

A STUDY ON THE SHAMANISM AND FAMILY LIFE IN CHEJU ISLAND

*Kim Yang-soon**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I.	INTRODUCTION
Chapter II.	PROCEDURES
1.	The Myths of Cheju-do
2.	The Legends of Cheju-do
3.	The Shamanism of Cheju-do
Chapter III.	THE SHAMANISM AND HOUSING IN CHEJU-DO
Chapter IV.	THE SHAMANISM AND FAMILY LIFE IN CHEJU-DO
Chapter V.	THE SHAMANISM AND CHILD REARING IN CHEJU-DO
Chapter VI.	THE CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER STUDY
	BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Cheju-do, located in the southernmost part of Korea, is the largest island in the country. The elliptical island is about 254 kilometers(158 miles) round circumference, about 80 kilometers(50 miles)long from east to west, about 40 kilometers (25 miles)long from north

* 自然科學大學 副教授

to south, and about 1,820 square kilometers (700 square miles) wide in area. In its central part, Mt. Halla, the highest mountain in South Korea which is 1,950 meters high, lies east to west, dividing the isle into the northern part and the southern one. It has four hundred odd smaller mountains scattered around Mt. Halla and contains a population of 480,000 or so. It was shaped in the late Pliocene and early Pleistocene, covered with lava and basalt.¹⁾

There is no knowing for sure when the human being began to settle here, but the relics of the Old Stone Age found in the caves of Jeju-do by some archeologists show that the island was inhabited in that era.²⁾

A founder myth has it that three gods, Ko, Yang and Pu, sprang out from under the ground and founded a country called Tam-ra in the island. The holes from which tradition says they came out is called *Sam-song-hyol*, which means three holes for three names literally. Every year the descendents of the three 'god' performs *Sam-song-cha*, the ceremony worshipping their ancestors of the three names.

Beside this founder myth, the island is widely known for its three trios of three characteristics—that is, *three much, three lacks, and three treasures*.³⁾

Three muches means that there are many stones, many women and many winds. Every year several tyoons blow up to the island in summer, and in winter the continental high pressure from Siberia has seasonal northwesterly winds hit it strongly. Again in summer, the northern Pacific Ocean stirs the eastsouthern winds or southwesterly winds if not tyoons. Exposed to the open sea, Jeju-do cannot help welcoming every wind from every direction. One-third of the days in a year are windy with a minimum wind speed of 10 meters per second.⁴⁾

Covered with lava and volcanic rocks which the volcanic explosions had flow out, there can be found a lot of red stones and black ones all over the island. The stones are made use of in dividing the land or building houses and fences. The various heights and curves makes the stone fences look beautiful and exotic. Stone Grandfather, a symbol of Jeju

1) Jeju-do. *The Chronicles of Jeju Island*. Jeju : jeju-do, Sam-hwa Pub., Co., Vol. I & II. 1982. PP. 517-521.

2) Chong, Yong-hwa. *An Anthropological Approach to Cheju Island*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Cultural Institution, Vol. 3. 1983. PP. 44-46.

3) Chin, Song-ki. *The Islanders Way of Life Brought About by Three Muches*. Jeju : Jeju-do. Vol. IV. 1962. P. 92.

4) Jeju-do. *Ibid.* 1982. P. 541.

Island, also tells a story of the island with many stones, being chiseled out of stone.

A train of upheavals such as the cheju Civil War and the Korean War had the number of women increased relatively, depriving the island of many man. Since widows had to keep house without the husband's help, they came to cultivate the spirit of independence, patience and diligence.

Three lacks means that there are no thieves, no beggars and no gates. Since in ancient days both poverty and their spirit of independence compelled almost all the inhabitants to work out in the fields or waters, there could be neither thieves nor beggars, who in their turn did not allow the islanders to know what a gate is. The ancient Cheju-do was the island without gates, which must be a fantastic story at present.

