are still delighted when the devout worshipper indicates his sincerity by setting these things before them.

'1. There was something upon the seas bowing and raising its head.

'2. And when they came to see what it was, they found it to be a monstrous sea-lion fast asleep, which they seized and brought ashore.

'3. Now, when we look at the matter, we find that there was a famine in Ainu-land.

'4. And we see that a large sea-lion was cast upon the shores of the mouth of the Saru River.

'5. Thus the Ainu were able to eat (*i.e.* obtained food).

'6. For this reason *inao* and *saké* were offered to the gods.

'7. So the gods to whom these offerings were made *were* pleased and *are* pleased.'

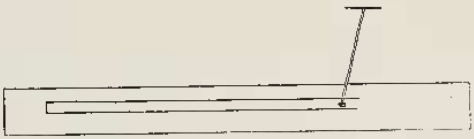
The first and second of these verses are an introductory statement of the theme. The remote ancestors of the Ainu race are represented as having seen some large and curious object floating about on the tops of the waves of the sea, and rising and falling with them. The men, therefore, launch their boats and go and see what the object may be. They find it is a mighty sea-lion (*shietashbe*). They then seize the animal, and by some means or other (how it is not stated) bring it ashore.

The third and fourth verses make known the fact that at this particular time there was a famine in Ainu-land, and that the Ainu of to-day, in looking back upon this sad calamity, see in the sleeping sea-lion the hand of the gods working to preserve the race from starvation and certain destruction. This mighty sea monster is said to have been cast upon the shores of the Saru River. Saru, it should be remembered, is regarded by the Ainu of the south of Yezo as the chief district in the island; and the *Shishiri-muka* is the largest river in Saru.

Verses 6 and 7 are intended to show that libations of wine and the offering of *inao* have always been a well-pleasing sacrifice to the gods, and therefore are so now. They pleased the gods at that time, and that they please them now is seen from the fact that food is still extended to the Ainu race. Hence one great reason why such ancient religious customs should not be abolished. Hence, too, according to the Ainu reasoning, this race of men have no cause to change one form of religion and its accompanying ceremonies and rites for another.

The Yezo Ainu possess but one musical instrument, a kind of Jew's-harp made of bamboo. It is not used by full-grown people, but the children are very fond of playing it. It is about five inches long, and has a thin narrow tongue up the centre, which measures about four inches in length and one-eighth of an inch in breadth. A piece of string is attached to the butt end of the tongue. This instrument is played by holding it to the

lips in the same way as children in England hold the Jew's-harp. Then the player breathes through the space in which the tongue is, and gives the string a sharp, sudden jerk. The tone produced is regulated by the breath of the player. The Ainu name of this instrument is *mukkuri*.



The Mukkuri, or Jew's-Harp.

The Ainu of Saghlien make a sort of fiddle, some with two, some with three, and others with four or even more strings, according to caprice. There are several of these to be seen in the Sapporo Museum, and others are found among some of those Ishkari Ainu who originally came down from Saghalien when that island was ceded to Russia.

If there is but little to say about music and musical instruments, there is also very little to tell about dancing, for it appears to me to be a senseless performance, quite devoid of elegance or grace. The general names for dancing are *tapkara* and *rimsei*, and there appear to be four principal ones. These are called (1) *choma*; (2) *herannc*; (3) *ikkcu-ho-hum*; and (4) *heshkotoro*. The *choma* dance appears to be an attempt to imitate the movements of some kind of bird, possibly the heron, which may have been a clan god. The dancers generally form

a ring, and continually call out *ehoma* in unison. They also incessantly bend their backs forward and as far back as possible when performing this dance. In the dance called *heranne* the performers form a

ENJOYING A DANCE.

(*The English lady is Miss Bryant, a C. M. S. Missionary.*)

ring and join hands, and, incessantly calling out *heranne*, continue to bow to one another, thus bringing their heads nearly together in the centre of the ring. *Ikkeu-ho-hum* consists in attempting

to make oneself as much like a seesaw as possible, by bending the back and head forward and back as far as one can, at the same time calling out *ikkeu-ho-hum*. *Heshkotoro* is indescribable, and appears to be a mixture of all the others, and the word *heshkotoro* is called out during the performance.

The Ainu do not much engage in games. The hard facts of daily life, such as looking out for food to eat and clothes to wear, take up their time. However, the people indulge in a game or two sometimes. Both men and boys think a great deal of a game called *karip-pashte*, *i.e.* 'causing the hoop to run.' This amusement appears to have been invented in order to teach the children to spear salmon in the rivers, and is played in this way :—

Suppose twenty boys and men take part, these are divided into two parties of ten a side, separated from each other by about twenty steps or yards. Each individual is armed with a long stick or light pole resembling a spear. A strong person, belonging to the side which leads off, takes a ring or hoop, about six inches in diameter, roughly made of a piece of vine, and throws it with all his might to the opposite party, making it run and bounce along the ground. Those to whom it is thrown then cast their sticks or spears at it as it passes them, and endeavour to transfix it to the earth. If successful they win, and one person from the other side comes over to theirs. Then the hoop is thrown back in the same way by a strong arm. And thus the game continues. When the individuals of one party are all brought over to the other, the game is finished, and the opposing sides cross over and

begin again. It is really quite an exciting game, and gives very good exercise.

The men sometimes indulge in a very curious game they call *ukara*. It has the appearance of a painful experience rather than a game. It consists in beating one another with a war-club, and is played thus :—

Some soft material, such as a coat, is neatly wrapped round a stick and fastened with a piece of string. Then one man exposes his back, and seizing a post or tree with his hands, leans forward. A second person takes the club and proceeds to beat him, apparently with all his might. When the subject has had enough, he calls out and runs off. Then a second comes forward and is operated upon, and a third, and fourth, and so on. He who has been able to stand the most whacks is the champion of the day.

Some of the Ainu despise a stick with cloth wrapped round it; they prefer a bare war-club. These are considered to be the real champions. It is wonderful what a number of strokes some of the men can bear; sometimes, in fact, blood is drawn from the back. But there is a suspicion that the art consists not so much in what a person can bear, as in the number of stripes a man can give. There is a knack in appearing to hit very hard, whilst in reality the subject is hardly touched at all. The operators, when asked about this point, only look very wise, and grin, and kindly offer to practise on the back of the questioner.

UKARA.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Government and Administration of Justice.

The village community—The head of the family—Punishments: (*a*) for breaking into a storehouse; (*b*) for adultery; (*c*) for murder Ordeals: 1 and 2. hot-water ordeals; 3. hot iron or stone ordeal; 4. drinking ordeal; 5. the cup ordeal; 6. tobacco ordeal; 7. the stake ordeal.

ACCORDING to ancient traditions, as well as certain customs which were still more or less adhered to and practised twenty years ago by the people, we find that the Ainu never had a monarchy, but always divided the government amongst the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a kind of independent republican state. The elders of each village assembled, we are informed, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to look after the affairs of the people. The principal chief, or in case of his absence one of the sub-chiefs, was always present at a funeral to bury the dead, or at marriages to ratify the marriage covenant by his assent, and to cheer the young couple with his good wishes. The chiefs, together with the people, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. It will, of course, be readily understood that there were no law-codes or clearly defined descriptive rights; the punishment therefore of minor offences and recognised crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community. It was the duty

Husband and Wife with the Points of their Noses cut off for Theft.

of the principal chief to lead the people to hunt, fish, and fight, and in conjunction with the sub-chiefs to see to the proper division of land, to point out to each person a garden plot and fishing place, to visit the sick, to settle disputes, to pronounce sentence upon the guilty, and to see that such sentence was duly carried out. All trials took place in public, and unless the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief his judgment was void. This mode of government was sometimes practised in secret by the people when the author first went among them, notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese had taken away all semblance of power from them as a race, deposed their hereditary chiefs, and set up men of their own choosing in their places. Old Penri himself was one of these.

But in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family. The husband and father could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce all or any of his wives—for the Ainu were polygamists—or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. More recently, however, *i.e.* since each village has its own chiefs, a single member could do very little as an individual. He must consult his companions and the appointed chiefs.

How this came to be can easily be explained. Suppose any single individual household to move away from all friends, and build a home in the wilds at some distance from any village. Such a thing has been done by the Ainu. A single family has often

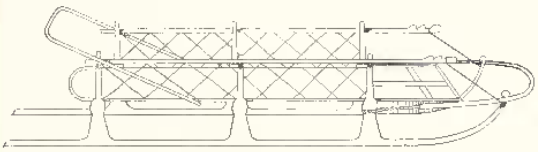
made a new settlement. Such a settlement necessarily commences under the rule of the father, who, as new huts are built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they get married, remains head of the growing clan. Then, as old age comes on, he retires, and his eldest son acts more and more in his stead, and at his death naturally succeeds him as head of the community. Then, in course of years, as the community increases in numbers, the whole village naturally desires to have something to say in any matter affecting any one of them, because each household is related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When going on trading expeditions also it was the chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is asserted that they traded with the races living in Siberia, and with the people of the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and Kamschatka. The illustration given below is that of an Aleutian canoe once to be seen in the museum at Hakodate. It is twenty-one feet long, one foot ten inches wide at the top, and is paddled along by three persons. It is made of the skin of a sea-lion. Such canoes were used principally for fishing, and there was in the museum a model of a canoe with two fishermen in it, preparing to harpoon a walrus or sea-lion. We cannot believe that such light vessels could have been used for serious fighting. When paddling them along the men always tie a piece of skin, which is securely

An Aleutian Canoe.

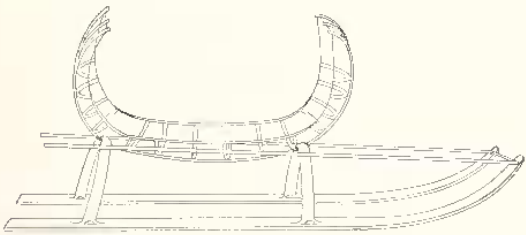
fixed to the hole they sit in, tightly round their waist, to keep the water from getting inside and swamping them.

Two kinds of dog-sleighs, which were formerly used in the Kurile Islands, may possibly represent



A Dog-Sleigh.

those used in ancient times by the Ainu of Yezo. The first is four feet four inches long, and thirteen inches broad. It seems to have been designed for carrying food or articles of merchandise.



A Sledge.

The other appears to have been intended for passenger transit. The runners are five feet six inches long, but the seat for the passenger is only two feet seven inches in length, and eight inches broad. One wonders how a person could possibly

keep from falling over when travelling in such a small conveyance, but the passenger used to travel with his feet over the sides of the sleigh. He was shod with immense sandals or snow-shoes, so that he could not only prevent himself from being capsized, but could also assist the dogs in pulling when necessary. Of course these sleighs were drawn by reindeer further north, the Ainu name for which is *Tonakkai*.

In later times, trade with northern countries was broken off, and barter carried on with the Japanese in Japan; and still later, since the Japanese pushed their way into Yezo, Matsumae, Sapporo and Hakodate in this island have been the chief centres of trade by barter.

The men also say that their ancestors traded with the Manchurians when they were at war with the Japanese, and with the Japanese only since they were subjugated by them. Manchurian cash, and perhaps a few tobacco-pipe bowls, are the only relics of Manchuria to be found amongst the Ainu of the present day.

The Ainu have various methods and degrees of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed, and the dispositions of the judges and people. However, they never favoured the death penalty, since they considered that no punishment at all. They thought that only the infliction of pain or disgrace was worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Beating with a stick or war-club was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this mode was

often superadded to other kinds. Misdemeanours and their accompanying punishments were such as these :—

For breaking into the storehouse or dwelling of another, a very sound beating was administered for the first offence ; for the second, sometimes the nose was cut off, sometimes the ears, and in some cases both the nose and ears were forfeited. Thus the culprit was marked and disgraced for life. Persons who had committed such a crime twice were driven bag and baggage out of the home and village to which they belonged. I have photographed a man and a woman they were husband and wife—who had been treated in this way for breaking into a storehouse. They are most probably the very last that have been or will be hereafter thus treated in Ainu-land, for Japanese law now reigns supreme, and that of the Ainu is, to all intents and purposes, for ever dead.

For breaking the seventh commandment it used to be the custom to heavily fine, or to tie the hands of the male offender behind his back, then hang him up to a beam by the hair of his head leaving the toes, however, just touching the ground, something after the manner indicated by the illustration,* and, as he hung, give him a severe beating. The female offender was generally allowed to go free, though, of course, in disgrace. Sometimes, however, she also came in for a sound thrashing. If the culprits were single, they were generally made to marry immediately upon being found out.

* See page 289.

For murder it is customary to cut the tendons of the feet in two, thus maiming a person for the remainder of his life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could not possibly do any work or hunting; he was ever dependent on his relatives for the necessaries of life. I have seen one old man who had been so punished. He was unable to walk, and was obliged to move himself along upon his hands, in which he held two small blocks of wood.

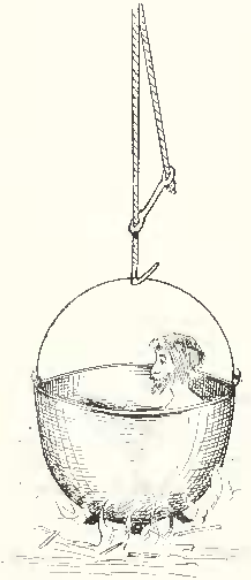
Sometimes, however, the tendons of a murderer were spared, and in that case the guilty one was banished for ever to a place called *nitai sak, chikap sap moshiri*—*i.e.* 'the land where neither birds nor trees exist,' and which is described as being a very cold and dreary place, where there is almost perpetual ice and snow. This is probably intended for Siberia.

When a person was charged with a crime, he was always supposed to plead guilty or not guilty. If he was proved guilty, and would even then not confess his fault, certain ordeals were then applied. The following ordeals were among the chief:—

1. The barbarous hot-water ordeal. A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil for lighting purposes, was procured; this was filled with cold water and placed over a blazing fire. As soon as the water was fairly warm the victim was put into it- as shown in the illustration. Here the person was compelled to remain till he or she, in the agonies of the moment, made a full confession.

Such an ordeal was never resorted to, we are informed, unless the judge and people were pretty well assured of the person's guilt. This ordeal also constituted one mode of punishment.

2. Another hot-water ordeal consisted in making an accused person thrust his or her arm into a pan of boiling water. If afraid to undergo this test, the guilt of the subject was assumed; or if, when the arm was thrust into the water, it was scalded, guilt was supposed to be proved. A person was only declared innocent if the arm came out uninjured.



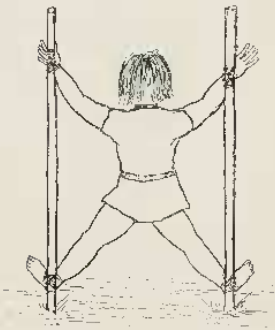
The Hot-Water Ordeal.

3. The hot stone or iron ordeal. This consisted in merely placing a piece of hot iron or heated stone in the palm of the hand, and keeping it there until confession was made. Of course, if the heated instrument did not burn the hand, a person's innocence was fully established.

4. The drinking ordeal. This consisted in making a person sit down before a large tub of water, and remain there till the whole was drunk. The mouth was not allowed to be taken away from

the tub. This does not look so very formidable, but the Ainu say it is most painful. If success followed the attempt to drink the water, innocence was proved; if not, a person was supposed to be guilty.

5. The cup ordeal. This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If the cup lighted the right way upwards, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.



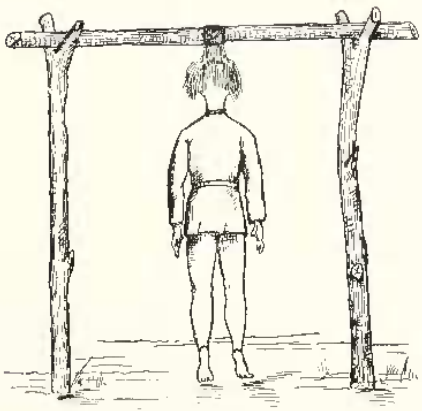
The Stake Ordeal.

6. Tobacco ordeal. A favourite way of trying women was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those women who could smoke the tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were innocent; those who could not were, of course, guilty.

7. The stake ordeal. This consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Any one tied up in this way had to remain there till confession was made.

Ordeals.

Hanging by the hair of the head, as mentioned above, was sometimes resorted to as an ordeal. Beating with a thorn brush was also a favourite method. But it should be remarked that all of these methods were, upon occasion, resorted to and inflicted as punishments for crime. Some of these ordeals were so painful that it is said that some Ainu have been known to commit suicide rather than have the test applied.



Hanging by the Hair.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Diseases: their Cause and Cure.

General causes of disease—Demons propitiated—Common remedies—Disease brought by cats—The redcap—The albatross—Snakes and snake-skins—*Imu* or hysteria—Water blowing—Boils—Minor complaints—Wizards.

AMONG the Ainu illness and accident are looked upon in various lights, and are thought to owe their presence to diverse causes. Some think sickness to be downright possession by the devil; some, a punishment sent by the gods for some evil done. Others, again, imagine the lower order of demons are the cause; some say that birds or animals originate them; while many think that witchcraft has a deal to do with it. Thus paralysis goes by the name of *kamui irushka tashum*, 'the sickness of the angry god.' This disease is supposed to be sent especially by the Creator as a punishment for wickedness. Madness is a complaint demons delight to inflict upon people who, having done many wicked acts, have become their very children. 'Madness,' or 'possession by demons,' sometimes goes by the name of 'possession by snakes,' 'snake' thus being a convertible term with and a synonym for 'demon' or 'devil.'

It was shown in Chapter IV. that at least some of the demons of sickness were evolved, according to Ainu ideas, out of the axes with which the deities

made Yezo, and it was also shown in the same chapter that many of the people imagine the tree of evil, *i.e.* the alder tree, to have been the direct cause of illness. But whatever may be the opinions as to the original cause, all the people appear to be fully persuaded that there is really a demon of disease who has many subordinates, and that when a person is ill, it is best to make a propitiatory offering to the chief devil himself or some of his kind. Part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:—

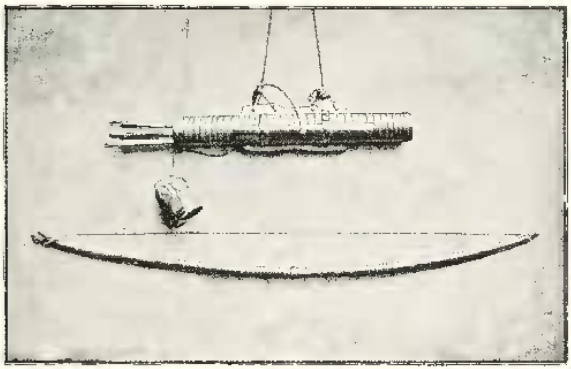
'Various diseases from time to time attack the human body. Such, for example, are ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-ache, and pricking at the lungs (consumption). Now when these complaints arise the full-grown men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each hut a small quantity of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow parnip. When these have been taken they should all be brought to an appointed place, where the men should also collect and pray. After prayer the men should carry them to the seashore, then make *inao* fetiches, and reverently place them by their side. When this has been done they should all lift up their voice and pray, saying:—

'"O ye demons of the sea harbours, have mercy upon us. O ye demons of disease, ye are fearful beings; we have therefore with one accord met together and decided to enrich ye with *inao* and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your luncheon, and the *inao* are paid as a

fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours, have the demon of disease taken away from our villages." If this prayer be said and ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure.'

When ill, the Ainu, until within quite recent times, had to do without the aid of proper medicines, medical men, and special household comforts. They formerly depended very much, though not entirely, upon prayer and Nature for recovery, as the above folk-lore indicates. However, there are quite a number of herbs which it appears the people used to employ and still do employ for the sick. Among them are found the feather columbine, the common celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, burdock, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onions, and others too numerous to mention. In cases of diarrhœa, soup made of the seeds of docks is considered very effectual. The dock seeds are gathered and dried, then beaten in a mortar. After they have been well threshed, pounded and cleansed, so that nothing but the flour remains, the flour is taken and boiled till it becomes something like pea-soup. A good dose of this is said to work wonders. For some complaints it is usual to administer a decoction made by steeping black alder bark in cold water. Another and very general way of charming away disease is to take the roots of the wild convolvulus and stuff it in the pillow used by the sick person; also to chew some of it and spit the juice out of the windows and about the hut.

For toothache a nail is heated to a white heat, and held on the affected tooth for a few seconds. This is said to kill the insects which are supposed to be the origin of the malady. For a slight cut the people chew burdock leaves and tie them on the wound; but for a severe wound they scrape deer's horn into powder and gently drop it into the cut, or, failing the horn, the whiskers or bristles of



Ainu Bow and Quiver.

whales are scraped fine and put upon the place. In cases where a person has been scratched or scalped by a bear, the wound is first washed with fresh water, then the scalp or skin is put into its proper place and sewn together with hair or a fine thread made of bark, after which powder made by scraping deer's horn or whale's bristles is put along the seams. If a person is accidentally poisoned by an arrow, the spot touched by the poison is imme-

diately cut out, the place sucked, then washed, and horn powder put upon the wound. Where a leg or an arm is broken, the bones are merely set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

An Ainu, when one day telling me about the origin of cats, also informed me that they originally came out of a demon, and are therefore untrustworthy creatures, and must be looked upon with suspicion and treated with care. They are capable of bewitching people, causing them misfortune, and bringing illness and death. Indeed, they have power, in common with many other animals, of possessing people. The difference in the colour of their hair is also accounted for in the legend then given me.

THE LEGEND.

'Cats are of various colours, some white, some black, some reddish, and others of several colours mixed. They all alike came out of the ashes of the demon *Moshiri-shinnaisam*, whom the mole burnt to death. They are not the best of animals, yet they may be brought up at home and kept to catch the rats and mice. But great care should be taken, for they are of a very unreliable nature, and they will possess people and punish them with a painful death if treated badly.

'Once upon a time there lived a man who kept a cat which would not kill the rats and mice, but rather than do her duty in this respect spent her whole time in thieving. Her owner was very angry at this, and one day killed her by tossing her into the fire and burning her up. Whilst doing

this he addressed her saying: "As you, O cat, originally came out of the ashes of a demon, it is most befitting that you be destroyed by burning. You fail in your duty of keeping the rats under, and are therefore utterly useless. Moreover, you are a very wicked cat, for you are a thief and rob our neighbours of their food; you must therefore be punished." Having said this, he struck her a severe blow on the head and tossed her on a blazing fire. Pussy was exceedingly wrathful on account of this treatment, and could not forgive the man for his cruelty. After death she therefore came again in spirit, and avenged herself by burning his house down to the ground. Both the body and spirit of the man himself were also subjected to her spite, for she attacked him so that he frequently fell down in fits of epilepsy, and at last died a painful death while imitating a cat's mew. Thus his body grew sick and weak, and his soul was possessed. The cat is therefore a dreadful creature, though useful, and for this reason must be treated with great kindness. Those which are of a white colour came out of the white ashes of *Moshiri-shinnaisam*, the black out of the black ashes, the red out of the red, and those of a mixed colour out of the ashes mingled together.'

I was very much surprised to find that in some cases even quite tiny birds are supposed to possess a very great power for harm. Thus, for example, there is a very small bird, the redcap, which comes to the seashore in large flights during the spring and autumn months, and feeds on something it finds among the grass and small bushes which begin to

grow from about two or three hundred yards off the bare sand or shingle. The Ainu call this bird *Pa-koro Kamui chikappo, i.e.* 'the little bird demon of disease.' They are very much afraid of him, and will not knowingly go near the place where any of them happen to be feeding. Should the bird be called names, have stones thrown at him, or be in any way injured, it is said that he will very soon punish, not only the culprit, but also all the people near him with disease, and through disease with death. The legend concerning him runs thus :—

'During the early spring, little birds of a greyish-coloured body, but with a small patch of red on the top of their heads, come and settle upon the sea-shore. They come in large flights. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages. One must therefore not even pretend to throw a stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn away from them, and pretend not to see them.'

It was mentioned just now that the demons of the sea are sometimes worshipped and propitiated when people are taken ill; and this seems to imply that the Ainu think that the demon of disease has his dwelling there. It is also very curious to remark that they also imagine the remedy for disease to likewise come from the sea. For example.

Twenty years ago I found that there was hardly a hut among those Ainu with whom I came into contact, in which there was not to be found the

skull and beak of an albatross or some similar bird. Many of the sick who have come to us at Sapporo for treatment (and we have had more than a thousand of them now) have brought them in their luggage, as an aid to the foreign medicines administered by our doctors. The head of this bird is earnestly worshipped by the sick, and his beak and skull scraped and taken in hot water. This is,

Winter in Yezo.

in fact, one of the most popular medicines the Ainu have in their pharmacy.

The legend which follows shows why this is. The chief seen by the man in his dream was no other than the demon of disease, and it was from his lips he learned that none of his tribe could withstand the smell of the head of the albatross. The smell of this is vile enough, in all conscience! I have had full experience of that fact.

LEGEND OF THE ALBATROSS.

'The albatross is an object of worship, and the origin of prayer being said to him is as follows:—Once upon a time, many years ago, a bad disease broke out among the Ainu, so that many of the people died. At that time there lived a very good and honourable man whose name was *Tokirauge*. Now, this man had a wonderful dream, in which he saw a very large house with a multitude of people assembled in it. In front of the assembly a chief was standing up, who said: "I was one day passing through the midst of Ainu-land, not in the least expecting to meet with anything bad, but in the huts of many of the people I smelled the fearful odour of a certain bird which comes from the sea, and which is called by the name albatross. My friends, enter you not into the house where there is the head of one of these birds, for such houses are not for you to enter." So spake the chief. After this the man awoke, and as he wished to know what his dream could mean, he arose and walked through the whole country. As he looked into the huts he saw that there were many in which the people kept the head of an albatross as a fetich, and to which they were in the habit of offering *inao* and drinking *saké*. He also observed that there was no disease among those who kept this charm, and that in every hut in which it was not found there was some one ill. The man therefore went and procured one of the heads, worshipped it, and scraped some shavings off the skull and beak. He put the scrapings into a cup, poured hot water upon

them and gave the decoction to the sick people to drink. All who partook of this remedy were perfectly cured in a very short time. Therefore the head of this bird is kept wrapped up in *inao* shavings, and when a person gets sick it is taken out, placed upon a tray and devoutly worshipped. It is then scraped and the powder given to the patient to swallow in hot water. Thus, although in the beginning the Ainu did not all know the value of the head of the albatross, yet after the dream of this man the matter was made known to every one. The man himself also knew that the chief he saw and heard speaking in his dream was no other than the demon of disease.'

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god of the sea, and it is said that if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of one of these birds when at their calling they are sure to be successful. This is why he is called *Isho-kapiu*, *i.e.* 'sporting seagull.' Like many other so-called deities, the albatross also is said to go to others superior to himself, with prayers from men. But this will be noticed in another place. The matter to be particularly brought before the mind here is that the albatross was made for the purpose of helping men when they are sick; indeed, he fights for men against the demons of disease.

Snakes also, it appears, have power to bring disease. This is shown in the following folk-lore:—

'If snakes are treated in a bad way, they will surely cause illness. And if a person is made ill by one, the malady may be immediately cured by

worshipping it and offering it or any of its kind *inao* made of walnut. This is the way it came about that this kind of *inao* is offered them. In very ancient times a man went to the mountains to chop wood. As he was chopping away at a tree which happened to be hollow, he unwittingly cut through a snake which had made his home there. However, as it could not be helped, he returned to his home without thinking any more of the matter. But no sooner had he arrived there than he was seized with sickness and bad eyes. His skin also began to peel off, and his body became very sore all over. Thereupon the Ainu met together and begged pardon of the snake. But all was of no avail. After this the afflicted man had a dream. In his dream he saw a snake, which came and said to him, "Pay thou attention to me. When you went to fetch wood from the mountains you killed a snake with your axe. I am one of his relations. Now, although you have made many *inao* and offered many prayers, yet you are not healed. This is because we prefer the *inao* offered to us to be made of the walnut tree. If you make some out of that kind of wood we will help you." After this the man awoke and told his friends all about the dream. Upon hearing it they met together, made many *inao* of walnut, and offered up much prayer. The man got well immediately. It is by this that we know that *inao* made of walnut are very acceptable to snakes, and that snakes must be treated with respect.'

But quite contrary to what one would expect,

the cast-off skins of these reptiles are sometimes used as remedies. They are supposed to have power to heal warts and chapped hands and feet, besides being a charm for bringing plenty of food. As a prescription for the cure of warts, the following was told me: 'Should a person get warts upon his hands or feet he should rub them with snakes' skins. This is so because warts are caused by rats. If, therefore, they are well rubbed with snakes' skins, warts will go away post haste, for rats are very much afraid of snakes.'

As regards chaps the prescription is: 'Should a person get chapped hands or feet, he should burn snakes' skin to charcoal, and rub it well into the affected parts. If he does this the sore places will be healed at once.'

There is a very remarkable kind of hysteria prevalent among the Ainu which they call *imu*, and which seems to attack the women especially, though not exclusively. The complaint appears to be closely connected with snakes and vipers in some mysterious manner. I have found that women who have been bitten by these reptiles are, without a single exception, subject to attacks of this disease. Penri, the only man I know to have been bitten by a viper, is also sometimes attacked. Neither he nor any other person subject to these attacks can bear the sight of a snake or viper, or endure the mention of the name. Moreover, I once sent a man who was not subject to these fits off into this kind of hysteria by killing a large snake and taking a rat out of its stomach, and many a time have I quite

unintentionally sent women into hysteria by telling them of the part the serpent is said to have played at the fall of man. I once saw a young man throw three women into one of these fits by placing a handful of *equisetum*, or scouring rushes, in their way. The Ainu call this kind of rush *shipship*, and this, it will be observed, is simply an onomatopœia for that kind of sissing noise they make when being rubbed together. The reason they cause hysteria is supposed to be because they remind the people either of the sissing or hissing noise snakes make at the time of attack, or of the rustle they make among the grass and leaves when gliding away.

The symptoms are curious, though not the same in every person. In every severe case, however, that has come under my notice I have observed that the eyes of the patient open very wide, stare fixedly, and glitter. Such persons fill one with pity, for the whole demeanour is that of abject fear. As a rule also patients will repeat rapidly the last words one speaks when addressing them, and when looking at you will poise the head, throw back the shoulders and incline the elbows slightly forward. Some will do exactly the opposite they are told. Should such have a knife, and a person tells them to throw it away, they will in all probability cut themselves with it. I once saw a snake in the way of a woman who had a large garden mattock in her hands. The sight of the reptile sent her into hysterics. A young man near at hand told her to throw the mattock at the snake, whereupon she immediately threw it at him, and nearly hit him on the head. Had the young man not known what to expect from her, and thus

been on his guard, I believe he would have been seriously wounded. On no occasions do persons attacked by this disease laugh and cry during the fit.

But not only does it appear that all women who have been bitten by snakes or vipers have these fits, but it seems to be hereditary also. The girls born to a woman after she has been bitten are said to be certain of attacks. But what truth there is in this I do not know. I am certain, however, that the complaint is contagious; for girls I knew ten or fifteen years ago, and who were not then subject to these fits, are now wives and mothers, and can *imu* as much as any one at the slightest provocation, though they have not been bitten by snakes.

As to the cause of this complaint the Ainu know of none but demons; they look upon it merely as a mild kind of quite natural temporary possession, which, as it cannot be cured, must be made the best of and endured.

I have communicated the facts and shown some of the patients to a Japanese doctor in Sapporo. He says that he cannot account for it, and calls the complaint simply a kind of hysteria.

In working bodily cures water is thought to be of great efficacy, and is much used. When persons faint, for example, or at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth. This is called *wakka pururuse*, *i.e.* 'water blowing.' Sometimes, however, when more water is required it is poured upon them out of a ladle or bucket, or sprinkled over them with the hand or a bunch of spray wood or grass. I am afraid, however, that common sense is not always exercised when

applying water as a remedy. Note for example the following instance:—

A young man of my acquaintance one day fell from his horse, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three buckets of water were poured over and sprinkled upon him. Poor lad, the wonder is that he did not die of kindness!

It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and somewhat of a comfort to find that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind inquiries, and just before leaving, he said: 'Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when persons have boils it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude.' I have now great pleasure in passing this consolation on to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are produced by gods or demons; each man may settle this question for himself.

The people also have various charms to keep away disease. The fetich mentioned in Chapter XI. is a good illustration of this. The heart of the

river otter also, among other things, is supposed to be a good antidote. In some mysterious way the dried heart of this animal is considered to be a power against disease. On August 11 of the year 1894 I was asked by an Ainu to take a small parcel containing the dried heart of a river otter to a certain place to which I was going, as the people desired to use it as an antidote against cholera, then said to be raging near. Upon asking how it was to be used, in case I should find it necessary, I was told that small portions were to be boiled, and swallowed with the water it was boiled in. Cholera would not come near me if I did that. This article is used as a kind of magical charm to keep the disease off, rather than as a remedy to cure it when attacked. It differs therefore from the use of the galls of animals, which are used entirely as medicine.

'When one has palpitation of the heart, it is said to be a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. When, therefore, such palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times, and say: "As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times." For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place.'

It may perhaps appear curious that the number six should occur so often in Ainu folk-lore, but it may be now, once for all, noted, that we find it constantly recurring as the numerical exponent of perfection, and is regarded by the people as the

sacred number. We often find it so appearing in their legends. Thus, when a religious feast was made, the wine for this purpose was procured by using *six* bags of rice; these were put into *six* tubs; when the wine was ready for use it was emptied into *six* vessels, and it was partaken of by *six* lords. Purification too used to take place on the sixth day after childbirth, as was mentioned in Chapter XXIII. Again, we hear of a boat having *six* oars, rowed by *six* men, and having *six* gods as passengers. Yet again a warrior went forth to war. He came to *six* clouds and *six* banks of fog. Under these he found *six* rapids, and these were watched over by *six* lords. He fought, and *six* were slain. Further on, he met *six* men and *six* women clothed in stone armour, and further on *six* men and *six* women wearing metal armour. With a mighty forward sweep with his sword, he slew three men and three women, in all *six* persons. But, not to multiply instances, I will conclude by remarking that the highest fine it was possible to inflict upon one Ainu by another was *six* garments; this was the fine which in ancient times the chiefs of the people are said to have imposed upon any of their subjects who were found learning the Japanese language; but 'since the Japanese officials forbade the Ainu to speak their own mother-tongue that fine has been abolished.' And to return to the matter in hand.

'If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting. If it is the lower eyelid which twitches, it is to make

An Ainu Sub Chief.

known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the dead.'

When a person desired to know the reason of his malady, he sent and fetched a *tusu-guru*, *i.e.* 'wizard,' to come and explain it. Indeed, this is not merely a thing of the past, for it is sometimes practised even at the present day.

This wizard goes to the house of the anxious one, and, falling into a sort of a trance and working himself up into a kind of frenzy, tells why the disease has come, and what demon has sent it. He also makes some charms to be worn by the afflicted person. These charms were supposed to drive away the demon of sickness, and bring back the god of health. He also makes medicines for the sick one to take. When a wizard prophesies, he is supposed to sleep or otherwise lose consciousness. The spirit of prophecy or divination is then thought to enter into the heart of the prophet, so that the subject merely becomes a tool or mouthpiece of the gods. The prophet is not even supposed to know what he himself says, and often the listeners do not understand what his words portend. When in the act of prophesying he is in a fearful tremble; he generally breathes very hard, and beads of perspiration stand on his brow. Though his eyes should be open, they have for the time being lost all power of sight. He sees nothing but with the mind. Everything he sees, whether relating to the past, present, or future, is spoken of in the present tense. The spirit of prophecy is fully believed in by the people, and the prophet is often resorted to.

But no person can prophesy just when he pleases; he must wait till the spirit seizes him. Nor is a good drink of wine always required; but contemplation and prayer are absolute necessities. The burden of prophecy sometimes comes out in jerks, but more often in a kind of sing-song monotone. When a prophet prophesies, absolute silence is observed by the people present. No voice is heard but that of the prophet. Old men with grey beards may be seen with tears in their eyes, silent and solemn, attentively listening to what is being said. The prophet beats himself with his hands, and when he has finished he opens his eyes with a stare, and presents a very exhausted appearance.

One of the most solemn scenes of sickness I have witnessed took place in the hut next to that in which we were living. It was a case of sunstroke, I believe. The poor woman who was afflicted was quite unconscious, and it was expected every moment she would die. Word was quickly sent round to her friends, and a wizard, who happened to be her near relative, was fetched from a village about five miles off. I went into the hut to see her after dark in the evening. She was lying upon a long stool near the fireside. At her head stood the wizard, swaying to and fro in the fervour of his excitement and earnestness, prophesying and praying. I shall never forget his flashing eye and earnest look. Many women, friends of the sick one, were standing round her performing what they call *nitata*—that is to say, they were holding the patient with their hands, believing themselves to be able by this means to keep the spirit from leaving

the body, at the same time blowing upon her with their mouths, and giving vent to their feelings by loud lamentations and much weeping. Some of the women held lights, while others turned out the pots, pans, and tubs, and swept the hut clean from end to end. This was to drive out the demon of sickness. There were also many men present, all of whom were engaged in prayer.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Exorcism.

Possession by demons—Madness—Exorcising the demon of a sick child—*Niwen horippa*, or 'the wild dance.'

WE saw in the last chapter that disease is looked upon by the Ainu as possession by devils, and that there are consequently some cases where human remedies, such as the administration of medicines, are useless. But the Ainu profess to know of certain things the smell of which is very obnoxious to all demons. The root of the wild convolvulus, besides the head of the albatross, already mentioned, is one of these. When therefore a person is so ill that all other remedies have failed, the people dig up a few roots of this plant, and proceed to exorcise the evil spirit of the patient. They chew the roots in the presence of the sick person and then expectorate all over his or her body, and all round the inside and outside of the hut. While some are expectorating, others are blowing over and upon the patient. When it is considered that this interesting though filthy ceremony has been satisfactorily performed, and the evil spirit is out of the body, the men strike hither and thither with knives and swords, expectorating meanwhile, thereby driving the evil one out of the house and district.

Madness, which, like every other disease, is also

sometimes supposed to be possession by the devil, should be treated accordingly, though it is curious to remark that none are supposed to be thus afflicted unless there has been some special sin committed or a direct selling of oneself to the demons. I saw a crazy woman once who was tied up in a temporary lodge and there kept, being fed daily by the people of her village. Every now and then the Ainu went and expectorated the juice of convolvulus roots at her and around the lodge, and prayed for her. This woman got well in time, and so she has become a standing witness to the efficacy of this mode of treatment. So, too, if the people desire to keep some contagious disease away from their village, they will pray, chew the convolvulus root, and march round the whole village, sword in hand, expectorating and howling wildly.

Upon asking an Ainu how I should know a madman when I met him, and what I should do to him if I caught him, he furnished me with the following matter.

'When a person is possessed by the devil he will sometimes imagine he is intoxicated, and will run, shout, and sing. He will also forsake his home and wander about in the mountains. If such a person should be found, the men should make haste and seize him. They should take him to the river-side, and there cut his body in various places with a sharp stone, shell, knife, or razor. Then, when he has bled a little, he should be beaten with a bunch of spray acanthopanax. He should then be taken into the river and walked about, and every now and then be thoroughly immersed. If this be done, the devil

will come out of him and depart in great anger. The man will also be cured, and repent of his past life with many tears. He will also pray much that he may not be again possessed. Now, unless such a person be caught and thus treated, he will tear up all his clothes and wander about stark naked. He will sleep out of doors, and in the end die of starvation.'

In some rare cases of sickness the Ainu perform a peculiar ceremony known by the various names of

An Ainu Village.

cpiru, *i.e.* 'to brush out'; *uwepiru*, 'to brush out for one another'; *kashike-kik*, *i.e.* 'to beat upon'; *ukakik*, 'to beat upon one another'; and *uwepotara*, *i.e.* 'to doctor' or 'exorcise.' In the execution of this ceremony four things are necessary: a bunch of herbs, a sickle, a strong and sound tree, and a change of clothing; the person who performs the rite must be either the chief of the village, a recognized medicine man, the head of the

family, or the sick person's father or near relative. The medicine man or family representative, *i.e.* the male head of the line, are by far preferable to any one else, the chief or father not excepted. In explaining this ceremony I think I cannot do better than first state as nearly as possible the facts as they occurred, leaving all other matters, as of interpretation and comment, till the end.

There was a lad with whom we were very well acquainted, living in a certain Ainu village with us, whose age was about six years. This lad was suddenly seized with illness. The malady took the form of a kind of paralysis or epileptic fit, for the lad lost the power of speech and the use of his arms. Sometimes, indeed, he would reel like a drunken man, and even fall down. He was at times in danger of falling into the fire, or into the river or sea, so that he had to be constantly watched, and one never knew when these reeling fits would come on. Sometimes his pulse was strong and normal, and at others weak and slow; he was sometimes in fever, and at other times quite cold. Moreover, he did not, for the most part, appear to recognize anyone. Some of the Ainu said he was possessed of the devil, and others said he was attacked by worms. The former opinion, however, prevailed.

A Japanese doctor was called to see the lad, and he provided medicine for about six weeks. But all his remedies were useless, so far as could be seen. The parents of the child, therefore, called a grand council of the family and elders of the village, and decided that he was possessed by a demon, and that the possession took the form of madness. The lad

was therefore said to be *chiitasare, i.e.* 'changed,' 'crazy.' It was also decided that he must be exorcised, for it was evident that the doctor's medicines could not touch the demon. Japanese and foreign remedies had failed, Ainu prayers and religious ceremonies must now take the field.

This, then, having been decided on by the elders and family representatives in their collective wisdom, the oldest male of the family line was called in. *Inao* were reverently made and offered to the goddess of fire, who was called on this special occasion *Iresu huchi, i.e.* 'the ancestress who rears us.' Libations were then poured out to the fire and various other household deities, *saké* was drunk, and prayers devoutly said. All of this took place in the presence of the lad in his father's house and on his behalf. It was absolutely necessary that the child should be present throughout the whole ceremony, for he had to be constantly pointed out to the deities as the special object for which request was being made.