Three treasures indicates the three items, that is, languages, plants and the sea. The people of Cheju-do belong to the group of the northern Mongolians constitutionally and to the Altaic linguistically.⁵⁾

The dialect of the island has had the modern Korean language mixed up with the ancient Korean of the 15th to 16th century which, now extinct in mainland, has been the backbone of the Cheju dialect. From the viewpoint of linguistics, the dialect is highly valuable, throwing many hints is studying the phonetics and linguistic history of Korean.⁶⁾

Mt. Halla, 1,950 meters high, divided itself into such parts as the subtropical zone, the temperate zone and the frigid zone, each of which grows unique plants of its own climate. With the result that Mt. Halla as a whole contains so various kinds of flora as to be most valuable for the botanists.⁷⁾

As for the treasure of the sea, one of the centers for the islanders' livelihood, it abounds in so various kinds of fish, shells and seaweeds that you can gather or develop foods and medicine out of them. Especially the artifacts made of black coral is favoured as the souvenir of sightseers.⁸⁾

Cheju-do is about 313 kilometers (208 miles) away from Pusan, a city of mainland, and about 91 kilometers (57 miles) away from Mokpo, another city of the mainland. So far away from the mainland that it shows features quite different from those of mainland in clothing, feeding, housing, family type and shamanism.

5) Jeju-do. Ibid. 1982. P. 27.

6) Chin Song-ki. Ibid. 1962. P. 100.

7) Jeju-do. Ibid. 1982. PP. 566-567.

8) Chin Song-ki. Ibid. 1962. PP. 107-112.

The aim of this study is to survey, from the viewpoint of social anthropology, the characteristics of myths, legends, shamanism, housing, family relations, and domestic lives including child rearing of Jeju-do. If the favourable ones should be selected and promoted out of those characteristics, this study would be of some help in trying to establish the future "Jeju-do family ethics."

This survey finds its limitations in the difficulties in looking for the villages or other places where the traditional characteristics are kept intact against the influence of modern civilizations. Accordingly, I could not but visit the designated folk village and a few relics of Jeju Island. Out of so many myths, legends and shamanistic features in Jeju-do, only those items which seem to be necessary for this study selected especially in connection with family life.

CHAPTER II. PROCEDURES

It would be no exaggeration to say that Jeju-do is an island of myths and legends. In any spatial-temporal arena, myths and legends are a dream, a philosophy and a literature of a people, out of which their ideals, outlooks on the world, ways of life and original pieces of literature can be excavated up. The myths and legends of Jeju-do are also the dreams, philosophy and literature of the islanders who have lived in the peculiar natural features and historical conditions of its own.⁹⁾

1. The Myths of Jeju-do

The myths is a story which tells about such *Genesis*-like facts as the origins of natural and social phenomena, the forming of cosmos and the like, which are believed true and considered sacred as its main theme is about gods. The myths of Jeju-do consists of various stories such as those of the Creation, of the founders, of ordinary incidents, of *dang* (*Dang* is a sort of shrine where the ceremonies of a sorceress are performed.), of ancestors and so on. Of these myths, the named *Bon-pu-ri* is interesting enough to deserve to be mentioned in particular. It, meaning the explanation about the origin, is a song sung

9) Hyon, Yong-jun. *The Myths of Jeju Island*. Seoul: Dam-moon-dang, 1976. pp. 3-4.

by a sorceress to appease gods while playing an exorcism. It is a kind of prayer or incantation which tells about life of a god such as his birth, his ordeals and his final enthronement as the full-grown one. *Bon-pu-ri* is divided into three parts : general *Bon-pu-ri*, *dang Bon-pu-ri*, and ancestor *bon-pu-ri*.

The first part consists of a story about gods who have constituted the main ideas of ours on nature and human beings. The second tells about a *dang* god or a tutelary god, and the last about a tutelary of a clan.¹⁰⁾

This paper selects and mentions a few myths, which are closely related to the family life in Cheju-do, out of so many myths. One of them is *Sam-song* Myth, a part of ancestor *Bon-pu-ri*, and another is *dang Bon-pu-ri*.

Sam-song Myth

Sam-song Myth tells a story about how human beings came to appear on Cheju-do. It is the founder myth of Cheju-do, and therefore the most representative of all. The story of the myth whose exact date when it was created is unknown is as follows :

Once upon a time, three god-men, Ko, Yang and Pu, sprang out from under the ground and began to live hunting on the uninhabited island. One day a large box drifted on the sea, reaching the beach. Opening it, they found three goddesses and seeds. They married and began to do farming, becoming the ancestors of the islanders.

This myth implies the process of change from the Hunting Age to the Agricultural and from the clan to the lineage or kindred. It also explains the monogamy, exogamy and the patrilineal marriage custom in the ancient days.

From the viewpoint of cosmology, *Sam-song* Myth contains such a structural system as a following pair :

West-Earth(Mountain)-Male-Poverty

East-Sea

Female-Wealth

which help us understand the symbolic system of the ancient Cheju-do. Also the myth adopts the sublime, the good, and the light as basic values. They spread the basic conception of three values into all the other cultures and thoughts such as social space, social order, social classes, social organization, ethics and so forth. This value view of theirs gets us to understand what the logic of trisection system of the ancient islanders was

10) Hyon, Yong-jun. Ibid. 1976. PP. 310-314.

like, and their outlook on the world as well.¹¹⁾

Every year the descendents of the three surnames, Ko, Yang and Pu perform an ancestral sacrifice on April 10th and another one on October 10th, commemorating their ancestor's myth. Some local important persons of other surnames also participate in the ancestral sacrifice performed on December 10th at *Sam-song-hyol* (the holes from which tradition says that the three ancestors came out.), worshiping the founders of Cheju-do regardless of their different surnames and praying them to bless all the islanders.¹²⁾

Dang Bon-pu-ri (Dang-sin)

The islanders created many gods on the basis of animistic faith in order to get away from anxiety, suffering, fear, misfortunes or diseases, which were brought about by the natural calamities and the ordeals of life. Five hundred odd villages of the island have erected two hundred and fifty-two altars, upon which eighteen thousand odd gods are worshipped.

Bon-hyang-dang (a shrine of the native village) is a sort of natural religion composed of pre-animism like taboo and magic and animism which endows almost everything with a spirit.¹³⁾

Song-dang-bon-hyang is a big *dang* (a sort of shrine) where no fewer than 378 gods were created, scattered to the villages all over the island and worshipped as a tutelary god of each village.¹⁴⁾

Dang-sin (a god of *dang*) was created on the belief that the islanders could get the necessities of life by praying to him. For instance, they prayed the *Dang-sin* to cause a rainfall, to stop a typhoon, to cure a disease and to protect the villagers from all kinds of natural calamities. *Ul-dang* a *dang* located in Wa-san-ri, Cho-chôn-myon, is where the wives without any son visit from January the 3rd to March the 13th pray for a son.¹⁵⁾

Bon-hyang-dang, mentioned above, is also called *Halmang-dang* (a shrine of a grandmother) where children visit and offer foods as a sacrifice, praying for their own welfare.

Thus, we can understand how a *Dang-sin* has influenced the daily lives of the islanders

11) Hyon, Yong-jun. *A Study on the Sam-song Myth*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Institution. Vol. 2. 1983. PP. 45-93.

12) Chin, Song-ki. *The Folklore of Southern Island*. Seoul : Kye-hak-sa., 1981. PP. 173-176.

13) Chin, Song-ki. *The Myths of Tam-ra*. Seoul : Pyung-moon-sa., 1980. p. 6.

14) Chin, Song-ki. *Ibid.* 1980. pp. 68-71.

15) Chin, Song-ki. *Ibid.* 1981. p. 49.

with his various functions. a ritual leader must have been needed if they had had to worship so many gods and offer sacrifices to them. A *mu-dang* is just the ritual leader who mediates between man and god. The *mu-dang* (a shaman), who either male or female can become, has had his status or class sharply discriminated according to his career and geneology. The classes of *mu-dangs* are sometimes divided into *Sang-sin-chung* (loyalty to a high god), *Chung-sin-chung* (loyalty to a middle god) and *Ha-sin-chung* (loyalty to a low god).¹⁶⁾