A bundle of clothing had been made up in the meantime by the women and placed by the side of the Ainu officiating at the ceremony; and although the rest of the people were dressed in their better clothing, the lad from whom the demon was to be exorcised had his ordinary every-day clothes on. After the prayers had been said, the exorcist took the bundle of clothes and a sickle, and went far away into the mountains with the lad and the lad's father. Having arrived at a fitting place, the child was placed under a fine and perfectly sound oak tree. The exorcist then went

and cut two bunches of mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*, L.), called in Ainu *noya*, which when made up into bunches is named *takusa*, *i.e.* 'tassels.'

The tassels or bunches of mugwort, then, together with the sickle, having been placed near the lad, and the lad having been made to stand near the oak-tree, the exorcist next proceeded to worship the Creator of all things and all his angels and servant-deities, asking them all to hear his prayers and grant his special request. He next turned to the tree and worshipped its spirit or genius. He called it a strong tree and stately, and asked that some of its strength and stateliness might come into the child. He called it a beautiful and hard tree, and asked it to impart some of its beauty and durance to the subject of his prayers. He called it a tree of long life, and asked it to graciously grant part of its living virtue to the all-but-dead child. In short, he was asking the genius of the tree to be to the body of the lad what it was supposed to be to the stem and branch of the tree.

After this he took the sickle and cut the lad's clothes down from top to bottom, while on, in various places, particularly down the back, breast and arms. He then took the bunches of mugwort and beat the lad all over with them, and stroked him down from head to foot. It is from this act that the ceremony is sometimes called *epiru*, *i.e.* 'to brush out'; and at others, *kashike-kik*, *i.e.* 'to beat upon'; for the lad is hereby beaten and the demon of disease brushed out. The clothes were cut in order that the demon might find a way of

escape; but where it went to is not known. The lad was next stripped of his clothes, again beaten and brushed, then dressed in the clothing brought for the purpose and taken home. He had been exorcised, the demon was gone. There was nothing more now to be done for him; if the gods have heard the prayers and made the ceremony a blessing to the lad, he will get well, and if not, he must die. The Ainu have done their part; they now leave god in nature to perform his. The old clothes and bunches of mugwort were left at the place of exorcism, but the sickle was brought home for future use either in a like ceremony, should an occasion arise, or in the ordinary work of the gardens, for there appears to be no special sanctity attaching to the sickle through its use at this ceremony. When the party arrived home they were all brushed down with tufts of sedge, after which they entered the hut and washed themselves.

The part of the ceremony immediately following that in which the cutting of the clothes takes place, is said to be especially called *uwepotara*, *i.e.* 'exorcism.' I suppose this is so because it is immediately after this that the demon is brushed and beaten out. And surely the demon must have been sent away in this case, for the lad came home and was quite well within a year. Hence the people in that village had an ocular demonstration of the mighty power of their own remedies, as pitted against the Japanese doctor and the use of foreign medicines. The actual cutting itself is called *apetu* (*sing.*) and *apetpa* (*pl.*), and really means 'to slit.'

Why the sickle is used for cutting the clothes when exorcising a demon I cannot yet discover, but I hope we may get a ray of light thrown on it some day or other, for such things, I find, have usually some hidden significance in them when used for special purposes. The bunches of mugwort are used because it is thought that demons of disease dislike the smell and flavour of this herb. That the different varieties of this plant are used both as food and medicine has been shown elsewhere. The oak tree is used in preference to others, because its wood is harder and more durable; but if an oak is not available, the next hardest tree may be selected.

It may be supposed that this tree worship is a sure indication that the Ainu are pantheistic in their religious belief. But here I must warn my readers that it is not so in reality. Pantheism is the doctrine which maintains that the universe is God, and that the various units and items in this universe, whether spirit or matter, organic or inorganic, living or dead, are but individual parts of the whole. This idea is quite foreign to the Ainu. They do not, as in the case under discussion, worship the tree, but the spirit who resides in the tree, and who is looked upon as quite separate in nature from that of the tree. Every kind of spirit, whether it be that of the gods or demons, or of men, or of the lower animals or reptiles, or of trees in all their orders and varieties, or of herbs and grasses, each kind of spirit, I say, is and remains a separate kind, and every unit of a kind ever remains so, and each and all are distinguished

A Happy-looking Ainu.

from the body in which they appear. And wherever you see life under any form whatsoever, there you must take spirit for granted, for spirit and life are to the Ainu of the same essence and nature. Thus it is that the world beyond the grave is looked upon by this people as a counterpart or duplicate of this, only very much better. Things are not there merged into one another and eternally swallowed up, as in Nirvana. Each unit and item retains its own individuality and identity. The principle therefore underlying the tree worship may be said to be rather polytheistic than pantheistic, though in truth *animism* is at the basis of the custom.

It may perhaps be concluded from all I have now said that even though the Ainu do not believe in pantheism they believe in something which is next door to that doctrine, and which is commonly understood by the term metempsychosis. But if by this word is meant transmigration of the souls after death from one animal body to another, as a punishment for evil deeds or a reward for good ones, it is evident, and clearly evident, that the word does not apply here. We have a tree and a lad, each belonging to a separate kingdom, and both living. Moreover, there is no question of reward and punishment involved. I will therefore just repeat here what I have affirmed elsewhere, namely, that with reference to the human soul the Ainu do not believe in the old Egyptian and Brahmanic doctrine of its future transmigration into higher or lower orders of being.

The Ainu was in fact praying for the child to be

partially possessed by the tree, so that he would in a degree appropriate certain of its attributes, namely, those of strength of limb and soundness of body, as well as that which is associated with these qualities, longevity.

We thus find that the *kind* of transmigration here sought was not that of the human soul, with the object of its purification or reward, but of a supposed dryad or tree genius for the purpose of bettering another body, the body of the boy, and this was to occur not after death, but during life.

In cases of accidental death, exorcism of a kind is also practised. The ceremony goes by the name of *Niwen Horippa* and *niwen horipi, i.e.* 'the wild dance,' and is practised at a time when one called *Sarak kamui* has caused a death, especially by drowning. Although this word has now come to mean chiefly 'accidental death by any means;' yet it is really only another name—the proper name indeed—of certain nymphs who are called also *mintuchi*. The ceremony now spoken of is performed as follows: *Saké* is procured by the relatives of the victim, and messengers are sent to the different villages to invite the men and women to join in the proceedings. The men bring their swords or long knives, and the women their headgear. On arriving at the appointed hut, the chiefs of the people assembled proceed to chant their dirges and worship the fire-god. Then, after eating some cakes made of pounded millet, and drinking a good proportion of *saké*, they all go out of doors in single file, the men leading. The men draw their swords or knives, and hold them point upward in the right

hand, close to the shoulder, and then altogether they take a step with the left foot, at the same time stretching forward to the full extent the right hand with the sword, and calling, as if with one voice, '*wooi*.' Then the right foot is moved forward, the sword at the same time being drawn back, and the '*wooi*' repeated. This is continued till the place of accident is reached. The women follow the men, and with dishevelled hair, their headgear hanging over the shoulders, they continue to weep and howl during the whole ceremony. Arrived at the place of accident, a continual howling is kept up for some time, and the men strike hither and thither with their swords, supposing that they are thus driving away the evil *Sarak kamui*. This finished, the people return to the house of the deceased in the same order as they came forth, and, sad to say, feast, drink *saké*, and get intoxicated.

On asking an Ainu the real reason of this ceremony, he furnished the author with the following lore on the subject.

'The words *Sarak kamui* are only rightly used in cases of death from drowning, and this designation is the real name of a certain class of water nymphs. Whenever a person dies from drowning, the death is caused by one of these creatures, who takes the soul and turns it into one of its own kind. A *Sarak kamui* is the soul of a person who has thus become a water nymph through the machinations of some of these creatures.

'The reason for performing the "wild dance," when a *Sarak kamui* has been made, is to show anger, and wage war upon the wicked water nymphs.

Exorcism.

It is war against the devil. It is true that the demon's body cannot be seen, yet war is made upon him nevertheless. Whilst the fight is going on the old people pray to God, saying, "O God, we do not see the demon we are attacking, but we wish to drive him away. Do Thou, O God, help us and punish him. Do Thou help us to drive him away."

CHAPTER XXX.

Sympathetic Magic.

General remarks—Objection to being photographed—*Ichashkara*, 'enclosing a person within a fence'—Trees used in magic—Rain-making — Producing bad weather — Producing fine weather.

SYMPATHETIC magic is one of the most extraordinary cults there is, and can be far more easily illustrated by example than explained by exact definition. It is so closely connected with disease, fetichism, and totemism, in many respects, that it appears to me that any person who makes a study of the subject must find it really very difficult to tell with anything like precision where one ends and the other begins. Lubbock, in his *Origin of Civilisation*, says, 'The king of the Koussa Kaffirs having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it.' The *Tusu guru*, that is, Ainu wizards, men and women, of three widely-separated villages, told the people that the late great floods in Yezo (1898) were owing to the presence of myself as a teacher of Christianity, and were sent as a punishment to the Ainu for some of them having adopted the Christian religion. Epidemic diseases

too have been set down to a like cause. All these are forms of sympathetic magic, and the illustrations are given in order to show the kind of thing this and the next chapter are intended to explain.

One of the most exaggerated expressions of thought connected with this cult is, perhaps, to be found in the matter of the photograph or sketch, though, in so far as the Ainu are concerned, this is not so much the case now as formerly. On this matter I wrote in the *Journal of the American Folk-Lore Society* as follows:—

'Ainu Objection to being Photographed.

'It was an old belief among the Ainu—a belief which has now almost entirely died out in Yezo—that by being sketched or photographed, especially when in naked condition, their natural life is thereby shortened in some mysterious way or other. The term the people use with reference to this is, *Ainu katu ehange*, "the man draws nigh to his form;" and that is like saying, "death is at hand," or "the man is becoming a ghost." Even so late as the year 1890 a gentleman travelling in Yezo had his sketch-block taken away by the Ainu, because he was sketching them when they were nearly naked. The people appeared to see something uncanny in having their mere form produced without the substance. To speak of the form of a person is often equivalent to speaking of his soul, spirit, or ghost. Hence to produce a person's form on paper was considered to be

like drawing the soul out of him and placing it in an unnatural position, and the man himself was henceforth supposed to be gradually shadowing off into mere psychical form without material substance. In short, the Ainu appeared to think that by having his photograph taken a person was thereby transformed into a ghost before his time.'

The person I have just referred to is not the only one who has inadvertently got into trouble in this way. Mr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwell there. In his book, which is entitled *Trans-Siberian Savages*, I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. I now quote from that book the two passages referred to. On page 95 we find that Mr. Howard brought out his hand mirror for the inspection of the people. He says: 'This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it,' etc. Evidently Mr. Howard thought that it was their own filth or ugliness they were afraid of. But he should have looked deeper than that, for it would be unnatural for them to consider themselves, brought up as they are, either dirty or ugly, whatever Mr. Howard may have thought of them. The fact, however, is explained by the Ainu words, *Ainu katu ehange*,

An Ainu Bear Hunter
(*Dressed in one of the author's cast-off suits*).

'the man draws nigh to his form.' On page 96 Mr. Howard says :—

'In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard, and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them still further with my own wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develope a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief.

'The worst part of it is, that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

'One day, when several men were in the hut with the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise, and watched the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in the most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

'Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of

affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus, and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

'After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. *Inaos* were stuck in the ground all around the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes.'

The Ainu name for the cult we know as sympathetic magic is *ichashkara*, *i.e.* 'enclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of exercising this black art. As retailed to me some of them are as follows:—

'Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort, and make an image to represent his enemy's body. This image is called *inosh*. When made, a hole should be dug in the ground not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down.

The prayer to be used at such times is as follows :—

'"O demon who art called *toipuk-un-chiri*, *i.e.* 'under-ground-bird-demon,' I give this image of the person I hate to thee: take his soul and carry it together with his body to hell: oh turn thou mine enemy into one of thy own kind, make a devil of him."

'If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.'

'Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After being thus buried the following prayer should be said :—"O demon, make the body of the man represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let his life gradually fade away with it. O thou demon named *toikunrari tumunchi* hear me, and quickly take his soul, and turn it into one of thy own kind." If this prayer be said with earnestness, the Ainu will soon die—yea, his body will rot with the tree and he will perish from off the earth.'

Another method employed is to take a piece of *yarape-ni*, *i.e.* 'the gueldre rose,' make it into an *inao*, and ask it to carry the soul of the enemy to hell. After this the *inao* is taken and buried upside down.

Another way told me is as follows :—

'Should a person wish to bring evil upon another by means of sympathetic magic, he should make a boat of rotten wood. When this is done he should make images of two men, also of rotten

wood, and place them on board. He should then say the following prayer: "O ye demons, I have made the images of two men, one of which represents my enemy. Pray take his soul and thrust it into hell. Take it right away to *Uchiura moshiri*, yea, carry it off to that place." Should he do this, the man will quickly die.'

My informant also told me that there are some very bad women who bewitch their husbands. Thus, for example, should a woman desire to get rid of her spouse by death, she may kill him in the following way. 'She should take his head-dress, wrap it up in a bag in the shape of a corpse ready prepared for burial, dig a deep hole and place it in it. She should then pray, saying: "When this head-dress and bag rot, may my husband also die and rot with them. It is for this I am now digging his grave. O thou demon named *Toiko-shimpuk*, hear me. Be quick and take the soul of this man, and make it into one of thine own kind." If this prayer be said, her husband will die in a very short time.'

Trees, too, of some kinds, are also used for the purpose of executing vengeance on one's personal enemies. Such, for example, are the gueldre rose, elder, poplar, elm, and some others. These trees are called *wen chikuni*, *i.e.* 'evil trees,' because they are used for evil purposes, and are supposed to be full of demons. When any of them are required to act against one's enemies they are worshipped, for they are supposed to have life: and the Ainu is nothing if not animistic in his religious and super-

stitious belief. When prayed to the form of prayer is :—

'O thou tree : O thou demon called *Nishinnai-samnioyashi tuy unchi*,'—*i.e.* 'devil by the waste places, where the trees stand' 'I worship thee and make a request unto thee. Listen now to what I have to say. There are many men persecuting me, and I make known to thee their names. Do thou hasten and take away their souls : oh make them demons like unto thyself.'

If this prayer be said, evil will surely overtake one's foes.

Some of the *inao*—explained in chapters nine to twelve—may be taken as a means by which to exercise sympathetic magic ; the same may also be said of the use of hares' paws (to be spoken of later on), and the fact, too, that snakes are invited to bite one's enemies (also to be spoken of later on) may be found to have their first principles in this cult.

That the powers of the air can be influenced by the actions of men by way of sympathetic magic is apparent from the following incident. On the occasion of some very dry weather, when the land was parched and the gardens suffering from want of water, I heard the Ainu talking about 'rain-making,' during the discussion of which subject several new words and phrases struck upon my ear. One phrase was *shiriwen hokki marapto*, 'ceremony for producing wet weather ;' and another was *shiriwen hokki guru*, 'the person who produces wet weather ;' and another was *apto ashte guru*, 'the person who causes it to rain.'

Producing Rain.

When the Ainu desire to perform the ceremony of 'rain-making,' the people are collected together, and prayer is said to the goddess of fire, rivers, and springs by the appointed 'rain-maker.' Abundant libations of wine are, of course, offered and drunk. The master of the ceremonies then appoints certain men to head small companies, and command them to proceed to execute particular functions. One man is told to take his company to the river's brink, and there to see that each one washes his tobacco box and pipe in the running water. Another is ordered to catch a small fish, called *eshokka*, light a pipe, and take the stem and place it in its mouth; the fish thereupon closes its mouth, and in the act draws in a little of the smoke, which is seen to escape from the gills. After this the fish is allowed to escape. Another party is commanded to take a porringer, fit it up with sails, and place oars in it as though it were a boat. Next, some are told to push and others to draw it about the village and gardens. Another party is told to take sieves and scatter water about with them. Both men and women are allowed to take part in these proceedings. The Ainu say that if the ceremony is properly conducted rain is sure to follow. A short time ago I saw some Ainu who were longing for rain dress up a dog in a most fantastic fashion, and amid much noise and laughter lead it about the garden; this was to make rain. We had a heavy downfall that very night, and so the ceremony was proved successful; consequently the Ainu have stronger faith than ever in their ability to produce rain,

for the powers of the air were thereby proved to take notice of the actions of men.

Another curious way of making rain was told me as follows. 'The animals that act as cooks, *i.e.*, racoons, are very fiery-tempered and quickly hear when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person sacrifices one he presents *inao* to its head and prays to it. Again, when men go to the fisheries they take the skulls of the animals with them. The reason is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the men have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired and long for a rest. At such calms they take out their racoon skulls at night and pray to them. The prayer used is: "This calm is lasting too long; we are very tired; please send us bad weather, so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said they throw water over one another and make merry. If this be done properly, bad storms are certain to follow, and then the people get rest and are greatly rejoiced. As soon as the rough weather begins the men buy *saké*, worship, and offer libations to the skull; if very bad weather indeed is required, the people make gloves and caps of racoon and marten skins, put them on and dance. This procures very great storms.'

But not only do the people imagine they can produce bad weather at will, but fine also. Thus, on a very cold day (namely Nov. 24, 1900) I went into a hut, and found some convolvulus roots spitted and placed near the fire upon the hearth. Upon asking the reason of this I

found that it was to bring fine, warm weather, because the master of the hut and I had been out that day on a somewhat long ride. No doubt the intention was good, but I cannot say that I felt any warmer for it.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Sympathetic Magic *continued.*

The water-ousel—The flying squirrel—Bewitching by cutting one's clothes—Divination by fox's skull.

THE last chapter was devoted to certain methods by which it was supposed one can injure another by sympathetic magic. There are other matters connected with this subject which may not be passed over, and they are the supposed effect of one living being upon another, and direct witchcraft. As regards the former matter, I will take a bird and an animal acting upon a man, and with reference to the latter a case of witchcraft by cutting one's clothes will be given.

I was one day out with an Ainu trying to shoot something for our larder, and on our way brought down a water-ousel. The Ainu begged me to give him its heart. I asked him why, and he then explained that if he took out the heart and ate it raw and while warm, he would be able to stand fatigue, would wax eloquent, and would be able to shoot as well and quickly as I did on that occasion. I granted his request and he ate the heart; but I find that he gets tired just as soon as he used, shoots no straighter and is no more eloquent than he was before, though he himself thinks he has

improved in all these respects. Why the spirit of the water-ousel has this particular power to act on the soul of man rather than that of any other bird I was unable to find out. All this man could tell me was that the fact had been taught him by his forefathers, and I certainly find the same idea universal among the Ainu, though the kind of birds vary, the heart of one bird being considered good for this purpose and the heart of another good for that.

On talking to another Ainu acquaintance on this point, he supplied me with the following legend connected with this bird and custom :—

The Legend of the Water-Ousel.

'The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is of a black colour, and lives along the water-courses. His heart is exceedingly wise, and in speech he is most eloquent. When therefore he is killed he should be immediately torn open, and his heart wrenched out and swallowed. This should be done before it gets cold or damaged in any way. If a man swallows it at once, he will become very fluent and wise, and will also be able to overcome all his opponents in argument. But the water-ousel has power to help in another way. For not only does he make people eloquent, but he also makes all who swallow his heart prosper in wealth far above their neighbours. The person who is fortunate enough to swallow one is called by the special name of *Chikoshinninup epirika guru, i.e.* 'the person who has gained a charm.' For this

reason the water-ousel is to be worshipped and has *inao* offered to him.'

There appears to be something akin to this in the treatment of the eyes of animals taken in hunting. In Dobell's *Travels in Siberia*, vol. i., page 19, we read that 'when the Kamtchadales kill a bear they stick a sharp knife into each eye and rip up the belly. This, they say, is quite necessary, as bears have sometimes been known to recover, even after severe wounds, and kill the persons who have ripped them up, with the intention of skinning them. Whereas, they say, if their eyes had first been put out they would not have seen anything, and those persons would have escaped.'

The Ainu with whom I have had anything to do seem to know nothing of this custom. When a man kills a bear or a deer, he first skins it, cuts off the head, and then carefully takes out the eyes. Some hunters swallow the eyes raw, while others tenderly place them, especially those of bears, on a leaf with *inao* shavings, and put them outside the east end of the huts by the *uusa*. I have several times asked them why they are swallowed, and the only replies I have so far obtained are that they consider them too beautiful and precious to be thrown away, or else too sweet to the taste. But I have a suspicion that, whatever may be the reason now, they originally swallowed them either as fetiches, by way of sympathetic magic to render them clear-sighted when hunting and shooting, or as charms to prevent themselves from being bewitched by the animals they have killed.

The Flying Squirrel.

I find also that the flying squirrel holds a very high place in the cult practised among this people.

The Ainu place this animal among the birds, but this is because they fly; and we will not quarrel with them because they are a little out in some of their ornithological notions. In cases where there is lack of family issue, the men, after earnestly appealing to the goddess of fire and her consort for help, often place their hopes on the flying squirrel, though as a last resource they often marry a second or even a third wife. The name by which the flying squirrel is known is *At kamui*, and that is said to mean 'the divine prolific one.' It is so called because it is said to produce as many as thirty young at a birth. When partaken of, the flesh is supposed to convey power, in some unexplained way, to generate children. One might therefore very reasonably be led to imagine that childless women would be glad to get hold of one of them, to keep by her as a visible charm.

But, strange to say, such is not the case. This animal may not be stowed away and used as a charm, neither may it be worshipped after having been once sacrificed, and the feast in which its flesh is eaten been celebrated. The feast too has to be made in secret, and no one may be allowed to know of it save the husband —not even the woman herself. The legend about this matter is very curious, and I cannot do better, I think, than let it speak for itself to the reader, that he may draw his own conclusions.

LEGEND OF THE FLYING SQUIRREL.

'The Flying Squirrel was made by God and sent down to this world. The meaning of the name *At kamui* is "prolific one," and the reason for this name being given it is said to be as follows: This bird is exceedingly prolific, and the young it bears are very numerous indeed. One bird has been known sometimes to bear as many as thirty young at once. Therefore it is called *At kamui*, *i.e.* "the Divine prolific one." When a woman has no children, her husband should go to the mountain and hunt for one of these birds. Should he be successful in killing one, he should carry it home secretly. Upon arrival he should cut the flesh up into small pieces, boil it, and when cooked, carefully place it upon a tray. He should then offer *inao* to the head and skin, and pray thus: "O thou very prolific one, I have sacrificed thee for one reason only, and that is, that I may use thy flesh as a medicine for procuring children. Henceforth please cause my wife to bear me a child." After this prayer has been said he should take the meat, tell his wife that it is the flesh of some kind of bird (by no means letting her know that it is a flying squirrel), and give it her to eat. If this be properly done, the woman will be certain to bear some very fine children. This is the feast which is called *uatama marapto*, *i.e.* "the feast of placing the prolific one." If the woman, however, should know or even so much as guess that she was eating of this particular feast it would be quite useless, and

she would bear no children. For this reason the whole thing must be done in profound secrecy. When this bird has many children, it keeps them quiet by singing in a voice which sounds like *at ahun, at ahun*, "the prolific one enters, the prolific one enters." It must be carefully remembered that this bird may not be kept as a charm or fetich.'

No doubt the idea of witchcraft takes its root in sympathetic magic. This is very clearly illustrated in a case which happened under my own eye, the subject of which has been with me ever since it took place. The case shows how careful the people think one should be not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of his clothes, for should he do so he will cut them, and in that way destroy the life of the owner.

I sent an account of the case to the Asiatic Society of Japan, and the following few pages are a reproduction of the article.*

The word under discussion is—

ISHIRISHINA (*to bewitch*).

'The Ainu being such a highly superstitious race as they have been proved to be, and such strong believers in the existence of very powerful spiritual beings both of a good and evil disposition, which are constantly making themselves felt among us and upon us through innumerable agencies, and seeing, moreover, that this people is unshaken

* Vol. xxiv. page 99 *et seq.*

in its belief that there is a great dualistic warfare ever raging in the world, and that the one object for which this battle is carried on is the good or ill, weal or woe of mankind, we are not at all surprised to find that they also believe in human witchcraft, and stand in great dread of the witch. A curious case of supposed witchcraft has just come under my notice, and the person thought to be bewitched is at the present moment (Feb. 17, 1896), under my roof at Sapporo. He is a man

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THE AINU'S ACCOUNT.

Ku tashum wa ku hotke wa ku an, awa, orota Nupkipet un tusu-guru ek wa ku kot tashum aisamka kuni ne ari iki koro an. Koroka, kuani anak ne ku umbipka wa moshima no ku an. Awa, orowa ku mipihi hasami ani ayaspa wa an; koroka, heikachi hene iki ruwe ne kuni ku ramu gusu, moshima no ku an. Awa, tusu-guru ene itak-hi:—'Nep gusu e mipihi ayaspa hike moshima no an ya?' sekoro itak. 'Nep gusu ne ya?' ari ku itak. Awa, ene itak-hi:—Kugoro 'yupo machihi amip yaspa ruwe ne,' sekoro itak. 'Tambe anak ne shi no wen kamui turen wa gusu iki-hi ne,' sekoro itak. Koroka, ku umbipka gusu, moshima no ku an. Awa, ku goro michi otta oman wa nei no ye nisa. Orota kugoro michi ene itak-hi:—'Son no e tusu wa e eramu ambe ne yakun, nei shiwentop turen wen kamui obosore kuni ne, Kamui otta ye, yakun, pirika, sekoro itak. Tambe gusu, nei tusu-guru Kamui otta inonno-itak; awa, nei shiwentep shi-kashke wa Nikap kotan ta koro yupo tak gusu

aged 29, and has for a long time been suffering from a disease which has developed into *enteritis acuta*. Last autumn a medicine-man* came to his house, and informed him that he was bewitched by his elder brother's wife, and offered to cure him of the malady induced by the witch. But, in order that the whole case may be placed before you, I here give *in toto* what I wrote down from the man's lips when he told me of the matter, leaving explanations for the end.

TRANSLATION.

As I was lying ill a medicine-man came to me to perform ceremonies in order to do away with my complaint. But as I did not believe in him I left him to himself. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but supposing it to have been done by a lad, I thought no more of it. Then the medicine-man said:—'Why do you let this matter of cut clothes abide?' I replied, 'Ah, why is it?' He then told me that 'the wife of my elder brother had cut the clothes.' 'This,' he said, 'has happened through the influence of the very evil god (devil).' But as I did not believe him, I let the matter alone. Upon this he went to my father and said the same to him. My father replied, 'If by your divination you surely know this, it will be well for you to ask God to drive out the devil which acted through the woman.' Therefore the medicine-

* Wizard.

THE AINU'S ACCOUNT—*continued.*

oman wa tura wa ek hine, nei okkaiyo ene itak-hi :—'Son no shiwentep amip yaspa ruwe he an, tusu-guru otta ye wa inu,' sekoro itak. Kuani anak ne ku umbipka gusu ku uni ta ku hotke wa ku an; awa, orota nei shiwentep yupihi en hotuyekara wa ku oman; awa, nei guru ne yakka ene itak-hi :—'Eani moshima shiwentep e eramasui wa gusu shomo e mipihi ayaspa ruwe he an?' sekoro itak. Shi no ku irushka: 'Kuani anak ne tashum patek ku ki wa ku hotke wa ku an, awa, nep shiwentep ku eramasu hawe ne ya?' ari ku itak. 'Orowa, kuani anak ne pon heikachi hene iki ruwe ne kuni ku ramu gusu, moshima no ku an, awa, tan tusu-guru shiwentep iki ruwe ne sekoro itak; koroka, ku umbipka gusu moshima no ku an, awa, orota echi araki wa ene echi itakhi an. Kuani anak ne ku umbipka gusu, moshima no ku an.'

Orowa, nei shiwentep yupihi tura no nei tusu-guru kosakayokara. Awa, nei tusu-guru irushka wa ene itak-hi :—'Son no eani e shikashke hawe he an? Kuani anak ne, Kamui en turen gusu wen-buri e koro katu obitta ku eraman; awa, son no e irara gusu he e hawe an, sekoro itak. Orowa, son no e irara yakun, teeda anak ne wen-buri koro guru ene apakashnu-hi ne gusu, nei no echi pakashnu na.' Sekoro itak koro, hopuni wa 'shiwentep tekehe abe ku omare kusu ne,' sekoro itak. Orota, kuani anak ne shiwentep ishitomare hawe ne kuni ku ramu gusu, moshima no ku an. Awa, son no poka, shiwentep tekehe abe omare nisa ruwe ne. Orota kuani ene ku itak-hi :—'Shi no wen shiriki ne na:

TRANSLATION—*continued.*

man prayed to God; nevertheless, the woman, denying the matter, went to the village of Nikap and fetched her husband; that young man said:—'Ask the medicine-man whether the woman really cut the clothes.' But as I did not believe she did it, I remained at home in bed. After this the elder brother of the woman called me to him, and he also said to me:—'Have your clothes not been cut because you are in love with some other woman?' I was very angry at this; and said, 'As for me, I am ill all the time and lying down, with what woman should I fall in love?' and 'as I thought it had been done by a little lad I took no notice of it, but this medicine-man says that the woman did it; however, as I disbelieved him I am allowing the matter to rest; but you have come to me and speak in this manner. As I do not believe it, I prefer to let the matter alone.'

After this the woman and her elder brother upbraided the medicine-man, whereupon he got angry and said: 'Do you indeed deny it? As for me, by the inspiration of God I know the whole of your evil deeds; and are you in truth so utterly depraved that you spoke so? Now as you behave in such a depraved manner I will punish you in the same way as was done in such cases in ancient time.' So saying he got up and said, 'I will put fire into the woman's hand.' Upon this, thinking that he said it to frighten her, I remained quiet. But he really did place fire in her hand. I then said to

THE AINU'S ACCOUNT—*continued.*

iteki nei no iki yan,' sekoro ku itak. Orowa, shinire ruwe ne; ainu obitta shini nisa ruwe ne.

Orowa, nei tusu-guru ene itak-hi:—'Son no shiwentep shikashke, shiwentep amip yaspa shimoki a yakun, tekehe shomo uhui nangoro gusu, ainu obitta shiruwande yan. Orowa, amip yaspa ishiri-shina wen-buri koro ayakun, tekehe uhui kem ki araka hem ki nangoro gusu, Ainu obitta shiruwande yan,' sekoro itak.

Orowa, kuani anak ne tusu-guru shi no wen-buri koro shiri ne kuni ku ramu koro, ku uni ta ku hoshipi wa ku an. Awa, nei a shiwentep tekehe uhui wa araka ruwe ne. Awa, nei tusu-guru ene itak-hi:—'Ingara yan, ene ani ne; wen-buri koro yakun ene nehi ne na,' sekoro itak ruwe ne. Koroka, kuani anak ne shi no wen-buri ne kuni ku ramu gusu moshima no ku an. Awa, nei shiwentep yupihi tun-pish an ruwe ne; awa, shine yupi shi no irushka hawe ene ani:—

'Nep gusu en sempirigeta echi en nure shomoki no shiwentep tekehe echi uhuika ya?' sekoro itak. Shi no irushka. Orota ene ku itak-hi:—'Ku keutum shomo ne, tusu-guru keutum ne; kuani anak ne shi no tusu-guru wen-buri koro shiri ne kuni ku ramu ruwe ne,' sekoro ku itak. Koroka nei guru shi no irushka wa ene itak-hi:—'Nep gusu shomo echi en nure yakun, echi obitta echi keutem ne nangoro,' sekoro itak. Orowa, Yakusho nure nisa ruwe ne. Orowa, Yakusho orowa no kambi ek nisa. Tusu-guru hemhem, kuani hemhem, kugoro nichi hemhem ahotuyekara kambi ek nisa ruwe ne. Orowa, tusu-

TRANSLATION—*continued.*

them, 'Such a process is exceedingly bad, do not do it.' And I made them stop; all the people stopped.

Then the medicine man said, 'If the woman's denial is true, and she did not cut the clothes, her hand for that reason will not be burnt; let all the people watch. But if she did cut the clothes, and has wickedly bewitched the man, the hand will for that reason both burn and she suffer pain; let all the people watch.'

Now, as I thought that the medicine-man was acting in a very wicked way, I returned to my home. Then that woman's hand was burnt and she suffered pain. Upon this the medicine-man said: 'See here so it is; those who have done evil are affected so.' But as for me, considering the action to be very bad, I left them to themselves. Now, the woman had two elder brothers; and one of them being very angry spake thus:—

'Why have you secretly and without letting me know burnt the woman's hand?' He was very angry. I said to him: 'It was not my wish, but that of the medicine-man; as for me, I considered him to be acting very wickedly indeed.' But he, being exceedingly angry, said: 'If it be asked why you did not let me know, it was because you all took part in it.' He then reported the matter to the Japanese authorities. After this a summons came from the Government offices for the medicine-man, myself, and my father to appear in court. I went with the medicine-man, and we

THE AINU'S ACCOUNT—*continued.*

guru tura no ku oman ruwe ne. Yakusho otta ahup ash. Awa, 'nep gusu shiwentep tekehe uhuika ya' sekoro tono itak. Orota ene ku itak-hi :—'Kuani anak ne pon heikachi hene amip yaspa ruwe ne kuni ku ramu, awa, toan tusu-guru shiwentep ne sekoro itak koro tekehe abe omare nisa. Shi no wen shiri ne kuni ku ramu gusu iteki nei no iki yan sekoro ku itak ruwe ne, sekoro tono otta an korachi, shunge sak no ku ye nisa ruwe ne. Orowa, tono ene itak-hi :—'Nep gusu tan tusu-guru shiwentep tekehe e uhuika ya?' sekoro itak. Orowa tusu-guru ene itak-hi :—'Kuani anak ne Kamui en turen gusu, Kamui orowa no wen-buri nukan nisa. Tan shiwentep anak ne son no wen-buri koro ishirishina hem ki wa gusu, koro wen-buri obosore kusu ne; awa, koro yupo tura no ek wa ikosakayokara shikashke gusu wen no iye nisa wa gusu, Kamui irushka gusu, shiwentep apakashnu nisa ruwe ne,' sekoro itak. Orota tono ene itak-hi :—'Shi no wen-buri ne, shiwentep yupihi ne yakka shi no wen, nep gusu e utari-hi tekehe auhuika hike moshima no e an ya?' sekoro itak. Shi no nei guru aapapu ruwe ne. Orowa, 'tusu-guru anak ne nep Kamui turen wa tusu ya'? sekoro itak. Awa, upshoro wa chironnup sapa shinep, orowa chikap sapa shinep sange ruwe ne. Awa, tono utara shi no mina, 'Nep kamui ta okai ya? Ichakkere wen kamui ne gusu shitofu oshiketa omare wa uhuika kusu ne, sekoro tono utara itak. Awa, shi no tusu-guru ekimatek ruwe ne.

TRANSLATION—*continued.*

entered the court together. After this the official said to me:—'Why have you burnt the woman's hand?' I replied saying:—'I thought that a little boy had cut my clothes, but that medicine-man there, saying that the woman cut them, placed some fire in her hand. Thinking that it was bad to do so, I told him to desist.' Indeed, I told him truly just as things happened. The official then said:—'Why did you—you medicine-man—burn the woman's hand?' The medicine-man said: 'As for me, it was because I was inspired by God, and because God had shown me her evil deeds. With reference to this woman it was because she acted so wickedly as to bewitch one, and because I was going to drive out the evil; but because she came with her elder brother and upbraided me, and because denying the fact she spoke against me, God was angry, and punished her.' The official said to them: 'This is a wicked thing. Both the woman and her brother are very bad, why did your relations leave you alone to have your hand burnt?' The man then begged for pardon. The official then said: 'Medicine-man, what gods inspired you to prophesy?' Thereupon he took out from his bosom the skulls of a fox and a bird. The officials laughed very heartily at this, and said:—'What gods are these? As they are filthy devils, we will burn them in the stove.' The medicine-man was very much frightened at this.

This is all there is in the case that I consider worth recording. That medicine-man was placed in prison for one night, and to his great joy and comfort allowed to take his fox and bird's skulls with him when he was released the next day. This is probably the very last case of bewitching and divination we shall ever hear of as taking place among this fast-disappearing people, and I consider myself fortunate to have had this one brought before me so fully. The man supposed to be bewitched is a Christian of two years' standing; this will account for his scepticism of the powers of the witch or medicine-man.

There are several things in this account well worth considering; and the first to which I would draw your attention is what the Ainu consider to be the nature of witchcraft.

1.—The Nature of Witchcraft.

The word *ishirishina*, which I have translated by the verb 'to bewitch,' really means in essence 'to bind up fast,' or 'to tie up tightly.' And thus with reference to the present psychological subject it comes to mean a binding up of the life, spirit or soul of a person. If it be asked with *what* the life, spirit, or soul be bound, the reply is, with *uoitakushi*, *i.e.* 'a cursing,' for this word is sometimes used as a synonym for 'to bewitch.' And if again it be asked by what process of words bewitching is accomplished, the reply is, by *Pion itak-ki*, *i.e.* 'doing the little talk,' which also means 'to mesmerize.' Again, should one ask what is the result of being

bewitched, the reply is in the present case, it is supposed to be a lingering illness ending in death. If it be asked how are the effects of the curse to be counteracted, the reply is, by the exorcism of the medicine-man. And if, lastly, one asks how the witch may be found out and made to confess, the answer is, call in the medicine-man to find out, and apply the ordeal of fire.*

2.—The Use of the Fox and Bird's Skulls.

In the above account we were told that the Ainu, when asked by the Japanese officials as to what gods inspired him to know the culprit, he took from his bosom the skulls of a fox and bird. He had used these for divination; that was the part they played in the matter. I find among my papers a note on this very subject, which I take this opportunity of bringing into daylight. It is as follows:—

On some occasions when ordeal is not resorted to, a kind of divination is performed; but this is indulged in with the special purpose of finding out a culprit by the finger of the gods, and not through the confession of the supposed wicked doer himself. The following incident, which came under my direct observation, will well serve to illustrate my meaning.

In one of the Ainu villages in which I have spent many months, one of the men, with whom I am well acquainted, was one day very angry at having lost a paper dollar. He had a strong

* For Ordeals, see Chapter XXVII.

suspicion that a particular young woman, his daughter in fact, who was married and lived next door, had stolen the money. He accordingly accused her of the deed. But as she refused to confess, and stoutly and persistently denied the charge, her father proceeded to perform what the Ainu call by the various names of *niwok-ki marapto*, 'the ceremony of discovery;' *shitumbe marapto*, 'the ceremony of the fox;' or *kema koshne guru marapto*, 'the ceremony of the light-footed person,' the fox being so called on account of the rapidity with which it can get out of one's way.

This 'ceremony of the fox' is a sort of divination, by means of which the guilt or innocence of an accused person is supposed to be established, and is very closely allied to trial by ordeal. In the present case, however, though the person was brought in guilty, and implicit faith was placed in the decision, there appears to have been a mistake, for shortly afterwards the dollar was found; but it was quite against the father's dignity to tell his daughter so. I verily believe that he was angry to find out that his divination had played him false.

Every married Ainu keeps one fox's skull, carefully decorated with shavings, stowed away among his treasures in the eastern or sacred end of his hut. With this he divines, should he have lost anything, or should something have gone wrong in any other way with him. In such a case he takes the skull from its corner, and, after having prayed over it and told it all his troubles, asks it to make known to him the cause. Should the spirit

of the skull be favourable it will show him the whole matter in a dream.

The ceremony concerning which I am now speaking was conducted as follows:—The accused person was brought into the hut of her father and made to sit in front of him. He then produced his fox's skull, prayed before it, told it of his loss, and asked it to favour him by answering truly. He next separated the lower jaw from the rest of the skull. The top part of the skull, which is called *sapa num*, was reverently put on one side, and the jaw placed upon his head, teeth upwards. He then gently lent forward so as to allow the jaw to gradually slip to the floor. As it fell with the teeth to the ground his daughter was thereby proved guilty; but should it have fallen with the teeth upwards she would have been declared innocent. The person proved guilty was called *ko-niwok guru*, 'the person pointed out' or 'discovered.'

Should it have happened, however, that the loser of the money had no suspicion as to the thief, he would have tied a long piece of string to the skull, and having gathered up the string in a bunch in his hand, would have caused an assembly of likely people each to take one piece of the string, and all pull together. He who took the piece immediately attached to the skull would have been the person pointed out as the culprit. It is needless to add that the Ainu have implicit confidence in this curious ceremony, though it does play them false sometimes. I should also remark that many Ainu men, when going on a long journey, reverently carry a fox's skull and a bird's head among their luggage;

with these they divine, and determine which way to take, or which of two things should be done next.

3.—External Methods of Bewitching.

In the case before us the clothes of the person supposed to be bewitched were found to have been cut with a pair of scissors. That is to say, a number of little holes were cut out of the garments. In the case of exorcism* to which I have already directed the reader's attention, we found that the garments were cut with a sickle in long slits; these, we see, were cut with scissors and in little holes. The former was probably to kill an evil spirit outright for a good purpose, the present to kill a man slowly, out of spite or jealousy. There is some underlying mystery about this cutting which the Ainu cannot explain; the only reason they can give for it is that it is an old way of their forefathers, they therefore do it also.

* See the last chapter.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Serpent Cultus.

General remarks—Origin and homes of serpents—Descent of serpent from heaven—Why snakes cast their skins—Why snakes eat frogs—Origin of evil-disposed snakes—Ophiolatry—Snakes asked to bite people—The speckled woodpecker and snake.

A GENERAL survey of the mythology of the nations of the world very soon leads one to conclude that there is no superstition more universal in extent and peculiar in thought and conception than that connected with ophiolatry. While there are some races of people who regard the serpent family as divine, and therefore worthy of all honour and reverence and worship, there are others who look upon every species of the Ophidian tribe as very demons—indeed, as demons absolutely and in every way antagonistic to man, and for this reason worthy only of hatred, and fit for nothing else but to be slain. The Phœnicians of old were of the opinion that serpents were beneficent beings, and welcomed their appearance as omens of good. The Dyaks of North Borneo regard them in the same light to-day.* Moreover, it is hardly necessary for me to mention the snake temples of India, and to note how these reptiles are sometimes fed, though, perhaps, with

* *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. i., p. 88.

reluctant interest, at the doors of Hindoo cottages: nor need I more than refer to the worship given to snakes at the present time in Yanagi-shima Mura, near Tokyo, and some other places.