2. The Legends of Cheju-do

A legend is a story which explains about a particular natural phenomenon, a historical person or a historical event, considering them as true. Legends can be classified into three categories. The first is the natural legends which tell about how a mountain or an island was formed and the anecdoted related to some natural things such as a pond, a lake, a plain or a rock. The second is the historical legends which are stories about the historical persons and events chiefly related with such traditional virtues as loyalty, filial piety and righteousness. The last is the legends of faith which are the stories about the folk faiths, geomancy and the like. The legends of Jeju-do may be said to reflect the particular things Jeju-do-ian such as its natural or climatic conditions, its historical conditions, the life history of the islanders, their dream or view of life and so on. The legends, handed down to posterity as true stories, impart the knowledge of nature and history and the wisdom of life to people, encourage them to worship their ancestors and love their country, and satisfy their social aspiration.¹⁷⁾

This paper selects the legend of *Baek-nok-dam* (white deer pond; the carter at the top of Mt. Halla) and that of *marriage-pond* as sample legends of nature, which have to do with the founder myth of Cheju-do; the snake cave legend of *Kim-nyong* (the village where the cave is located) as a sample legend of history; and *Yong-so* (the pond of a dragon) and a ritual for rain as those of faith.

Baek-nok-dam, the carter at the top of Mt. Halla, is meant by the pond where white deer drink water. Tradition has it that in ancient days gods in heaven rode down on white deer and played, feeding them with water.

16) Chin, Song-ki. Ibid, 1981. p.306.

17) Hyon, Yong-jun. *The Legends of Jeju Island*. Seoul: Dam-moon-dang. 1976. pp.292-296.

Marriage-pond is a pond located at about 500 meters away from On-pyong-ri, Song-san-myon, where the three god-men, Ko, Yang and Pu, held the wedding with the three goddesses from the sea and took bath. Thus, the name *marriage-pond*.¹⁸⁾

The snake cave of *Kim-nyong* is where once a monster of a snake lived forcing the villagers to appease himself by offering a maid with a great ritual every year. In the days of King Chung-jong, the Yi Dynasty, a governor called So-yon killed the snake at the cost of his own life, hearing of it on his arrival.¹⁹⁾

There were so many a snake that some people in a certain part of the island used to take the snake as their totem so as to prevent the snakes from hurting them. *Chil-song-sin* (seven star god) in shamanism is the very god of snake, from whom the legend of snake cave might be originated.

Yong-so is a pond located at Yong-dam-dong, Cheju City, where in ancient days a dragon from the East Sea used to visit enjoying its beautiful scenery. In a dry spell, a *mu-dang* (a shaman), according to a tradition, could cause a rainfall for sure by performing a ritual for rain, since the dragon could hear his praying.

3. The Shamanism of Cheju-do

The shamanism of the islanders are based on no fewer than 18,000 gods included in their myths and legends, and their animistic faith. *Dang-sin* and *Dang Bon-pu-ri*, mentioned above, make this fact evident.

Hyon, Yong-jun explains about the gods worshipped in the shamanism of the island, classifying them into three groups : ordinary gods, village tutelary gods, and clan tutelary gods. The ordinary gods are those who control the usual phenomena of nature and culture, i. e., those of heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, the mountains and the sea, life and death, a disease, an occupation, etc. And these gods are not only those of Cheju-do, but also the same as those of the other countries. Village tutelary gods are called *Dang-sins* who control both the natural range of a village and the inhabitants, protecting them against natural dangers or something. Clan tutelary gods are usually

18) Hyon, Yong-jun. Ibid. 1976. pp. 37-38.

19) Hyon, Yong-jun. Ibid. 1976. pp. 114-119.

called *Cho-sang* (ancestor), who guard life and property of all their posterity.²⁰⁾

Clan tutelary gods, are sub-divided into patrilineal ones and matrilineal ones. Some families worship one of these gods all times by erecting a small altar at such a place as a sheltered lot behind the house building and a barn. Other families invoke the god concerned only at the time when they need his help by inviting a *mu-dang* to hold an exorcism. Almost all the affairs of a family like their welfare, misfortunes, occupation and other things necessary for their livelihood are believed to be at the mercy of the clan tutelary god. In other words, a clan tutelary god is considered to be composed of the characteristics of the late ancestor's soul, a tutelary god of one's livelihood, and a judge; and was created with the basic idea of ancestor worship mixed other faiths.