The national flag of China is, it will be remembered, a large dragon, and many of the common people of that land attribute to the supposed kings of heaven bodies like serpents. In Mexico the highest member of the Viti pantheon is Ndengei, who is worshipped as a mighty serpent.* The ancient Persians regarded this reptile as symbolising the principle of evil, and in Egypt a hideous serpent was connected with the Typhonic superstition. Those curious pseudo-Gnostic sects of the second century, viz., those called Ophites, Sephites, and Cainites, even went so far as to endeavour to graft ophiolatry on to the Christian faith. So catholic, then, both as regards time and place, is this superstition found to be.

The Ainu race does not differ from others in this matter, but is quite catholic in it, for it also has its serpent cult. And though, indeed, there is nothing like the elaborate proportion of the worship of the Danhglwe in the serpents' house at Dahomey,† and the cult is quite distinct from it in kind, still the fact remains that ophiolatry is practised among them. What is now seen, however, is probably nothing more than the remnant of what was once in the bygone ages a much more complete system. I verily thought I had said all there was to say on

* Hardwick, *Christ and Other Masters*. 4th edition. P. 396.
† Bouley, *Religions of the Africans*. P. 46.

this matter in my previous book on the Ainu, but since its publication I have discovered that the subject had by no means been therein exhausted. Indeed, when writing that book, I must frankly confess that I had no idea, nor had I for many years after, that ophiolatry was practised at all by this people. The fact is, all religious practices, of whatever kind they may be, mixed up as they are with a tremendous amount of superstition, are very occasional and irregular among the Ainu, and, like intermittent fever, quite spontaneous. But ophiolatry is particularly so; it only occurs at long intervals, and appears to be practised by very few people indeed as a profession, though as an integral and theoretical part of their religion it is universal among them.

Having now met with a pure serpent cult, I proceed to give the facts as I know them.

The Origin and Home of the Serpent Kind.

According to Ainu ideas the first serpent that ever was belonged not to this earth, but had its origin in heaven above. In this we are reminded of Persian mythology, in which Ahriman, the sleepless enemy of man and purity, descended earthwards in the fashion of a serpent.* But many of the Ainu, differing from the Persians, say that the original serpent, who has never died but is very much alive, is a good and honourable deity. He is therefore not only worthy of divine honours, but is actually worshipped by them.

* Hardwick, p. 553.

THE SERPENT CAME DOWN FROM HEAVEN.

One version of the descent from heaven is very peculiar, and as related to me is as follows :—

'This world is, under the Creator of all things, governed by the goddess of fire as his deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Having expressed his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything, if only he should be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since, and here he is to remain.

This serpent, descending as he did in the lightning, came down with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at this present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, and have a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning, and the force of their fall also makes holes* in the ground. These holes, when known to exist, should by no

* The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the serpent kind. The original father-snake has his place there, and there reigns as king over all his tribe.'

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE ABOVE.

'In very ancient times, after the Creator had finished making the world, He sent down many deities to take charge of it. Among them was the goddess of fire, who was commanded to act as chief of them all. The serpent also expressed a desire to come with her, but God said to him, "The goddess of fire is quite unable to restrain herself when she begins to work, so that if you go down to the world with her, you will get destroyed by fire when the scrub is being burned off the face of the earth to make room for the gardens." But the serpent replied, "Even though my body be burned up yet I still desire to go with her." Upon this, God gave His consent, so that he descended with joy, and took up his residence in the world. As this, then, is the account of the origin of the serpent's appearance on the earth, even though his body be burned up when the people burn off the scrub for their garden plots, yet he may neither get angry with them nor punish them for it.'

The fact of snakes shedding their skins every year is said to be because these reptiles cannot stand heat. The following legend shows this.

Why Snakes Cast their Skins.

'Snakes are quite unable to stand the heat, and so it comes to pass that in the summer, when the weather has become hot, they cast their skins. Then the people say:—"It has now become very hot. The deity who lives under the grass has taken his garments off. He has shed his skin and covering." So say the people.'

In writing of the home of snakes in vol. vii. of the *Journal of the American Folk-lore Society*, I said:—'By some Ainu snakes are supposed to live in large communities in the under world, and in their real homes assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just the same as human beings have. Their food, however, consists of dew.' To this I must now add that some Ainu suppose these beings to have dogs, and also their hunting and fishing paraphernalia in Hades, and to live on the same food and follow the same pursuits as men upon earth. They have also a language peculiar to themselves. But their resemblance to men and women extends only to bodily form. Their hearts and natures are decidedly diabolical. They only assume the forms of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing bodily harm to human beings.

Why Snakes Eat Frogs.

As snakes are not liked, the ancients of the Ainu once met together and prayed God to take them away. He heard their prayer, and determined

to starve them out. But when they were about to leave a frog stepped forth, and told them that if they would but hold its leg in their mouth they would not starve to death. One snake tried the remedy, and found the leg so sweet that he swallowed the whole body. From that time to this frogs have been the staple food among the reptilia of Ainu-land.

The Legend concerning this matter is as follows:

'Once upon a time there was a famine among the snakes, so that they made up their minds to migrate to another country. But the evil one, hearing of their determination, entered a frog, and made it say to them—"Why should you leave this country? Stay here, for if you will only just swallow one of my legs you will be satisfied: therefore there is no necessity for you to go away." Hence, having once tasted frogs, snakes have ever since had a desire to swallow them whenever met with.'

All serpents, however, are not supposed to have descended from above, but may be said to have been born upon earth and in Hades in the ordinary course of nature. For having once descended to earth the conditions of life here have become the natural course of nature to them. All those so born are considered to be of a very evil disposition, and desirous of doing all the harm they can to mankind. Of one of these I have written elsewhere:—

'Some of the Ainu tell of a large serpent

which is said to have been the immediate cause of wasps and stinging ants. This monstrous reptile is, curiously enough, said to have been of the feminine gender, of an extraordinary length, and of such a beautiful colour as to be quite charming to look upon. She was, however, a very dreadful and dangerous creature, for she used to devour whole villages of people, and even swallow houses. One day this monster met an Ainu who was hunting far away in the forests, and tempted him to sin with her. The Ainu, however, was a God-fearing man, and would not be led into danger, but manfully maintained his integrity; whereupon the serpent, instead of swallowing him up, as he expected, told him that as a punishment he should be unable to die for a thousand years: and it came to pass that when this Ainu attained the age of a hundred years he shed his hair, beard, skin, and teeth, and became a child again, subject to all the ills and trials of babyhood; and this took place every time the poor fellow reached the age of one hundred years. He was quite unable to die till he had lived his thousand years, and lost his hair and teeth ten times. At length this reptile was slain by the Ainu; but as its carcase became decomposed and fell to pieces the particles became stinging-ants and wasps.'

The Origin of Evil-Disposed Snakes.

As most of the Ainu really believe the original serpents to have been good, and to have come down from heaven, they appear to have been at

a loss to understand why so many of their offspring are bad. They therefore seek to prove that they are not his children after all, but owe their origin to another. It is the opinion, therefore, of some that Yoshitsune, the famous Japanese who fled to Yezo in the twelfth century, and lived for a time among the Ainu, was the true originator of all evil-disposed snakes. There are two legends to this effect. The first is as follows: 'Yoshitsune was one day going to fish in the river, and as he was pushing his boat off with the boat pole the pole broke; one part remained sticking in the mud and the other in his hand. He was very angry at this, and cursing the piece which remained in his hand, threw it ashore. As soon as it had left his hands it became a venomous snake, and is the ancestor of all such. It is the children of this reptile who ever seek the harm of men.' The other legend says that when Yoshitsune was building a hut for himself in Ainu-land he cut down his alder tree, and proceeded to make a frame for his hearth out of it. When he had finished the cutting, and the pieces of wood were fitted together and placed in position, one piece began to move and wriggle about. This surprised him very much indeed, and upon cutting it open to see what was the cause, there came out a demon in bodily form like a snake. This is said by those who believe in this legend to be the true ancestor of all the evil ones among the Ophidian tribe. By the majority of Ainu, however, both of these legends are looked upon as mere tales, for the general opinion is that the serpent who originally

came down from heaven with the goddess of fire is the ancestor of all snakes, both good and bad, and that all together have now their real home in Hades.

Another Version of the Above.

In the opinion of some it was not Yoshitsune who originated the evil snakes, but Aioina. According to those who hold this view, the tale runs thus: 'There are a great many demon snakes which, in the beginning, were made by the divine Aioina. He made them in the following way. One day he was pushing his boat along by the river bank when his pole stuck in the mud and broke. He thereupon cast it ashore in great wrath. But no sooner had it touched the ground than it turned into a demon snake. It had dark spots upon its skin. This snake was called *nitne okokko*, "demon snake," *i.e.* "viper." It had these spots because the pole had been burnt black in various places.'

Another Version of the Above.

The story of some, however, runs thus:—'Besides the ordinary snake there is another kind which had its origin in this way. The Divine Aioina once prepared some alder wood as a frame for his fireplace. But when it was cut and trimmed into the proper shape it commenced to jump about. Aioina got very angry at this, and broke it into two pieces. One piece he cast on the ground, and the other into the river. That

which he threw in the river was divine, and turned itself into a fish called *inumbe-ibe*, "conger eel." The piece he cast upon the ground became a snake of a reddish colour. It got this colour because the wood of the alder is red. So it came to pass that serpents and conger eels are near relations. Snakes run into holes because they were taught to do so by the divine Aioina, who used the pole before it became a snake to propel the boat along, and it naturally made holes when pushed into the mud.'

Ophiolatry.

Before proceeding with this division of my subject I will take the liberty of again quoting from the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, what I wrote therein. I there say:— 'Speaking of the tree of evil brings to my mind the subject of the serpent, and his connection with the fall of man. The Ainu are not different from many other nations in their superstitious fear of these reptiles; they have a very great dread of every kind of snake. Though the people do not seem to connect them with the entrance of sin into the world, yet many of them certainly believe them to be demons both in nature and deed, and to be at enmity with all mankind; and they think that, having a special spite against women, they will bewitch them and drive them mad if they get the opportunity. To be bewitched by a snake or to be possessed by a devil are the same thing according to Ainu ideas. The men are afraid to kill these reptiles because

they think that the evil spirits which are supposed to dwell in them will, on leaving their former abode, enter the heart of the slayer.' I must here qualify this last sentence by saying that while this is true of some men it is not so of all, for I find that many Ainu are very particular to have every snake killed which comes across the path of a woman. This is so because the people believe that snake possession is the chief cause of all troubles experienced at childbirth, and the only certain preventive is to slay the snake which is seeking to possess the woman. 'It is also said that if a snake finds any person asleep out of doors, it will immediately enter the sleeper's mouth and take up its abode within him, the result being madness.'

Occasions when Ophiolatry takes place.

But to speak more particularly of the worshipping of serpents. Ophiolatry is, I find, most frequently practised when an addition is being made to a family, but more particularly when there is any difficulty in the matter. When it has been decided that serpent-worship shall take place, the image of a snake is made of *popke-kina*, a kind of sedge (*Carex rhynchaphysa*). This image is called *inoka-kamui*, which means, 'the image of god or divine image.' In the particular case I have now in view the image was, it appeared to me, used as much as a charm as anything else. After the patient had been walked about, and various other courses resorted to, and the desired effect had not been

brought about, the image of a snake was made and suddenly placed upon the shoulders of the woman. Here it was held for some time and worshipped.

Upon asking why this object was worshipped, I was informed that according to Ainu belief all such like difficulties are caused by the demon of snakes. But, lest I should suppose that it was any wicked, evilly-dispositioned snake which was worshipped, I was assured that it was the chief serpent himself alone who had this honour done him. The people go directly to head-quarters, and ask the original parent himself to undo the mischief done or designed by his wicked progeny. After the image here referred to had been worshipped, it was laid by the side of the patient for a time, and afterwards put in the sacred north-east corner of the hut, by the side of the household god which is sometimes called *chisei koro ekashi*, 'the ancestor who keeps the house.'

The next case in which serpent worship takes place is when a person has had the misfortune to be bitten by a snake or viper. At such times the image is by some people made and set up by the fireplace, where it is worshipped. *Inao* are offered to it and *saké* drunk in its honour. It is then placed on one side for a time. If the demon has heard the prayers and wrought a cure, it is again produced, set by the fire-side, worshipped, thanked, presented with *inao* and *saké*, and then reverently taken outside and placed with the *nusa* at the east end of the hut. However, should the patient die, the image is left severely alone, as being of no use. In such cases again I am informed that the people

worship the chief of the serpents only, and not any of his servants.

The other case in which I have known of serpent-worship taking place was for a woman suffering from an attack of ague. On this occasion the image was made and worshipped, and then with a good deal of professional air and mystery was secretly brought to the patient and suddenly slipped into her bosom. This caused the woman to become much agitated with surprise, and upon springing from her couch, she was well beaten with a bunch of grass which goes by the name of *takusa*. In these cases, therefore, we find that Ophiolatry is very closely connected with exorcism. In cases of ague, however, all the Ainu do not worship the serpent, but only such of them as ascribe attacks of this disease to the malice of his offspring. There may be other cases in which serpent-worship is indulged in, but so far I have heard of none.

Snakes invited to bite People.

It has already been mentioned that living snakes are sometimes worshipped, and asked to take vengeance on a person for having wronged others. An Ainu to whom I was speaking on this matter said: 'When a person of an evil disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes upon a snake or viper curled up by the side of the path. When he finds one, he will stop before it and pray thus: "O thou snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy, and his name is so-and-so. Take notice,

please, of his name. If you ever see him coming along this path, please bite him, possess him, poison him, and kill him. I will then make you *inao* out of walnut wood, and offer you many libations. Pay attention to what I have said." So says such a person, who then salutes the reptile and passes on. The snake will be very pleased with this, and long to have the *inao* and libations offered to him.

Image of a Snake used for Worship.

And should he see the person whose name he has been told of coming that way, he will bite him without fail. He will do nothing but watch for an opportunity to kill him.'

My informant then added the following incident, as showing how the snakes really do answer prayer when offered to them. He said: 'Once upon a time two Ainu who had been the subjects of a bad man's prayers to a snake were walking along a

path, when, without the least warning, a snake bit the foot of one of them. The other man therefore took a stick, struck it on the head and killed it. He then heedlessly threw it away among the grass. The person who was bitten, however, did not die at that time; but after a while both men fell sick and died. The fact is, they threw the dead reptile away without first sticking a piece of mugwort through its neck. Had they done so, it would not have killed them. For neglecting to do this, the evil spirit of the snake came out of the body and so possessed both men that they died.'

Since writing the above an Ainu has furnished me with his version of snake worship. He said: 'Snakes are very quick-tempered indeed, but they are easily deceived by irony. Thus, when a person is ill, or a child is about to be born, the image of a snake is made and worshipped. But this snake is not really worshipped, he is simply deceived by being persuaded that he is worshipped. It is all done in irony. Again, should a woman be possessed by a snake and become a witch-doctor, she gets to be very hardened, and such women make snake idols of grass or straw.'

The reader will not now be surprised to learn that the Ainu do not eat snakes. They are not ophiophagous. I have frequently heard of the Japanese eating snakes as a medicine, and even sometimes as a delicacy, but never of an Ainu doing so. I have also heard of snakes being killed, cut up, and given to horses to eat. But this is not an Ainu, but a Japanese custom. It is said that they are given to horses because it is thought

that, in some way or other, they confer physical strength.

Ophiomancy.

The only case I actually know of in which anything like predicting events by means of the serpent is practised is that of a woman witch-doctor, Irarunde by name, residing at Hoya-kotan, in the district of Shibichari. This woman keeps the image of a serpent in her hut all the time, and it is positively asserted that she prays to it often. She is said to regard it altogether as her *iturun kamui*, or guardian angel, and is looked upon as being inspired by it at times. It is said that she is in the habit of taking it from her box, talking to it, and asking it all kinds of questions. By its inspiration she professes to tell the reason of any given sickness or trouble, and to discover the remedies for them. Indeed, she also claims to foretell future events by its influence. I need scarcely remark that this woman is very much feared by the people near at hand, and is treated kindly by them. But this is not what would be called true ophiomancy. I cannot hear of any Ainu, man or woman, who professes to predict future events by means of a genuine serpent, dead or alive, whether it be by its manner of eating or by its coils. They are too much afraid of these reptiles to watch them closely in their live state.

It is said to be most unlucky for a woman to see a snake swallow anything, for that would mean nothing less than certain *okokko parat*, 'snake possession.' In such a case it must be killed at

once, and a stick of mugwort stuck through its head.

In the same way the Ainu say that any snake which is seen with a large stomach, as though it had been swallowing something, must be killed and examined, so as to see what is inside. A case in which I myself was interested is mentioned in my book on *The Ainu of Japan*. I there say:—'The Ainu, particularly the women, are remarkably afraid of snakes. Many a time have I been sent for to act as snake executioner. On one occasion I was asked to go and kill a snake which had got into an old man's storehouse. I found it, and saw that it had a very large stomach, as though it had been gorging itself. As soon as it was killed I invited the master of the storehouse to come and look at it; and when he saw its great size, he assured me that if I would but make a post-mortem examination of it I should find great treasure inside, which treasure, as the snake was killed on his premises, would belong to him. On examination we found that it had swallowed a large rat! The Ainu was dumbfounded and angry at thus being rewarded, or punished, for his greed.' A somewhat similar case, in which a young man now with me took part, has also come to my knowledge. But a young hare was found in the stomach of the snake he killed, and not a rat, and it was not for treasure that the reptile was killed, but in order to get rid of a supposed demon, and prevent a woman who had seen it from being possessed.

The Ainu declare it to be very unlucky to see

the skeleton of a snake stretched out lengthwise. One does sometimes come across such when travelling in the interior, after the grass has been burnt off in the early spring. The sight of one of them is supposed to mean a curse. In order to avoid the curse, one must expectorate upon the ground, and say, *Turam koro guru kira!* 'The coward was running.' It is likewise considered unlucky to see the skeleton of one of these reptiles lying curled up. In such a case the curse may be avoided by simply saying, *Rametok koro guru na!* 'What a brave one!' This last one died standing against the fire, while the former died running away from it. These phrases have reference to the boast of the original serpent, who is supposed to have descended in lightning, and who said he would brave even fire for the sake of the goddess of fire.

It is extremely curious to remark that the chief companion of snakes in this world is supposed to be the speckled woodpecker. This bird is therefore looked upon in anything but a favourable light, and such a state of things has probably arisen because he is sometimes seen among rotten trees in which these reptiles are said to dwell. At one time, when hard up for food, I shot a brace of these birds to eat. But I could see by the disgust upon the faces of my hosts that they did not think very highly of a man who could cook and eat such birds. In order therefore not to give offence I threw them away, and made a meal off something else.

The Legend of the Speckled Woodpecker.

'The speckled woodpecker was made by God and sent down to this earth. When she wanted to lay eggs, she went to a rotten tree in which a snake had taken up his residence, and deposited them in the very place where he was in the habit of sleeping. When at last the snake came home, he went in and curled himself up over the eggs, so that there was no room for the woodpecker to sit. The bird therefore went out and made a hole in the tree immediately under the snake, and lived there. This kind of woodpecker is for that special reason sometimes called *set-pok-un-chikap*, *i.e.* "the bird under the nest." She is also called *shokshoki* and *toktoki*, because of the noise she makes when pecking the trees for the insects she feeds on. The speckled woodpecker and snake are very great friends, but this bird is exceedingly depraved, and so thought very little of.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Fetichism.

(A) *Trees and Tree Worship.*

General remarks—Fetichism defined—Fetichism in trees—Tree worship—Prayers to trees—The elm tree.

When dealing with the subject of *inao* in Chapters VIII. to XII., I very often spoke of these 'whittled sticks' or 'wooden wands' as fetiches. But it must not by any means be supposed, however, that fetichism consists in the possession and use of *inao* only in the practice of their religion, for, as has already been intimated, the Ainu keep a great many other fetiches as well. Among them may chiefly be found such things as the skulls of animals of various kinds, forefeet of hares, the head, claws, feathers, heart, nests and eggs of birds, mistletoe, the skins of snakes, stones, rocks *in situ*, while living trees too are sometimes used. Nor should this cult ever be considered apart from the religion in which it is found, or rather, perhaps, I ought to say, from the religion which enshrines it, for it is hopelessly mixed up therein, and one cannot now be understood without the other. Indeed, if a person were to take away the Ainu's fetich or charm, he would thereby destroy not only the means of worship, but very much of his religion also. Nor must it for a moment be supposed that the objects used as fetiches are looked upon as though they were inanimate things.

The Ainu are not so foolish as such an idea would imply, stupid though they be considered in some respects. With them everything has a distinct life of its own. The house in which the family dwells is looked upon as a living personality; the dried skulls and other objects stowed away upon the shelves; the whittled sticks of wood also which are stuck by the doorway and upon the hearth, as well as the stately tree growing upon the mountain, has each an inherent living soul or spirit of its own. Moreover, it is believed that all such things have power to protect their worshippers in time of danger, help them in the hour of misfortune, heal them when sick, bless them with general prosperity at all times, and send particular favours on special occasions when asked.

No doubt animism, as defined and illustrated by Dr. Taylor in his *Primitive Culture*, Chapters XI.-XVII., lies at the foundation of fetichism, and was therefore before it both in point of time and thought. But as this is a subject which will be illustrated concurrently with the matter now in hand, it will need no special remarks here. Suffice it to say that although some few of the fetiches, those that the women possess in particular, are kept as charms simply, yet the very idea of such things being able in certain cases to procure good fortune to the possessor, shows that in some way they are regarded as having power to influence; and where there is power to exercise influence there must be life, and where life, spirit. So think the Ainu in their philosophy of life and religion. No wonder, therefore, that the men are very reluctant to part with

any of their real relics which are thus used as fetiches. It is not, of course, at all difficult to procure imitations of these things, for there are many Ainu who will make them for a few cents, but as for getting hold of the genuine article, that is a different matter.

It will also be readily observed that besides animism, that most remarkable and indefinable thing termed 'sympathetic magic,' which I have attempted to illustrate in Chapters XXX. and XXXI., is likewise very closely allied to fetichism. How far the ideas underlying the custom of having a horseshoe nailed to the door, the lucky stone, lucky sixpence, or crooked penny found in the schoolboy's pocket, idol worship, the adoration of relics, the wearing of charms, etc., have their origin in animism, sympathetic magic, and fetichism, I do not intend to inquire. The intelligent student will think of these things for himself, and draw his own conclusions with regard to them.

Let us now turn to a more precise definition of fetichism than that hitherto given. The name fetich is, it will be remembered, derived from the Portuguese term, *feitiços*, which has long been in use to designate the relics of saints, amulets, rosaries, and charms for general use in the practice of their form —the Roman Catholic form—of Christianity. When the representatives of these people went to the West Coast of Africa, in 1441–1500, and saw the natives in those regions paying their respects to objects, great and small, and of great variety, they applied the term they already had for their own charms to them. Whether the term fitted or not, they will

themselves, of course, be the best judges, and I will not therefore call it in question. As used in this book, however, the terms fetich and fetichism are to be taken in the sense defined by Dr. Taylor in his works, where fetichism is said to be 'the doctrines of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects.'

It is certainly in some cases distinctly believed by the people that the virtues, the influences, the powers of a given fetich, which we with our Western ideas would naturally look upon as inanimate, can be appropriated by the individual who possesses it. Something of the same kind of idea appears to be secretly lurking in the mind of the schoolboy, who fancies that he will have a run of bad luck if he is so unfortunate as to lose his lucky stone or bent coin. The point here intended to be brought out was disclosed in the description given of the household *inao*, illustrated in Chapter X. It was there remarked that the life of the man could last no longer than his fetich, but so soon as the end of the *inao* decayed, the man's life in this world gradually faded, and in the end passed quite away. Whence, it may be asked, is this belief? In reply I can do no more than conjecture that it may have been the fact that at a certain death the 'household *inao*' of the defunct man was found to have rotted, and the two events thus have been connected.

Let us in this chapter consider the use of trees in Ainu fetichism. The Ainu's theory of causation being animistic, he ascribes to trees and plants a life with powers and emotions like himself. But it should be observed that this life is a distinct unit

a whole and personal living spirit. The dryads, or tree nymphs, of the Greeks, the sacred olive of Athene at Athens, the images of the Greek deities set on trees, the association of the laurel with Apollo, the connection of Dionysus with the ivy, the Ephesian Artemis dwelling in the stem of an oak, the mistletoe of the Druids, the 'Jack-in-the-Green,' the maypole, the Scottish milkmaid with her switch of rowan, with which she protects her cattle from the evil spirits, all these and such like things are brought to one's mind here. But the Ainu appear to have some ideas on this subject peculiar to themselves. They suppose that every tree has not only its own personal spirit or nymph, but the roots, stem, rugged bark, wood, forks, knots, buds, leaves, twigs, and crown also, each are themselves peopled with innumerable spirits, some good and some evil.

The general name given by the Ainu to this cult is *kim-o-chipaskuma*, *i.e.* 'the doctrine of the mountains;' and the particular part of it now to be treated is named *chikuni akoshiratki orushpe*, *i.e.* 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said:—

'When those Ainu hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the *nusa*, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, "O thou great possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals, please help us: O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper thou us." After this has

been done they set out fully expecting to kill many bears and deer.'

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree genius as their tutelary deity or guardian spirit.

I find, too, that when a person is sick, a friend will sometimes go to the forest, and select what he calls a good tree or shrub, and worship it. And it is fully believed that if this is done devoutly, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called good trees, *i.e.* trees ready and willing to help, are—the willow, dog-wood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, *Prunus sciori*, *Prunus panus*, horn-beam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

When praying to any of these for the sick, a prayer after the following fashion is said: 'O thou divine tree *Topochi*, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*; yea, thou art from *Shirampa* the divine, and wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name, and name of thy father. Thy father is *Shirampa*, and that means "the one upon the earth," therefore do I worship thee. Thine own name is *Topochi*, and that means "the wise one;" it also means "the quick one," and also "he who meditates." Make haste and heal this sick one. Oh, hasten, and in *Shirampa's* name heal him.'

The word *Topochi*, said to mean 'the wise one,' 'the quick one,' and 'he who meditates,' as well as *Shirampa*, which is said to mean 'the one

upon the earth,' are not in general use at the present time. I have so far never heard them except in the prayer recited above. They may, therefore, be called obsolete respecting all purposes excepting those which may be termed religious.

'When the men go away into the mountains to hunt bears, are attacked by them, and are in so much danger that they are obliged to run, and so seek a way of escape,' so says my informant, 'they are certain to be killed by these animals, if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains, and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learned at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for the gods and demons help them.'

It struck me as being very curious to hear my man speak of being helped by demons, especially as they were said to inhabit the very same trees as the good tree nymphs do. Even now I must confess to being unable to tell how this is. Nevertheless, it is a fact, whatever the explanation may prove to be. But to pass on. Again my Ainu shall speak. He says, 'The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing.

'And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hug it very closely, stand perfectly still, and whisper to the tree demon as follows, "O thou standing tree

person (*ni-ash-range guru*), be pleased to save me; hide thou my body." If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree, and then go away without seeing the man. Or, should a bear come upon a person when in the act of climbing the tree, and proceed to go up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, "O thou precious demon of the bark of trees (*kisaraha-range shinupuru kamui*), hasten to save me." Or, should he have reached the fork of the tree, he should say, "O thou demon of the tree forks, be thou brave, and fight for me. Oh save me!" Or, if he has reached the very top of the tree, he should say, "O demon of the tree crown, be thou brave, and save me!" If these instructions are faithfully followed out, no bear will touch one.' On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by a bear in a place where there was no tree, my informant replied: 'In such a case one should lie down flat on his face, and not move even by breathing. He should at the same time whisper to the earth and say, "O thou demon who hast thy dwelling under the soil, cover me up! Oh, hide me from the wild animal!" At the same time he should have his arms spread straight out, and be careful not to move so much as a finger. The bear will then not be able to see him, and will jump clean over his body, and depart.'

Again my friend says, 'Should a bear attack a person where there is a rotten tree handy lying upon the ground, he should lay himself out flat by its side, and say, "O *Toiyan-kuttari, i.e.* 'thou who art stretched upon the ground,' please save me." If he says this, the bear will straightway go elsewhere.'

On asking why this matter had so long been kept a secret from all outsiders, and also from very many of the Ainu themselves, the man said, 'This cult belongs to the hunters only, and is dangerous knowledge for others to possess; for, should the man's enemies get hold of "the cult of the mountains," they might use it against him for harm; they might even use it for his destruction.'

The fact that some kinds of trees are called 'bad,' and are supposed to be called unlucky, was intimated above. The gueldre rose, alder, elm, poplar, birch, hydrangea, and walnut are among them. Any of these trees may be used for the purpose of bringing down curses on one's enemies, as was shown in Chapters XXX. and XXXI.

By way of further illustration of this fact let us take the elm.

Something was said about this tree in Chapter IV. It was there remarked that it is supposed to be a god—a god whose bark fibre produced the first clothing, and was one means of obtaining fire at the beginning. I was at first very much surprised to learn that one kind of elm is classed among the demons by some; but after more experience I can no longer wonder at it. According to Ainu ideas, that which is on the side of man must be termed a god, whilst that which is harmful to him and causes him wounds, sickness, or death, is to be deemed a demon of the blackest dye. Listen, therefore, to some further folk-lore regarding the elm tree.

'It is good to make clothing out of the bark of the elm tree; but, mark, this tree harbours many very many—demons, and for this reason it is called,

atni-wenyuk, *i.e.* "bad elm tree." Now, once upon a time, the people went to the mountains to get elm bark for making cloth. At the place they went to there was a fine tree leaning over a precipice, the bark of which was of first-class quality.

'The people came to this tree—a very king among the elms—and commenced to strip it of the bark. They cut it near the roots, and pulled and pulled at it till, all at once and in a most sudden manner, it slipped off the stem, and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top of the tree. The people held fast on, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had not time to let go. Retaining their hold therefore with both hands, and thus clinging for dear life, all of them were in a moment of time swung over the deep valley beneath. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and fro, till their poor hands became so tired and their heads so giddy with the oscillations that they were obliged to let go: poor unfortunates, they fell into the depths below and were killed. It is therefore well known that the elm tree is peopled with demons.' The writer believes it to be highly probable that the elm was once a totem god, but that owing to some such accident as that above referred to it has been degraded to the level of demons. Indeed, the tree seems to have fallen from its original goodness, and has become a fetich having an evil disposition.

When an accident such as that described has taken place, the people become quite angry, and proceed to make war upon the tree. They

assemble and perform a certain ceremony which they call *niokeush rorumbe*. Upon asking about this matter the Ainu said:—'Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and die,—or should a person cut the tree down and the tree fall upon him and kill him, such a death is called *niokeush*, and it is caused by the multitude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, and branches and leaves. The people ought therefore to meet together, cut the tree down, divide it up into small pieces and scatter them to the winds. For unless that tree be destroyed it will always remain dangerous, the demons continuing to inhabit it. But if the tree is too large to be cut up fine, it may be left there, the place being clearly marked, so that people may not go near it.'

One other thing might be mentioned here as bearing upon this 'mountain cult'; and this has to do with all those welcome little whirlwinds one may sometimes meet with at play among the trees of the forest during the summer months. But the Ainu imagine even these to be filled with demons, and they therefore fear them. They say that when one is seen approaching, the best thing is to hide behind a tree or bush till it has safely passed by. And while in hiding one should expectorate profusely, in order to drive the demons away.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Fetichism —*continued.*

(b) Animal and Bird Fetiches.

General remarks—The fore-paws of hares—Skulls worshipped—The bat—Falcons' claws—The golden eagle.

That the Ainu use the skulls of a great many animals and birds, notably those of bears, foxes, bats, falcons, owls, kites, and the albatross, as fetiches, is patent to all who have carefully observed their customs. They also use the fore-feet of hares and falcons' claws in this cult. It is no uncommon thing to see the fore-paws of hares hanging over the doorways and windows of huts. On making inquiry as to the reason and use of this, I find they are placed there as charms against contagious disease. They are supposed to be very effectual in preventing such scourges as small-pox and measles from entering a hut and attacking a family. Thus we have another proof that even disease as well as animal and vegetable life was conceived of as closely connected with spirit. The people appear to believe that the spirit of the demon of disease walks in at the doors and windows of houses. But for some reason or other this spirit does not like the fore-paws of hares, and will not come near a place where even a single paw is to be seen. Hence

the custom of tying them up over doors and windows. In order to render themselves further proof against this evil spirit of sickness, they sometimes take the foot and gently scratch themselves with the claws. Or should one have already caught a complaint, a gentle scratching with the claw is supposed to work wonders in driving out the disease and effecting a cure. Curiously enough, the hind-feet are not supposed to have any power at all, and are therefore thrown away.

But not only are hares' paws used for charms, their skulls also are kept for this purpose. They are often to be seen together with other skulls stuck on poles and placed outside the east end of the huts, though some of them are decorated with *nusa* shavings and kept in a safe place within a box stowed away upon a shelf inside the huts, and in common with others are called by a name which means 'guardian gods.' They are worshipped, and their chief function is to preserve from disease, and to watch over the general personal welfare of the people. Unless they are worshipped, it is thought that the animals to which they once belonged will come and bewitch their possessors, for they expect to be worshipped, and look upon it as a right. On talking to an Ainu on these matters in general, he said: 'When our young men are gone away to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home get some *saké*, put it in a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the *nusa*, and the skulls. At that time they make many fresh *inao* as offerings, and worship saying, "O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are now

wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think of them much. Oh do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home." So do the old men.'

The Bat used as a Fetich.

The Ainu call the bat *kapap kamui*, *i.e.* 'the divine *kapap*,' and worship him. When killed his head and skin are kept wrapped up in sacred shavings and used as fetiches. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross previously mentioned.

It is also said that when used as a fetich and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay very often, stands for *crafty*, I am afraid. The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom by feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetich: for, being wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on his possessors.

Legend of the Bat.

'The divine bat did not come down from Paradise, but was made by God in this world. He is a very precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Ponyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Tomisanpechi. Now it happened that Ponyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard

put to it by the demons, and this led him to make war upon them. But as he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious disease came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Tomisanpechi. All his army landed, and drew their boats up on the sea shore, and there pitched their tents. The divine Ponyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion:—"I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called 'the demon of disease' has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his tent upon the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and must not be disturbed. But even granting that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a grievous war. I will therefore descend to Hades, and do battle there. For, understand this, the 'demon of contagious disease' is such a dreadful being that if one but catches the scent of him he must soon die. When this war has been brought to an end I will ascend to heaven."

'Ponyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said: "You alone are strong enough

to watch over my castle, come and take care of it for me." Ponyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with his belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, and went out. Then the bat came and took charge of the castle. In this way again it is known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

'The castle upon the top of Tomisanpechi originally came down from heaven, and it was this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are the reasons that some people offer libations to the bat. After a time a demon came to the castle, who, upon seeing the bat, said: "O thou divine bat, you are doubtless placed here to defend the home of the gods; come and let us measure our strength."

'The bat therefore took up the challenge, and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. He did not need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones all fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

'As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he had been killed, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The demon was dreadfully surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where the poisoned arrows were, seized them, and in his turn shot at and slew the demon. The bat was therefore a very wise and precious bird: he slew the dreadful demon. For this reason he is to be worshipped.'

Bird Fetiches.

Falcons' Claws used as Fetiches

Like the original of a great many other kinds of birds, the Ainu supposes the falcon also to have been made and sent down from heaven at the beginning.

This bird is thought to have a remarkably good disposition, and to be of very ready hearing. When prayed to, he is said to give a favourable answer at once. His province appears to consist chiefly in helping hunters to catch the smaller kind of animals, such as foxes and hares. Should a man come upon one of these animals while engaged in hunting, and, after having sighted it, should chance to set his eyes on a falcon which might possibly be at hand, nothing would please him better. He would at once gravely salute that bird, and beg it to help him to take the quarry. Should he do this, it is said that he will obtain help in the twinkling of an eye, for the bird would descend upon the head of the animal and strike it dead at once. This is said to be the reason why a falcon is worshipped and has *inao* offered him when killed.

But this bird has even a further use. His dead body is said to be a wonderful fetich and charm against have one's garden crops destroyed by hares. When a falcon has been killed, the carcase is taken to the garden and hung up as a scarecrow to frighten the hares away. The people say that none of those animals will enter a garden where the dead body of one of these birds has been hung. They are so much afraid of them that they dare not approach their whereabouts.

Nor, again, is that all. When killed the claws are cut off, wrapped up in fetich shavings, and carefully put on one side. They are said to be charms against illness, the fetiches working for the cure of snake bite.

Thus, should a person have the misfortune to be bitten by a snake or viper, it is said that he can find no better remedy than the claws of a falcon.

Supposing the foot or the hand to be the part bitten, the best thing to do is to get a pair of such claws and bind them on the place. When this has been done, the following prayer must be addressed to the chief of the snakes: 'O snake, I now put my trust for help in the falcon, be thou quick and cure me.' This is called a prayer, but it seems to me to be rather a threat, intimating that unless the chief snake quickly repairs the mischief done by some of his offspring, the falcon will be sent after him, for this kind of bird is said to kill these reptiles. The curious thing about this custom is, that although the claws of the falcon are worn as fetiches, yet it is the chief of the snakes who is worshipped.

The Bird of Paradise, or Golden Eagle.

One would hardly expect to hear of the bird of paradise in such a northern region as this, yet here it is. It goes by the name of *Kesorap kamui*. These words mean the divinity who has spotted wings, and I have given him the name 'bird of paradise,' because I know of no other

which fits him better, and because he is said to have his home in heaven.

He must not, however, be confounded with those birds which are found chiefly in New Guinea and go by that name. The Ainu's 'bird of paradise' is said to have feathers of gold and wings beautifully spotted. He never comes so low down as this earth, for his home is in heaven. However, he flies about in the open firmament very high up every fine day, and sometimes may be seen by those who look very carefully for him. His great delight is to gaze on this world, which he thinks to be very beautiful indeed. His feathers are considered to be wonderful fetiches, and are eagerly sought after. They are also said to be very scarce indeed, and I have never yet known a person either possessing one himself or knowing any one else who did. The following legend tells us all I have so far been able to learn of this wonderful bird. But I quite believe that one would not be far wrong in saying that it is the golden eagle which is meant.

'"The divine spotted wings" is a deity that dwells solely in heaven, though he sometimes comes out and flies about in the visible expanse above. This is for his own pleasure. This deity is very fond of gazing upon the world in which men dwell, and so he often comes to look at it. He does not, however, descend so far as this world, but as his body is very large he can be sighted from Ainu-land. As he is seen from a very great distance, no person can tell just what his body is like; still, when the weather is very clear, one may observe him flying about, if he looks carefully. Sometimes he is

seen to drop a feather or two. If, therefore, a person should catch sight of one of these birds, he ought not to let him out of the range of his observation if he can help it. He should watch him carefully, in case he should cast any of his feathers. If he happens to see one fall, he must be careful to pick it up. The feathers are of gold, and the spots are very beautiful. It is for this reason that he is called *Kesorap kamui*, *i.e.* "the deity with spotted wings."

'Inasmuch as these are the feathers of a great deity, they are amongst the best possible charms. For this reason they should be carefully deposited in a box filled with *inao* shavings. The Ainu who does this is absolutely sure to become rich. No one indeed can become so rich as the possessor of these feathers. But it must be remembered that the feathers of this bird may not be stowed away for any great length of time, because they are from the body of a mighty deity. They may be kept for three years only. After this time has elapsed they must be taken out of the box and placed outside of the hut with the *inao* standing there. Their virtue as charms can last only three years. Some Ainu have been wicked enough to deceive others by selling them as new after three years have passed, but they could bring no gain to the buyer.'

The man who told me this legend also explained that the feathers must only be placed outside of the hut for a short time. They must soon be carefully brought in again and devoutly worshipped. After which they should be reverently burned in private upon the hearth, or buried.

Bird Fetiches.

The Jay and Kingfisher.

[*Jay*, *Garrulus brandti* (Everson). *Kingfisher*, *Ceryle guttata* (Vigors).]

The Ainu look upon the jay and kingfisher as belonging to the same family. The parent of each was, they say, one and the same bird. And as the feathers of each are highly prized as fetiches, I propose to treat of them here. Other ornithological matters must, however, be left till we come to speak of bird cult.

The legend given below shows how it is that these two birds are supposed to have one common ancestor. And it is interesting for this reason, if, indeed, for no other. I cannot say much for the Ainu philologists who derive *Ainu-sat-chiri*, the name of the kingfisher, from *aioina sap chiri*, *i.e.* 'the bird which came down from Aioina,' for there is nothing but sound to favour the idea.

The feathers of the kingfisher are more highly valued as fetiches than those of the jay, and are therefore more sought after. They are supposed to make the possessor of them especially rich in beautiful garments. This I discovered so many as eighteen years ago, when I had just shot one of them as a specimen; for when I arrived at the hut in which I was staying, with the dead bird in my hand, a young man came running to me, and begged very hard indeed for a feather or two, and he was highly delighted when I granted him his request. He desired them, not for ornament, as I had first supposed, but as charms for procuring fine clothes.

LEGEND OF THE JAY AND KINGFISHER.

'The jay came down from heaven, and his real name is *Motot cani*, *i.e.* "mountain jay." He is also called, *iwa cani*, "precipice jay." These names were given him because he makes his nest among the mountains and in the precipices. Again, he is called *eami*, "one who takes care of things." This name was applied to him because wherever his nest is found, there one will always see a variety of articles of food, such as acorns, chestnuts, grapes, and actinidia fruit stowed away. He also stores his food in the holes of trees. The "mountain jay" had a firstborn son, whom he named *Ainu-sat-chiri*, "kingfisher." But he called his younger son *eami*, "he who takes care of things." The mountain jay loves his children very much, and makes special garments for them. He clothed his firstborn in white, and to the younger he gave a spotted garment striped with red. The true name of the red garment is *Kut-o-kosonde*, "the coat with girdles." When, therefore, a jay is worshipped, he must always be addressed as *Kut-o-kosonde-mi-kamui*, *i.e.* "the deity who wears the coat with girdles." He who wears the white garment is called *Ainu-sat-chiri*.'

LEGEND OF AINU-SAT-CHIRI, *i.e.* "*kingfisher*."

'In ancient times, while the divine Aioina was living, the deities who wore white clothing used to come down and hold converse with him on various matters. For this reason they are called *Ainu-sat-chiri*, "the birds which came down to Ainu." And

so we understand that jays and kingfishers are from the same parent. Moreover, the kingfisher is a very important bird, and he who worships him will surely be blessed, and is certain to become prosperous and have fine clothes. The feathers are also blessed things to possess, and should be kept as charms.'

The Swift (*Nokuyuk*).

The Ainu seem to have the idea that all migratory birds have their real home in heaven, and that they return thither every autumn to spend the winter, coming back again to this earth in spring for the summer months.

The swift is one of these birds, and the legend given below shows that the Ainu imagine him to visit Ainu-land for his own pleasure only. The skin of this bird is kept as a fetich by the men when they can get hold of it.

Legend of the Swift.

'The swift has his home in heaven, and comes down to this world every day during the summer months to play. But he always returns to his heavenly home at night. He is very quick in flight, and therefore difficult to catch. But if a person should exercise skill and patience, and in the end kill one, he ought to be very happy, for he is an important bird and a sweet one. He is also a splendid charm. His skin, together with the head, should be reverently placed in a box wrapped up in *inao* shavings and put on one side. If this be done, the spirit of the bird will rest upon it and bring good fortune.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

Fetichism *-continued.*

(c) *Stone Fetiches and some other Matters.*

Rocks *in situ* as fetiches—Stones as fetiches—Stones in river-beds Special fetiches for hunters—*Gohei*—*Mune-age*—*Mayoke.*

On page 254 of my book, *The Ainu of Japan*, I wrote as follows:—

'One day, when coming down a river in a canoe with two Ainu, we chanced to pass some very bold cliffs which ran sharply down into the water. There were several openings in these rocks which led into deep and thickly-wooded dells. The tops of the rocks were well wooded, and at the base of them the water was dark, slow, and deep, and had a series of gentle eddies in it. Altogether the locality was exceedingly beautiful, quiet, and awe-inspiring. On nearing this place the Ainu ceased paddling the boat, took off their head-dresses, became quite silent, and only moved just enough to steer their little craft. On asking why they did this, I was immediately requested to remain silent for a short time because some special gods were said to have their home in that place, and it behoved all men to keep silent when in the presence of any deity.

'After passing the cliffs we entered into conversation respecting this home of the gods. The Ainu

stated that two kinds of deities were supposed to reside in this place. The first were dryads, or gods of the forests. These live in the dells, and keep watch over the cliffs and trees. They were both good and evil. To the good, reverent, and god-fearing person they show themselves good and benevolent; but to the wicked, irreverent, and ungodly they appear only in order to punish, and then are looked upon as evil. Woe betide the person who presumes to make a noise in their presence!

'The other gods who dwell in this locality were the water nymphs. They were of three sorts or degrees. The chief live in the centre of the eddy of water; the next preside over the water as it goes down the stream; and the third keep watch over the places where the water comes up again. These gods also must be treated with honour and respect, or they will revenge themselves by upsetting the boat and dragging the boatmen and passengers to the bottom of the eddy, and there drowning them.'

To this I must now add that not only were there supposed to be dryads and water nymphs at this particular place, but that they were looked upon as being peopled with living beings. The rocks themselves were and are still supposed to have many individual spiritual beings, good and bad, within them and are looked upon as fetiches and worshipped. There is another high rock further up this river which is called *noka-pira* i.e. 'image rock' or 'cliff.' This is also looked upon in the same light by some, and worshipped.

The nearest approach — *i.e.* spontaneous native approach — to the worship of stone idols that I have

met with so far among the Ainu is at Usu. At this village is to be found, standing by the *nusa* outside the sacred east end of a hut, a natural uncarved stone about four feet high by a foot and a-half wide. The master of the hut and possessor of the stone is one named Oprutu, and is an upright, just, and honest man, so far as my observation goes. He says that the stone is placed there by way of ornament, but admits that he does pay his respects to it occasionally. He would not like to have it taken away, because he would thereby lose the protection and luck it secures. I conclude that this stone is a fetich. There are often to be found lying in some of the river beds large boulders of a reddish colour. It is said by the people that the evil disposed water nymphs take up their abode beneath these, and that the boulders themselves, which are thought to be alive, act as guardians to them. These stones are used as fetiches by some men. They do not take them out of their places, but allow them to remain where they lie. They are used for protection and the destruction of one's enemies. Thus, should a man have an enemy he wishes to destroy, he will go to the river's bank and sit down opposite his stone. He will then make some *inao*, and set them before it and pray, saying: 'O thou great red stone, thou home of the water nymphs, send some of thy fiends to keep watch over the fords. And when my enemy, whom I mention by name, crosses the river, do thou cause them to seize him, drag him under and slay him. I offer thee these *inao*, please accept them and grant my request.'

Fetiches.

Speaking on the subject now under consideration, an Ainu once said to me: 'After the hunters have killed a bear or a deer, they take out the liver and bladder, and examine them very carefully, for they have sometimes been known to contain small stones. These stones are most precious things, and any man who finds them may consider himself very rich and lucky, for he will always be a supremely successful hunter. Some of these stones are the colour of gold, and others white like silver, but both are blessed things to have in one's possession, for they are special gifts of one's guardian god.'

The same man also said: 'Again, there are very many blessed horns among the deer, the best of these are called (*a*) *Nause* deer horns, and are formed thus: ; (*b*) the next are called *Popai-ush* horns, and their shape is fashioned in this way: ; (*c*) then come those called *Op-ibe* horns, and they resemble spears thus: ; (*d*) lastly there is the *Emush* horn, which looks like a sword, thus: .'

The Ainu words used in the names above given are descriptive, and their meanings are as follows:—*Nause*, 'forks'; *Popai-ush*, 'having points like boils'; *Op-ibe*, 'spear head'; and *Emush*, 'sword.'

More than enough has now been said to show the real nature of Ainu fetichism. I therefore propose to close this chapter by briefly mentioning one or two old Japanese customs still prevailing, upon which many of the remarks upon *inao* fetichism and charms made throughout this book cast no little light. First of these is the *gohei* or *nusa*, one

may so often see about the Shinto shrines and elsewhere.

As the traveller passes along on his journey through Japan he may often see in front of the wayside shrine or Shinto temples wands or sticks of wood, from which depend strips of white paper, cut and knotched in a peculiar way. In the various dictionaries in our possession we find that the compilers have defined them as 'paper cut in a peculiar shape' fastened to a stick, and placed in a Shinto shrine before the *kami* (gods) as a sign of offering (supposed by the vulgar to represent the spirit of the deity), and also as 'pieces of silk or paper carried by the worshipper as a token of offering in going to the shrine.'

Griffis, in *The Religions of Japan* (page 83), says: 'In reality these *gohei* or honourable offerings are nothing more than the paper representatives of the ancient offerings of cloth which were woven, as the arts progressed, of bark, or hemp, and of silk.' It seems to me, however, that this borders on a mere guess, and that in truth *gohei* are neither more nor less than remnants of fetichism as practised among the Japanese in bygone ages. Just as the *inao* of the Ainu represent part of that cultus among that race to-day. I have come to this conclusion after a great deal of study and careful watching among both races. Where the Ainu naturally and of course would set up their *inao*, there we find that the Japanese of the interior of the main island of Japan (say off Sendai a few miles, for that was where I last saw them, in the year 1899) set up their *gohei*. Besides seeing them at the shrines I

have remarked them by wells, springs, rivers, at the place where the women wash their rice before cooking it, and also in the gardens. I have often asked why they are set up, and have always got one of three replies: (*a*) they are said by some to be signs of purity (though I cannot quite see where that idea comes in); (*b*) others say they are offerings to the various deities (this sounds more reasonable); (*c*) and some tell me that they are intermediary gods themselves, (and this is what I should expect them to believe). However, these replies, the first excepted, are just such as many Ainu would give an inquirer if questioned about their *inao* fetiches.

Furthermore, in speaking of the Shinto temples, Satow and Hawes' *Handbook for Japan* says: 'All that is visible to the eye of the worshipper is a bundle of paper cuttings attached to an upright wand, or a mirror, in the centre of an open chamber. But behind the grating in the rear is a sanctum, within which not even the chief priests may intrude, except on rare occasions, where the emblem of the god is kept enshrined within a box, and enveloped in innumerable wrappings of silk and brocade. Tradition alone informs us in each case what this emblem, or *mitama-shiro* (representation of the august spirit), is—sometimes a mirror, or sword, a curious stone, or even a shoe, the mirror being characteristic of the female, the sword of the male deities. The temple proper consists of a chapel, while in the front part stands a wand from which depend pieces of white paper cut out in a particular manner, and intended to resemble the offerings of

cloth tied to a branch of the *cleyera* bush, such as in ancient times were made at festivals, and probably left hanging all the year round. In recent years, by a reversion to the traditional practice, it has become the fashion to offer strips of coloured cloth.'

Seen in the light of fetichism as it exists to-day among the Ainu, I think one cannot but conclude that this is downright Japanese fetichism.

'The emblem of the gods is kept enshrined within a box, and enveloped in innumerable wrappings of silk and brocade,' so say Satow and Hawes. Very many of the Ainu fetiches, such as birds' nests, skulls of certain animals and birds, are also enshrined in a box and enveloped in innumerable wrappings of fetich shavings.

Mun-age.

When the Japanese carpenters are building a house, at a certain stage of the work they in many cases hold a kind of feast. It is known as *mun-age*. The festival is defined as 'a celebration made when the framework of a house is completed.' It consists in setting up *gohei* about the building, feasting on rice dumplings, and participating in a so-called *saké* drinking. Sometimes also a large bow with an arrow fitted in it is placed high above the roof at this particular time. The last arrow I saw measured seven feet in length. I have made many inquiries among the carpenters and others of the common people as to the origin and meaning of this custom, and the only answers I can so far get are such as these: As to the origin, 'It was so done by our ancestors, and we

JAPANESE FARMHOUSE, WITH SICKLE ON ROOF.

follow the good old custom.' Of course this is quite enough for them, and we too, perhaps, ought therefore to be satisfied, though we are not. The *gohei*, however, are said to be 'offerings to the gods,' though what gods I cannot make out, and, taken together with the bow and arrow, act as a 'charm against the demon of fire.' Surely this is nothing short of fetichism. Among the Ainu the analogous custom and counterpart is to be seen in the native feast of house-warming, when the *chisei sambe*, or 'heart of the house,' is placed about the huts, as described in a previous chapter.

Ma-yoke.

The *ma-yoke*, or 'demon shunners,' are somewhat numerous, and are defined as 'charms to keep off evil spirits.' Thus at the time when a Japanese is dangerously ill, and is judged to be at death's door, a sword and some *gohei* are sometimes laid by his pillow as a charm and defence. These are said to drive away the demon of disease, whether the person dies or not. At times they are also carried before the corpse at the funeral. The farmers sometimes place a sickle on the roof of their house, as is shown in the accompanying illustration. This is said to drive away the demons of fire, wind, and lightning. Again, in cases of attacks by smallpox a looking-glass is sometimes placed by the side of the patient. It is said that if this be done the demon will see himself as others see him, and will go away without leaving any marks on the body of the victim. Then, again, in times of epidemic diseases I have more than once

seen the people dragging ropes, amid much noise of shouting and beating of drums through the villages. This was to drag out and drive away the demons. In all these things and many others like them I think we may see fetichism practised.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Bird Cultus.

(A) *The Eagle Owl.*

General remarks—The eagle owl—Names—Owls assisting hunters—Owls as mediators—Ornitholatry—Legend of the eagle owl.

THERE have been very few nations in the world which have not had their bird cultus, some more, some less developed. The Egyptians of old held the ibex sacred, called him 'Father John' and worshipped him. When he died they made a mummy of him, and they considered it a crime worthy to be punished with death to kill him. The peculiar ideas they entertained about the phœnix, as to its birth and longevity, for example, will also be remembered. The owl and the raven have both been regarded as birds of evil omen by widely distributed nations, while the stork is held in great esteem by the Japanese. The tale of the Jackdaw of Rheims will not be forgotten, and all will remember how the little robin redbreast is dearly beloved by the children of Old England. I very much doubt, however whether any nations have ever had so much to say about the feathered tribe by way of cult and folk-lore as the Ainu. They appear to have something to say about almost every kind of bird which comes under their notice, from the little wren up to the great eagle,

and from the bird of paradise down to the common house sparrow. According to their way of thinking, there are birds which rightly belong to heaven above, birds which may only dwell on the earth below, and birds which have their proper home in Hades under the earth. There are divine birds and demon birds, birds good, birds bad, and birds indifferent. One kind of bird is supposed to be a good gardener (the cuckoo to wit). Another kind a clever boat-builder (the woodpecker for example), and yet others (the snipe and also the albatross) splendid physicians. The author proposes to treat of this subject in the present and three following chapters, therein giving what he has so far been able to collect from the people regarding the feathered tribe. Some of the matter will be found to be altogether unique, and much quite absurd, while all, it is hoped, will be found to be interesting.

An Ainu, speaking to me about birds, told me of certain taboos regarding their cry. He said :— 'There are five special birds whose cry should not be imitated by anyone. They are the cuckoo, woodpecker, nighthawk, goatsucker, and owl. These birds have power to bewitch people by means of their cry, and sometimes do so. Their cry ought therefore not to be imitated. To do so, indeed, would be a direct calling in of misfortune. But the eagle owl is a deity. To imitate his cry would therefore be rank blasphemy. Nor should one imitate the cry of any unknown bird. Strange birds are often sent by the devil, and carry the seeds of disease hither and thither. For these

reasons one should exercise care in all these respects. So taught the ancients.'

Eagle Owl.

The Ainu give this bird as many as five different names, each of which has a particular meaning, and which in its degree tends to show the very special regard in which it is held by them. Among the whole Strix family the owl holds the chief place in their minds, and in their bird cult is accordingly treated with the greatest esteem and care. There is, indeed, another kind of owl which is looked upon with suspicion, distrust, and fear, and which, because considered to be a bird both causing and forerunning misfortune, is very much hated, and called a demon by them: but the eagle owl is regarded as divine, and hence in every way good, and to be beloved. This divinity does not bring evil into the world, but when he sees evil near he very kindly forewarns men of it, and in his good-will defends them against it. For these reasons he is loved, trusted, and devoutly worshipped.

An examination into the names by which this bird is known among the Ainu, clearly shows in what light he is regarded by them, and why he is worshipped. I will examine them in the order given me by the Ainu who furnished me with the information on the subject, and deal with them in turn.

1. The first name to be considered is the most ordinary one, namely, *kumhum okkai kamui*, 'the divine male who calls *hum hum*.' This last word,

i.e. hum hum, is simply an onomatopœia for the sound the eagle owl is supposed to make when crying at night. *Kamui* also forms part of this name, and that means 'divine;' while the fact of his being called an *okkai*, 'male,' determines him to be, from their point of view, of the very highest importance, for the male always takes a higher place than the female, not only in the mind of the people but also in their actual daily practice.

2. The second name is *kamui ekashi*, *i.e.* 'the ancestor of the gods.' That the gods of whom the eagle owl is supposed to be the ancestor are all little birds, goes without saying, for each and every deity is only looked upon as a god among its own kind, and is always conceived of as having the bodily form of his own kind when making himself visible to human beings, unless it indeed be in dreams. The word *ekashi*, *i.e.* 'old man,' 'ancestor,' as applied to him, also goes to show his importance in Ainu bird cult and mythology, for among this people old men are thought most of, and are treated with the greatest deference, respect, and consideration. When the younger men go to visit them, or a son returns from a journey, a present is always looked for, and he who neglects to bring one is not thought much of. I have often found this custom a nuisance among the aged sick, for, in spite of all that one can do or say, they will bring *saké* as a present for them to drink, thus in many cases counteracting the effects of the medicine given by our medical men. The word too of the *ekashi* has a great deal more weight than that of the

younger members of the race. Nothing, it seems to me, could rightly be done in ancient times without first consulting them. Hence then we may fairly conclude that the name 'divine ancestor' as applied to the eagle owl shows him to be held in high esteem. In fact, it may direct us back to the time when he was regarded as a totem god.

3. A further name is *kamui chikappo*, and that signifies 'divine little bird.' The word *chikap* means 'bird,' and *po* is a diminutive particle meaning 'little,' and is a term implying kindly regard and endearment, and shows him to be looked upon with affection. He is so esteemed because he is thought to be of great service to man, and to be of an essentially benevolent disposition. The particle is often heard in recitation of traditions, and is always uttered in an affectionate way and pleasing attitude. In no way, therefore, do we find this kind of owl to be looked upon with fear and dread.

4. The fourth name given him is *ya un kontukai*, and that means 'the servant of the world.' This term declares him to be in the world for the purpose of ministering to the wants of men, and we are accordingly told that he is especially sent by the Creator for this very object, for though he is divine, yet, like all other divinities, he is subject to the Creator of all things. All of the deities are in the first instance subject to one another according to their order and rank, but ultimately they are responsible to the Creator alone as head of all.

But it may well be asked in what way this bird is supposed to minister to the wants of men. Certainly not by being eaten, because he is not an article of diet. But he assists men, so it is believed, in supplying the larder with animal food. In some unexplained way he directs the movements of the hunters, and leads them to the place where the quarry lies. Not only so, but by calling out *humhum* he considerately warns the hunter when danger is near. Further, he is said to help with his favour in times of sickness, and to be specially useful in preserving from accident.

As regards giving warning to people, the Ainu say that if this bird hoots very loudly it is a sure sign that danger is close at hand; but if the hoot be quiet and regular then it means peace and good fortune. The day before going to the mountains the hunters make several *inao* fetiches, and place them outside the hut towards the east. If during the night an owl of any kind comes and sits upon them and makes a great noise, nothing on earth will make the men stir from their villages, for they regard it as an undoubted sign of danger; but should the owl come and call softly, nothing would please them more, and they would go off with alacrity, feeling certain of success.

5. The last name this bird is known by is *ya un kotchane guru*, *i.e.* 'the mediator of the world.' By this term we have another of his special duties pointed out. He mediates between the Creator and men, and is supposed to take the requests of men directly to Him. It will therefore be readily perceived that he holds a very high place

in the mind of the Ainu hunters, and we are not surprised to hear that he is devoutly and often worshipped by them.

When in pursuit of game the hunters very often worship this bird. *Inao* are offered him, prayer is said, and his assistance and watchful care earnestly solicited, while, when possible, *saké* is drunk to his honour. In their feasts also some of the men wear crowns ornamented with the head and beak of these birds. The *inao* they receive are of three kinds, viz., 'the fetich with curled shavings,' 'the fetich with the shavings spread out,' and the 'bush fetich,' described in previous chapters.

When obtainable the eagle owls are brought up in cages in the same way as other birds and animals are. One would naturally suppose that these were for worship. But this, I am assured, to my great surprise, is not the case. They are indeed called while in their cages *chiomap kamui*, 'beloved gods,' and *kamui opoisam*, 'dear little divinities.' but they are not, certainly as a rule, worshipped by the people who profess such a kindly regard for them. Some may of course be found who will take into their heads to say prayers to them, but such an attitude is the exception. By and by the horrible time comes when the bird is to be throttled; then it may be said to be worshipped, not, let it be remarked, as a god, but simply as a supposed mediator between gods and men. All manner of birds and animals are treated in the same way as the eagle owl when brought up by hand. They are not always kept as gods to be worshipped, but nourished against the time when they will be

required to act as special messengers from men to the gods they are supposed to represent, that these may in their turn carry the request or message on to the Creator of all Himself.

The following is the prayer said to an eagle owl when about to be sacrificed :—

'Beloved deity, we have brought you up because we loved you, and now we are about to send you to your father. We herewith offer you food, *inao*, wine, and cakes : take them to your parent, and he will be very pleased. When you come to him say, "I have lived a long time among the Ainu, where an Ainu father and an Ainu mother reared me. I now come to thee. I have brought a variety of good things. I saw while living in Ainu-land a great deal of distress. I observed that some of the people were possessed by demons, some were wounded by wild animals, some were hurt by land-slides, others suffered shipwreck, and many were attacked by disease. The people are in great straits. My father, hear me, and hasten to look upon the Ainu and help them." If you do this, your father will help us.'

Thus does the cry *Ora pro nobis* go from the Ainu to the owl.

There is a legend about the origin of the eagle owl, but it is, quite contrary to expectation, very short and simple. It runs thus :—'God, the Creator, made the first eagle owl in Paradise, and after a time sent him down to the world of men to act as mediator between Himself and them. He was also commanded to be their help and guide in weal and woe. He is called mediator for this reason. He

has the name servant given him because, besides rendering assistance in hunting, he gives men warning of danger by his hoot, and helps the people to keep in good health. Should he come near a village or dwelling and call very loudly, it is to be regarded as a sign of evil ; but should his voice be soft and gentle, it is to be looked upon as an omen indicating prosperity and good luck.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Bird Cultus—*continued.*

(B) *The Screech and other kinds of Owl.*

Name of the screech owl—Legend of the screech owl—The little horned owl—A legend—Superstitions concerning owls—The brown owlet—Legend of the brown owlet—The barn owl.

In the preceding chapter I dealt with one kind of owl exclusively, namely, that known as the eagle-owl. It is now proposed to pursue the same subject and treat of other members of the Strix family.

I will commence with the screech owl, for this kind appears to stand next in order, according to Ainu ideas.

Now, although this bird, inasmuch as he is an owl, is of very great importance in Ainu bird cult, yet he is not so highly regarded as that last mentioned. He has indeed three special names given him which show the great esteem in which he is held, but as a rule fewer *inao* are presented to him, and less *saké* drunk in his honour. I have not often heard of the chief *inao, i.e.* the *inao* with curled shavings mentioned in the last chapter, being made for and offered to him, but standing next in order to the eagle owl the people often offer him some of the lesser kinds mentioned in Chapter X. He is said to have special power to give success to hunters when engaged in their occupation, and to warn them of the approach of danger. In all great

and difficult matters, however, he is supposed to go to the father of his own family as mediator, and thence he may be sent further on towards the Creator himself.

1. The first name given to the screech owl is *yuk chikap kamui, i.e.* 'the divine deer bird.' This designation determines him to be very closely connected with deer in some way or other, and we accordingly find that the Ainu consider him always to know the exact spot where these animals are to be found. I am informed that he was made by the Creator, and sent by him to watch over the wants of deer under the superintendence of the eagle owl, in the same way, indeed, as the goddess of fire is said to watch over the welfare of men.

2. He is next called *isho sange kamui, i.e.* 'the deity who bestows success in hunting.' The idea here set forth seems very naturally to follow the name 'divine deer bird.' As governor of the deer among the mountains, he of course should know exactly where those animals should live, and as all things are conceived of as having been sent into this world for the general good of mankind, he will, when reverently asked, point out their whereabouts to those who wish to hunt. In this way he helps men to procure food, and this is said to be the reason for worshipping him.

3. The third name is *hash inao koro kamui, i.e.* 'the deity who has bush fetich.' This refers to the fact that the Ainu imagine him to take special delight in this kind of *inao*, and it is to him they are chiefly offered. Sometimes, though not very often, I am informed that the people may be found

presenting him with several of the more important kinds of *inao*, and *saké* may also be occasionally drunk in his honour. But this, I am assured, is not the rule, for his greatest delight is in the bush *inao*, described in Chapter XII. The reason for this preference is to be found in the legend which now follows.

Legend of the Screech Owl.

'The ancestor of the screech owl resides far away in the mountains, and the origin of worship being paid him is as follows. In very ancient times a certain Ainu went to the mountains to hunt, and while there he saw a bird. It was quite white in colour, and very beautiful to look upon. It was also extraordinarily large. The Ainu therefore hastened to make some *inao* out of a bush near at hand and offered them to him with prayer. After this he fell asleep and had a dream. In his dream he saw a man clothed in pure white who came to him and said, "Listen to me; you made *inao* out of a shrub and offered them to me. I thank you very much indeed for them. Henceforth I will bring you good luck in hunting; I will also command my children and they shall direct you to where the animals are to be found and shall also warn you when danger is near." Upon this the man awoke and it was midnight and still quite dark. After a short time a bird came and sat upon his *inao* and gave a most beautiful hoot. By-and-by the Ainu got up and, thinking over the bird's hoots in connection with his dream, worshipped God. When it became daylight he set out on a hunting expedition, and very soon

came across and killed a great number of deer. He was thus able to feed the people of his village. Therefore the name of this bird became *hash inao koro kamui*, "the deity who has bush fetich," and *isho sange kamui*, "the deity who gives success in hunting." He has the name *yuk chikap kamui*, "the divine deer bird," given him because he hoots when deer are close by.'

With regard to this legend I would draw the reader's attention to the fact that some of the Ainu imagine owls, like all other deities of a bird nature, only to have their present bodily form, *i.e.* the form of birds, when they appear to the eyes of men. In the spirit world they are said to have the bodily shape of human beings; the chief of the owls is here represented as appearing to the subject of the dream in a body like that of a man. A reference to the chapter on serpent cult will show that snakes also are looked upon in the same light. Both gods and demons appear to be conceived of in the Ainu mind as having the shape and language of men in the kingdom of the spirits.

It should also be noted that the chief owl himself and the deity who appeared in the dream were dressed in pure white. This colour is regarded as a sign of purity. The writer has discovered during his work among the Ainu that he can give a person no greater pleasure than by presenting him with an old cast-off white garment to be buried in when he dies. No doubt the charm lies in the fact that some of the gods are supposed to be dressed in white robes, and we may therefore safely conclude that this colour represents purity in their eyes.

Bird Cult.

The Little Horned Owl.

In a general way owls of any kind are called *ahunrasambe*, and yet, unless particularly specified, this term may be found to refer to the little horned owl specially. This is perhaps so because this kind is more often seen than the others. The Ainu look upon him as a demon who really desires to harm mankind, and they naturally consider him to be a bird of evil omen. He is also said to be able to tell a good man from a bad one at sight. When caught, the people say that he will not look at a person if that person be of a bad disposition, but will keep his eyes merely closed, just peering through the slits between the lids. This act is called *ainu eshpa*, *i.e.* 'man ignoring.' If the person before whom the bird is brought be of a good character, he will stare at him open-eyed. This act is called *ainu oro wande*, *i.e.* 'searching out the man.'

I should not at all wonder if in ancient days the owl was used, when available, by the chiefs in trying persons for some supposed crime. This, however, is mere conjecture on my part, and I have just mentioned it as a possible or even probable explanation of a term meaning 'pointed out by the bird,' and for which I can as yet get no other explanation.

I once had the misfortune to catch an owl of this kind in the daytime, and so unwittingly went through the ordeal of having one of these birds before me. It looked at me with eyes nearly closed and at an Ainu by my side with them wide open. The word was whispered among the people

nishpa eshpa, *i.e.* 'the master is ignored.' I then and there went down in the Ainu estimation about ninety-nine per cent. But the man who was stared at by the owl was lord of all he surveyed for a time, for had not the owl 'searched him out' and shown him to be a good man and the better of the two? Surely so. Even this very day, while penning these words, my manservant proudly informed me that owls always looked at him with eyes wide open. He leaves me to draw the inference. It will be seen by the legend given below that some kinds of birds, though originally made good, did not always maintain their integrity. In fact, like human beings, they degenerated. The one now under discussion is a case in point. The little horned owl was originally sent to benefit the Ainu, but he once mischievously played a practical joke upon them by feigning death and so bringing misfortune. He was the cause of many deaths by famine and disease. For this reason he was cursed by God, and made to lose many of his feathers, and to this day he is very thinly clad. Indeed, he reminds one at once of the Jackdaw of Rheims. This refers to the fact that the feathers are not so thickly grown as those of most other birds. He is therefore glad to seek shelter in the holes of trees or even in the abodes of men for warmth. Whatever of good was originally in his heart has all been taken away, so that he is now as bad as a noxious weed, and has become a very demon. Moreover, the people always try to kill him when he comes across their path, but curiously enough he is sometimes brought up in cages, worshipped

like the two kinds of owl already treated of, and offered in sacrifice. This, so I am told, is the only owl whose flesh is eaten, it being considered wrong to eat the flesh of either the eagle or the screech owl. The legend will help to explain many of these points.

LEGEND OF THE LITTLE HORNED OWL.

'The little horned owl was sent down from heaven by God. He lived in Ainu-land many years ago, where he bore children, multiplied greatly and was very happy. After a long time had elapsed some Ainu went to the mountains to hunt animals. Upon seeing this the owl mischievously deceived them and rendered them altogether unsuccessful. When they met the hunters they all fell upon their backs, and held their claws straight in the air, thus pretending to be dead. Then, although the men hunted most assiduously and for a long time, they were unable to take even so much as one animal, and the consequence was a famine and disease, so that many people died. Thereupon God came down from heaven and passed judgment on the owls. He said to them: "As you have done this evil deed your clothes and goodness of heart shall be taken from you. You shall henceforth possess hearts like noxious weeds, you shall shed many of your feathers, and suffer much from the cold. You shall live in the holes of trees, desire to enter people's homes, and be tormented by man." After God had said this the little horned owls, though formerly of great importance, became insignificant birds. Still, when

they are sacrificed, and their flesh eaten, *inao* are offered them by way of compassion. They are called *ahunrasambe* because they desire to enter human dwellings, and also *rasambe*, because their hearts have become evil like the blades of noxious weeds. They are also called *makotari*, *i.e.* "fallers upon the back," because when they were first seen by men they fell upon their backs and held their claws in the air.'

I have merely to add to this legend that, as regards the name, the word *ahun* means 'to enter in,' *ra* is a blade of grass, and *sambe* means 'heart'; hence the latter part of the account. It is not good philology, perhaps, but it shows great ingenuity. My own belief is that he is called by this name because he has a trick of getting under the grass when chased in the daytime, and I have myself caught no less than three of these creatures through a knowledge of this habit of theirs. *Ahunrasambe* may possibly mean, and very likely does mean, 'the creatures which get among the blades of grass.'

Superstition concerning Owls.

I find that the people are very superstitious about seeing owls flying during the night. Moreover, it is considered to be a very unfortunate thing for one to pass in front of or immediately over a person. The same is true also of the night-hawk. Ill fortune or danger is certain to be near at hand in such a case, and the only way to avoid the impending evil is to expectorate as much and as fast as possible for a time. By doing

so the demon of evil foreshadowed by the owl may be thrown out of the mouth instead of being swallowed. But woe betide the man who should be unfortunate enough to see an owl or any kind of night bird cross the moon's face! In such a case the intending evil is very serious and great, and the only way of avoiding it or its demon is to change one's name, so that when he comes for a certain individual named so and so who saw the bird cross between himself and the moon, he may not be able to find him.

The little horned owl is not the only bird which fell from original goodness, for his brother, the brown owlet, which they call *chiteshkop*, also had the misfortune to do so. Like the former, he also was badly cursed for his wickedness and was made into a demon, and is now regarded as the servant of Satan himself. He has become a bird of undoubted evil omen, and he flies only at night. Should he pass over a house it is supposed that there is certain to be either a death or a conflagration there in a very short time. The legend concerning this bird is as follows: 'The brown owlet is now a true servant of the devil. But he was a very good bird in the beginning, and was made by God upon this earth. Once upon a time there was a famine in Ainu-land, and there was neither fish, flesh, nor grain to eat, and it seemed as though the entire race would die of starvation. Then all the great ones of the earth met together and decided to send the crow off with a message to the Creator. The eagle owl had him brought in and gave him a

command, saying, "Go to the God of the heavens and deliver this message to Him, 'There is a grievous famine among the Ainu, and the people are all about to die. Please make haste and send help to them. Please cause deer and fish to abound.'" So commanded he. But the crow hung his head down and fell asleep by the door-post.

'The eagle owl became very angry at this, and snatching a firebrand, beat him severely and sent him out in a hurry. After this the brown owlet was brought in and the message entrusted to him. This bird went away, but not to heaven. Instead of this he flew over the huts of the people and made known to men and demons alike the message with which he was entrusted. After this he went and hid himself during the day, but came out again at night and repeated the message in the same way. Then the gods were very angry and caused the jay to take the message to God. At the same time he was to tell of the evil deeds of the owl. He did so. Then God arose and filled two bags, one with fish bones and the other with the bones of deer. He commanded the jay to take them down to the earth and empty them, that containing the deer bones upon the mountains and the other upon the rivers. Then, said He, there will be deer and fish in plenty and the Ainu shall live. But as for the brown owlet, inasmuch as he did not do as he was commanded he shall henceforth be a demon. Then the jay took the bags and emptied them as told, and, as God had said it would be, deer and fish multiplied and the

Ainu were saved. The brown owlet became a servant of the devil and flies about and cries only at night. And so, although this bird was good to begin with, he afterwards degenerated and became a bird of evil omen. He is sent by the devil with all kinds of evil tidings and is called *okep*, *i.e.* "the bearer of bad news." As he is the bird of evil omen it is a bad thing and very hateful for him to pass over a house. If he does so it means either a death or a conflagration.'

The various portions of the deer's body seem to have played a considerable part in creation. We are told that the dry picked bones and the hair of some of these animals, which had supplied the viands of a heavenly feast, were distributed over the mountains and changed into living creatures of this species. We are now about to be taught that the bladder of a deer was turned into a barn owl.

The name of this bird is *ni-kotuk*, and that means 'sticking to the trees.' Though made out of a part of the deer he is considered by the people to be a demon, and is accordingly looked upon as a bird of ill omen. Like that of some few other birds his cry may by no means be imitated, for should a person be indiscreet enough to mock him he will be punished with sickness and a lingering death. The history of his origin will be found set forth in the fable next to be given, in which it will also be seen how the name *ni-kotuk*, *i.e.* 'sticking to trees,' came to be applied to him.

LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BARN OWL.

'The origin of the bird called by the name "sticking to trees" is as follows. In ancient times, when the divine Aioina was living in the world, he one day went hunting in the mountains and killed a fine fat deer. After he skinned it and cut it up, he took the useless parts and threw them away. The bladder left his hand with a whirl and struck against the stem of a tree, where it adhered fast. But inasmuch as it was a thing thrown from the hand of such a deity, it considered itself of too great importance to remain there and be decomposed. It therefore immediately turned itself into a bird. A voice was also given to it which, when it cried, sounded like one saying "*ni-kotuk, ni-kotuk*," *i.e.* "sticking to trees, sticking to trees," and this is why it is called by that name.

'The cry of this bird must not be imitated, for if he hears himself mocked in any way he will inflict severe punishment for the insult. However, if a person should happen to imitate him ignorantly and unintentionally and so unwittingly incur the penalty of owl possession, he should proceed to repeat in the bird's hearing the way in which he came into the world. As soon as he finds out that the history of his birth is known by the person possessed he will undo the mischief and fly away post haste and hide himself for shame. *Inao* are not offered to this bird nor should his flesh be eaten; this is because he is a demon. As he has

his home far away in the mountains, he is very rarely seen. His cry is only heard at night, for like other demons he prefers night to day. The ancients have said that he is a very dreadful creature and is to be hated.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Bird Cultus—*continued.*

(c) *The Eagle and Hawks.*

The eagle—Legends of the eagle—The fish-hawk—Night-hawks—The devil's cook.

After the eagle owl mentioned in Chapter XXXVI. I find the eagle itself to be most thought of, for he is also a guardian, friend and helper, having been specially sent to this world to assist in governing the Ainu. It is the firm belief of my informant that this bird once saved the people from extinction by disease and famine through his kindly assistance, and that he will even at this present day help all those who honour him by calling upon him in prayer. They regard it as his special province to help whenever such calamities as sickness and famine overtake them.

The following legends not only show this to be so, but they also give further instruction indicating in what light the people look upon worship. In the first place they seem to imagine that they favour the gods by ascribing worship to them, and, as a corollary to this, conclude that the gods are pleased with worship and ought and will favour men as a sort of recompense especially if they kindly and reverently offer them *inao*. They also think that the gods reward all kind-

nesses shown them when they appear in the bodily form of either bird or beast, and are fed in cages and offered in sacrifices. An example of this is shown in the second legend given below, for it is there seen how after having had his wants duly attended to and worship paid him during the time of famine, particularly when the people lacked sufficient for themselves, the eagle god was grateful and saved the people by providing food in plenty.

Legend of the Eagle.

'In ancient times there was a famine among the Ainu so that they were all about to die of starvation. This being so, the people went down to the sea shore as a last resource to pick up what they could find there to eat. While there they one day saw something dark, very far away, floating upon the waves of the sea. The people carefully kept their eyes upon it and would not let it out of their sight. By-and-by, when the object came closer to the shore it was seen to resemble a large bird. However, the wings could only be seen and nothing whatever of the body. When it had now come close in, riding upon the surf, it was discovered to be a very large eagle holding something in his claws, which, after careful inspection, turned out to be a dolphin. The people were very pleased when they saw what it was, and when they had taken it they divided it up and ate it. In this way, then, did the eagle save their lives. The ancients tell us that this is how it came to pass that the people first

knew this bird to be a god, and why he is worshipped. This is also the reason why many *inao* are offered to him and *saké* drunk in his honour.'

A Second Legend of the Eagle.

'A great many years ago a certain Ainu caught a young eagle and brought him up in a cage. Not long after taking him, disease broke out among the people and a great famine arose, so that they were all in dire distress.

'Nevertheless, the Ainu, being a very good man, continued to carefully feed his eagle. When the distress was at its height this bird kept wide awake, and day and night alike incessantly walked up and down in his cage, calling out, "*Amkit, amkit.*" * This had the effect of driving the calamity away, for sickness then ceased and food became very plentiful. This is how the eagle saved the people. As a return for his goodness the ancients determined that he was to be worshipped. Hence it is that the people rear this bird in cages, worship him, and ask him to defend them from evil.'

When the eagle is offered in sacrifice the following prayer is said to him: 'O precious divinity, O thou divine bird, pray listen to my words. Thou dost not belong to this world, for thy home is with the Creator and His golden eagles. This being so, I present thee with these *inao* and cakes and other precious things. Do

* The word 'amkit, amkit' is an onomatopœia for the call the eagle makes.

thou ride upon the *inao* and ascend to thy home in the glorious heavens. When thou arrivest, assemble the deities of thy own kind together and thank them for us for having governed the world. Do thou come again, I beseech thee, and rule over us. O my precious one, go thou quietly.'

It was shown in Chapter XXI. that the crane is supposed to have a very fierce temper; the fish hawk also, which the Ainu call *Yattui chikap*, is said to be of a like disposition. Like the eagle, the fish hawk also is worshipped, and has to be approached with a greater amount of care and more thoughtful reverence than many other kinds of birds. It appears that he was once insulted and has never forgotten the fact. The insult offered him was very deep and touched him in a very tender place, so that he grew angry beyond measure. However, having once had his revenge, he will now, if properly treated, behave kindly to people; but if not, then be prepared for squalls. In his presence one must always behave in a seemly manner, and be careful as to what is said in his hearing. The following legend will explain this.

Legend of the Fish Hawk.

'The fish hawk originally came down from heaven and ought therefore to be worshipped and have *inao* presented to him. But it must not be forgotten that he is a very hot-tempered bird, and ought therefore to be treated with great care and deference. His violence of temper is thus accounted for: "A very long time ago a certain Ainu

brought up a young fish hawk in a cage, but unfortunately neglected either to worship it or present it with *inao*. Nay, he went even further than this, for in the end he summarily killed it and cast it away. The bird was exceedingly angry with this treatment and sought revenge. After a while the little son of the aforesaid Ainu went to play in front of the hut. In a short time a fish hawk swooped down and pecked at his head till he died." This is how it is known that this bird has a quick temper.'

There is a kind of night hawk in this island which goes by the name of *erokroki*, and is regarded as a bird of good omen. When his cry is heard it is supposed to indicate that there will be an abundance of salmon trout in the rivers. I cannot quite make out which night hawk is intended by the name, because the next one mentioned is also a night bird. *Erokroki* is simply an onomatopœia of his note, which is supposed to resemble the sound of knocking salmon on the head when dragged ashore, the dead thud of which may be said to be somewhat like *toktok-tok*, *toktok-tok*, or *erokroki*, *erokroki* in sound. To understand this, one must remember that salmon are always knocked on the head with a willow stick, and so killed when caught.

Legend of the Erokroki.

'The bird called *erokroki* was made by God in this world; for in the beginning God made both birds and beasts, some to work by day and others to work by night. The *erokroki* was made for

night work only. This bird catches and feeds on trout and salmon trout, but he only catches them during the night. And so it happens if the old people hear his cry they say, "There will be plenty of salmon trout next season, for the divine cry is good; moreover, we hear the sound of his knocking." How enviable! The *crokroki* alone is the first to knock the fish on the head and feed. Has he got a river trout or a salmon trout, I wonder? This will be a good year. We will also kill plenty of salmon.' The reason of this is that the sound of his voice resembles that caused by knocking fish on the head. The voice says, *Toktok-tok, toktok-tok*, and it is a very good omen when the cry is heard, for it foretells a good season. But it does not appear that this bird kills the large salmon, but only the salmon trout.

Akin to the last bird spoken of there is another night bird which goes by the name of *hochikok*. He is so named because his cry is thought to resemble that word in sound. I believe a kind of night hawk is meant. He is supposed to be a bird of good omen so long as his cry is some distance away. However, as he is supposed to be a demon, his cry must not be lightly imitated, for he will not put up with that insult. When his note is heard, indeed, a person should look in another direction, for it is very unlucky to catch a glimpse of him as he flies along in the dark.

LEGEND OF THE HOCHIKOK.