Of ordinary gods, those mentionable are *Sam-sung-hal-mang* who meddles with man's life and death, *Ma-ma-sin* (the god of small pox), *Mun-jon-sin* who presides over the safety of a family, *Cho-wang-sin* (the god of kitchen) and *Chil-song-sin* (the seven star god) who has to do with wealth and good crop, being originated from the totem of the snake. These ordinary gods are sometimes worshipped in the same constellation of *Dang-sin* or a village tutelary god.²¹⁾

A family has a *mu-dang* (a shaman) invoke these gods when a member of the family gets sick, when they want a newborn baby to be blessed, or when they are grateful for a good harvest. When they perform an ancestral sacrifice, these gods are also remembered with an additional sacrifice offered.

It is mainly the women who actually take part in the shamanistic rituals, and the more of whom are interested in the rituals, the older and less educated they are. Men, on the other hand, generally participate in Confucianistic ones, the most typical ones are the ancestral sacrifice and funeral, both of which are the ancestor-worship rituals. The funeral alone is carried out through no fewer than nine stages of performances.²²⁾

The shamanism of Cheju-do, composed of Buddhistic elements, Confucianistic ones and shamanistic rituals, can be found on the very spot of the islanders' lives.

20) Hyon, Yong-jun. *Formation of Shamanistic Doity in Jeju Island*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Cultural Institution. Nol. I. 1982. p.24.

21) Hyon, Yong-jun. *Ibid.* 1982. pp.18-21.

22) Hyon, Yong-jun. *Family and Religion in South Korea—Chiefly based on Cheju Island—*. Korea : East Asian Cultural Studies. Vol. XI. No. I-4. March. 1972. p.118.

CHAPTER III. THE SHAMANISM AND HOUSING IN CHEJU-DO

Houses enable us to catch a glimpse of the history and the geographical, natural environments of a people. The traditional houses of Cheju-do are quite different in their shape, structure and materials from those of the mainland.

The houses of Cheju-do have their fence elaborately laid with stones. Inside the fence, usually two buildings are built. The main building, called *An-ko-ri* (the inner house), is for the parents, and the other, called *Bak-ko-ri* (the outer house), is for the married son. The islanders believe that *Bak-ko-ri* cannot be built higher than *An-ko-ri*, which might be considered as an expression of their filial piety. Besides the two buildings, there can be a barn for cattle, a toilet and a *nul-wal*(a haystack).

The fence does not have a gate built, in place of which three *Chong-nangs* (woodem bars) stretch between two stone posts at the entrance. How the bars are placed tells if the house is empty. all the three bars properly laid imply that the family will not be back for quite long time. With the two bars, the owner of the house tries to inform you of his ordinary outing. Only one tells that he will come back sooner or later. None means that the visitor shall be welcomed as the host is in.

The *chong-nangs*, being a non-verbal communication symbol, are also of use to prevent cattle from intruding.

The peculiar kind of grass with which the roof is thatched can be counted as one of the unique building materials of Cheju-do. The grass, called *Ti* (a kind of reed), is reaped from the plain of the foot of Mt. Halla and dried before the roof is covered. The roof thus covered, in turn, has the ropes bind itself in the checker-board patter tightly enough against the strong winds. The roof usually has the old grass replaced by the new once in two years at some time between October and December. The new grasses on the houses shine with their golden color. When the islanders want to replace the grass, they will ask a *mu-dang* to choose so-called a lucky day on which to do the work. The shaman advises his client to avoid *Chon-hwa-ils* (heaven-fire-days : the days traditionally considered calamitous in Asia according to their own calendar.), The work done on such days can bring about a disaster like a fire, they believe. In having the house enlarged, they are never to

touch it at its northern eaves. Also for fear of a possible disaster. A shamanistic prejudice that "The east brings wealth, the west poverty, the south longevity and the north a short life" leads the islanders to prefer either the south or the east to the north as the direction to which their head is laid in sleeping.²³⁾

To have a *mu-dang* choose a lucky day on which to get one's house repaired or enlarged is to try not to offend the tutelary god of the house.

As many as twelve gods called *Ka-sin* (the god of the house) are worshipped, each of whom is allotted his residence in a particular place of the fence.²⁴⁾ In having the house repaired or enlarged, they try to appease the god in charge of the concerned part of the house, with a sacrifice offered.