'The *hochikok* is so called because when he cries his voice has the sound of some one calling,

"*Hochikok, hochikok.*" As he flies only by night, his body is not seen, so that he is known only by his cry. If this bird comes down to the seashore, and there cries, *Hochikok* all night long, the next day is certainly to be fine and calm. And hence it is that when the fishermen hear his cry they pay great attention to it and rejoice, for they know that calm weather is at hand, and that there will be a large catch of fish, since it is a fact that this bird never cries upon the seashore when the weather is going to be bad. It is very unlucky to see one of these birds. The ancients therefore tell us that if a person should hear the *hochikok* cry, he should by no means look in his direction, but carefully turn his eyes away. Should he be mocked, he will come down to the villages and cry so vehemently all night that no one will be able to sleep. And so it is that the people are afraid to mock him, for if he is mocked he requites by preventing sleep. He is truly a demon and must be therefore left alone.'

The legend of the hawk now to be given is chiefly of interest because it shows that the Ainu look upon this bird as good, even though he be the devil's chief cook, or caterer for his wants. The albatross, treated of elsewhere, is supposed to be a servant of the sea gods, while the bird now under discussion is servant to a land demon, for both gods and devils, let it be understood, have their servants. The hawk's master resides in the forest, and his real home is in the valleys which run across the mountains. He cannot be seen, indeed, but he is there nevertheless. The hawk's business in the world is to hunt for this demon, and so provide

him with sweet and dainty viands. Hence, when one of these birds is seen flying towards the mountains with its prey in its claws, it is said to be going to its master, the demon, with his dinner.

A very remarkable thing about the legend is the direct reference it makes to prayer to the devil. Demons are ever ready to hear prayer and render help directly they are called upon to do so. But it is very dangerous to seek their assistance, because they always come for their reward after a time, and that is death itself.

Hence, although the hawk is to be worshipped and *inao* offered him and *saké* drunk in his honour, yet his master is to be left severely alone. It is not a case of 'like master like man' in this instance, for though the master is a demon the hawk is a god.

Legend of the Hawk.

'The hawk was made by the true God in the beginning. Now among the mountains there is a demon whose name is *Kutkoro kamui*, *i.e.* "the demon of cross valleys." The hawk is his servant and provides him with food. This demon lives in a great many places among the mountains, and is always attended by hawks which fly hither and thither to find delicious food for him to eat. Not only do they kill land birds for him but sea birds also. They are very clever indeed at catching birds. They are called *Inumechiri*, *i.e.* "birds which strike with the breast bone," because they have protruding breast bones with which they strike

the quarry and kill it. The demons of the cross valleys are very numerous, but as they are demons they never show themselves. If a hawk is killed he must be worshipped and *saké* drunk to him, but inasmuch as the *Kutkoro kamui* whom he serves are all demons, they must not be worshipped. For if those demons be worshipped they will help very quickly indeed, but after a time come for their reward for assistance rendered. The reward they exact is the life of the individual. Therefore they should not be worshipped at all. The hawks, both the large and small kinds, are to be brought up in cages and offered in sacrifice. At the time of killing them the following prayer should be used: "O divine hawk, thou art an expert hunter, please cause thy cleverness to descend on me." If the hawk is treated well when being brought up and is thus prayed to when offered in sacrifice he will surely send help to the hunter.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Bird Cultus—*continued.*

(b) *About Some Other Birds.*

The wren—The quail—The starling—The woodcock—The green pigeon—The domestic fowl—Reed-warbler—The hazel hen—The rook—The swan—The woodpecker.

The wren is a very tiny bird, but it is thought a very great deal of by the Ainu, though more especially perhaps by the hunters. The people seem to think as much of him as the English do of the robin redbreast. Whenever he appears he is supposed to bring good fortune, and his presence is much to be desired for that reason. Many people salute him when he comes into view, and their faces beam with delight when they see him. The legend of this bird is as follows.

'When the hunters went first to the mountain to hunt they made lodges to sleep in. *Inao* also were made, some to be placed outside, and others in the windows. After prayers had been said, a wren came and hopped about among the *inao* outside and then entered the lodge and settled upon those which had been placed in the window.

'When the Ainu saw this they said to one another: "That little bird has been sent down from heaven and is a tiny god. And as he has acted thus in this matter, it is an omen indicating that we

shall kill many animals." They were very glad at this pleasant prospect and worshipped the wren. After this they went to the mountains and in truth caught a very great number of animals. For this reason, then, the dear little wren has since that time been worshipped by the people.' The legend given below shows that the Ainu are sometimes a little selfish in their religion and, in a way, very practical. The quail, no doubt, is very pleasant eating, and so it comes to pass that it is against the Ainu religion to give this kind of bird away when they manage to kill one. A man must keep it for his own eating alone. The old Ainu idea of riches appears to have been nothing more than the possession of plenty of food and clothing. That was all he needed, and so long as he had plenty of food and drink and lots of good clothes he was quite content.

Legend of the Quail.

'The quail (*Pepepkere chikap*) was made upon the earth by God, and therefore did not descend from heaven. He is very quiet and tame, and being a rich bird has plenty of food, and is also very well clothed. Once upon a time an Ainu found a quail's nest. It was made of a variety of fern leaves mixed with soft hair and was very beautiful. The man therefore took it home and used it as his charm, the consequence being that he became very rich, so rich, indeed, that he could hardly move about in his home. And so it is that even now when a person kills a quail he always eats it himself, and will not allow another to have it, for that bird is good at

making men rich. Should a person secure one of them he must first kill him, then, after having asked him to make him rich, eat him clean up. For this reason he is called *Ic-ikoshinninup*, "the charm which is eaten." He is called *Pepepkere* because the call of his voice resembles the sound of this word.'

The starling (called *Shirush-chiri*) appears to be looked upon in two lights. According to one he is thought to be a sure forerunner of evil, that is, if he goes to the rivers to bathe; and according to the other he is regarded with favour (that is to say, so long as he keeps away from the rivers). For he is supposed to call for rain when there is likely to be a dearth in the land. Being forbidden to drink from the rivers by God he may only quench his thirst from the rain-water as it drips from the lichen growing on the trunks of trees. Hence it is that he is supposed to call so often for rain. The cry of the starling is said to sound like *Apto, chik-chik-chik, i.e.* 'rain, drop, drop, drop.' And whenever he is thus heard crying we may expect rain to fall very soon. But I can do no better than let the legend speak for itself.

Legend of the Starling.

'The starling was made upon the earth by God, and the ancient tale about him is as follows: Once upon a time an Ainu went to the river to fetch water, but when he began to dip it up he found that it was very dirty indeed, and quite unfit for use. Upon looking round to discover the cause of this he saw a little way off a starling covered with

filth washing in the river. He was very angry at this, and most vehemently cursed him, and laid the matter before God in prayer. God also was very angry and, descending from heaven, said to the starling, "Why have you done this? Why have you come and spoiled the water in which men and the goddess of fire drink? As you have done this bad deed you shall not henceforth drink river water, but whenever it rains you shall drink from the water which drips from the lichen growing on the trunks of trees." After having said this God returned to heaven, and from that time starlings have never tasted river water. When it rains, however, and the water drips from the lichen on the trees, they get under it and there stand with their mouths wide open for it to drop in. It is for this reason that this bird is called *shirush-chiri* (*shinrush-chiri*), *i.e.* "the lichen bird." If it has not rained for some time, and the starling wishes to drink, he calls for rain saying, *Apto, chik-chik-chik*, *i.e.* "rain, drop, drop, drop."

'It is said by some that he is called *shirush-chiri* because, when he was discovered washing in the river, he was covered with *shi*, *i.e.* "filth." Again, if this bird is seen to come down to the river bank it is for some evil purpose, and his entrance into the water to bathe is much to be feared.'

There does not appear at first sight to be much in the story of the woodcock, but a closer inspection shows that the Ainu know a little about the habits of this bird. That they go very much in pairs is a fact well known to the sportsman. The expression, 'I sport with my wife,' found at the end of the

account, has reference to the fact that these birds are said to have been seen to form a circle, in which some of them dance before the others. As to whether they eat arrowroot or not I cannot say, but I have certainly found them where arrowroot grows.

THE LEGEND.

'The woodcock was made by God and placed upon this earth. He feeds on *turep, i.e.* "arrow-root." He does no manner of work, but spends the whole of his time in the mountains in an idle manner. These birds always live in pairs, and spend their time in picking the insects out of one another's feathers. When night comes and it is dark, they fly down from the mountains and cry to one another *Ku machi ku rarachik, ku machi ku rarachik*, "I sport with my wife, I sport with my wife." They are called *turep ta churi, i.e.* "birds which dig up *turep*," because they live by digging up arrowroot for food.'

In the legend concerning the green pigeon which is next given, we have one phase of the transmigration of souls clearly stated, for we are told by it that this bird is neither more nor less than the soul of a Japanese man. The Japanese are fond of salt food, and the soul of the man supposed to be resident in the pigeon retains that liking, and this is said to be the reason why this bird only drinks sea water. The Ainu do not kill and eat the green pigeon, which they call *wawo chikap*, though he is a plump and fat bird, and the reason given me for this is that they consider him to be the ghost of a Japanese.

Legend of the Green Pigeon.

'Once upon a time, a very long time ago, a number of Japanese went into the mountains to cut timber for building purposes. When there they separated from one another and went their various ways searching for what they wanted. One man got quite lost and went about calling for his companions. But he could not find them and so at last died of hunger. As he died his soul changed into a green pigeon. As therefore this bird was originally a Japanese he is very fond of salt things, and so goes down every day to the seashore and drinks a lot of salt water. So say the ancients. Again, when this bird cries his note is exactly like one Japanese calling for another.'

The Domestic Fowl.

It is generally supposed that the domestic fowl was introduced among the Ainu by the Japanese. The word now invariably used to designate him is *niwatori chikap*, which is a hybrid compound word: *niwatori* being the Japanese for 'domestic fowl,' and *chikap* the Ainu for 'bird.' But twenty years ago some of the old men might be heard calling them by the purely Ainu words *Nishcran chikap*, *i.e.* 'birds of the clouds.' Within the last ten years I have heard it used only three times, and now hardly expect to hear it again, for things are changing very rapidly here. The following is a legend as it was given me some time ago.

The Domestic Fowl.

Legend of the Domestic Fowl.

'In the country beyond the sea (probably Manchuria) there is a place called "the land of birds." In this district there is a very large lake called "the lake where the birds descend." Now, in the beginning, the true God made very many birds, such as ducks and geese, and placed them upon and about this lake; this is why that spot is called "the place where the birds descend." Among these birds is also the domestic fowl, and he is the chief of them all. His name is "bird of the clouds," and he is so called because when he crows his voice is answered back from the skies.'

There is a kind of reed warbler found in Yezo which is said to have been changed into its present form by way of a curse for idleness. His original home was in a place above the clouds, but he was banished thence as a punishment. The myth concerning him is sometimes recited to children who are inclined to be idle, as a warning to them against that vice. The story is as follows: 'In very olden times there lived a deity whose name was *Shinish-oran-guru, i.e.* "he who came down from the highest clouds." This deity had his home in the clouds, but once came down to this earth to make some villages. He had a very big body and was very tall. When upon the earth executing his business, the other gods used to poke fun at him and call him *E-nishikere guru, i.e.* "the one who carries much luggage."

'His heavenly home was a very bright and beautiful place, and he had an excellent garden,

in which grew all kinds of fine things for food. He kept a manservant with his wife and family, whose duty it was to attend to the garden. The youngest son of the family was very lazy indeed, and would not do any work. As a punishment for this he was turned out of the kingdom in the clouds and sent to this earth, where he was turned into a bird called *popoki-chiri*, or reed warbler. When this bird remembers what he once was, and thinks of his elder brethren and parents, he calls out amid many tears, *popo michi*, *habo michi*, *i.e.* "my elder brethren and father and mother." Now, if this bird calls out *popo-michi-tuk*, *popokituk*, it is a good omen; but if his cry be *pokiyak*, *pokiyak*, it is a sign of evil: it means that the year's crops will be a failure.'

It is superfluous to add that the Ainu name of this bird is simply an onomatopœia for its song.

One of the finest birds for table use on this island is the tree grouse or hazel hen. When cooked its flesh is quite white, and whole body plump and juicy. But the small quantity of blood there is in the flesh has formed a subject of thought among the Ainu, and they have as usual given rein to their fancy in accounting for the cause. The story given below not only explains his birth into the world, but also, as the Ainu think at least, satisfactorily accounts for this apparent lack of blood. This bird, like our partridge, makes a great noise with its wings when rising from the ground, and hence its name is *humui-rui chikap*, *i.e.* 'the bird of great sound.'

The Hazel Hen.

Legend of the Origin of the Hazel Hen.

'In very ancient times, when the divine Aioina was upon the earth, he went hunting in the mountains and killed a great many deer. After he had skinned them he spread the skins out to dry in the sun. Upon cutting out the bare places under the belly and throwing them away, they made a sound as they left his hands like the rushing wind. But as they were cast from the hands of such a deity, they could by no means decay and come to nothing, and so they changed themselves into *humui-rui chikap*, *i.e.* "birds which make a great sound," or hazel hen. This is the origin of these birds, and it is because they were originally made out of deer's skins that they are so very dry and have such a small quantity of blood, for skin is naturally a dry kind of thing.'

It will probably have been noticed, and if not I will now draw attention to the fact, that according to Ainu ideas there are not many things in this world which were not placed here for some purpose. Thus, for example, deer, it was clearly stated, together with fishes were made to provide food for men, rats were created to punish the devil, while cats were brought into existence to keep rats and mice from becoming too numerous. It is my intention to conclude this part of the subject by giving some folk-lore in illustration of this fact, and I will begin by mentioning the rook.

Under the term rook I include both the rook and the raven, because the word *paskuru*, by which these birds are generally known by the Ainu, in-

cludes both of them; indeed, for the matter of that, this name embraces the jackdaw also. But as there are separate legends for each, I shall speak of the rook first, and then of the raven, for this is the order in which my informant gave them me.

Legend of the Rook.

'Very long ago, when the Ainu saw rooks for the first time, they thought that as they had descended from the heights above and were clothed in such beautiful and glossy dresses they must be gods. And so when spring time had arrived and the young rooks were hatched, the people went and took one from the nest. This they carried home and brought up in a cage made for the special purpose. By-and-by they made him a great feast of *saké* and cakes, and offered him in sacrifice with much worship and joy: they also gave him many *inao*. At this time they prayed to him, saying: "O rook, we are sending you off with a splendid feast: if thou art a god please in return for this give us something by which we may know that thou art divine." So saying they strangled him and sent him away. After this had taken place the Ainu went to the mountains to hunt and took a large number of deer and bears which made them very happy indeed. The men were now quite sure that the rook was divine and had helped them as a return for what had been done for him. While thinking the matter over and remembering that until that particular time there never had been such a grand catch, they fell asleep and had a dream. In their

dream they saw a person clothed with many black garments who looked at them with smiles upon his countenance and said: "Ye are good men, ye did sacrifice me and send me to my people with many delicious things, and they are all very delighted with you for this. I will now help you so that you will kill many animals when you hunt, and henceforth whosoever shall make offerings to me I will cause him to be strong and prosperous." After this the hunters awoke and made their dream known to the people, and from that time to this the rook has been an object of worship.'

In this legend we get an inkling as to how the Ainu look upon taking life in sacrifice. In the first place, it is thought to be pleasing to the object offered, for he is sent to the ancestors of his own kind. Then, again, it is pleasing to his relations, for the victim is supposed to take the essence of the good things provided in the feast to his forefathers. Thus all are made so happy that they as a reward for this bless the Ainu. As these matters will be more fully treated of in another place, particularly when animal cult and sacrifice is considered, no more will be said on this subject now.

The Swan.

The following legend of the swan teaches us that while man is busy destroying his fellows, gods and angels are earnestly engaged in scheming for his preservation. The swan, as will be found in the myth now to be produced, had her form changed to that of a woman, and thus figures as

a saviour of man from extinction. It should also be noted that the Ainu suppose their women got the peculiar wail they are addicted to at the time of death from the cry of the swan. And truly the sound, when heard from a distance, is very like it.

LEGEND OF THE SWAN.

'God originally made the swan, and kept it in Paradise as one of his angels. Now, after having lived a long time in the world, the Ainu became degraded and wicked, and did nothing but quarrel among themselves and fight and slay one another. In after years people came from a certain country and made war upon them. The inhabitants of Takai Sara in the Nikap district were in those days very numerous, but the warriors came and exterminated them. At that time one poor little lad, and one only, escaped by hiding among the grass. He hid in fear and trembling, and he alone was left alive in the whole district. But he was such a little child that he was quite unable to procure food to keep himself alive. He therefore sat down and wept sorely. Now there were no people anywhere near the place to help him, and so he came very near starving to death. He wept and wept till he had no more strength left him even to cry. When he was at the last extremity, a woman came suddenly from somewhere, took him up, loved him much, and comforted him. She carried him away and built a beautiful house and lived there with him. After a time, when the child was fully grown, he and the woman were married. They reared a very large family and in this way

repopulated the district which had been so grievously destroyed. The woman who saved this lad and afterwards became his wife was a swan, and formerly had her home in Paradise. She turned herself into a woman and came down to preserve the Ainu race alive in that district. God also saved the child for this purpose. While the woman was alive she used to weep and lament for the people if any of them became ill or died. And so it is at the present day, when the swan's cry is heard it is found to resemble the weeping and lamentations of the women. This then is the beginning of these things, and swan worship is called "the ceremony of the worship of Mistress Swan."

'Now, although swans are called *Peket chikap*, *i.e.* "bright birds," by some, the true name is *Pepep chikap*, *i.e.* "water-ladle birds," and this is because the swans' feet are formed like water ladles. Moreover, they are also called *Retat chiri*, *i.e.* "white birds," because their feathers are white. Having once descended from Paradise the swan did not return thither after having saved mankind, but stayed in this world and increased mightily. After she had married and borne many children she returned to her proper form, and by and by took wings and went elsewhere to dwell among the marshes and lakes where she also had a large family of cygnets.'

The Woodpecker.

The woodpecker appears to be in a peculiar way the boat-makers' bird. The name *Chipta chiri*, by which he is known, means 'the bird which digs out

boats,' and he came by this designation because he is always to be found pecking at the branches and trunks of trees with his bill, in the same way as the Ainu hack at them with their tools when making their dug-outs. He is thought a good deal of by some people, and his skin and head are kept for worship. This fetich is supposed to make the possessor thereof rich as well as clever in shaping out boats. Some Ainu say that he was originally sent by God to teach them how to make boats.

Legend of the Woodpecker.

'The woodpecker was made by God upon this earth. When the divine Aioina came down to the world of men, he caused the woodpecker to come and help him hollow out a boat. The bird did so well at this work that when he had finished Aioina killed him and made him a great feast. The woodpecker is a truly clever bird and a fine gentleman. And so it happens that, if a person should kill one of this kind of bird, he must make him a feast and send his spirit off well and happy. If this be done, the worshipper will become rich, as well as most skilful in making boats. The woodpecker ought therefore to be treated with reverence.'

CHAPTER XL.

Hunting and Hunting Paraphernalia.

General remarks—Arrow poison—Legends concerning poison—Stalking deer—Wolf hunting—Traps.

It has already been intimated that till within quite recent times the Ainu race was a people of meat and fish eaters, and that they could never be called agriculturists. This statement necessarily implies that the men were before all things else hunters and fishermen. It is true, indeed, that these professions were not very highly developed, for there was no reason why they should be. Bears, deer, and other animals, as well as salmon and a variety of other fish, were always very plentiful in Yezo till within the last thirty or forty years. The Ainu always placed their villages either along the sea coast or near the rivers among the mountains, so that when food was required they only had to step out of their huts and go a few thousand yards to obtain venison or fish, for it is said that before the introduction of fire-arms the deer were very tame. It was a different thing, however, with regard to bear hunting; but as this is a subject which will be treated of later by itself, no further account of it will be given in this place. When hunting the Ainu used

to poison their arrows, and one kind was made from the roots of the aconite or monkshood. The roots were dug up in the spring and peeled and put in the sun to dry. When this had been thoroughly done, the men ground and mashed them into pulp between two stones. They then soaked some tobacco and capsicums in water, and moistened the pulp with the liquor, adding thereto a little foxes' gall. It was then again put to dry, and by and by rewetted with the liquor; but this time some of the hunters first pulverised it, and then added a poisonous kind of spider thereto. Some of them, it is said, used to bury the poison in the earth for a few days, but others did not do so. When a man wished to know whether his poison was good or not, he applied a minute particle to his tongue. If good, it was said to quickly produce a peculiar sense of tingling and numbness; but care had to be exercised in tasting it, lest by taking too much a person should succumb from the effects. Too much was said to produce drunkenness and sleep, from which it was very difficult to arouse a person. No grease of any kind was used to keep the poison moist, for it is said not to have needed it. The poisonous part of the Jack-in-the-pulpit, or *Arisæma*, was also used as an ingredient in making poison. This is extracted from the bulb with a knife and pounded into paste. Before being mixed with the aconite, it is tested by placing a small portion at the base of and between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand. If kept there for a short time, say ten or fifteen minutes, a tingling or burning sensation

will be experienced, and its strength is measured by the degrees of pain thus given. I kept a little of it between my own fingers one day for ten minutes, to test the proof of this assertion, and I felt quite a tingling sensation for twenty-four hours after. Why the test should be applied to the left hand rather than the right I was unable to find out. The Ainu are particularly careful not to allow the *Arisæma* to touch their lips or tongue, for should they do so it is said that all the skin will quickly peel off, and cause no end of pain and trouble. To test whether this were true or not, I one day procured some of the root and chewed a small portion for some moments. At first I felt nothing, but very soon had cause to be sorry for my rashness. I shall never forget the painful burning and pricking sensation I experienced for half an hour or so after. I should imagine this must be a very cruel and painful kind of poison.

But this is not all. The Ainu think they have discovered an insect even more poisonous than the spider is supposed to be. They call it *Worunbe*. It is the water bug or water scorpion. Both the *Notonectidæ* and *Nepidæ* families of these heteropterous insects are supposed by them to be poisonous, though the former are considered to be more deadly than the latter, and are therefore used in preference.

On my first visiting the Ainu I noticed that the people always examined the water when I asked them for a drink from any rivulet or stream while travelling through the forest. They would never allow me to drink water taken from a running

stream unless they had first well examined it. This was to see that there were none of the insects above referred to in it, for the Ainu are very much afraid of their being swallowed. A certain and very painful death, they say, is the penalty a person must pay should he swallow one.

The following is a piece of folk-lore regarding arrow poison, and I believe it is intended not only to keep alive the tradition of its supposed origin, but that it also points to another kind of special poison which possesses magical qualities, but the art of making which is now lost. It will be observed that the myth particularly mentions that arrows poisoned with it and shot into the track of an animal after being worshipped would follow up and slay the quarry. Indeed, the arrow appears to have been mesmerized by the poison and *willed* into the animal's body.

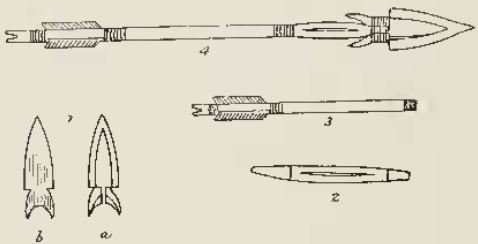
LEGEND CONCERNING POISON.

'This is the origin of poisons. They are divinities, and two in number, and are husband and wife, who formerly lived in Paradise. Now, when the divine Aioina came down from above he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male poison was *Kerep-turuse*, *i.e.* "scrape and slip off." It was very powerful, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kerep-noye*, *i.e.* "scrape and twist." This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrows and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim. Now the manner of using the male

poison was as follows: the hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer, and shoot in the direction it was found to take. If he did so the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows were invested with life, heard prayer, and did as requested. But alas, no one now knows how to make this poison. The knowledge was lost in this way. Once upon a time a hunter took some arrows laden with this kind of poison and went and found a deer track. Upon seeing the fresh track he took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: "O thou divine *Kerep-turuse* arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along the track of this deer and kill the animal which passed here yesterday." So saying he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed a whole day before, it could not catch it, and so fell on the ground. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, trampled upon it in a rage and said: "O 'thou scrape and slip off' arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not even catch a deer which passed along this way so recently as yesterday; I will take thee no more, nor will I offer thee libations." Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again and have not been seen since. The poison the Ainu now use is the female; hence it is that the arrows poisoned with it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals.'

The arrows used for carrying poison are made in three parts or sections. The head (1) is made

of bamboo and is two inches long. Figure (*a*) represents the inside of the head scooped out so as to hold the poison. It is capable of holding a good lump of aconite. Figure (*b*) represents the back of the arrow head; but no poison is put on this part of the arrow. (2) Represents the piece of bone into which the arrow head is fixed, and (3) is the reed shaft of the arrow, while (4) shows the arrow fitted up ready for use, but without the poison.



A Poisoned Arrow.

When a person applies the poison to the arrows, he first dips the head into some pine tree gum; then he carefully sticks the poison on, and flattens it down with his thumb, and again dips it into the gum. The use of the gum is to cause the poison to remain firm in the arrow head. These poisoned arrows were used not only for bears, but also for deer and other kinds of animals.

The bows the Ainu use in hunting were very powerful, though they look poor weak instruments. I have in my collection a bow that is just forty-

seven inches long and is made of yew, having a strip of cherry bark entwined round it.

Stalking deer was an occupation much beloved by the Ainu; even the women used frequently to take part in it when these animals were plentiful. But since the introduction of guns both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. The animals have

AINU DECOYING DEER.
(*From a Japanese drawing.*)

been immoderately and indiscriminately killed by Japanese hunters.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. The men used to take them with them in packs, and these were so well trained that they would never attack and kill a deer, but stand by and keep it at bay till the hunters came up and shot it with their arrows. Many deer were also slain by the spring-bows.

The hunters generally carried an instrument

with them on their expeditions with which to decoy deer, which they call *Ipakke-ni*. This instrument consists of a single piece of wood made in a form which very much resembles the 'horsing-irons' which are used in caulking ships. The illustration shows what it is like.

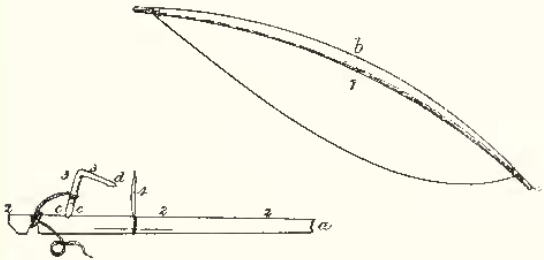
This instrument is three inches broad at the bottom or thin end, and measures two inches and a half from the top of the thick end to the lower edge. From the thick round end, at the mark in the centre, there is a hole which was made either with an awl or by thrusting a red hot nail into it. The hole starts at (1) and comes out at (2). Over the flat surface a very thin piece of fish skin has been stretched, being tied round the outside edges with fine strings made of twisted fish entrails. When a person desires to decoy a deer he wets the surface of the string which is upon the face of the instrument and blows in at the top (1), whilst drawing his two thumbs over the skin near the hole. The noise thus produced resembles the cry of a fawn, and is said to draw full-grown deer to the place whence the sound issues. The person decoying the animals of course keeps well out of sight and to the leeward, so that he is neither to be seen nor smelt. When the deer is within range it is shot with a poisoned arrow and then followed up till it drops. The accompanying illustration of an Ainu decoying deer was taken from a Japanese drawing in the Hakodate Museum.

IPAKKE-NI, OR DEER DECOY.

Traps.

The Ainu are said never to have made wolf-hunting an occupation because wolves are so very shy and swift of foot. Nor could they often succeed in catching them in their traps, or shooting them with their spring-bows, 'for these animals appear to understand these things nearly as well as the people who set them.'

Yezo wolves, the Ainu affirm, never hunt in packs consisting of more than three or four animals. They are very fierce indeed when

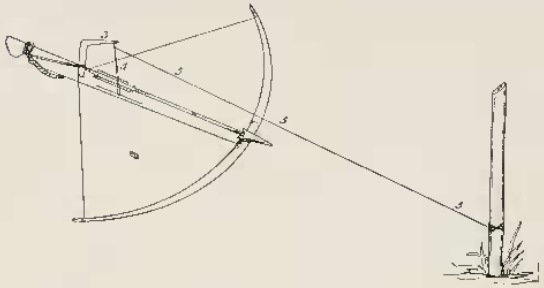


The Spring-Bow (in section).

attacked or wounded, or suffering from hunger, but will never attack a human being unless under great provocation.

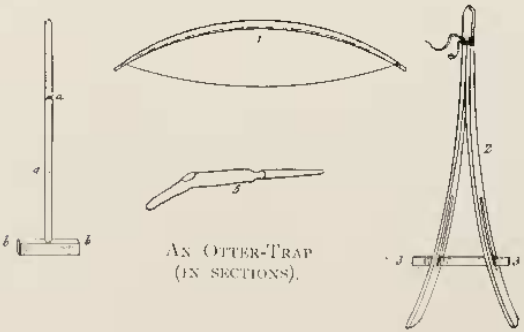
The hunters have very few traps, but those which they use are of an old-fashioned but interesting type. The spring-bow used for killing bears and deer stands first. This instrument consists of three parts: (1) the bow; (2) is a piece of wood which has a slight groove (*a*) in the end, and which is placed in the centre (*b*) of the bow; (3) is the trigger, the end of which (*c*) is so placed as to hold the bowstring, whilst (*d*) which represents

the top of the figure trigger, is held down by a piece of string (4). From this piece of string (4) another long piece of stout string or rope goes to a tree or pole situated on the opposite side of the trail or run.



A Spring-Bow set.

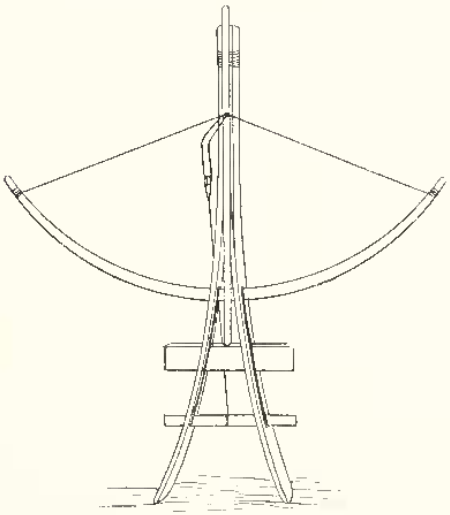
As soon as an animal, walking along the trail, touches the string (5) it pulls (4) off the trigger (3) and allows the bowstring to send the arrow into the side of the intruder, be it man or beast.



An Otter-Trap (in sections).

Traps.

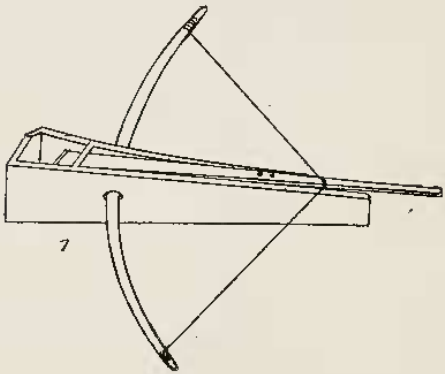
The next trap to be described is one that is used for catching river otters, foxes, racoons, hares, and, when they are about, wolves. This trap is usually set in the trails of these animals, so that when they step upon a small piece of string they let the string of the trap loose, and so catch themselves by the leg.



An Otter-Trap ready set.

Section (1) is the bow of the trap; (2) is the main frame consisting of a piece of wood split at the end, the two halves being kept apart by the bar at the bottom (3); (4) is a sliding piece of wood having a notch cut into it (*a*) in which to place and tie the bowstring. The lower end of

this piece of wood (*b*) is placed in a slit, nine inches long, situated above the bar (3), and extending to it; (5) is the cock of the trap. A piece of string runs from the lower bar (3) and passes along under the bow to the trigger, so that when an animal treads upon the string it loosens it from the cock, and causes the bar (4) to come down



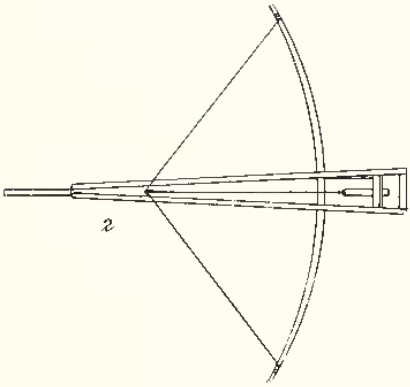
Rat-Trap set.

against (3), where it securely holds the captive by the leg.

These traps are very powerful, and are pretty certain to break the leg of any animal that is so unfortunate as to get caught in one. They are generally secured to a tree near by, to prevent the animals running off with them.

The Ainu have various methods of killing rats. Bows are put up in their runs or trails in the same way as they are set for bears and deer, only on a

smaller scale. The bears and other large kinds of animals touch the string connected with the trigger with their legs, whilst rats always gnaw it asunder. Another way of rat-catching is to suspend a heavy board over some meat which has been connected to some light mechanism for allowing the board to fall when pulled. This is a very sure way of killing a



Rat-Trap (under view).

rat. Another rat-trap consists merely of an oblong box, with a bow so placed as to close the lid so soon as the animal shall pull the bait which is inside. This trap catches the rat by the middle, the head being inside the trap and the tail out. Fig. 1 shows the top of the trap already set up, and Fig. 2 shows the string inside the trap to which the bait is tied.

CHAPTER XLI.

Animal Cultus.

(A) *Bears and Bear Hunting.*

The origin of bears—The races of the bear and the sea lion—The marten and racoon as servants of the bear—Hunting bears—Bears' dens.

It was shown in Chapter I. that some of the Ainu supposed themselves to have been descended from bears, and it will be interesting, therefore, to inquire whence Bruin himself came. It is extremely curious to notice how these peculiar people imagine creatures of totally different form and nature to have been evolved and developed out of the same primal elements. The following legend goes to point out how it is supposed that bears and some of the demons came out of sparks, and that sea lions and whales developed themselves out of flints used for striking lights. It also tells us that these last-named creatures were originally intended to live on dry land, but that through quarrelling they were banished by God to the sea. Their fate, however, was not decided in an arbitrary manner, but was determined by a race. In the intimation of this fact we come upon a modified form of the doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest' or 'strongest,' for according to such people the strongest is supposed to be the fittest. The bear was permitted to reside

upon dry land because he defeated his antagonist in a foot race : –

Legend of the Race of the Bear and Sea Lion.

'Many of the larger of the wild kind of animals, both of the sea and land, have the same origin as demons of disease. They came into the world in this way. Once upon a time, when they lived upon this earth, the deities had a great desire to smoke tobacco, and in order to procure a light got sticks of silver birch and rubbed them together. They rubbed and rubbed for a very long time, but instead of bright fire nothing came out but black and dull yellow sparks, quite incapable of making fire. No sooner did the black sparks appear than they at once turned themselves into bears, while the yellow ones became demons, which originate some kinds of illnesses.

This being the case the gods cast away the sticks and got flints and struck them together. These made bright sparks which very soon became fire. After they had finished their smoke, and were now about to return to heaven, they cast some of their flints into the sea and others upon the land. Those which fell on the dry ground became sea lions, while those which were thrown into the sea became great whales. Now it happened that the bears and sea lions were quite unable to live peaceably together, and spent their whole time in quarrelling, fighting, and tearing one another. God would not allow this to go on, and so, in order to determine which should live upon dry land and which be banished to the sea, he called them to him and told

them to have a race to settle the matter. They came to the appointed place and strove hard for the mastery, but the bear won, and was therefore allowed to remain on the land, while the sea lion, as the vanquished one, was ordered to depart to the

Spring-Bow, for killing Bears.

sea. This creature has never been at all satisfied with his lot, and therefore, sometimes even now comes to the sea shore, where he climbs upon the rocks and roars towards the mountains at his enemy the bear.'

The foregoing myth was told me by an Ainu fisherman who resided at that time upon the sea

shore at Nikap. There are some rocks off the coast near his house which are frequented every winter by scores of large sea lions, some of which are from fifteen to twenty feet in length. These creatures often clamber to the top of the rocks, where they lie and roar terrifically. The noise they make is so great that it may be heard for several miles both along the coast and also inland among the mountains. The man explained to me that the roars are aimed at the bears, against which sea lions have a special hatred, as they can never forget their defeat in the race contest.

As bears are such great divinities they have of course their servants to wait upon them, and it is curious to remark that martens and racoons are considered to be such. This is to be gathered from the following legend.

Legend of the Marten and Racoon.

'The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears, and this is the reason why these little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among the cooking pots and kettles. The ordinary racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying: "The cook of the god of the mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and

rejoice." Then when all the people have been assembled he should be sacrificed.'

No doubt this is a curious bit of folk-lore, and somewhat fanciful, but I am of opinion that totemism lies at the foundation, for both the marten and the racoon are called deities and are worshipped like the bear and offered in sacrifice.

The wolf also may be regarded in the same light, for he is looked upon as the special friend of man when attacked by 'wicked bears.' This fact comes out in the following lore, which the Ainu who told it me called—

'Bear and Wolf Worship.'

'The most gentle and well-behaved bears are called *Nupuri koro kamui, i.e.* "the deities who possess the mountains." They have their home in the middle of the mountains and their garments (*i.e.* skins) are ornamented with stripes of gold, silver, and bronze. One must never fail to worship such gods. The most wild bears are called *Nupuri-kesh-un-guru, i.e.* "persons who reside at the foot of the mountains," and they have their home at the bottom of the mountains. Their clothes are ornamented with stripes like blood-red thread. They are very wild and sometimes attack and slay people. Such bears should not be worshipped.

'The divine wolf is clothed in white and has his home on the eastern side of the mountains. In the beginning he resided in Paradise, but having a great desire to live upon the earth he

descended thence and took up his abode with the good bears. He is truly a most precious and brave divinity, and is, moreover, very quick in action. Now if a person is pursued by an "evil bear" he should call upon the wolf in a loud voice to come and help him. If he does so with a true heart, he will without fail come and kill the bear and thus deliver the man. Therefore the wolf is a divine being who ought to be worshipped.'

In bygone years the Ainu considered bear hunting to be the most manly and useful way in which a person could possibly spend his time. It was certainly a very brave act to go and attack a bear with the very poor weapons the Ainu formerly used, and it must have been very exciting. Think, for instance, of attacking a she bear, which had her cubs with her, with nothing but a long knife and a bow with a few arrows. It is quite true that the latter were poisoned, but the poison takes time to work before its effects are felt; and to wound a bear is no small matter at the best of times. Even a good shot, with a trustworthy rifle, a steady aim, and a cool head runs a great deal of risk in following a bear.

The people feel, even at the present time when they have guns, that a bear hunt is a great and serious undertaking, and before they set out always have a meeting of a few of the elders of their village for the purpose of asking the favour of the deities. They beseech the gods of the mountains to bring them upon the track of the game; they ask the goddess of the rivers to preserve them from the water demons and to carry them safely over the

ferries; they request the goddess of the springs to nourish them when they drink; and they beg the goddess of fire to comfort them, keep them from sickness, cook their food, dry their clothes, and warm their bodies. And wherever the hunters rest upon their journey they never neglect to make their *inao*, worship, and ask the favour of the local deities. Nor do they ever forget to select their special guardian tree, as mentioned in a previous chapter, before setting out on their hunting expeditions.

Certain of the Ainu say that the Yezo bears spend their winters in holes and caves, and that when they first come out in the spring their feet are very tender, so that they cannot move far from their den. They do not, it is thought, remain all this time in a torpid state, because they come out quite fat in the spring, and this seems to indicate that they eat something. Some explain this fact, if it indeed be a fact, by saying that they store up fish and vegetables in their dens, and devour them in the winter; others that they eat earth; and others again, that, before they return to their dens in the autumn, they open up ants' nests by scratching them, and trample upon the insects, thus causing thick layers of ants and their eggs, all mashed up together, to adhere to their forefeet. They lick their feet when awake during the winter months, it is said, and so keep themselves alive and fat. I have made many inquiries on these matters among the professional hunters, and they all inform me that bears' dens are at all times perfectly clean inside, and never have any store of food in them. Indeed, I

have a man at present with me in my home who says he has killed no less than sixty-two or sixty-three bears, and he declares that so far as his observation goes all bears sleep soundly from December to March, and do not eat anything at all. He has never known them to have their paws tender from sucking, and has always found their dens perfectly clean.

Ainu with Cups of Saké.

But he says that upon coming out of their dens in the spring they drop a very large quantity of spoor.

In very early spring, when the snow is quite hard so that a person can easily walk upon it, the hunters take their dogs and go to see if they can find a bear's den. The dens are recognised by a slight discoloration of the surface of the snow, in the centre of which a small hole is to be seen. This is caused by the warm breath of the animal inside. If

successful, prayers are said, the snow cleared away, and long sticks poked into the den to try and drive the bear out; the dogs, too, are set to worry the beast. Sometimes the bear comes out and is shot, but at other times he refuses to stir. If neither sticks nor worrying dogs can stir the beast, a fire is lighted over the mouth of the cave and smoke is tried; this is said to be generally successful, but not always.

Some bear hunters say that Bruin absolutely refuses to kill anything in his own den. Therefore, if a bear will not come out when prompted in the ways above mentioned, a brave Ainu ties up his head and face, leaving only his eyes exposed, hands his bow and arrow to his friends, and, with his hunting-knife firmly fixed in his girdle, makes a call upon him in his own home. The animal gets so angry at this intrusion that he unceremoniously seizes the intruder with his paws, and hastily thrusts him behind his back. The man now draws his knife and pricks the beast behind, and this is said to make him take his departure. Of course, as soon as the animal gets outside, a few poisoned arrows are sent into his body. To me all this is very difficult to believe, but my man now with me says that it is true nevertheless, and that he himself has entered three dens and turned the occupants out.

This is said to be the critical and most dangerous moment; for the bear, now in pain and full of wrath, seriously attacks his enemies. If he comes to very close quarters with a man, and stands upon his haunches ready to strike him, this

is considered to be a golden opportunity, for the man throws aside his bow and arrows, and drawing

Man with Bow.

his knife, rushes into the animal's embrace, hugs him closely and thrusts the knife home into his heart.

This kills the beast in a moment, but the man who does this hardly ever comes off free; he is pretty sure to be scratched, sometimes very severely, and some, we are told, have been nearly scalped and not a few killed in this way.

It is not always that a man can be found brave or rash enough to run into a bear's embrace. Some of the hunters carry spears with them; but they do not attack the animals with such things, because they say that they are so quick as to be able nearly always to parry a thrust with their forepaws. A spearman waits to be attacked by Bruin. He keeps the point of his spear covered with a piece of cloth under his armpit, and when the animal makes a rush at him, and stands upon its hind legs to strike, he merely steps back a pace, and allows it to fall on the spear of itself.

The Ainu often used to set spring-bows in the trail of bears. These animals are said always to snatch an arrow out of themselves when they are hit, but the poisoned arrows being barbed remain under the skin, so that there is no escape or remedy. The Ainu aver that any animal which has been shot in this way is certain to be found within a very short distance of the spring-bow.

Another way of killing them was to dig a deep pit in their trail, cover the top over with rotten wood and leaves, and hang a piece of fish or venison over it as a bait. Of course when an animal fell into the pit it was killed easily enough.

When a bear has been killed the Ainu sit

down and admire it, make their salaams to it, worship it, and offer presents of *inao*. Then they skin it and cut it up, taking care to do away with all the pieces that they have touched by the poison of the arrows. They are careful not to allow the dogs to get the heart, for that is more affected by the poison than any other part. When the skinning is finished the head is decorated with *inao*, and thanks are offered first to the bear itself and then to the gods for protecting them and rendering them successful.

The bear is divided as follows: The man who kills the animal takes the whole head, the breast, and the viscera as his special property. When the skin and the gall are sold he also gets a little more money than the other hunters. The body of the animal is divided equally amongst them all. When the fortunate hunters return home to their village a great feast is made, and the old men come in and make a great many religious symbols, and thank and praise the various deities for going with their brave young men and bringing them home safely.

Then they commence to extol the bravery of the successful hunters, and ask for a full description of the hunt. This is the great time of the feast, for the hunters act the whole hunt over again in words before the assembled and admiring guests But if a hunter should have been killed, the affair is turned into a feast of mourning. The people become very angry if one of their hunters gets killed by Bruin, and proceed to make war upon him immediately. They hunt the creature till he

is slain, and then march round him cursing the while and striking out with their long knives. They then bring him to the place where he killed the man, and lay him by the side of the corpse. This done they again march in a circle, curse, pray, and strike with their knives. They next proceed to dig a grave, and when this is finished decapitate the bear. Bruin's head is then divided into two parts, one part having the upper jaw attached to it, and the other the lower. The upper jaw is then placed in the bottom of the grave, and the Ainu the bear has killed laid upon it, while the lower is often put on the top of the grave after the earth has been filled in; though in some cases it is brought home and put in a place of convenience, where it is certain to be daily profaned by the wife and daughters of the victim.

However, they do not treat the bear in this way always, particularly if the corpse of the Ainu has already been buried. In such a case the bear's head is cut off and thrust nose downwards in the softest bog they can find, and in this way consigned to hell.

CHAPTER XLII.

Animal Cultus—*continued.*

(b) *Sacrifice and the Bear Festival.*

Reappearance of living creatures after death—Reason of the bear festival—Rearing cubs for sacrifice—Invitations to a bear feast—Preparations for the festival—Teasing and strangling the cub—The spirit of the cub feasted.

Although the Ainu do not believe that the human spirit, as a rule, appears again in this world after death in a visible manner, and only in a human, though perhaps to some extent spiritualised body in the other, yet they are firmly convinced that the spirits of birds and animals killed in hunting or offered in sacrifice come and live again upon the earth clothed with a body; and they believe, further, that they appear here for the special benefit of men, particularly Ainu hunters. But in such cases no metempsychosis, or such metamorphosis as will imply the possession of a different *kind* of body, takes place. It must be steadily borne in mind, or the superficial thinker will be led astray, that the only bodies departed spirits can *naturally* have are always of the same kind as their previous ones; and that every spirit of the lower orders of creation should be thus reclothed with such another body, is as natural to the Ainu mind, as the reappearance of the soul to a person from whom it is supposed to have been temporarily absent during a dream.

But in speaking of such soul's changes of residence, it must be remembered that I am not now on the subject of possession of spirits by the devil, for that is quite another matter. Nor do I speak here of certain transformations of body, said to have been caused by the curse of the gods or the machinations of the demons, for these are not general or natural. They are brought about by the special acts of stronger powers for particular purposes and reasons.

Nor am I speaking of the appearance of birds or animals to people during dreams, when such apparitions, in order that they may speak human language, assume, for the time being, the forms of men and women. These transformations are altogether abnormal, and what one might call outside of the general run of Nature. But in this place only normal, and, therefore, natural changes are discussed. Thus, for example, if an animal or bird be killed in a natural way, *i.e.* by way of being hunted or sacrificed, whether it be a bear or deer, wolf or fox, or an albatross, owl, eagle or sparrow, each of these will again naturally, and of course, appear among the mountains, so it is believed, clothed with a new body resembling the old one. But that this is not transmigration of souls in the accepted sense of the term needs no demonstration.

The sacrifice of birds in the practice of Ainu religion was more or less dwelt upon in the chapter on Bird Cultus. Examples of the prayers used on such occasions were also quoted, notably those to the eagle owl, great eagle, and hawk, while prayers to the albatross and crane were mentioned

elsewhere. The general name given to a sacrifice is *Iyomande*, which term means to 'send away,' and I have translated it by 'sacrifice,' because this word appears to best suit the meaning it bears. It is the intention to devote the present chapter chiefly to the subject of totemism, as illustrated in animal sacrifice, particularly endeavouring to describe the manner of offering and the inner meaning of the famous bear festival.

Why, one may as well ask at the outset as later on, does this sacrifice of the bear take place? Why is this or any other animal offered? And to whom? To this I must reply, in the first place, that I have made many inquiries among the people, both of Christians who have given up the practice, and also of men who are still addicted to it, but no one appears to have any very definite idea as to the precise answer to be given to such questions. So far I have found no idea of substitution underlying the practice, nor is it piacular, for the people do not know anything about the 'shedding of blood for the remission of sins.' The Jewish ideas, therefore, of sacrifice are certainly quite alien to the Ainu mind at the present time, whatever may have been the case in bygone ages.

When the Ainu sacrifices his victim, it might perhaps appear that he has to all intents and purposes the good of his body in mind rather than that of his soul, for he confessedly slays and eats the beast that another may come in its place and be treated in like manner. But it seems to the writer to be a very low view to take of the matter, and not the correct one. I have been told by

hunters that when they kill the victim in sacrifice, and so 'send them away' to their ancestors, they go back to their haunts in the mountains, and, after having been rejuvenated, reappear. It should also be furthermore remarked that at the time of sacrifice prayers are said to them which form a request that they will come again and furnish viands for another feast, as if it were an honour to them to be thus killed and eaten, and a pleasure as well. Indeed, such is the people's idea. This animal is undoubtedly one of their totem gods, and when they kill him the reason is not so much to feast alone by themselves as to have a good time together with the victim. For, after the animal's death, a feast is made in which his own flesh forms the staple food, and of which the poor brute himself also partakes. It is a mutual feast, and apparently a feast of friendship and kinship. The very essence of religion according to the Ainu ideas (and how true the idea really is in this case!), consists in communion with the greater powers; and unexpected though it may appear to us, the people imagine the most complete communion they can possibly hold with some of their gods—their animal and bird totems at all events—is by a visible and carnal partaking of their very flesh in sacrifice.

The bear festival, however, is not a sacrifice to the gods, but an offering to the victim himself and his worshippers in common. This may perhaps sound very strange to us, but it is thought that the description of the bear festival given below will clearly show that this is the true explanation of the custom.

Cubs reared for Sacrifice.

These festivals, in which bears and birds, especially the former, are sacrificed, have been my greatest obstacles in my work as a Christian missionary among the people, nor could I for many years find out the standpoint from which they viewed the matter. The bear feast is at once so cruel—so solemnly religious, and then such a happy ceremony, and the people are so very reluctant to explain the meaning of all they do or allow listeners to catch the prayers said on such occasions, that I have had the greatest difficulty in realising the habit of mind which causes them to find the highest enjoyment and give vent to the greatest expressions of religious ecstasy in this cruel though merry festival. And this being the most typical and complete form of worship there is among them, and therefore so deeply rooted in their minds, it is no wonder that I have found it and *inao* making such great barriers to my work among them.

Rearing Bear Cubs for Sacrifice.

Ainu bear-hunters are very proud if they can secure a bear cub or two to bring up at home for the purpose of holding a great bear feast. Men have been known to risk their lives in order to secure one, and when they do catch a cub they bring it home with great glee, and, of course, get very drunk in honour of the occasion. Sometimes very young cubs may be seen living in the huts with the people, where they play with the children, and are cared for with great affection. In fact, some of them are treated even better than the

children themselves, and I have known cases when the people have wept greatly when the cub has died. But as soon as they are grown big and strong enough to cause a little pain when they hug a person, or when their claws are too powerful to be pleasant, they are placed in a cage strongly made of pieces of timber. Here they generally remain until they arrive at the age of two or three years, at which time they are killed for the feast.

I have on several occasions expressed my disbelief with what has been stated as fact by many Japanese and Ainu with regard to the rearing of bear cubs. I refer to the statement that the women bring the cubs up at the breast. I have often said that such women must be very scarce, for I have not seen them do so, though I have seen them fed in various other ways. I now find that I must modify that remark, for I have during the last few years seen several women giving their breasts to bear cubs. Only last year, while I was preaching at one end of a hut, a group of women were sitting in a circle at the other passing a young cub round to be nursed a little by each woman in turn.

Bears' cubs are very seldom taken so young that they cannot lap water, and when a dish of millet and fish boiled into a soft pap is placed before the creature, it soon learns to feed itself. They never care to starve for more than a day or two. With those, therefore, that can lap (which is by far the greater proportion) no difficulty is experienced. The only inconvenience arises from the great noise they make in crying for their mother. This nuisance is soon cured, for the owner of the cub takes

it to his bosom, and allows it to sleep with him for a few nights, thus dispelling its fears and loneliness.

When a cub is taken so young that it cannot even lap its food, and there is no woman capable of suckling it, it is fed from the hand and mouth. Sometimes small portions of fish, or a little millet, often both mixed, are chewed by a person and thrust little by little into the animal's mouth, and it is thus made to swallow.

At other times millet is made into a kind of batter or very thin paste, a mouthful of which is taken by a man or a woman, and the cubs allowed to suck it from the lips, which they readily do. In fact, it is fed in much the same way as boys in Europe feed young birds. The next step is to teach the animal to lap from the hand, which is also soon accomplished; then it learns to take its food from a wooden tray.

When a young bear is about to be sacrificed, the day before this, to us, cruel and barbarous feast takes place, the owner sends round to all his people of the village, and invites them to come and take part in the festivities. He also invites guests from the distant villages, and they are pretty certain to come, for there will be a good opportunity of getting intoxicated. All of the people, young and old alike, come decked in their gayest attire; the elders all don their best embroidered garments, wash themselves, and have their hair cut and necks shaven. The men also have their whiskers trimmed and their foreheads and necks shaven for the occasion. The women at such times never forget to put on their earrings, bracelets and beads, touch up their

tatoo marks, and wear a new head-dress if possible. The last form of invitation I heard was as follows :— 'I, so and so, am about to sacrifice the dear little divine thing who resides among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast; we will then unite in the great pleasure of sending the god away. Come.' All invitations resemble this one, which is sufficient to show the general kind of thing.

As the guests arrive at the place of sacrifice they enter the hut and sit round the fireplace, the men in front and the women behind. Millet dumplings are boiled and toasted, and a kind of white thick beer is brewed from millet. The women get what drink their husbands choose to give them, which, I have noticed, is very little indeed if the drink be the more expensive *saké* rather than millet beer. But this is not the real feast, but merely a sort of preliminary breaking of the fast.

When the guests have all come in, the men make numbers of *inao*, and stick them in the hearth, and worship is performed. All the gods are worshipped and invited to partake of the feast with them. When this has been done, most of the *inao* are taken up reverently and carried to the *nusa* place outside, and there stuck up. Next, two long and thickish poles are laid at their base. The men now come out of the hut, ornamented with their totem crowns, and solemnly approach the cage containing the bear. The women and children follow and sing, dance, and clap their hands. By-and-by all are ordered to the *nusa* place, and made

to sit in a large circle, the old men in front. After this an Ainu is chosen who, having approached the bear, sits down before it and tells it that they are about to send it forth to its ancestors. He prays pardon for what they are about to do, hopes it will not be angry, tells it what an honour is about to be conferred upon it, and comforts it with the consolation that a large number of *inao* and plenty of wine, cakes, and other good cheer will be sent along with it. He also informs it that if it be a good and proper bear it will appear again to be treated in like manner. The last address I heard of ran thus: 'O thou divine one, thou wast sent into the world for us to hunt. O thou precious little divinity, we worship thee; pray hear our prayer. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with a deal of pains and trouble, all because we love thee so. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy father and mother. When thou comest to them please speak well of us, and tell them how kind we have been; please come to us again and we will sacrifice thee.'

After the prayer has been said another Ainu goes to the cub's cage and catches the victim's head in a rope having a noose made in it for that purpose. This noose is then passed round the neck and under the foreleg in such a manner as not to choke the animal when it struggles. Another noose is made in a second rope, and this is passed over the head in the same way, excepting that the end of it comes out on the opposite side of the bear. Thus, when the animal comes out of the cage it is led along by two men, one on each side. Sometimes, however,

when the bear is a large one, a rope is put over the hind quarters, and a man walks behind holding it tightly and ready to aid in case there should be any dangerous display of temper.

As soon as the poor beast is out of the cage the people who have formed the ring shout and clap their hands while it is being led into their midst, and upon its arrival they take blunt arrows, which they call *Hepere-ai*, *i.e.* 'cub arrows,' and shoot at it, thus trying to work it up into a passion. The shouting now becomes deafening, and the bear

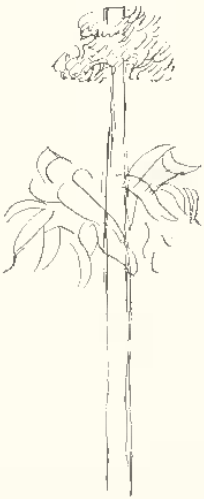
Blunt Arrows, or Hepere-ai.

sometimes furious. But the wilder the bear becomes the more delighted do the people get. Should, however, the animal refuse to move, he is brushed down with a stick called *Tukusa*, the tuft on the top of which is made of Arundinaria. When the excited and struggling brute shows signs of exhaustion a stake is driven into the ground in the centre of the ring of people, and to it the bear is tied. This stake is ornamented with *inao* shavings and leaves of Arundinaria, and is called *Tushop-ni*, *i.e.* 'tree having the rope.'

As soon as all is secure the blunt arrows are shot with renewed vigour, and the beast tears and rages till it is quite tired out. Then comes the most exciting time and true test of valour. All at

once some brave young Ainu will rush forward and seize the brute by the ears and fur of the face, whilst another suddenly rushes out and seizes it by the hind quarters. These men both pull at the animal with all their might. This causes it to open its mouth. Another man then rushes forward with a round piece of wood about two feet long; this he thrusts into the bear's jaws. The poor beast in his rage bites hard at this, and holds it tight between its teeth. Next two men come forward, one on each side of the bear, and seize its fore-legs and pull them out as far as they can. Then two others will in a like manner catch hold of the two hind-legs. When all this has been done quite satisfactorily, the two long poles which were laid by the *nusa*, and which are called *Ok numba ni*, *i.e.* 'poles for strangling,' are brought forward. One is placed under its throat, and the other upon the nape of its neck.

TAKUSA.



TUSHOP-NI.

A good shot with the bow, who has been previously determined on by the men, now comes up and shoots the arrow into the beast's heart, and so ends its misery. Care has to be taken to so strike the

brute that no blood is shed, for, for some reason or other, it is considered unfortunate to allow any of the blood to fall upon the earth. Should it do so it must be quickly wiped up with some of the sacred *inao* shavings. I can so far get no reason why bloodshedding at this particular time should be tabooed, for the original idea underlying it appears to be now lost. It is true in some cases the blood is shortly afterwards taken by some of the most hardened of the men and drunk while warm; but this is said to be not by way of forming any blood alliance or blood covenant with the animal, but simply that the courage and other virtues it possessed may pass into them. Nor is the sacrifice in the smallest degree considered piacular, for sin and its pardon are not looked upon in the light we, who have had Christian teaching, view them.

As soon then as the bear has been shot in the heart it is carried to the two poles, which have been previously placed upon the ground for this purpose, and its head placed upon one of them, while the other is put over its neck. Now all the people shout and rush forward, every one eager to assist in squeezing the animal till life is quite extinct. It is said that they must be careful not to allow the poor beast to utter any cries during its death struggles, for this is thought to be very unlucky; why I cannot learn. People become so very excited at the time the cub is throttled that they sometimes trample upon one another in their eagerness to have a hand in the death. And so the poor brute is killed, and the first part of the act of sacrifice accomplished.

As soon as it is strangled to death the bear is skinned and its head cut off, the skin, however, being left attached to the head. This is taken to the east window and placed upon a mat called *inao-so*, and ornamented with *inao* shavings, carrings, beads, and other things; indeed, on one occasion I even saw one decorated with old sword hilts and a Japanese mirror. After having been placed here a piece of its own flesh is cut off and placed under the snout. This is called *Not-pok-omap*, *i.e.* 'that under the jaw.'

Sat-chep Shike.

Then a piece of dried fish and a moustache lifter, neatly made up into a parcel, is put before it, also some millet dumplings, a cup of its own meat boiled, and some *saké*. The dried fish is called *Sat-chep shike*, *i.e.* 'the bundle of dried fish.' The cup containing the boiled meat is called *marapto itangi*, *i.e.* 'the cup of the feast.' This having been done, a man worships, saying, 'O cub, we give you these *inao*, cakes, and dried fish; take them to your parents, and say, "I have been brought up for a long time by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept from all trouble and harm. As I am now grown big I am come to thee. I have also brought these *inao*, cakes, and dried fish. Please rejoice." If you say this to them they will be very glad.'

Another prayer ran thus: 'My dear cub, pray listen to me, I have cared for you a long time, and now present thee with *inao*, cakes, wine, and other

precious things. Do thou now ride upon the *inao*, and other good things herewith presented to thee, and go to thy father and mother. Go happily, and make them to rejoice. When you arrive call together multitudes of divine guests, and make a great feast. Do thou again come to this world that I, who reared thee, may meet with thee again, and once more bring thee up for sacrifice. I salute thee, my dear cub; depart in peace.'

IMOKA-SHIKE.

After this worship has been performed millet dumplings are threaded on sticks, and placed beside the head. These are said to be for the feast in the new world, for it would never do to appear before one's ancestors without a small present sufficient to provide viands for a meal. They are called *Imoka-shike, i.e.* 'remnants of the feast.' The men now all readjust or don their crowns, for they have been either laid on one side or knocked off during the teasing and slaying of the cub. This done, they have a good dance altogether.

The women put on a sort of head-dress, called *chipanup, i.e.* 'head tier,' in lieu of a crown.

It is utterly ridiculous to see these old greybeards dancing in a ring and apeing the young.

But they are happy, and as they know no better one cannot but good-naturedly smile at them. The dance over, they return to the hut, and make quantities of *inao*, which are carefully placed upon the bear's head. In the meantime some of the cub's flesh has been boiled. A cup of this is now taken, and set before the beast's snout, and he is said to be partaking of the *marapto itangi*, *i.e.* 'the cup of the feast.'

After a little time has elapsed the man who presides at the feast says, 'The little divinity has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us worship.' He then takes the cup, salutes it, and divides the contents—a very small portion to each—among all the assembled guests, for it seems to be absolutely essential that each person, young and old alike, should take a little. Besides being called 'the cup of the feast,' this cup is also named *ipuni itangi*, *i.e.* 'the cup of offering.' This name refers to the fact of its having been offered to the divinity just sacrificed.

After this cup has been partaken of, more *inao* are made, while the rest of the beast is stewing in the pots. The entrails are then cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw. This, like the drinking of the blood, is said to be for the purpose of obtaining the prowess and other virtues of the bear. I must mention, also, that some of the men besmear themselves and their clothes with blood. This is said to be for the purpose of rendering themselves successful in hunting. This beastly habit is called *Yai-isho-ushi*, *i.e.* 'besmearing oneself with good sport,' or 'successful hunting.'

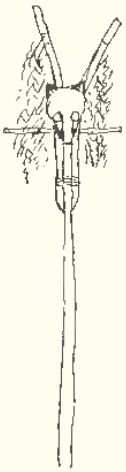
They treat themselves in the same way with the blood of other beasts and also birds when offered in sacrifice.

As soon as the flesh has been sufficiently cooked it is shared out among the people present, and every member of the company partakes of some, however little it may be. It is thus that he obtains communion with his dear little divinity, as he calls the victim; and this appears to me to be the special way in which he shows his social and religious fellowship with his totem god and the people. Not to partake of this feast and not to make *inao* would be tantamount to confessing oneself outside the pale of Ainu fellowship. Every particle of the bear, bones excepted, formerly had to be eaten up, even to the entrails, though this rule is now relaxed. The bones are kept by the host and hostess who have them stewed for their private use. After having formed the base for many meals the bones are placed inside the hut by the east window, where they remain for a long time, after which they are taken out and laid by the *nusa*. On asking an Ainu after a certain feast how it was that some of the bear's meat was allowed to be kept, he said that 'this used not to be so: but the Ainu are gradually becoming selfish and their customs are changing.'

The head of the bear is at last detached from the skin and taken to the *nusa* heap, where it is placed among the other skulls. A tall pole is here set up having a fork in the top, the prongs of which are ornamented with *inao*. This pole is

called *keomande-ni, i.e.* 'the pole for sending away.'

The particular tit-bits of the animal—especially of the bear—appear to be the fat and the whites of the eyes. These are mixed with the brains and boiled, and go by the name of *chitatap, i.e.* 'chopped up fine.' The hunter himself and a few of his special friends alone partake of this. The black part of the eyes are carefully wrapped up in *inao* shavings and placed by the *nusa*. It was remarked above that the bear's head is placed upon a long pole and set among the *nusa;* what skin and flesh should happen to have been clinging to it in time decays, so that there is nothing left but the bare white skull. The skulls so set up are not only worshipped at the time of the festival, but very often as long as they last. They are called *akoshiratki kamui, i.e.* 'divine preservers,' and, like the skulls of some birds also, are so supposed to be invested with life. I remember visiting a hut, the father of the present owner of which was said to be the bravest and most successful bear hunter in Ainu-land. Outside of this hut and by the *nusa* place I saw, incredible though it may appear, fully two hundred bears' skulls in all conditions of decomposition and preservation, piled up on a low platform of poles. Every one of the bears here represented had been killed, so it was said, by the members of



KEOMANDE-NI.

this family, and the men often used to go (and still do go sometimes) and squat before them, offer libations, address them as their 'divine preservers' and worship them.

B. Douglas Howard, who in the year 1892 travelled among the Ainu of Sagahlien, writes thus: 'My personal inquiries amongst almost every variety of heathen worshippers, including the most degraded types in India, in China, and also the devil worshippers in Ceylon, etc., have never yet secured from any of them the admission which would justify me in thinking that the red bedaubed stone or tree, or any image in front of which they worship, was supposed to contain *in esse* the god to which that worship was addressed.'*

If Mr. Howard intended to imply by these remarks that in his opinion the Ainu do not look upon the skulls of animals found among the *nusa* as containing *in esse* the god to whom the worship is addressed, I believe him to have been quite mistaken. The Ainu emphatically declare to me that they really do think that the spirits of the animals they worship reside in the skulls—and it is because they suppose the gods to be in these skulls *in esse* that they are addressed as 'divine preservers' and called 'precious divinities.' They actually address the spirits therein contained, offer them libations of *saké* or millet beer, and make their requests known to them. I have heard of this being done more than once.

* *Trans-Siberian Savages*, page 202.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Animal Cultus—*continued.*

(c) *About Various Animals.*

Myths of the origin of deer—The origin of squirrels—The mole and the origin of foxes and cats—Bewitching foxes—The origin of rats and cats—Cat and dog punishment—The mouse—The otter—The hare.

It has been shown elsewhere in this book that the Ainu imagine many living creatures now resident upon earth to have had their original home in Paradise. The deer is one of these animals, and the myths concerning it are very curious.

Those I have so far collected run as follows:—'In the beginning deer had their home in heaven. When they lived there they were not called deer at all, for they were God's hunting dogs. Their colour was not brown, as we now see it, but they were all white. They were called dog-deer (*seta-yuk*), and were used by the gods to hunt the hares. Among them were "buck-dogs," "doe-dogs," and "dogs" which had very fine antlers. When these animals went to the mountains to hunt, those with three-branch antlers and the young bucks were the fleetest of foot. The dogs which were the old bucks and does, being slow of foot, were never able to kill any game.'

How Deer descended from Paradise.

'The origin of deer upon this earth was as follows: The great God sent down from heaven a bag filled with the bones of deer and scattered them over the mountains. On reaching the ground they turned themselves into deer and increased very mightily among the mountains. These are the animals called *yuk*, *i.e.* "deer," by the Ainu, and they were sent that people might hunt and kill them for food. But in the beginning, when they had their home in heaven, they were called *seta*, *i.e.* "dogs." When they are killed their heads must be cut off and *inao* offered them, and they must then be placed among the *nusa*.'

Legend of a Deer Famine.

'It is said that once upon a time there was not so much as one deer left upon the earth. This being so, the Ainu met together and prayed to the God of heaven, saying: "O thou God who dwellest in the highest heavens; O thou mighty One who sentest down deer in the beginning; O God our ancestor, we are starving, please send us some deer. There are now none of these animals in all Ainu-land, and the people are about to die. All the dwellers in the earth have prayed much to Thee, but Thou hast not answered. O God, hear us, and send us venison."

'After the men had thus prayed, they looked towards heaven and gave two mighty shouts and again prayed fervently. This was because they were in such sore distress.'

The Origin of Squirrels.

We saw elsewhere that this people suppose some living creatures to have been produced by way of evolution. But it must not be imagined that they think evolution to have always taken a downward course, for the following myth relating to the origin of squirrels shows an upward development, for in it we see how animal life was produced out of vegetable. The bark of vines, in fact, is said to have produced squirrels. We can only account for this idea by bearing in mind that people like the Ainu imagine lifeless objects to be animated each by an independent individual and spiritual personality like themselves, and to be endowed with mind and will all more or less energetic, and in every case complete in their particular sphere.

The Yezo Ainu are acquainted with four kinds of squirrel. In the first place there is the beautifully striped ground squirrel, which they call *Ruop*, *i.e.* 'the creature bearing stripes.' Then there is the flying squirrel, called *at*, *i.e.* 'prolific.' Next follows the ordinary squirrel, which is of a bright red colour, and which they call *kashi ikirikush*, *i.e.* 'to cross overhead;' and lastly there is one known as *tusuninge*, which has a dark brown colour. It is with the last-mentioned that the following myth has to do.

Legend of the Origin of Squirrels.

'In very ancient times, when the divine Aioina lived upon the earth and mixed with men, he shod himself with sandals made of grape vines. The squirrel is in reality one of these sandals and nothing more. The way in which the change was

effected was as follows. One day when Aioina was on a journey his sandals gave out through much wearing, and as it was impossible for him to use them any longer he took them off and threw them away. But as they had belonged to and had been worn by so great a person as Aioina the divine, it was not possible for them to rot and come to nothing. They, precious things that they were, therefore turned themselves into squirrels. This is the reason why these animals are so like sandals in shape, being long and narrow. There are indeed some people who call squirrels divine, keep their skulls as charms, offer them libations, and worship them. However, it should be kept in mind that this is wrong, for these animals are not gods at all; they are just sandals transformed. Moreover, let it not be forgotten that they are very dangerous witches. They may often be seen amongst the mountains for they are very numerous.

'If a person discovers one sitting on the branch of a tree he must be careful not to pass beneath it, for should he heedlessly walk under the wretched animal it will spit upon him, and this is very dangerous bewitchery. Squirrels always bewitch people in this way if they can. Should it happen that any one has the misfortune to be thus bewitched, he will very quickly sicken and die, for there is no remedy. Many who are ignorant of the matter actually pass under the trees in which squirrels are sitting, and even go so far as to stand and look at them. But those who are learned on this subject always carefully avoid them, and should they happen to have their bows and arrows at

hand, shoot till they kill them. Besides this, those who know that squirrels were nothing but sandals to begin with, throw the skins and skulls away without any pretence of worship or ceremony, and it is only those who know no better who actually worship. Nay, some of the ignorant even go so far as to offer them precious *inao*.'

The Mole, Foxes and Cats.

We saw in another place that bears are supposed to have come out of sparks produced by rubbing pieces of silver birch together. The remarkable myth now to be noted tells us that foxes and cats found their origin in the ashes of a dreadful demon.

'In very ancient times,' so runs the story, 'there lived a certain deity upon this earth who was called mole. He was not originally made here, but was sent down from heaven in the beginning.

'Now, very very far away, right at the other end of the world, there lives a great and awful demon, who is called by the name of Moshiri-shinnaisam. He was not created, but existed long before this world was brought into being. He had no beginning, and has always been so evil-disposed that when God made the world He could not allow him to live in any place where men dwelt. This is why he is banished and made to live so far away.

'Once upon a time Moshiri-shinnaisam determined to have a contest with the mole, and so came out of his haunts and paid him a visit. On

entering his house he sat down with a heavy thud and said: "I hear it rumoured that you consider yourself a great and mighty deity. If this be really so, let us measure our strength in a contest, and see which is the stronger, you or I." The mole readily consented, well knowing that an evil demon was no match for a good god.

'No sooner had the mole agreed to this request than the demon jumped up without any warning, seized him, knocked him down, and, casting him in the fire upon the hearth, burned him clean up, as he supposed. He was pleased beyond measure when he saw what he had done, and prided himself in a most boastful manner on his easy victory and great power. After taking a little rest he got up with the intention of returning to his own home and country. But, lo! a remarkable thing occurred. As he was going out of the mole's house, the owner, whom he thought he had killed, met him at the door very much alive and perfectly well. The demon was immensely taken aback at this and felt a little afraid. But before he could place himself in an attitude of defence, the mole seized him and in his turn violently knocked him down upon the hearth. He then rolled him over and over into the very heart of the fire and burned him up. Moshiri-shinnaisam strove hard to retain his spirit alive and go off with it intact, but the mole was too much for him. He tried turning himself into smoke, and thus ascended upwards that he might escape out of the roof; but even this was of no avail, for the mole, divining his intention, blew

hard at him so that he at last fell again and again into the fire till he was burned quite up amid much pain and suffering. The ashes alone remained.

'But although his remains looked just ordinary ashes, some black, some red, and others whitish, yet being the remains of a demon, they could not have the life taken out of them. That was impossible. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is we know that foxes and cats are close relations, being of the same family.

'Hence it is a fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures, for as they owe their origin to a demon they partake of his demoniacal nature.'

As among the Japanese, so also among the Ainu, the fox, being famous for his cunning, is accredited with supernatural powers. He is not only said to be able to change his body into another form when it suits his purpose, but it is reported that he is able to bewitch people, thereby making them ill, driving them mad, or even causing them to die.

I was on a certain occasion out with an Ainu trying to shoot my dinner, and as we were going along we chanced upon the footprints of a fox in the snow, and I asked the Ainu whether we should go for it first and get its skin, and then seek for food. He said 'No' very decidedly, not if I desired to get a hare or some ducks. Upon asking him what that had to do with it, he said that if we killed the fox first we should certainly

get nothing else that day, for the spirit of the fox would, if we killed the body, travel round and let all the other animals and birds know that we were coming. I therefore had respect for his feelings and went after a hare instead. In a conversation with this man afterwards he told me that all hunters in ancient times, if, when they went hunting, killed a fox first, always tightly tied up its mouth, to prevent the spirit from going to warn others, and I find that many do this even at the present day.

There is one kind of fox which goes by the name of *ikatkaru chironnup*, and this means 'bewitching foxes.' The following myth tells how the people account for the origin of these creatures :—

'There are two kind of foxes which came out of the ashes of the demon Moshiri-shinnaisam, the one evil and the other good. All Ainu worship the skulls of some of these animals, and keep them as fetiches or charms, but it is only those of the good and not the bad ones which are kept and worshipped.

'The best kind of fox is of a dark colour, and goes by the name of *shitumbe kamui*, *i.e.* "light divinity." It is his skull which is prayed to, because when so treated its former possessor is pleased and is certain to come to the worshipper's assistance. The red-coloured, thin-haired foxes are very demons, and it is this kind which changes its form so as to possess and bewitch the people. They are called *sak-kimunbe*, *i.e.* "creatures which lie in the mountains during the summer," and they are

so named because they stay in their holes during the winter months, and only appear in the warm summer weather, for they cannot endure the cold. They have the horrid habit of exhuming human corpses and feeding upon them, and they always when about keep a sharp look out for such prey. The skulls of such foxes should neither be worshipped nor kept as charms, for these animals are worthy of nothing but execration. Foxes of this kind are called *ikatkara chironnup*, *i.e.* "bewitching foxes," and should be avoided.'

It should be noticed in the foregoing myth that the skulls of some foxes are said to be worshipped and kept as charms by the people. This is perfectly true, and I have seen scores of these unsightly objects in the Ainu huts ornamented with fetich shavings. Only the other day I saw a tray containing no less than a dozen fox and mole skulls mixed up together, and placed before an old man who was in a dying condition. They were put there as fetiches, and asked to drive the malady away and restore the patient to health and strength.

Origin of Rats and Cats.

It must not be supposed that all Ainu imagine the account of the origin of cats from the ashes of a demon to be the true one. The following fable, told me by Penri after his hair had one night been severely pulled by a rat, is another version of the matter, and I now propose to repeat what I wrote on the subject at the time, only

adding that when the incident took place he got up from his bed and came over to accuse me of playing some trick upon him, whereupon I also got up and went to sit with him at the fireside to talk the matter over. After a long discussion the old man gave me the following myth:—

'After the Creator had finished making the world he came down from heaven to see how all things looked. As He was viewing His works the evil one appeared and derided him, saying, "Doubtless you think you have done a very good action, and have made all things for the best. But look at this bramble bush and thistle, what can be the use of such things as these?" God, being angry at these remarks, put his hand behind his back, and secretly made a rat. As soon as he had created it he turned it loose, when it rushed suddenly into the evil one's mouth and bit his tongue out, thus leaving him minus that unruly member. Hence the devil has no tongue, for it never grew again. He was so angry at being so treated that, in order to retaliate, he caused rats to increase so mightily on the earth that they soon became a nuisance and plague to men. For this reason the Ainu one day met together and called upon God to remedy the evil; for unless he did so men would no longer be able to exist in the world. God, who is ever willing to help human beings, heard the prayer, and, in order to keep the rats under, created cats. "Let us, therefore," said the old man, "bear with rats a little, for they did a good thing in biting out the tongue of the evil one." Moreover, do not speak against anything

God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for so doing.'

It has been mentioned elsewhere that according to Ainu ideas the spirit of one genius may possess the body properly belonging to the spirit of another. This possession constitutes what we might designate bewitching by the lower animals. The natural spirit of the person bewitched is not indeed taken away or destroyed, but for the time being has been superseded, and is used as the foundation for the alien spirit to work upon. Thus the spirit of any animal may, as a punishment, and should there be an adequate cause, bewitch any person. And the person so bewitched will exhibit in his actions and speech the characteristics of the animal bewitching him. If a bear bewitches a person, he will growl like a bear; if a cat, he will mew; if a dog, he will bark.

I have heard the belief in this doctrine used as a means by which to prevent cruelty to animals. The special case I now have in mind is that in which a person was cruel to a dog, and was only prevented from killing it through another telling him that unless he was careful there would be the *seta-pagout* in store for him. That is to say, he would be bewitched by the dog, would bark, pine away and finally die. The proper cure for a person bewitched is to eat a portion of the flesh of the kind of animal bewitching him, or, should this fail, he must be exorcised.

In accordance with the foregoing belief, we find there is also an idea among the people that deceased cats have power to bewitch people. The spirits of

cats which have been killed, it is said, are especially addicted to this kind of thing, as has been shown in Chapter XXVIII. But should a person kill a cat, he may generally prevent himself being bewitched by it by eating part of it. Or should a person be bewitched by any disembodied cat, he may secure himself by killing any other cat and eating it. The good effects of this are undoubted. The way cats generally bewitch people is to enter their bodies and cause them to imitate the gestures of a cat, to gradually waste away, and in the end to die a painful death while mewing like a cat. The name of this is called *Meko-pagot*, 'cat punishment.'

The Mouse.

There is a place near Muroran called *Erum kotan*, *i.e.* 'rat village.' The lore given below concerning this village was not obtained from an inhabitant of the place, but from a man who lives at least sixty miles away. The people of the place itself do not consider their home to be so named because it was the original birthplace and home of rats and mice, but because their hamlet is built upon a point of land jutting out into the sea and somewhat resembling a rat or mouse in shape. And this the writer quite believes to be the true version of the matter. However, as it is sometimes well to hear what others have to say about the locality in which their neighbours dwell, we will allow a stranger to have his say about the 'place of rats.'

The Mouse.

The Legend.

'God made the mouse upon this earth. The first of the race were made at the place called *Erum kotan, i.e.* "rat place." And so it happens there are a great number of rats and mice even now in that vicinity. The inhabitants of that village are mouse worshippers. Rats are exceedingly numerous, and are called by various names. The largest is called *Toi-erum, i.e.* "the great" or "bad rat"; the next is named *Yuk-erum, i.e.*, "the deer rat"; the next is called *Niukui, i.e.*, "tree barker." All the rats are of one family, but the chief of them all is the mouse. If, therefore, people worship and offer libations to mice, all the rat tribe is thereby honoured, and they show their appreciation by allowing the gardens to flourish, in not destroying the crops through nibbling at the roots and fruit.

'As *Erum kotan* is the chief seat of the rats, no boat may carry a cat when passing along its shores. If a cat were to be carried, the rats would get angry, and cause the boat to be wrecked. Boats therefore do not carry cats when passing this village.

'If people speak evil of rats or mice, these creatures become angry and eat up the garden produce; but if they make *inao*, offer it to them and worship them, they will not harm the gardens. It is in great measure because the people have ceased to worship mice that rats now work so much havoc and destruction in the gardens every year.'

The Otter.

The otter does not appear to be thought very highly of as a deity. This appears to be on account of a curse pronounced against him at a time when man was created, as was shown in Chapter I. There are, however, various other peculiar matters connected with this animal deserving of notice, and the first to be mentioned is his connection with the fox.

Legend of the Otter and the Fox.

'The river otter was sent down by the Creator in order to make clothing for the foxes. He was told to clothe them in red, but the otter had such a bad memory that, before he could accomplish his task, he quite forgot what colour it should have been, and so made their skins white. Hence foxes were, when first discovered by the Ainu, of a white colour, and not red as now seen. The fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of forgetfulness, and upbraided the otter for his carelessness and neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit Reynard's tastes. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, the otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then invited the fox to lie down, and, after mashing the fish-roe into a liquid, proceeded to rub it over its skin, and in that way changed its colour from white to red. Hence it is that foxes are now red, and not white as formerly. The fox was very much pleased with the change, and, in order to return the compliment for this good act, procured

some bark of the *shikerebe-ni* (*Phellodendron amurense*), boiled it, and dyed the otter's skin with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown colour we now find it to be.'

Another legend, speaking of the forgetfulness of this creature, is as follows :—

'The otter is a most curious and wasteful creature, and can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he drags it to shore, and takes one mouthful out of the back, near the head, and leaves all the remainder of the fish. No sooner does he take a bite than he forgets all about it, throws the fish away, and sets out to catch another meal. He very seldom returns to finish what he has previously caught. He forgets all about it. This is the reason why a person with a bad memory is called "otter head."'

With regard to this piece of folk-lore, I will draw the reader's attention to three facts, namely :—

(1) At the present day the words 'otter head' are much used among the Ainu. Our servants often call themselves and one another by that name when they forget anything. In fact, it was this in the first place which caused me to inquire into the matter.

(2) The Ainu use the words, 'to be seized upon,' or, 'to be possessed by the otter.' It is the belief of the people that otters, like other animals, have power to possess persons. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. In short, a very forgetful person is always said to be 'possessed by an otter.' In this way, then, do the Ainu account for the psychological fact of forgetfulness.

(3) When the Ainu find fish which they suppose

has been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of the flesh of the 'otter,' special prayers are said to the goddess of fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of the evil-disposed otters.

Not only so, but while eating, both men and women, old and young alike, tie a *tara*, *i.e.* 'a sling used in carrying bundles,' round their heads. This sling is said to keep the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which the Ainu suppose to be the seat of memory.

Should a person neglect to wear a *tara* while partaking of otter's flesh or fish caught by otters, he will pay the penalty of being possessed by one of these creatures, and the next time he goes to the mountains to work he is certain to forget a knife, or an axe, or a hoe, or some other tool.

Some people say that it is particularly dangerous to eat the head of the otter, for in so doing he renders himself liable to be cursed by having his memory taken away. The following legend makes this clear.

'The otter's head must not lightly be used as an article of food, for unless people are very careful they will, if they eat it, become as forgetful as that creature. And hence it happens that when an otter has been killed the people do not usually eat the head. But if they are seized with a very strong desire for a feast of otter's head, they may partake thereof, providing proper precautions are taken. When eating it the people must take their swords, knives, axes, bows and arrows, tobacco-boxes and

pipes, trays, cups, garden tools, and everything they possess, tie them up in bundles with carrying slings, and sit with them attached to their heads while in the act of eating. This feast may be partaken of in this way, and no other. If this method be carefully adhered to, there will be no danger of forgetting where a thing has been placed, otherwise loss of memory will be the result.'