O-bang-ji-sins (the gods of five directions) protects five posts of a house. The post of the east is guarded by the blue clothes god, that of the west by the white clothes god, that of the south by the red clothes god, and that of the north by the black clothes god. They can make the members of the family troubled by bringing about a peculiar misfortune called *Dong-li*, if the family ignore a taboo or get their house repaired at random. Ordinary diseases are usually considered as *dong-lis*, which a *mu-dang* can cure, they say, by appeasing the angry god with a proper exorcism performed. A severe *dong-li* would never be cured by any excellent *mu-dang*.

Even some garden trees are kept away from. Camphore trees are not to be planted in the garden which spirits fear, lest the spirit of a late ancestor should be unable to attend the ancestral sacrifice in honor of him. You should be careful of a silk tree, also called the tree of love, which will malaria to the person who sleeps under it. But it, planted in the garden, may promote the conjugal love of the family. A wisteria and a grape tree, whose branches are bound up with each other, are believed to do harm to the conjugal love. Planting them at the far corner of the garden, however, would be another story. A poplar and a willow, easily waved by the wind, may make the love of the couple shaky. Cutting branches of a very old tree at random might cause a *dong-li*.²⁵⁾

Here we can see the animistic thought of the ancient people that a large tree is inhabited by a god.

23) Chin, Song-ki. Ibid. 1981. p.235.

24) Hyon, Yong-jun. *Family, Family and Religion*. Jeju : The Reports of Culture and Relics of Jeju Island. 1973. p.99.

25) Chin, Song-ki. Ibid. 1981. pp.148-151., p. 385.

The islanders find some difficulty in moving house at the other time than *Sin-ku-gan* (between new and old), the traditionally designated moving period, which lasts for a week or so usually between January 28th and February 3rd. Moving during this period or having the house repaired would do no harm, since it is during this time that all the gods on the earth ascend to the heaven and the new gods, who are to take places of the old gods, have yet to come down to the earth. They never move during summer. Even during *sin-ku-gan*, the family are supposed to select the lucky day on which to move and the lucky direction to which to move. After moving, a *mu-dang* is invited to appease the new gods of the new house.

Ip-chun (the coming Spring), the new season of spring follows in time the period of *sin-ku-gan*. Sixty years ago, the top *mu-dangs* used to meet together playing an exorcism to welcome *ip-chun*, which practice has disappeared at present. Instead, people try to prevent various evil spirits from doing harm for the year, with a couple of sheets of paper attached on the gate, on which prayers for welfare are written. On the day of *ip-chun*, woman, neatly dressed, will not visit others, since their visit might cause weeds to thrive in the fields. In the farm villages, some people try predict how the harvest of the year will be by practicing a special divination on the day.²⁶⁾

Of the traditional shamanistic practices, many items such as the taboos on moving, repairing houses and the *ip-chun* day are still observed even today, which might not be able to be easily abolished because they are deep-rooted in the lives and consciousness of the islanders.

CHAPTER IV. THE SHAMANISM AND FAMILY LIFE IN CHEJU-DO

The islanders call a member of a family *sik-ku* (feeding mouth) or *sik-sol* (managing of feeding mouth).²⁷⁾

As already explained, the parents live in *An-ko-ri* (the inner house), while the family of a married son occupy *Bak-ko-ri* (the outer house).

26) Chin, Song-ki. Ibid. 1981. pp. 78-83. pp. 383-391.

27) Hyon, Yong-jun. Ibid. 1972. p. 112.

The two families—one of the parents, and the other of the son—do get along in the same lot of space, each party of whom has their own world tacitly divided with an independent economic unit formed. The other sons than the first one have their own independent family set up on their marriage the same way as the first son did. One difference is that they cannot help finding a shelter to live in outside of their old house buildings, which have already been occupied, a system of patrilocal marriage. The parents, getting much older, do their best to earn their way for themselves without asking help from their sons. The daughter-in-law, living in the *Bak-ko-ri*, seldom cook for the parents. It is only when the parents go in so needy circumstances as be unable to earn a living for themselves that the eldest son takes care of them.²⁸⁾ For instance a widower deserves his son's care.

Such a family system of Cheju-do is quite different from that of the main-land. In the mainland, if the married first son live together with his parents, they cook in common as one economic unit in the same house building. If the son is to have an independent branch family set up separately, he moves to a house completely separated from his parents' wity his own fence.

A paper of mine read in the year of 1977, *A Study on the Domestic Family Life in Cheju Island* shows that, of two hundred and fifty families selected at random from ten districts, mainly of rural area, 48% keep on with the traditional Cheju-type family system, 34% are those of the nuclear type separated from the parents, and 18% belong to the mainland type, i. e., that two generations live together in one house building; 51% have the parents occupy the *An-ko-ri* (the inner house) and 29% the *Bak-ko-ri* (the outer house); 62% keep common cooking and the rest cook separately. As time goes by, the tendency of the two families' common is growing higher. Of the same sample families mentioned above, 57% prefer two families' living together in one house building, 19% living separately in a different house but inside the same fence and 24% the nuclear type family.²⁹⁾

A paper of Shin, Haeng-chol (1980) also finds the higher preferance for common cooking.³⁰⁾

From this we can see that the new generation's ideas on the family system and the way

28) Hyon, Yong-jun. Ibid. 1972. p. 115.

29) Kim, Yang-soon. *A Study on the Domestic Family Life in Cheju Island*. Journal of Koran Home Economics. Vol. 15. No. 1. March. 1977. pp.55-69.

30) Shin, Haeong-chol. *The Traditionalism in Socio-Cultural Conscio-usness of Cheju Islanders-based on Analysis of Social Survey-*. Jeju National University Journal. Vol. II. Feb., 1980. p.435.

of life have been changed from those of the past.

However, there remain quite a few families of the traditional Cheju-type, which may as well be looked upon in two aspects. One is such a type of family as is a unite in its actual sense, sleeping, cooking, producing and consuming together in one house building. The other is such a type of family as live separately outside of their fence. The latter is the particular family structure unavailable in the other places of mainland, which seems to be a sort of three generation family or stem family in its appearance, being a nuclear type in practice. The residential space is found to be of little consequence in the islanders' conception on the family³¹⁾

Yi, Kwang-gyu (1983) calls such a family structure of Cheju-do the *independent family type*, to distinguish it from the *stem family type* where the family line is sustained through a succession of the eldest sons. Another trait is that it is female-centered as well as the independent family type. That is to say, an old widow who lived together with her son's couple while her husband was alive usually keeps on living for herself independent of her son, sustaining *one-member-family-unit of a married woman*. It can also be considered as mother-centered.³²⁾

The women of the island have taken part positively in the works of farming, gathering marine products, domestic affairs and the like. It is sometimes said that woman can live and do farming by themselves but that man cannot do without woman.³³⁾

A few families of polygamy is also female-centered and mother-centered. The Confucianistic tradition makes it difficult to divorce oneself or remarry, bringing about a few families of polygmy. Contrary to those of polygamy in the mainland, however, wife and concubine are independent of each other, keeping a different unit of livelihood.³⁴⁾

As mentioned in the above phrases about the three trios of three characteristics, the smaller number of men in the past compelled women to live for themselves, to promote strong vitality, independence, industry and perseverance. The characteristics like mother-centeredness and female-centeredness, as C. Jung (1982) claims, might have been

31) Hyon, Yong-jun. Ibid. 1973. p.72.

32) Yi, Kwang-gyu. *A Structural Analysis of the Korean Family*. Seoul: Il-ju-sa. 1975. pp.63-65.

33) Cho, Hye-jong. *A Study of Women Divers in Cheju Island*. Han, Sang-bok. Edt., Korea: Korean and Korean Culture. Sim-sol-dang. 1982. p.150.

34) Choe, Chae-sok. *A Study of Korean Family*. Seoul: Min-jung-so-gwan. 1970. pp.215-218.

originated from the collective consciousness handed down from the past.³⁵⁾

Property to be inherited has been distributed equally to all the children, which is another particular custom different to that of the mainland.³⁶⁾

The custom of equal distribution is a little bit different, but parents usually try to have their property inherited as equally as possible. The eldest son, however, is supposed to receive a little bit more than the others, as he is to have the charge of the ancestral rituals which cannot be performed without any expenses.³⁷⁾

As for the kinship system of the island, they call kindred "*Koen-dang*" in Jeju dialect, which, meaning a group to be favoured, may be considered as one of the expressions of ancestral worship.³⁸⁾