There is yet another legend of the otter, and that represents him going on a fishing expedition, and forgetting that he was armed with a sword. It runs thus:—

'The otter forgets very much and very quickly: his memory cannot be trusted at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time, and worked very hard, at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale which he attacked most furiously. He pounced upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter, but glanced off the top however hard he bit. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got tired for his pains. Thereupon the Ainu, who were standing upon the seashore, roared with laughter and jeered him, saying: "O thou divine one, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. He therefore drew it, and then very soon killed the whale. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for forgetfulness.'

There is, however, strange as it may seem, one part of the otter which is supposed to be of great value, and that is the dried heart; if the reader will refer to page 305, he will see in what way, for an account of the matter is given there.

The Hare.

The Ainu inform us that the hares we now see in this world formerly had their homes in Paradise. They were not animals when there, however, but just the hair of the skins of God's deer. How they came to this world in the form of hares is made known to us in the folk-lore now to be given.

The Legend.

'In the beginning hares had their home in Paradise, but when they lived there they were not called hares, but deer.

'They were the gods' own deer, and they used to kill and eat them, for when there they were very choice eating indeed.

'Now those animals which in this world men call deer used also to dwell in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods used to hunt the *isepo-yuk*, *i.e.* "hare deer." The fleetest of those dogs which used to go to the mountains to hunt the "hare deer" were the two and three year old bucks. But the old bucks and does were slow of foot, and so unable to kill any.'

The Origin of Hares.

How Hares descended from Paradise.

The history of the origin of hares in this world is as follows:—

'The divine Aioina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He then plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached the earth they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are so lean and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skins of animals, however nice eating the animals themselves may be. Still, in Paradise they are very fat, for they are not hares there but deer.'

Hares are not looked upon with favour by the people for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow anywhere near a hut, they must, in order to prevent evil, be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down.

Another Legend of a Hare.

'The hare is an animal of ill omen, and has the power of working evil spells upon people. The spells are worked in this way. During the winter months they will sometimes visit the Ainu huts, and if the owner should be away they take up their abode there. But should they enter while the owners are at home, they would all

sicken and die. It is in order to bewitch people that they pay these visits. Should a person see the track of a hare near the hut in the snow, he should take a water-ladle, carefully scoop it up, and then turn it upside down. While doing this he should say: "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turned his track upside down; I hereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this hut, they will not now be ill. Let the hare himself sicken and die, but do not let the people be affected by him." The track must be turned upside down while this speech is being made. After this the man should enter the hut and worship the goddess of fire. If this is done all may rest in security.'

Hares are also supposed to possess the evil eye, for it is thought that they bewitch people by looking at them. Being of such mean origin, they are ordered by God not to presume to look at human beings, but when near them to carefully divert their eyes and look in another direction.

A further Legend of the Hare.

'Hares sometimes bewitch people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. Inasmuch as these animals are nothing more than the skins of the heavenly "hare-deer" (*isepo-yuk*), they are very mean creatures.

'God therefore commanded them not to presume to look men straight in the face, but to be reverent and treat them with due respect.

'Thus it is that hares, when they see people, look at them either sideways or from behind. Those that look straight at a person only do so for the purpose of casting a spell on him. This is bewitchery. Should one catch a hare doing this he should pray very long and earnestly.'

Hare's flesh is always carefully measured with a water-ladle before being cooked. If there are exactly six measures, no more hares may be killed; but if there are less, another may be caught. This leaves an opening for roguery.

Another Legend.

'When a hare has been killed the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured with a water-ladle, each ladleful counted, and put into a saucepan. Should there be six measures all is well; but if there should be less than six, another must be killed so as to get the correct number. Indeed, one must go on killing hares till he gets one which will exactly fill the ladle six times.'

The Ainu who told me this said that the people were careful not to allow the flesh to fill the measure six times; they always made it a little less, so as to have the right of killing another.

'When a hare has been killed his head should be cut off and *inao* given it. Prayers should also be made to it as follows:—

'"We have now slain thee, O hare, and therefore present thee with this *inao*. We will cook thee, and the people shall eat thy carcase. I am now about to

measure thy flesh with this water-ladle ; should there be six ladles' full my friends will all be able to partake of thee, but should there be less some will go away hungry; I shall then be obliged to slay another of your kind." After this has been said the man measures the flesh, and so heaps it up that there shall not be six full ladles. This being so, he will have liberty to hunt others.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

Fishing.

The salmon—Salmon fishing—Mud-trout and pike-fishing—Origin of the mud-trout—Origin of eels—Yoshitsune and Benkei fishing—The sword-fish.

THE general name among the Ainu for fish is *chep*, called also by some *chi-ep*, especially when using emphatic, legendary, or polite language. *Chi-ep*, of which *chep* is a contraction, means 'food,' and this fact goes towards showing that the Ainu were originally a fish-eating people, or perhaps one should say that fish was the staff of life among them.

Among fresh-water fish the salmon and salmon-trout hold the highest place. This is what one would expect, inasmuch as these are the largest and most useful fishes to enter the rivers. The true salmon is called *shibe*, and this word means either 'the great thing' or 'the chief food.' It is also known as *kamui chep* besides, and that means 'divine food,' or 'divine fish,' and it is reported to have originally come down from Paradise.

Salmon fishing is a very favourite pursuit among the people during the season, and some of them are very clever at spearing them, for they commence to use the fish-spear very early in life. I knew a lad only twelve years of age who sometimes would start off to the river at daybreak and

return by eight o'clock with six or eight fine fish. The spear used for this purpose is called a *marek*, and the illlustration is that of one I had formerly in my collection. The pole to which the hook is attached is about eight feet long, and the *marek* itself is about eighteen inches in length. The hook (1) is of Japanese manufacture, and is so fixed that when a fish is struck it enters the flesh, and is drawn over in such a way as to keep the fish between it and the end of the pole (2); and so it happens that the more the fish struggles to get free the more thoroughly the hook transfixes it. The string (3) at the back is made in this instance of sea-lions' skin.

A Marek, or Salmon Spear.

When using this instrument the people usually stand along the banks of the rivers (sometimes up to their knees in water), and when they see a salmon coming along cast their spears at it. At times, however, they fish from their boats. About the middle of November, or the beginning of December, they fish by torchlight, one person holding the lighted torch over the river's bank to attract the fish while another strikes the unsuspecting creature with his spear.

Nets made of hemp and mugwort fibre used formerly to be used; but when I first came among them these were only used at night, not by preference, so it was told me, but for fear of the

Japanese authorities, who had forbidden nets to be used.

The men formerly made a kind of fish-trap they called *urai*, but they are no longer allowed to do so. These traps were generally placed across the rivers near to the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of willow wicker-work. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. They were made in the shape of an arrow head, and always pointed down stream. At the end or point of the arrow head a doorway was made, and a kind of square net which was made to slip up and down at will was fitted into it, whilst over the top was a platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, whilst the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river.

As soon as a fish was seen to enter the net, the person upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps are still baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry. There is a very curious thing, however, connected with killing the salmon well worth telling here. It is this:—When the Ainu go salmon fishing they always provide a thick willow stick about two feet long with which to strike the salmon's head and kill it. This stick is called *Isapa-kik-ni*, 'the head-striking wood.'

The Ainu say that the salmon do not like

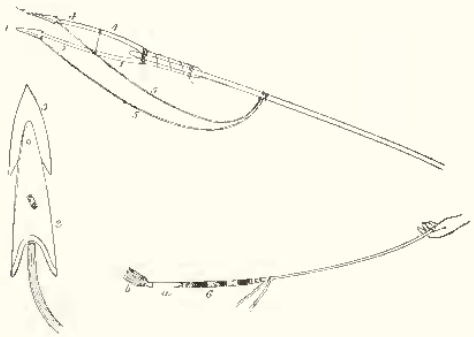
being killed with a stone or any wood other than good sound willow, but they are very fond of being killed with a willow stick. Indeed, they are said to hold the *isapa-kik-ni* in great esteem. If anything else is used the fish will go away in disgust.

An Ainu once talking to me on the subject of salmon, said: 'Some of the smaller salmon are called *inao-kot-chep*, *i.e.* "the fish which have *inao* (given them)." There is another kind named *kamui koitukka chep*, which are very precious indeed, for their heads are great charms. These have short snouts and their heads are fashioned something in the shape of a cup. When such fish are killed they must be placed on a tray, set before the fire and worshipped. The head must then be cut off and *inao* offered to it, after which the body may be cooked and eaten. The stick also with which salmon have been killed should also be worshipped and *inao* offered it.'

My informant, continuing, said: 'There are also many kinds of witch fish. Some of these have eyes red and bright like the *Adonis amurensis*. These, however, are not really fish, but mermaids changed into fish. Others have lumps like boils upon their bodies. These are called *Tenki sei chep*, and that means small-pox fish. These are dreadful creatures, and if eaten will cause small-pox. Others are rotten inside, and whoever eats these will quickly die of stomach disease.'

Mud trout and large pike are caught with a spear called *chinininiap* or *apininiap*. The handle of this instrument is about eight or nine feet long,

and when fitted up ready for use it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from the figure (1) this spear has two heads to it, which are fastened to the pole by means of a string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is



A Spear used to catch Trout.

secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear heads and back part of the shaft. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*) two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this decoy.

Harpoons used in catching sharks, sea-lions, and sword-fish are like those shown at (2) above.

Many of the Ainu believe that the mud trout was made out of a snake's scale, and the grebe again out of the cleanings of a trout. And they further hold that being thus related to the mud trout the river grebes love to associate with them so much that they only frequent places where these fish are to be found, and when they desire to catch them accordingly, first consider where the grebes were last seen, or travel along the rivers till they come upon some of these birds. The following legend informs us of these things.

Legend of the Grebe and Mud Trout.

'The fish called *Chirai, i.e.* "mud trout," was made out of a scale of a snake, so that both gods and men were formerly afraid to eat. After a time the divine Aioina came and, killing one of them, said, "How is it that such good fish as these are not eaten by the people?" He then cut it in two and threw the cleanings away. But these turned themselves into grebes as they left his hands. As the grebe is therefore made out of the *chirai*, 'mud trout,' it is named *chirai-ma chiri, i.e.* 'mud trout swimming bird.' After this Aioina cooked the trout, ate it, and pronounced it very good: since that time both gods and men have used it as an article of diet. Again, in the spring time, when the cry of the grebe is heard, the people go down to the river and catch trout, for this bird never cries unless there are some of these fish near at hand.'

The Ainu have a great aversion to eels, and will not touch them if they can possibly help it. This is

said to be because they so closely resemble snakes. The folk-lore concerning them is as follows: 'In ancient times, when the divine Aioina was upon the earth, fish were so numerous in the rivers that the Ainu used to catch plenty to live upon, but the bears also came to the rivers and killed them so fast that they became scarce, so that the people were likely to starve. The men were very angry at this and accused the bear before Aioina. Upon hearing the trouble Aioina smiled and said: "Fish were made by God and placed in the rivers at the beginning for men and animals to eat: what then shall be done to help you and keep the bears from quite destroying the salmon? I will attend to the matter."

'Aioina then went out of his hut and took some stems of *Funkai* grass, twisted them in his hands, and made eels of them. When the bears next came to catch the fish they saw the eels creeping about and ran away in fear. And so the Ainu were afterwards able to catch more salmon.'

There is an Ainu fishing tradition concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, which contains some matters of interest. It runs thus: 'Okikurumi (*i.e.* Yoshitsune) and Samai (*i.e.* Benkei, Yoshitsune's henchman) came to harpoon the sword-fish. And we waited for them at the fishing place.'

(The Ainu interpret this by saying that the ancients took their boats and went to the point where the fishing was to commence. Their motive was to see beforehand where the best fish might be caught, and to return more successful than their Japanese friends.)

'When they came they effectually harpooned a large fish.' (Yoshitsune caught a fish; but the Ainu, through wishing to parade their skill, caught nothing.)

'From this point the fish went from one end of the sea to the other taking the boat with it. Now Samai collapsed for want of strength.'

(Upon harpooning the fish, the boat being fastened to the end of the harpoon line was dragged out to sea, and Benkei was either drawn overboard with the line or was killed in some other way.)

'Upon this Okikurumi put forth all his strength, and wrought with the grunt of a young man' (*i.e.* he worked very hard).

'Then there arose upon the palms of his hands two blood-stained blisters. And with temper depicted upon his countenance he said:—

'"O you bad sword-fish. As you are doing this I will cut the harpoon line.

'"And because upon the harpoon's head there is metal, you shall greatly suffer from the noise of striking iron and grinding bones in your stomach.

'"Because the line is made of hemp, a plain of hemp shall grow out of thee:

'"Because the rope is made of linden bark, a forest of linden trees shall grow from thy back.

'"And when you die you shall be cast into the mouth of the Shi-shiri-muka river, and crows and many kinds of dogs shall congregate upon thee and defile thee."

'Thus Yoshitsune cursed the poor fish.

'Now, though the sword-fish said that it understood and thought it was Ainu that was spoken, yet

it secretly laughed and went its way. But before it had gone far mighty pains seized it, and in its stomach was heard the sound of striking iron and of grinding bones.

'And plains of hemp and forests of *nipesh*, "linden," and *shiuri*, "bird cherry," sprouted forth from its body, and it was cast ashore in a dying state. Then the dogs and crows congregated upon it and defiled it.

'Upon this Okikurumi came down from the mountains, and said: "O you bad sword-fish, it is by your fault and for your own doings that you are thus punished. Your lower jaw shall be used in the outhouse, and your upper one shall be sunk with a stone, and you must die a very hard and painful death." Do not treat this Ainu tale of the sword-fish slightingly.

'Thus did Yoshitsune's curse take effect.'

It was shown in previous chapters that the spirits of birds and beasts are worshipped when they are sacrificed or 'sent away' by being killed, and invited to return and afford another feast later on. The same sort of thing takes place after catching some kinds of fish, such as the salmon above mentioned, and the sword-fish now to be treated of. There is not indeed the killing to be done on shore, for that was accomplished by the harpoon at sea, but there is the feast to provide and the spirit of the dead fish to be asked to return on some future occasion for the benefit of the people. In explaining this matter I will give another of my own experiences.

On one occasion I had intended to lecture and

exhibit a magic lantern in a certain Ainu village. The chief of the village in question happened to be travelling by the same route as I, and it was arranged as we went along that the meeting should take place in his hut. Upon arriving at the village —*shiraoi*, in fact—and disposing of our paraphernalia, we went to visit the people and make preparations for our meeting. We found, however, that it would be impossible to have a gathering that evening, because a large number of the men were at sea spearing sword-fish, while the women and children were busy keeping up beacon fires along the shore and waiting to assist their husbands and fathers to land when they returned. We were therefore obliged to put off our meeting till the next evening.

On looking about us we soon discovered that many of the Ainu had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way and ornament their boats with *inao*. The process is as follows:—The boat is drawn a good way inland, well out of the way of the tide; the bow being placed facing the sea ready for relaunching when required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow and the other at the stern. A long pole which the Ainu use to assist in pushing the boat along when in shallow water is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to

stern of the boat, as shown in the accompanying illustration.

The fish-spear and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. After this

Boat of successful Fishermen.

has been done, Japanese alcohol, sold in bottles, is procured (or was indeed in this case), one bottle for each oar. In the meantime the head of the sword-fish has been cut off and stuck into the sand by the snout for worship, and also as an offering to the sea-god, though after being offered and worshipped it was divided up and eaten.

After the alcohol has been procured, the indispensable *inao* are made and stuck in the ends of the

Sword-fish's Head Set up for Worship.

boat and upon the sea-shore, and prayers are said to the sea-god and also to the spirit of the slain sword-fish; the sea-god is thanked for the assistance he has given in catching the fish, and the fish is thanked for having been caught, and is asked to

come again. Libations of this dreadful alcohol are also freely partaken of till it is all gone, and the result is drunkenness, of course, and in many cases blind, dead drunkenness. When the bottles are emptied they are turned bottom upwards and stuck on the rowlock pins of the boat, one bottle on each pin.

After inspecting the boats we returned to our inn, fully expecting to hold our meeting the next day. But we were doomed to disappointment once again. On inquiring about the matter in the morning we found the whole village under a cloud. Three men, it was said, were out trying to catch a sword-fish, when all at once a great sea-monster, with large staring eyes, appeared in front of them and proceeded to attack the boat. A desperate fight ensued. The monster was round in shape, and emitted a dark fluid which had a very powerful and noxious odour.* The three men fled in dismay, not so much indeed for fear, they say, but on account of the dreadful smell. However that may have been, they were so scared that the next morning all three refused to get up and eat; they were lying in their beds pale and trembling.

Such a dreadful thing having happened it was utterly hopeless to think of doing anything in the way of lecturing that day. The chief himself told me that he was holding a grand consultation with his men that very day at noon to consider the matter. Prayers would have to be said, the

* The men say it was a devil; and I am inclined to think from the description that it was really a 'devil-fish' or octopus.

mystery solved, *inao* made, libations of wine drunk, the good god of the sea worshipped and asked to drive the demon away, and a certain very particular ceremony performed, in order to make it safe to proceed with the fishing.

I had seen this kind of thing before, and knew what such a ceremony meant. It meant a beastly drinking carouse; I therefore packed up my traps and left.

CHAPTER XLV.

Fish Cultus.

(A) *Gods of the Sea and Rivers.*

General remarks—The whale—The tortoise—The albatross—*Kaipe-chupka-un-guru*—*Mo-acha* and *Shi-acha*—*Chiwash ekot-mat*—Gods of the rivers—*Wakka-ush kamui*—God of the source of rivers—Goddess of water-ways—The river crayfish—A water insect.

ONE would naturally expect to find that just as the Ainu have their animal, bird, tree, and other totems, so also they hold certain fish and marine animals in the same regard. And truly there are grounds for believing this to be the case. The description given of worship paid to the sword-fish in the last chapter is a clear indication of this fact, and it is very pertinent to remark that, to the writer's certain knowledge, salmon also are in some cases worshipped. Whales, sea-tortoises, and sea-lions also, among other inhabitants of the ocean, have divine honours paid them; and this is undoubtedly all owing to the ideas underlying the totem superstition.

That the Ainu fishermen are a superstitious race it is almost superfluous to remark. And it being the object of this chapter to illustrate their ideas regarding 'fish cultus,' some of these superstitions will, of course, be brought to light. When these people speak of the gods and demons of the

sea they generally mean fish, and it is of these that I now propose to treat.

So far as I can learn the principal gods of the sea are as follows:—

Repun-riri-kata inao uk kamui, i.e. 'the god upon the waves of the sea who receives *inao*.' This is the very greatest and most highly esteemed of all the gods of the sea, and to him every other owes allegiance, and is necessarily subject. Whenever he allows himself to be seen by man, it is always in the bodily form of the largest of large whales. As he is said to be well disposed towards mankind, he is very frequently worshipped by those Ainu who dwell upon the sea-coast. *Inao* are often presented to him by the fishermen, especially during the fishing season, and much *saké* is offered to and drunk for him. While the young men are away in their boats pursuing their occupations, the old men may often be seen sitting by the seaside making *inao*, and praying to this god for fair weather and a large catch of fish. Should the petitions of their prayers be granted thanks are devoutly given, and much *saké* drunk in honour of him and in praise for his goodness. This god is said to have two special servants, who are supposed to act as messengers or angels between himself and mankind. The first of these is called *Rep-un-koutukai*, 'the servant in the sea.' He always appears in the form of a tortoise, and is frequently worshipped. *Inao* are also made for him, and much *saké* drunk in his honour, for he is said to be a very important personage in the economy of Providence. He listens to and takes the prayers of the Ainu to his

master, and brings back messages of blessing in return. When seen, he, as indeed is his master, is caught by the fishermen and eaten, but his head is dried, and kept in the hut for worship. Before going to fish, the men themselves, or one of their relatives who happens to possess one, take it from its resting-place, worship it, and offer it *inao*.

The other servant is the albatross, which is called by various names, such as *isho-kapiu*, *i.e.* 'sporting seagulls,' *onne-chikap*, *oshkambe* and *shikambe*. His presence is regarded by the fishermen as an omen for good, as has already been mentioned in Chapter XXVIII.

Like the tortoise, he also is supposed to pass with messages between the chief god of the sea and men, and when it is possible he is caught and his head taken, dried, and kept for worship. Prayers are often said both to the live bird and dried head, *inao* also are made for and *saké* drunk to it. This head is called *kamui marapto*, and its use has been fully described in the chapter on disease. The sea god who is supposed to be next in importance is called *Kaipe-chupka un guru*, 'the person who resides in the eastern surf.' His home is said to be far away beyond the middle of the sea and under the eastern skies. He is excellently well disposed towards human beings, and is therefore much worshipped by the people. Both *inao* and *saké* are offered for his acceptance. This god never appears to men; it is therefore not known what his bodily form is like, though it is supposed to represent a fish of some kind.

Ainu Canoe and Bridge.

Moreover, as he is not known to have any special messengers or servants to go between himself and men, he is supposed to be ubiquitous in some way or other, for it is said that he always hears prayer.

Next in order come two other creatures, one of whom is thought to be good, and the other evil. They are brothers, and their names are *Shi-acha* the elder, and *Mo-acha* the younger *Shi-acha* means 'the rough' or 'wild uncle,' as he is supposed to be of a very evil disposition, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother *Mo-acha*. *Mo-cha* means 'uncle of peace.' This one, being of a benevolent character and of a quiet, kindly disposition, does all he can to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race. He comes and settles down by the sea-side, and brings still, quiet winds and good weather with him. Then it is that the Ainu fishermen launch their boats and go fishing. But *Shi-acha*, the wild and malignant elder brother, ever ready and anxious to do all the harm he can, comes and chases his peaceable brother away, and brings bad weather, so that the Ainu are obliged to haul in their boats and lines, and to go home without any fish. *Shi-acha* is supposed to be the originator of all storms and shipwrecks, and hence the *nusa* which are placed upon the sea-shore are not presented to him, but to the peaceable and good god. Such is the version of some Ainu. By others, however, the names *Shi-acha* and *Mo-acha* represent one and the same god, who is supposed to be very good to men. He also goes by the names of *Mo-acha-hunge guru* and *Shi-acha-hunge guru*, *i.e.*

'the bringer in of the uncle of peace' and 'the bringer in of the wild uncle.' In bodily shape he is said to be very like a whale. A legend concerning him, showing why he is worshipped and *sake* and *inao* offered to him, is as follows:—

'Once upon a time two Ainu were out at sea fishing, when they were suddenly overtaken by a severe storm. As their boat was being swamped, they gave themselves up to earnest prayer. Every known god and demon of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. By-and-by a very large whale, a whale as large as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water, and gradually come to the side of the boat and shelter it from the wind and waves. This was no other than the so-called *Mo-acha* or *Shi-acha*. He was not known before that time, but ever since has been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu.'

By many of those who hold this legend the whale-shaped god was named *Mo-acha-hunge guru*, 'the bringer in of the uncle of peace,' because he provided a calm, quiet place for the boat to rest in, and is also called *Shi-acha-hunge guru*, because of its enormous size, for the word *shi* may also mean 'great.'

Were it not that these deities are all called upon separately and by name, I should be inclined to think that they were all one and the same object, but as it is I am obliged to conclude that they are really different.

The next deity of the sea is a goddess who is known by the name of *Chiwash-ekot-mat*, and this means 'the female possessor of the places where

the fresh and salt waters mingle.' It is her duty to watch at the mouths of rivers, and allow the fish, particularly the spring and autumn salmon, to go in and out. She is of course worshipped, for she is good to mankind. *Inao* are often presented to her and *saké* drunk on her behalf. Her *inao* are especially placed at the mouths of rivers and streams.

River Gods.

Just as there is said to be one fish god of the sea who is greater than all the rest in that element, so there is supposed to be one chief deity of all the rivers, lakes, ponds, waterfalls and springs. This deity is called *Wakka-ush kamui*, 'the water god,' and is said to be of the feminine gender. I formerly supposed this was a name for all the river deities, but am assured that it is not so, but the name of the chief river god only. In fact, she and the goddess of fire are said to be the very chief and best deities upon the earth, and all others are subject to them as mere servants. As *Wakka-ush kamui* is thus supposed to be essentially good, she is worshipped by having both *inao* and *saké* offered her, and is especially prayed to in time of sickness. All small streams and river branches are said to be her offspring, and are called *kamui-potoke*, 'god's little hands,' and *kamui matnepo*, 'daughters of god.'

The deity supposed to stand next in order to her is named *I'et-otokmat*, 'the female of the source of rivers.' She is said to be a very good deity, and is accordingly worshipped, when *inao* are pre-

sented to her and *saké* drunk. It is her province to preside over the water springs, and is of course subject to her mistress *Wakka-ush kamui*.

The deity standing next to her is called *Petru-ushmat*, 'the female of the water-ways.' She is generally supposed to be good, and to have the oversight of all the rivers and streams from their source to the sea. She is sometimes worshipped, indeed, especially during sickness, but not so frequently as the two mentioned above. Small *inao* are offered to her, but *saké* is never drunk in her honour.

Another so-called river deity is named *Horo-kariyep kamui*, *i.e.* 'the divinity which walks backwards.' This is, of course, the river crayfish. He is often eaten, indeed, but never, I am told, worshipped, nor are *inao* offered to him.

There is one other deity of the rivers which the Ainu call *Aiush-chippo*, 'the little prickly fish,' and *rokom*. But this appears to be rather a kind of heteropterous insect than a fish. However, as the writer has never succeeded in obtaining a specimen, he cannot tell what is really intended. It is also said to be eaten, though never worshipped.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Fish Cultus —*continued.*

(B) *Demons of the Sea and Rivers.*

Konoto ran-guru. Mermaids. Deformed fish.—The demon of the surf.—The demon who makes the sand fly.—The demon who resides in muddy places.—The demons of currents.—Water nymphs.

According to Ainu ideas the principle of dualism, as revealed in previous chapters, pervades everything. We are therefore not at all surprised to hear of the demons of the sea and rivers as well as of the gods thereof.

In the Ainu system of demonology the chief demon of the sea is called *Konoto-ran-guru*, 'he who descends upon the sea.' He is thought to have his home somewhere towards the middle of the ocean, and to be generally shaped like a large fish: he is also said to be of a very evil disposition, for he frequently stirs up wind and storm and causes shipwrecks. In times of distress he is indeed worshipped, but it is said that *inao* are never to be openly offered to him, nor *saké* drunk in his honour. Though the offering of *inao* and *saké* would doubtless be very pleasing and acceptable to him personally, yet the offering of them to him would cause much envy, jealousy, and anger among the gods, and for this reason they are not

presented to him openly. I say openly advisedly, because it is said that every now and then some Ainu will on particular occasions secretly make very tiny *inao*, hide them in their bosom and carry them away to present to this demon, and will at the same time take a drop of *saké* in his honour. But this has to be done very very secretly. However, contrary to the general rule, there are said to be some Ainu who make this and other demons their special gods, but this is always done in secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be abnormal in form or colour, is supposed to be unlucky, and to belong to *Konoto-ran-guru* and his tribe. When caught they are therefore sent away again, either dead or alive, to their lord and master or his underlings, who are always asked to receive them back and take care of them. They are called *ikonuup*, 'things of misfortune.' *Konoto-ran-guru* is a married demon, and his wife's name is *Konoto-ran-mat*. She, like her husband, is of an evil disposition, and his helper in all that is evil. The mermaids are supposed to be their offspring, and are named *ruru-koshinpuk*, 'salt water mermaids,' and *atui-koshinpuk*, 'mermaids of the sea.'

Although all the sea-demons and mermaids are supposed to be in the bodily form of fish, yet they are said to have the power to assume various shapes, sometimes appearing as sea birds, sometimes as marine animals, and sometimes even as men and women.

A young man who is in the house with me at this very moment gives me the following incident.

which exactly illustrates that part of the subject now under discussion. He says that he and his father once while fishing caught a kind of tortoise, which they call *kinapo* (*Orthogoriscus mola*, Linn.). On examination it was seen to have one foot very much whiter than they considered it should naturally be. On making this discovery the old man declared it to be an *ikonnup*, 'misfortune-giving thing.' He therefore cut the foot off, and eventually letting it drop into the sea, saying: *Nani konoto-ran-guru akore na, pirika no eyam ran, i.e.* 'Konoto-ran-guru, I give this directly to thee, take thou great care of it.'

When fishermen desire to bring down curses upon their enemies who have wronged them in any way, they often go directly to the demons of the sea for this purpose. On such occasions *inao* may be openly made and *saké* drunk for them. *Konoto-ran-guru* and his minions are then specially asked to bind the objects of their wrath with demoniacal curses, and to afflict them with *nitnep parat*, 'demonomania.' Should the prayers be heard, the curse brings misfortune, wasting sickness, and finally death.

Should the fishermen happen to see some sea-monster while engaged in their calling, they do not go at once to the good sea god for deliverance, as one would naturally expect them to do, but turn in their fear to *Konoto-ran-guru*. From our point of view this is very curious, but by the Ainu it is considered to be the most natural course to pursue. *Konoto-ran-guru* is thought to be the great parent of all the minor sea demons. He is therefore

approached, and reverently requested to take his offspring out of the way. He is supreme in the sphere of demonocracy, and has sovereign right and authority over all other sea demons. Should he not, out of bad temper or for some other evil cause, listen to the prayers offered to him, the Ainu as a last resource loudly revile him and all his kind, and turn to the great God of all things for help.

The sea demon who stands next in order is said to be called *Kaipokun guru*, 'the person who resides under the surf.' His home is a little way off the sea-coast, where the waves rise up to fall and break. He is said to be of an evil disposition, and will, if one is not careful, swamp the boats as they come to shore. No *inao* or *saké* are therefore offered to him, but any fish caught near his domains unfit for human food are thrown to him to appease his wrath and seek his good will. Sometimes, also, the *ikonnup*, 'misfortune-giving things,' are presented to him. Like *Konoto-ran-guru*, this demon has also a wife, and her name is *Kaipokun mat*.

Another demon of the sea is called *Otapatche guru*, 'the person who makes the sand fly.' He is said to reside upon the sand close by the edge of the sea, and is supposed to rule over the shore as far up as the waves break and roll. As in the case of other demons, no *inao* or *saké* are offered to him. All dead fish cast upon the shore are his property; they also, like others mentioned above, are called *ikonnup*, and are not taken by the Ainu for food. The wife of this demon is named *Otapatche-mat*, and, like her husband, is of an evil mind. When the Ainu fisher-

men are ill treated or cheated by any of their Japanese confraternity, it is this demon particularly who is called upon to take revenge by binding them with his curses.

River Demons.

Turning now to the river demons, we find that one called *Konupki-ot-guru*, 'he who resides in muddy places,' stands first in order. This demon is supposed to live especially at the very water's edge, and it is he who causes the water to become thick and muddy. It is said to be he who causes the river banks to fall in. He is a male, and his wife's name is *Konupki-ot-mat*. Small *inao* are sometimes offered to him, and though by some he is considered to have a little of deity nature in him, he is thought by most to be anything but godlike, especially so should he knock down a good piece of river bank upon which any of the Ainu may have garden plots.

The next fish-like demon is called *Chiuka-pinne kamui rametok*, and this name means 'the brave and divine male current.'

This one is said to have his home in the ordinary currents. Small *inao* are sometimes offered to him, but never any *saké*. Prayers too are never said to him. The next is supposed to be one they call *Chiu-range guru*. This demon is a male, and his wife's name is *Chiu-range mat*, which means 'the descending current'; and he and his wife are supposed to reside among the stones where river currents fall over somewhat rapidly. *Saké* is never drunk to them, and they are never prayed to, though small *inao* are sometimes offered to them.

River Demons.

The next demon is called *Kochin-tunash-guru*, which means the male of the swift current. He is married, and his consort's name is *Kochin-tunash-mat*. They are said to live in the midst of very strong currents. Like the others, small *inao* are offered them sometimes, but never *sakè* or prayers.

Another class of river demons is called *pe-boso-koshimpuk*, *i.e.* 'mermaids which pass through the water,' and among these are included all water nymphs. These also go by the name of *mintuchi*—a word said to be derived from *mimi*, 'flesh,' and *tumunchi*, 'devil.' They are so called because they are supposed to have bald, fleshy heads, and are supposed to be the cause of many river accidents. Their evil work and the ceremony of exorcising a place where they have appeared was described in Chapter XXIX., to which account the reader is referred.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Religion.

(A) *Animism and the General Aspects of Life and Death.*

Animism defined—Life indestructible—Idea of death—Terms for death—Dislike to approach graves, and why—Women never pray to a deity—Ancestor worship.

The Ainu of the present day, like the uncivilised races of olden times, believe that not only beasts, birds, fish, and the growing trees and plants have life, but also that inorganic substances live as well. He not only infers that whatever has life moves, but also that whatever moves has life. Hence the bubbling stream, the sparkling, rippling rivulet, the gently gliding stream and rushing torrent, the flying clouds, the whistling winds, the pouring rain, the roaring storm, the restless ocean, and all such phenomena, have, in his opinion, each a real life abiding in it. This is true animism, and may be taken as what I suppose to be a fair definition of that term.

It seems to be a firmly fixed belief among this people that no existing life can ever cease to be; there can therefore be, in their opinion at least, no such thing as conditional immortality, for immortality is as natural to them as Nature itself. But by life is meant living spirit, for life and spirit are never separated in thought, nor indeed can be. To

the Ainu life is the most intensely energetic and natural object that exists, and as regards its higher form, paradoxical as it may appear, it is looked upon by them as both substance and attributes at one and the same time.

Moreover, it is supposed that there can be no energy without life, nor life without energy, though the manifestations of life may not at all times be observable. This principle kept steadily in view will explain many most puzzling and otherwise inexplicable assertions and allusions current among them, by which they speak of inanimate powers as being gods and fearful demons, of gods and men and demons as dead, yet alive, as slain in one battle, yet appearing and fighting in another. With the Ainu, spirit is looked upon, so to speak, as the principle of life behind life—the very indestructible quintessence of being or existence.

In its abstract form, *i.e.* in its essence, it cannot be seen, though it may be heard in the roar of the thunder and the rushing of the torrents and mighty winds, though in substance, *i.e.* in its concrete form, its energy may be seen and experienced as in ourselves and other phenomena in Nature. Nor should it be forgotten that the Ainu imagine every life or spirit to be endowed with a will and with affections and passions like those of human beings. Hence, therefore, people must move warily about the world, and ought to be careful not to treat anything with rudeness or dishonour. As such, then, is their general popular view of the nature of life, we may easily understand how it comes to pass that extinction can form no part of the idea of death. Indeed,

it was shown in the thirteenth chapter, when discussing the subject of hut burning, as well as in other places, that the souls of the people are believed to survive after the king of terrors has visited them. However, this belief, strong though it is, does not take away all dread of it from the Ainu. They are so much afraid of it, indeed, that they cannot bear to think of it, much less talk about it!

They sometimes appear to look upon it as the chief and most hateful enemy of mankind; for, in spite of all they say, they have no well-assured hope to buoy them up when a near relative has passed away, or to cast a brighter and happier light upon the scenes beyond the grave.

The mode by which the Ainu expresses the idea of dying exactly coincides with all this. Thus—'to pierce the skies,' 'to make a clearance,' 'to have space for thought,' 'to go away,' 'to leave behind,' 'to leave this world behind,' 'to be wound up in sleep,' 'to sleep the other sleep,' 'to lose bodily strength,' 'to go to the other world,' 'to rest,' 'to abdicate one village,' 'is not,' and so on. The word for death itself is *rai* and *rai oman;* the former expression meaning 'the lower place,' and the latter 'going to the lower place.' It is also very curious to remark that the name sometimes for a dead person is *rai-koro-kamui*, 'the divine one who possesses the lower place.'

On one occasion, when taking a walk in the forest with an Ainu chief, I found that he strongly objected to go near a particular spot not far from one side of our path. Nothing I could say would

induce him to go near the place, and he was also exceedingly anxious that I should not go either. After a great deal of questioning and coaxing he at length confessed to me that the reason was fear; fear because a person had been buried there some time before. Upon making further inquiry I found out that the idea prompting him to avoid the grave was that he, in common with all others of his race, believed the spirit or soul of the dead to still live on. The spirit is supposed to haunt the grave in which the body has been laid, and also its immediate surroundings, and not only to have the *power* of bewitching the mind and doing bodily harm to any person whom it should discover near the resting-place of the body, but also, especially if the spirit be the ghost of a woman, the *will* to do so upon the very first occasion that opportunity is given. The chief who accompanied me was Penri of Piratori, whose portrait appears at the beginning of this work.

At another time, when I was visiting the grave of an old woman whom I had previously known, to see if I could find any inscriptions on the pole that had been set up to mark the place of burial, the man who accompanied me would by no means come within twenty-five or thirty yards of the spot, but stood that distance away, and directed me with his voice and hands. That man was afraid of his own mother's ghost!

The folk-lore generally recited to keep people from going near the place in which another has been buried is as follows:—'If a person should tread upon a grave, it matters not how old it

may be, he will surely be punished. Therefore beware, beware.'

Upon returning to the hut, the man, together with several women, brought a bowl of water to the door, and requested me to wash my face and hands. Whilst at my ablutions the women commenced to beat me and brush me down with *inao*. Upon inquiring into the ideas which moved the people to act in this manner, I discovered that the washing was to purify me from all uncleanness contracted at the grave through contact with the ghost of the deceased, and that the beating and brushing with *inao* was to drive away all evil influences and diseases she may have aimed at me. The water and *inao* were the antidote against, and the corrective of, the evil intentions the spirit is supposed to have directed towards me out of her wicked spite for trespassing on her domain.

It has already been noted that the Ainu women do not draw nigh to the gods in prayer. The reason is not the belief that they have no souls to pray for, or no life in the future world.

The very curious reason commonly given for this fact is very likely the true explanation, viz., that the men are afraid of the prayers of the women in general, and their wives in particular. An old man to whom I was once speaking on this subject said to me quite seriously and in confidence, that 'The women as well as the men used to be allowed to worship the gods and take part in all religious exercises; but our wise and honoured ancestors forbade them to do so, because

it was thought they might use their prayers against the men, and more particularly against their husbands. We therefore think with our ancestors that it is wiser to keep them from praying.'

This idea may appear at first sight stupid and irrational, but in reality it is consistent, and in full accord with the principles of the Ainu religion. Moreover, it is a logical and intelligible reason. The Ainu believes in various gods who hear and answer prayer; he is aware that his wife is not treated so well and kindly as she ought to be; he knows that his own laziness must be compensated by the extra labours of his wife, and he recognises the fact that his inveterate drunkenness is the ruin of his family. Hence his fear of the prayers of women and wives. They are afraid of prayers for vengeance; or when a man prays for wine, and his wife that he may get none, the woman being morally better than the man, her prayers are very likely to prevail against his, and lead to his coming short of that which he loves so much.

But, although the women are not taught to worship the gods, yet, as has been noted elsewhere, they are allowed, nay, even commanded, to offer libations to their deceased ancestors. But on such occasions the words they are generally taught to use are merely these: 'O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this wine and food to you.' Thus the Ainu women simply, as this formula shows, make a statement telling the spirit that they have brought it a little present.

Contrary to expectation, prayers to the dead

are a very strong feature in Ainu religion, and one special item of folk-lore regarding this matter is as follows: 'If a person cultivates a selfish spirit, and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him by saying: "Foolish and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead.'

Another short counsel runs thus: 'Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives must surely go to his grave, and there worship and offer libations. The dead observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed.'

When the people are about to perform the ceremony of ancestor worship, which is called by them *shinnurappa*, they first of all procure the inevitable *saké* and some willow sticks with which to make *inao*. They then meet in the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and after having worshipped every deity they know of, make six *inao* of the *chorokakep* description mentioned in Chapter X., which they call *shinnurappa inao*. When made they carry them reverently through the doorway with *saké* and food to the *nusa* cluster, and there set them up. The women follow the men, carrying a few wine lees. An Ainu next takes the lees and mixes them with the *saké*, at the same time offering this prayer:

'O ye our ancestors now dwelling in Hades, we send you *saké*, *inao*, and wine lees, receive them and rejoice. Your grandchildren have met together specially to offer these things. Rejoice. Watch over us and keep us from sickness. Give us a long life so that we may continue to offer such gifts.' After this prayer has been said the men return to the hut and have a drinking carouse. The women, however, remain to pray to the souls of the dead, eat the lees, and offer them drops of the *saké*. This part of the ceremony is called *shiwentep inao epuni* and *shiwentep kamui nomi*.

On asking why this ceremony should take place, and what was its origin, the Ainu gave me the following piece of lore:—

'The divine Aioina said: "If the people do good while upon the earth and not evil, though they die young, they go to heaven. When there they live as here and have fine hunting." It is good for the people on this earth to offer those who have gone before to Paradise, food, wine, and lees. Not to do so shows lack of filial respect, which is bad indeed. Those who have departed still live, and take an interest in those left behind. They should, therefore, be worshipped.

'Unless respect is paid them they will come to this earth again and bring misfortune. When, therefore, ye have food, remember your ancestors. This will please them, and they will send you good health and prosperity. So spake Aioina.'

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Religion—*continued.*

(B) *Death and Burial.*

How the corpse is treated—The death feast—The burial—Reason for breaking implements and cutting clothes—Tombstones.

'That people continue to live after death has taken place,' so runs the story, 'is made plain by dreams, for that the dead sometimes really show themselves to people in dreams during sleep is a matter of common experience. Once upon a time a great chief died, and the people of his village shed many tears, and wept both loudly and long. The voice of weeping reached his ears, even in Hades, and made him sorrowful. He therefore appeared to the people in a dream, and asked them to cease crying, for their tears and noise worried him, otherwise he was very happy indeed.'

When a person dies the body is dressed in its best clothes, and laid out lengthwise by the fireside. Should the deceased be a man, his bow, arrows and quiver, his pipe, tobacco-box, and means for obtaining a light, a long and a short knife, a sword, a cup and tray, and moustache-lifters, and also a bundle of clothes are placed by his side. All the clothes are more or less cut or torn, even should they be new garments, and every one of the other things is broken, chipped, or bent. All are buried with the body.

Should the corpse be that of a woman, some needles and thread, some native and Japanese clothes of various colours and kinds, a set of weaving implements, spoons, ladles and cups, and her trinkets, such as beads and earrings, are placed by her side; also a bundle of clothes, also cut or torn. Children also have a cup, a spoon, some clothes and trinkets placed by them. But the great point to be borne in mind is that all these things are buried with the corpse, and are always first cut or otherwise injured.

In the meantime, however, a messenger has been hurriedly sent to all relations and friends to tell the bad news, for burial generally takes place the day of death—or, at farthest, next day in the evening.

A blazing fire is made immediately before death, or as soon after as possible, for which there appears to be two reasons. The first is because coldness and death are looked upon as one and the same thing, and a good fire, it is thought, may possibly bring back the warmth and life of the body. The second reason is that the viands of the death feast may be cooked. On one occasion I saw the corpse of a woman well laid out, which, besides being well dressed and having all the particular utensils and ornamental paraphernalia about it—the beads and rings were, in this case, laid upon her bosom—was shod with pieces of white calico, which my wife had a few days previously given to the deceased's husband to bind up a wounded foot with. The people appear to be very pleased if they can get hold of a white

garment in which to bury their dead, and several have asked us for one.

As soon as the body has been properly clad and laid out, a large cup, filled with food or a cake made of millet, is placed at the head, while water or *saké* is put by the food. These are allowed to remain there for some little time, because the spirit is supposed to eat and drink the essence of these things, though the material parts remain the same. After the food and drink has been properly arranged, the goddess of fire is worshipped. She is asked to take charge of the spirit, and lead it safely to the Creator of the world and Possessor of heaven. She is also specially charged with various messages, extolling the virtues of the dead, and setting forth his praises.

At this time the corpse is also addressed as follows :—

'While you were alive you were an Ainu just like one of us, but you have now become like unto the gods, and can see and hear everything. We now, therefore, offer this food and drink for your acceptance. You are now in the act of leaving this world, and are going to heaven. You will be a divinity. Before you quite leave us we offer you food and drink such as you loved so well when among us. Please partake thereof, for this is our "good-bye" feast made especially for you. You have seen and mixed with your friends thus far, but may no longer look upon them. We commit you without question to "the goddess of fire," and so send you off to heaven. Good-bye.'

After the food, which is called *pakekai*, *i.e.*

'something to be carried on the back,' has remained by the corpse for some time it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. By this time millet cakes have been made, and *saké* brought into the hut. These are handed round to men, women, and children alike, and each person then offers two or three drops of the wine to the spirit of the dead, then drinks a little, and pours what is left before the fire as an offering to the fire goddess, all the time muttering some short prayer.

Then part of the millet cake is eaten, and the remainder hidden in the ashes upon the hearth, each person burying a little piece. After the burial of the corpse these remnants are collected together and carried out of the hut and placed by the *nusa*.

This feast is called by two names, viz., *wen ibe, wen iku, i.e.* 'the bad eating and drinking'; and *ibe uwetutkopak, i.e.* 'farewell eating.'

I have been told that some of the old men always used to place a pipe filled with tobacco in the mouth of the corpse if the deceased had been a very close friend and comrade. This custom is, I find, practised even now on rare occasions. The feast is, therefore, one in which the dead is invited to partake together with his mutual friends, and is really an expression of natural affection. There is nothing to fear in a corpse, and the dead will show no hostility to any so long as they are treated well.

As soon as these ceremonies are finished the corpse is carefully rolled in a mat turned inside out, which the Ainu call a *toma*, neatly tied up, fastened to a pole, and carried to the grave between two men. The pole usually used for carrying children

is of elder, which is supposed to be unlucky because brittle.

The mourners follow the corpse in single file, the men leading, each, however, carrying some little article to be buried with the corpse. The grave having been dug, say from two and a half to three and a half feet deep, stakes are usually driven in all round inside, and over these and upon the bottom mats neatly placed.

Then the corpse is laid in the grave; nick-nacks, cups, a ring or two, a few beads, a saucepan, and some clothes are buried with the women; a bow and quiver, an eating and drinking cup, tobacco, a pipe and a knife are put in with the men, and playthings with the children.

In every case the things (which are now not always the best the departed possessed during life) are cut or broken before being placed in the grave. When the body and all the other things have been well covered up with the mats, pieces of wood are placed so as to form a roof over the whole; and then upon this again the earth is piled, so that the interior of the grave is hollow. A tub of water is usually carried to the grave, and when the body has been interred those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands, and the water that is left is thrown upon the grave.

The bottom is then knocked out of the tub, and the remnants laid at the foot of the grave close to a post that is set up to mark the spot. The grave is usually covered with a large quantity of wood and bushes, which are said to keep off the foxes, wolves, and bears.

When this has been done the mourners return to the hut of the deceased, where the men make *inao*, pray, eat, drink, and get helplessly intoxicated.

The people are very careful to have the ceremony properly performed, for they fear that the deceased will determine to take vengeance upon them if treated with disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, 'The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure from the body. They have power to come in dreams, and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict with sickness and other harm.' Now, in the first place, I suppose the question will be asked by some, why do Ainu break and chip and bend the implements and cut and tear the clothes which they bury with their dead? or why indeed should these things be buried with them at all? Then, again, it will be asked, why all this ceremony of breaking up millet-cakes and knocking out the bottoms of pots and basins? These questions have been asked, and variously answered.

It is said by some persons that the people bury these things with their owners because their work is over, and there will be no more use for them, and as a proof of this they mention the fact of their first being broken. I will dismiss this by merely informing the reader that it is not so according to Ainu ideas. Some people, again, say that it is to keep the Japanese from stealing them. But this is certainly not true. We must look deeper than this for the true solution of the matter.

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to require them in the next world. For each person will there have a distinct, definite, personal life, and there require all his hunting, working, and cooking utensils, as well as his clothes.

But, it will be asked, if the clothes will be necessary for the body, why cut and tear them? If furniture and implements are required, why break them first? Or how, again, can these things get from the grave to the other world? Having been once placed in the grave, there they remain. It is just here that we begin to understand the Ainu idea of life. Life is spirit, whether hidden, latent, and secret, or manifested and openly energetic.

Every possible thing one can imagine as existing has its separate individual spirit, *and always will have.* If we lose it in this, it will be found in the next world. It can never be absolutely lost or extinguished. Thus, swords, bows, arrows, cups, moustache-lifters, pots, basins, pans, knives, spoons, needles, beads, earrings, cotton, thread, string, boots, coats, blankets, mats, everything, every individual thing in truth, is supposed to have its separate and distinct spirit and personality, which can never be lost, whatever happens. It will live in another world.

One now begins to see the real reason for breaking these things when the owners thereof die. Death itself is caused by some harm having been done to the body by the gods, demons, or men. It is the body only which can be damaged, not the spirit. It is the body only which decays and dies, the spirit never. As, therefore, the living spirit of men will require all this furniture in the next w

the various articles are each in their separate persons or bodies damaged; their spirits are thus set free and caused to go with their owners to serve them there. Their bodies are damaged, *i.e.*, they are killed. Hence, as the human body will, when in the home beyond the grave, need clothing to wear, a quantity of clothes are first killed by being cut and then buried; as it will require food, the millet cakes are first killed by being broken, and then sent forth on their journey; and so with other things. Coats, I should have remarked, are cut from the neck down the back, for the backbone is supposed to be the seat of life. These things are very curious and mysterious, but they serve as very good eye-openers, by which we may learn to see the inner workings of the heart of this peculiar people.

Now death is a thing which cannot take place in a hurry. That is to say, nothing is thoroughly dead till every particle of the body in which it lived is decomposed into its elements. Hence, when its body is buried life or spirit still exists in and about the grave in some degree till all has become decomposed.

We can therefore understand how the people believe that ghosts exist near graves, and are afraid to go near them.

When the body is in the grave the spirit is there also, in part at least, gradually freeing itself from its earthly tabernacle, and must be left carefully alone. No one, as has been already intimated, must intrude on its domains, for it requires room and perfect freedom. In this idea, therefore, must be sought the reason why the Ainu bury in

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separate places far away in the forests, and not in cemeteries.

The people have, I find, a very great dread of being buried in coffins; they therefore use nothing but mats for this purpose. The idea seems to be that a coffin is too small, and would interfere with the withdrawal of the spirit from the body and earth.

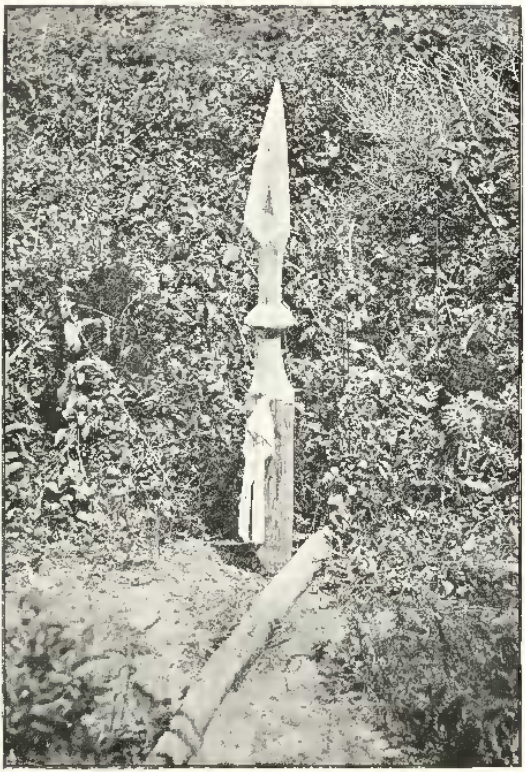
I am told, indeed, that some of the Saghalien Ainu place their dead in coffins, and either leave them above ground in the forests or bury in very shallow graves, leaving the tops of the coffins only exposed. But whether this is so or not I cannot say for certain. If coffins are used there, they may have got the custom from the Russians. There is no such custom among the Yezo Ainu. In fact, the Ainu here have a very great dread of being shut up in a box, as they call it, and being so buried.

A few years ago a woman died in a certain village, saying that she believed in Christianity, and would like to be buried according to Christian rites. We were away from the village at the time, but there were some Japanese Christians there who took upon themselves to make all the necessary arrangements. They told the husband and friends of the deceased that she ought to be placed in a coffin, as if, forsooth, that was a necessary part of Christian burial!

This caused a great uproar, and the Ainu present refused to permit it. She was therefore rolled in a mat and buried as is customary among them.

It was mentioned above that water is carried

to the grave at the time of burial, and that the people wash their hands with it. This custom



Tombstone of an Ainu Man.

may originally have had connection with the idea of purification.

As the Ainu are never allowed to mention the name of a dead person, it would appear that they desire to forget all about them as soon as possible. Yet they never bury without placing a pole, which for the sake of convenience may be called a tombstone, at the foot of each grave to mark the spot. This, however, is not so much to remember the deceased by, for no writing whatever is inscribed thereon, as to point out to a chance hunter that a burial has taken place there, and to prevent mistakes.

The tombstone marking a man's grave is made to represent a spear, though the Ainu tell me they intend it for a boat oar, but it is certainly much more like a spear than an oar, as the preceding engraving shows. Whether there is any special meaning attached to this or not, I cannot tell. The Ainu I have asked about it know of none; they say that it is just an old custom handed down from very ancient times, and nothing more. Their ancestors made tombs like these, and their successors do the same. The posts are set up at the graves of men and boys, and are all of the same pattern. The piece of cloth which hangs from the centre of the pole is the head-dress of the deceased.

In the illustration next given a woman's tombstone is shown. The person over whom it was placed was the wife of the man and mother of the girl who appear in the engraving, and the cloth which hangs from the top of the pole was the woman's head-dress. If the reader looks closely at the bottom of the pole, he may see the little

tub in which the water was brought for the men to wash their hands. The bottom has been knocked out and the tub slipped over the pole. The top of the pole has not been cut like a spear or oar; it has been merely rounded off and a hole burned through it. The poles that are set up at

Tombstone of an Ainu Woman.

the graves of women and girls are all of this shape. On the occasion of a funeral the men generally wash their hands and faces, have their beards trimmed, hair cut, and their necks and foreheads shaved. Widows and widowers were formerly supposed to remain single for life; when I came

among them it was for five years, but now some remarry much more quickly.

When a man lost his wife it was the custom for him to have his hair cut short, and to remain indoors as much as possible till it grew decent again. If he had been fond of his wife, and felt her loss very much, he would sometimes show his intense sorrow by plucking out a great part of his hair and beard, and assuming a forlorn and dejected appearance.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Religion *continued.*

(c) *Heaven and Hell.*

Heaven in Hades—Gehenna—A journey to Hades.

The place to which good people go after death is called *Kamui kotan*, 'the place of God,' and *Kamui moshiri*, 'the kingdom of God,' or 'the world of God.' When persons go to this place, they live for ever in a state of supreme happiness. Though perhaps far away under this earth, they can see us, and they ever take a lively interest in all that is going on in this world. They also have power to send punishments upon those of their families who misbehave themselves, and peace to those who are good and kind; and this power they are said to frequently exercise.

Though the material heavens are above us, yet heaven, the place of happiness, is below. All are agreed that it is a locality in which the gods have their special home, and where all men who do that which is good and right will go when they leave the world. People in heaven do not lose their personal identity. The Ainu notion of heaven is therefore not at all the Buddhistic, which represents every person as being absorbed into the deity itself.

Hades, or the intermediate state, is called *pokna moshiri*, 'the under world,' or 'the world below.' All spirits go first to this place when they leave the body. Hades, however, is not generally believed to be a purgatory, though some think it may be; but upon going there the spirits, which are always spoken of as possessing a body exactly like the present one (though whether it is of a spiritual or material nature is not stated), are told to which division of the place they must go, whether to the place of the just or the wicked.

In the centre of Hades there are said to be three roads. The first leads from the earth upon which we live, and which the Ainu call *kanna-moshiri*, 'the upper world.' This road goes to the centre of Hades. All spirits go by this road when they leave the body. The second and third roads start from the centre of Hades, one leading to heaven and the other to Gehenna. All along these roads there are watch-dogs stationed at different points to direct the spirits on their journey, and to see that none go into the better world clandestinely or in a surreptitious manner.

As soon as the spirit from the 'upper world'—that is, our earth—passes down to the centre of Hades, a watch-dog informs it that he has received a message from the Creator, sent through the goddess of fire, as to where it is to go. If it has done good during life it passes along the road to heaven, at the doors of which gods and men meet it and lead it inside. If the spirit belonged to a person who did evil during life, it is informed that,

a message having been received concerning its evil deeds, it has now to proceed to Gehenna for punishment. Should the spirit deny having done any wrong, the goddess of fire is summoned, and she causes a great picture, representing the whole life of the spirit, to be placed before it. Thus the spirit stands self-condemned, and there is no escape, for the fire goddess has a perfect picture of every word and act the spirit ever said or did while in its body upon earth.

Gehenna, or hell, is called *Teinci-pokna-shiri*, and that means 'the wet underground land.' The wicked are punished in this place. As to what these punishments consist of, the Ainu are not all agreed. Some say that the spirits which go there will be wet, uncomfortable, and very cold for ever. Another idea is that they will burn for ever in the fires which exist in the centre of the earth: thus some will be for ever cold, and others for ever hot.

Not only do the Ainu believe that the souls of human beings will have a conscious and personal existence after death, but those of animals also. They seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death. They believe that husband and wife, parent and child, will be rejoined to one another after death, and that there will also be marrying and giving in marriage; but there will be no more pain, or sorrow, or death. The living fully expect to have bodies in form exactly like the present, to live in houses, to have their daily work to do, their hunting and fishing stations,

their dogs and other animals. They will laugh and talk, eat and drink as now, and altogether they think they will have a very material existence.

But the curious thing about the people who live a life beyond the grave is that they look upon persons who have not yet crossed the river of death as ghosts, and consider themselves to be the natural and substantial people. They think of us, in fact, just as we do of them. However, they are happier than we, will live for ever, and can never see trouble. They can visit this earth in the shape of ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and some of us also, if we make up our minds, can make a call on them in the same capacity. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they cannot see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us a visit, and can hear what we say, though they cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but cannot make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about, and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling.

The following story illustrating these notions of the people with regard to the future world was told me by an Ainu friend.

'Once upon a time there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if anyone had courage to take the journey, he might go and see what that land was like. One of the young men determined to go and visit the place.

On entering the cave he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went, the stronger grew the light ahead, and the darker became the cave behind. At length he came to a most magnificent country, filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass, opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling water divided up the lowlands. Altogether, it was a splendid country. After a while he came to a village and saw many persons he had known in the upper world—that is to say, "during life." He endeavoured to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that, with evident perplexity, wonder, and fear. The dogs, too, set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him, and his mother fled away in fear, and the people all said he was a ghost. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself, and set out on his return to the upper world.

'As he was journeying back, he met a man whom he thought to be his friend. However, it was somewhat dark in the passage, so that he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag upon his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by in great fear, and sped swiftly towards the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for his friend's house, but, alas! he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world.'

Another legend upon the same subject throws further light upon the Ainu idea of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered in the world of the departed a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of *inao*, and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered to him, and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew into his bosom, and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

So, say the Ainu, just as that man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are treated with the dregs of our food. We ought to treat ghosts with respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is? It may be the spirit of our parent or child, for all we know. Therefore it behoves us to be careful. That the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those to whom they take a dislike, but especially the wicked, has already been noticed.

The following is another Ainu legend about visiting Hades: 'Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened one day, when the younger son was away from home, the father died. Just before his death he called

his eldest son to him, and told him that, as he was about to take his departure from this world and pursue his journey to Hades, he would leave his treasures, heirlooms, and general property to be divided equally between the younger brother and himself.

'A few days after his father's death the younger son returned home and heard the sad news. He was very sorry; but, worse than all, the wicked elder son took all the heirlooms and other property to himself, and would not divide them equally, as his father had commanded. He said that all the things were left to himself only, as head and representative of the family. Upon this a great quarrel ensued, which waxed so hot that the brothers separated. The elder brother stayed at home and enjoyed himself; but the younger took his quiver and bow, and set out to find the passage by which his father had gone to the lower world.

'Having found the entrance, he commenced the descent. He walked so quickly that he soon arrived at a large village full of people and fine houses. The dogs barked at him as he went along, and he heard the people saying to one another, "Oh! there is a ghost about; there must be a ghost about." They then began to present libations of wine to him. On and on marched the man, the dogs still barking, till he came to the house of his father. He entered the hut, and tried to speak to his parent, but could not make himself seen or heard. This greatly distressed him, and so he set to work to find a way by which he might learn what he desired to know. At last he thought of a plan.

As a ghost, why should he not enter into some member of the village, and make him speak for him? He would try. So he entered the heart of a man near at hand, and, borrowing his mouth and tongue, asked his father how he had left his property in the upper world. The father made answer that he had divided it all equally between his two sons.

'Then the younger brother returned to the upper world and reported what he had done and seen and heard. Thereupon his brother begged his pardon and divided the goods with him; and ever after that time they lived happily side by side in the same village.'

CHAPTER L.

Religion—*continued.*

(D) *Religious Terms.*

Plurality of gods—The word for God—Special word illustrating Ainu religion.

It must not be supposed that the various articles of Ainu religious and superstitious faith are arranged in the mind of the people in a clear, defined and well-thought-out order. Neither those items which have reference to the order and nature of the gods, nor those which have to do with the work and nature of the demons, are thought of by them in such a way. Although the Creator of all things is naturally looked upon as the God of all gods, yet, as has been already pointed out, He is thought to have brought all things into existence in the beginning, and to have continually governed the whole universe ever since, not immediately by His own power, but by means of many living personal intermediaries, who are all constituted chiefs in their own domain, who have all their special sphere and work, and who have angels to assist them in the execution of their duties.

These intermediaries are of various degrees of order, nature, power, and authority; they are, in fact, what we might call laws of Nature invested with life, intelligence, and power. Some were

appointed to create, others to beautify, and some again to fructify the earth. One was ordered to rule the sun, another to attend to fire, a third to govern rivers, and so on. These rulers or living laws, however, exist not in their own right or by their own power, but by the will of a greater and more powerful personified Law behind them. He is the Almighty Power, the ever-living, vitalising, intelligent force of all Nature and being. All other divine beings, whatever their grade may be, are directly responsible to Him. They stand somewhat in the same relation to Him as a child does to its parents, or subjects to their rulers. Nevertheless, traditions inform us that the gods gather themselves together and consult with one another as to ways and means before they act, the Creator, of course, acting as president, just in the same way as the Ainu chiefs used to meet together for consultation before they acted. In short, the Ainu invest the gods with their own manners and customs and modes of thought and action.

By this we can easily understand how it is that, after the Creator, now this and now that god is spoken of as chief. Supposing, for instance, a person is sick, and the people have met together, as is their custom at such times, to pray that the sick one may be healed. The fire goddess, who is believed to be able to purify the body and heal disease, will then be worshipped. Thus for a time she is uppermost in the mind, and the remembrance of the existence of *all* other gods, whether above or below her, will be as it were

in abeyance. Suppose, again, that a man is going out to sea to catch fish, what is more natural than that he should, particularly if he observes a storm coming on, call upon the god of fine or demon of bad weather to come to his aid? This is exactly what he does. Here then we see at one time one power, and at another time another god, standing at the head of affairs.

But we must be careful not to allow such instances to mislead us. Nothing is more easy than for an onlooker to get hold of an altogether heterodox opinion with regard to these things, and to imagine himself to be holding the orthodox faith. On carefully considering these matters, and after watching for years the actions of the Ainu under many peculiar circumstances, we find, as has already been illustrated in this book, that the idea of mediation is very deeply rooted in their nature. If, for instance, they find that the particular god they are worshipping does not answer their prayer, they leave him and go to the Creator — the Fountain-head—Himself to see what He will do for them. Nay, they even sometimes go so far as to accuse the lesser deity to the greater of not doing his duty!

Upon asking these people why they do not go in the first instance directly to the Creator Himself, rather than depend upon such intermediaries as the fire goddess and others, who, it seems, are not reliable at all times, they say, 'As God has appointed these intermediaries as channels through which we are to approach Him, we must, or rather certainly ought, to do as He directs us, and not as

we choose in this matter. If He has appointed means of approach to Himself, we ought to avail ourselves of those means, and not make others for ourselves.' They also say that neither the goddess of fire nor any other deity has power of will and choice to do just as they please. We are informed that the goddess of fire, besides her many other names, such as 'divine fire,' 'the nourishing divinity,' 'the cradle deity,' 'divine grandmother,' and others, is also called 'the divine messenger,' or 'divine angel'; and that she acts as a mediator between God and men. Thus we arrive at the true Ainu ideas of the particular offices of what we might very justifiably call their secondary gods. They were made, first, to do God's will in the universe, especially with respect to human beings; secondly, they are the servants of God's worshippers, and act as a medium through whom prayers go to Him, and the answers return to them.

There are some rare occasions, however, when the people do directly approach the Creator Himself. Thus an Ainu once said to me:—

'When in very great distress the people practise what is called *yaiassuruani* (*i.e.* "publishing news of oneself"). It is a custom known to few only, for no one but theologians (the learned in religion) are taught it. And so it comes to pass that if the Ainu have any trouble or are in any very great distress, they choose a man learned in the doctrine, and get him to call to heaven. If he does this correctly, health is certain to come. But mark, if one heedlessly allows another to hear the name of the god he calls upon, it is blasphemy. And so it comes to

pass that the people are very careful as to whom they teach this art and name. The initiated only may know thereof, and inasmuch as it is *itak eosshiwen* ("a word which may produce evil") they do not allow others to hear it. If this ceremony is performed correctly, blessing will follow, for the sick will be cured, and deer flourish. The word may be spoken to the supreme God only.'

We have seen that the Ainu look upon this God as the source of all life and being, the maker of men and so-called gods, the upholder of all things, and the dispenser of all authority to His servants. We have also seen that when this august Being intends to reach earth and men, He always acts through the lower orders of gods as His medium or means of communication, and so never does anything immediately Himself, that is to say, so far as our experience goes. Yet, although He is not usually supposed to work directly Himself, we find that He is not conceived of as idle, or merely sitting in the heavens like a machine, and selfishly happy in His own contemplation, and cruelly disregarding His creatures. Nay, He takes an interest in all that is going on in the world, and is always superintending the many officers of His government. However, these servants of His are sometimes remiss, and do not execute His orders properly. Hence, if there are some things in this world which *we* think are not quite as they ought to be, it is not because the Creator has been or is careless, but because His agents have not properly carried out His instructions, and also because the evil one is always endeavouring to frustrate His designs and supplant

His counsels. For, be it remembered, the Ainu think that there are careless and unfaithful servants of God in heaven above, as there are evil and faithless servants of men in earth beneath. They believe there are fiends among the angelic beings, as there are among the terrestrial bodies of men.

The Ainu term for God is *kamui*, which appears to come from the same root as the Japanese word for God, which is *kami*. In the most ancient times of which we have any knowledge, the form of the Japanese word was *kamu*, which is still nearer the Ainu word *kamui*. In fact, we are of opinion that the Japanese borrowed their word *kamu* from the Ainu *kamui*. This is not the place in which to discuss such a matter; but after much careful thought, and after duly weighing such evidence as could be obtained, we have formed the opinion that, however unlikely it may at first sight appear, the Japanese owe their word for 'god' to an Ainu source.

Now, looking at the word itself, and taking into consideration its meaning, just as it stands, we find that it means 'he who,' or 'that which,' 'covers' or 'overshadows.' If, however, we trace it further back still, it means 'that which is,' or 'he who is highest,' or 'greatest,' or 'best,' or 'worst.' The first meaning, of course, is to be preferred, because it is the simplest, and does not require to be referred back to another term—for the simplest is generally found to be the best. Whichever of the two meanings are taken—for both or either may be taken—both alike are found to be akin to the word for 'heaven,' and that in its turn has 'top' or

'above' for its root. And so we catch a glimpse of what was in the Ainu mind when he first coined the name for god. He seems to have looked upon him as the great overshadowing Lord of all.

At the present day this word *kamui* is used very extensively. It has various shades of meaning, which vary if used before or after another word, and according to the object to which it is applied. The ancient Hebrews used to speak of the 'trees of God,' 'mountains of God,' and so on, when they intended to give the idea of 'greatness,' or 'height,' or 'beauty,' and such like qualities. So the Ainu speak at the present day. Thus, for 'great trees,' we hear 'trees of god'; for 'high mountains,' 'mountains of god'; for 'large rivers,' 'rivers of god'; for 'mighty winds,' 'winds of god'; or for a 'beautiful flower' we hear 'flower of god.' So, too, for a 'handsome face' the Ainu sometimes say 'face of god,' and a good and holy man they would naturally call a 'man of god.' In strict accordance with this, we also find the people calling bears by the name of 'god,' or 'animals of god.' But it must by no means be overlooked that the devil also, as well as such evil diseases as small-pox, have the same term *kamui* applied to them. In such cases as these it is evident that we cannot use the English term 'god': nay, it cannot be translated in those cases. It seems to be very like the Greek word *daimon*, for that also was applied to both good and evil objects.

By a careful analogy we find that, when the term *kamui* is applied to good objects, it expresses the quality of usefulness, beneficence, or of being

exalted or divine. When applied to supposed evil gods, it indicates that which is most to be feared and dreaded. When applied to devils, reptiles, and evil diseases, it signifies what is most hateful, abominable, and repulsive. When applied as a prefix to animals, fish or fowl, it represents the greatest or fiercest, or the most useful for food or clothing. When applied to persons, it is sometimes expressive of goodness, but more often is a mere title of respect and reverence.

As, therefore, the Ainu apply their term for god to such a variety of objects, both to the greatest and highest good, and also to the lowest and most malignant evil—to gods and devils, spirit and matter, reptile, animal, and man—it is not surprising that very much superstition is mixed up with their religion—that demonology is intermingled with their theology, and that evil is mixed with good. Hence, if we find that some of the Ainu ideas of and remarks concerning God and religion are full of contradictions, at one time high and sublime, at another gross and repulsive—if sometimes He is represented as a material substance, and at others as a spiritual being, now as good, now as evil, and now as indifferent—we shall not be surprised.

The Ainu word *tuntu*, which we will translate by 'brace' and then 'support,' is a noun, and is used to designate a piece of wood used in building huts, which forms the main support of the roof of the hut. The *tuntu* is to a hut what the corner-stone is to a house, or the key-stone to a vault or arch, or a pillar to a balcony. We might not,

perhaps, expect to hear this word applied to deity. Nevertheless, it is very often used by the Ainu when addressing God in prayer, and a thoughtful person will quickly see its appropriateness as a divine name. For, after due consideration of the word, and the different objects to which it is applied, we are led to conclude that when the Ainu pray to God as the Tuntu of the world they conceive of Him as being its living 'brace,' 'support,' 'pillar,' 'sustainer,' and 'upholder.' It reminds one of St. Paul's words, where he says, 'By Him all things consist.'

Further, the Ainu conceive this Tuntu as an intelligent power, and hence they delight to account for each step in every phenomenon of Nature which comes under their notice, by referring it back, though often through numerous and particular agencies, to that living power, the intelligent Tuntu or 'support' of the universe. This being is sometimes spoken of as the 'Creator' of all, and hence we are taught that the Ainu look upon Him as not only *in* the world, and holding it together, but also *outside* of it, and making it, and therefore transcending it. He is its summit, centre, and foundation, its originator and mighty 'support.'

I also find that the people sometimes address God by the endearing term of *shinda, i.e.* 'cradle,' for I have heard them pray to Him under that name. Moreover, it has been already pointed out that God is also called 'the one who feeds us,' 'our nourisher,' and such like names. Surely all such designations can only spring from the soul of a deeply religious people. Yet Mr. Lando says,

'The Ainu worship nothing; the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion.' The very idea is absurd, for the theory that there has ever been a race without religion has been exploded over and over again. It would have been far nearer the truth had Mr. Landor said: 'The Ainu worship everything,' and that 'there never was a race of people more full of religion than the Ainu.'

How natural it seems that the thoughts and appellations of every-day life, and words in daily use, should be taken and applied to the great 'cradle' of all, the 'nourisher' of every person, the great 'all-mother,' or, as we should say, the great 'all-father'! How natural, again, that these words should be taken and applied to the material fire which warms the body and cooks the food! Doubly natural does this appear, when we consider that in the Ainu idea *heat* is looked upon as life, and *coldness* as death. In fact, the best way of saying 'good-bye' to a person is to use the expression, *Popke no okai yan*—that is, 'May you be kept warm.'

The idea underlying the name 'cradle' when applied to God appears to be this. Just as a child is nursed in the bosom of a cradle, and is made comfortable, and kept free from danger in it, so all men are brought up and nursed, as it were, in the bosom of God; for He is the Creator, support, sustainer of the universe, and the protector and nourisher of all mankind.

The word *turen* is very curious, and, like the name for God, can be applied to both good and evil objects. It signifies 'to be inspired by the

gods,' as when a prophet prophesies; then to be possessed with a devil; then to be afflicted with disease as a punishment for evil deeds; next to receive special blessings from God; and lastly to have God's protection, as when engaged in some great or dangerous undertaking.

What particular meaning is intended in any given passage is to be explained by the context, and the common sense of the listener. The particle *i* is sometimes prefixed to *turen*, making *ituren*. When this is done it makes the word stronger, or intensifies the meaning. It is used especially when God is thought of as the inspiring, guiding, guarding, protecting Angel of human beings. Every Ainu hut is supposed to have its special guardian god, who is thought to rest upon the roof when the master is at home, and give warning of approaching danger, and who accompanies the head of a family when he goes forth to his wars and on his hunting expeditions. They believe also that there is a special protecting angel for each individual.

Thus, then, we learn that the Ainu look upon God first, as the Creator of the world and its Preserver; secondly, as the Providential Father and sustainer of mankind in general; and thirdly, as the guardian and special protecting Angel of each individual person. They also believe that every man has a faculty implanted in his nature by means of which he can know God, and commune with Him in prayer.

CHAPTER LI.

Religion—*continued.*

(E) *Gods and Demons of Earth and Air.*

Besides the many duties the goddess of fire is supposed to perform there is a special one which well deserves to be mentioned. For not only is she looked upon as useful, but as very awful as well. She is *useful* because she warms the body, brings health, and cooks the food; and she is *awful* because she is a special witness who notes the words and actions of men and women. It is she who will appear for or against us at the Great Day of Judgment. She will present the dread Judge of all with a perfect picture of every word and action spoken and done by each individual being, and from her there can be no appeal. Thus every person will be rewarded or punished hereafter according to the representations made by her. It is no wonder therefore that this deity should take the first place among the gods of the earth, and that so much importance should be attached to the hearth and fire worship.

The deity next in order appears to be one who goes by the name of *Toikurupunikuru*, or 'he who rises from the face of the earth.' He is married, and his wife's name is *Toikurupunimat*, or 'she who rises from the face of the earth.' It

is their duty to look after vegetation; they are said to be of a good nature, and as such ought to be worshipped, have *inao* offered them and *saké* drunk in their honour.

One called *Pekonchikoroguru*, or 'he who wears a water cap,' comes next. The people say that this deity looks like a very great cloud. When he appears he rises from the mountains like a mighty rain cloud. He is said to be very good, and should have *inao* and *saké* offered him. There is a legend concerning him which is as follows:—'Once upon a time the Ainu were at war. The enemy had pressed them very hard, and had set fire to their huts. Upon this the people called upon every god they could think of for deliverance. At length a large cloud arose out of the mountains and, floating directly to the burning village, rained heavily upon it, and extinguished the flames. They then learned of this god for the first time, for he was quite unknown before. He has been worshipped ever since this event, and the name "he who wears a water cap" was given him.'

The next god is called *Ikoroporoguru*, or 'he who possesses great treasure.' He is also known by the name *Nupurikoro kamui*, or 'the divine possessor of the mountains,' as was shown in the legend given on another page. Like those mentioned above, he has the highest kind of worship offered him. It is his province to watch over the mountains. Like that to be given next, this god is also said to come in the bodily form of a bear when he appears to people.

Sanruweporo kamui, or 'the deity who makes

large footprints,' appears to follow next in order. This god is also said to assume the form of a bear when he appears in the earth, and to leave very large footprints behind him. Like all the rest, this one also is an object of divine worship.

The last earthly deity I shall mention is called by the name of *Shirikoro kamui*, or 'the divine possessor of the land.' His bodily shape is not known, but he is said to be often worshipped by the men, for it is his province to watch over all the trees of the forest.

We now come to the gods of the air. In speaking of these, it must not be forgotten that there is one who is said to reign supreme. He is often called *Kotan kara kamui*, *Moshiri kara kamui*, and *Kando koro kamui*, which all mean 'the divine maker of places and worlds, and possessor of heaven.' This deity is the personal ruler and sovereign of all the rest, for every other owes allegiance to him, and must obey him in all things. Next to him is placed the goddess of the sun, who is conceived of as being the special caretaker of the good things God has made and fixed in the universe, and of whom a full account has been given in Chapter VI.

Following next in order is one called *Shinish-cranguru*, or 'he who comes down through the highest heavens.' It is thought that he governs the highest places above the clouds. He is said to be married, and his consort's name is *Shinish-eranmat*, *i.e.* 'she who comes down through the highest heavens.' Both are worshipped, while *inao* and *saké* are offered for their acceptance.

After these follows *Nochiuerangurn*, or 'he who comes down through the stars.' It is the province of this deity to attend to the well-being of the stars. He also has a wife who, together with him, has *inao* and *saké* offered her. *Urarаerangurn* is the last I have heard spoken of. This name means 'he who descends through the fog.' His wife always keeps him company, and they are supposed to have their home in the mists and fogs, and to superintend all things connected with these elements. They, too, like the rest, are objects of worship.

In passing now from the *gods* of the land and air, it is curious to remark that the *demons* supposed to reside in these elements are thought to be much more numerous. On this matter an Ainu once said to me: 'As the demons of the air are so near this earth of ours, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even dwell among us. This accounts for so much evil in the world.' Only a short time ago I was asking a man whether there were evil dryads in the forest, as there are mermaids and water-nymphs in the lakes, rivers, and seas. 'Certainly,' he said; 'great numbers of them. The genii who work evil to men are part of these, and though dwelling in the forests and mountains, have their real home in the air around us. They are servants of the prince of devils.' He said that he had never seen one, but firmly believed they existed, for all that. On asking another man what he would do, or what would be the best place to flee to, if pursued by an evil genius, he said that 'the most secure hiding-place is close under the bank of a river where the running water has carried

the soil away. The devil is certain not to be able to find a person hiding there, providing he did not see in what direction the object of his pursuit ran! However, should he have seen in which direction he went, the best thing to be done is to climb a tree, for though demons can also climb, yet a person may easily keep him off by hammering away at his claws with a branch!'

After the demon of marshes mentioned in Chapter IV., the chief of the land demons seems to be one called *Kinashutunguru*, or 'he who resides among the grass roots.' This is really the snake, which has already been very fully treated of in the chapter on Serpent Cultus, and therefore calls for no further remarks here.

The demon next in order is named *Toipokunchiri*, or 'the underground bird.' Why he should be called a bird no one appears to know, excepting that this demon is supposed to belong to the bird tribe. We are told that when a hunter is in danger of being killed by a bear, he will seek deliverance by calling upon this demon in prayer. If the prayer is heard, *inao* and *saké* are offered for his acceptance.

The next demon is called *Toikunurariguru*. This name means 'he who rests upon the earth,' and his wife's name is *Toikunurarimat*. These are called upon in time of danger or harm from wild animals. Like that last mentioned, this demon was also spoken of in the chapter on Animal Cultus (A).

Honpokikeush stands next in order. This name means 'he who rattles upon the under part,' *i.e.* of

the mountain sides. It is said to be this demon who causes the stones to rattle down the mountain sides. By many Ainu he is worshipped when walking under dangerous cliffs, but others appear to consider this rank heterodoxy.

Another demon is named *Purikanda kamui*, or 'he who is very wild.' He is also called *Nupurikesunguru* by some, and that means 'the person who resides at the foot of the mountains.' He is said to be a very wild and dangerous demon, and to appear in the form of a man-eater bear when about to destroy any one.

Iwaesanguru is the next spoken of, and his name means 'he who comes down from the mountains.' Like the demon last mentioned, this one also assumes the form of a bear when he makes his visitations, and he never appears except it be with evil intent. For deliverance from him people in danger must call upon *Toipokunchiri* and *Toikunrariguru* mentioned above.

Following this is a demon who has the name of *Iwabosoingarabe*, or 'he who looks through the mountains.' This is supposed to be a fabulous monster who has a subterraneous home in the middle of the mountains, and who is ever piercing the rocks with his eyes to see what evil he may do. His bodily form is not known.

After this monster comes *Iwakoshinpuk*, or 'the mountain elf.' He is an awful monster always intent on mischief, and is said to have the power of assuming any form he wills at pleasure.

Iwaechishchish is a demon said to be closely allied to that last spoken of. This name means

'he who cries in the mountains.' He is said to have the form of a bird, and to low like an ox.

Another demon goes by the name of *Iwaoro-peneresp*, *i.e.* 'he who breaks the mountains.' This is said to be a kind of fabulous night bird, and to have a voice something like that of a deer, but so powerful is it that every time it cries the jar of it breaks the strongest rocks in pieces; nay, its vibrations are so severe that no man can hear it and live.

The next demon is called *Iwarasambe*, or 'he who comes down through the grass growing upon the mountain sides.' His body is supposed to be of a black colour, and about as large as a dog or fox in size. His ears are very long, and he has two teeth, each about a foot in length, sticking up from his lower jaw.

Iwahoinu, or 'mountain marten,' appears to follow next. This demon animal is said to be abnormally large, to have very long teeth and great horns. Among the individuals of this family some are black and others red, but all are very dangerous to meet.

The next to follow is another fabulous creature called *Iwasaraush*, or 'he who has a tail of rock grass.' He is also sometimes called *Arasaraush*, which means 'he with the tail *par excellence*.' The body of this creature is said to be very large indeed, but there is no hair on its body.

The last demon I remember having heard of is named *Iwaiscpo*, or 'mountain hare.' This demon is also said to be very large, and to resemble a hare in bodily form. Its colour is sometimes black,

and its cry is like that of a deer. Its ears are said to be between two and three feet long.

Such are the demons of the *land*. On turning next to those of the *air*, we must remark, in the first place, that, according to Ainu ideas, there are six quarters of the globe, and that the winds of each quarter are supposed to be vehicles of demons. Why this is so, or what special evil these demons bring, I have not been able to learn. It appears that no *saké* or *inao* are offered to them.

The very worst aerial demon is supposed to come in what is known as *Ikamenashrera*, or 'the south-east wind.' Then follows *Pikatatonomatnep*. This is a name of the west wind. When these winds are very strong this demon is worshipped, and earnestly asked to cause them to cease. *Menashok-kaiwenyuk* is the next. This is a name for a strong east wind, and is said to be very evil. Then comes *Shumrerawenyuk*, and this is meant for the west wind. Following this demon we have *Matnauwenyuk*, or the 'north wind.' Neither this nor that immediately preceding are looked upon as being of a very bad nature. *Motenai* appears to come last in order. This name represents any strong wind which comes from the north-eastern quarter of the compass. The demon who rides in this wind is said to be very bad, though not so evil as that called *Ikamenashrera*, mentioned above. Besides these there is the whirlwind, which is sometimes called *Chiukopoyerera* or 'twisted wind,' and sometimes *Wenrera* or 'bad wind.' As this was mentioned at the end of Chapter XXXIII. no further reference will be made to it here.

The next demon to be mentioned is called *Upasruyambewenyuk.* This means 'severe snow-storms'; also *Aptoruyambewenyuk,* or 'severe rainstorms'; also *Ruyambenitnep, i.e.* 'demon storms.' In times of great rain, that is to say, when *Aptoruyambewenyuk* pays a visit, and the Ainu desire to get rid of him, they deride him by taking a sieve, and setting it upon poles outside of a hut. They then challenge the demon to fill it with water, if he can; but if he cannot do so tell him that he had better take his departure.

FINIS.

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