The kindred are divided into the patrilineal, the matrilineal, and the uxorilineal; it is also one of the traits in Cheju-do that these three kinds of kindred are treated equally.³⁹⁾

It is at most the sixth-generation ancestors, in honour of whom the ancestral sacrifices are served, but usually the ancestors higher than those of the fourth generation are not remembered. In the service, the relatives of the three kinds of kindred participate. It is men who play the major role in performing the ceremony; women are allowed to take part in it as minor participants. The ancestral sacrifice is one of the most typical Confucianistic practices, which most Korean families keep performing. The three kinds of kindred help one another, celebrating or consoling in the happy events like wedding and the sixtieth birthday as well as in the troublesome ones such as a funeral, one of the beautiful customs in the Island.

35) Fordham, Frida. *An Introduction to Jung's Psychology*. Great Britain: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982. pp. 23-28.

36) Choe, Chae-sok. *Ibid.* 1970. p. 388.

Yi, Kwang-gyu. *Ibid.* 1975. p. 328.

Hyon, Yong-jun. *Ibid.* 1972. p. 116.

37) Hopn, Yong-jun. *Ibid.* 1973. p. 80.

38) Chin, Song-ki. *Jeju Islanders and Family Relations*. Jeju: North Jeju: Vol. 67. 1970. p. 86.

39) Yi, Kwang-gyu. *Ibid.* 1975. pp. 69-70.

CHAPTER V. THE SHAMANISM AND CHILD REARING IN CHEJU-DO

We shall see what the child-rearing customs in Cheju-do are like.

A pregnant woman practices the prenatal education, being careful of some tabooed foods. For instance, if she eats crabs, it is believed that the baby will walk sidewise or bite her breast; if pork, the baby will have a fit; if a chicken, the baby will make its skin harsh, etc.

Her family will not allow the house to be repaired, a new house to be built, and an animal to be killed inside the house.

She used to have her childbirth carried out in her own house at least in the past with the aids of her mother and a midwife. In the course of the childbirth, they used to leave the doors of the room and the wardrobe open, to lay a branch of a peach tree over her pillow, and to feed her with eggs and sesame oil, all of which were performed with the intention of making the delivery easier.⁴⁰⁾ During the puerperal period, she should be careful of some tabooed foods. If she eats a fish without scales, chicken, pork, pumpkin, bean-curd, and hard and raw foods, it is believed that she will get troublesome in milking or that she will get her teeth weakened.⁴¹⁾

When a boy is born, they stretch a rope with red peppers tied at the porch; if a girl, charcoals instead of red peppers. The rope is called *Kum-jul* (the prohibiting rope), which is generally twisted left-wise in order to prevent any evil spirits from intruding into the baby's room by cheating them since all the worldly affairs are considered as happening right-wise. The rice traws of which the rope is made symbolize life, red peppers male, the red color and hot taste of the peppers turning the evil spirits out, and the charcoals sterilization. It is stretched usually for 7 days (3 weeks in the mainland), during which strangers are supposed not to visit so as to protect mother and baby against infectious

40) Kim, Yong-don. *Passage Ceremonies*. Jeju: The Reports of Culture and Relics of Jeju Island. 1973. pp.115-117.

41) Kim, Yang-soon. *Ibid.* pp. 55-69.

diseases and bacteria.⁴²⁾

The *Kum-jul* is also of avail, before and after a *mu-dang* is invited for a patient, when an ancestral sacrifice is served, and when one of cattle gets sick.⁴³⁾ It is used the same way as a *chong-nang* does as a nonverbal communication symbol.

Brown seaweeds and buckwheat are most favoured as a special food for a woman delivered of a baby, which are found to facilitate the secretion of milk and to help the blood easily circulated.

The goddess in charge of childbirth is called *San-sin-hal-mang-sin*, who is worshipped for 7 days for the sake of the neonate. Right after the delivery, a set of sacrifices, i. e., three dishes of brown seaweed and vegetables, threads and money, in a small basket (which is called *Chi-sel-me*) is offered to a corner of the room. The goddess is thanked with the 3rd-day *Chi-sel-me* offered on the 3rd day after the birth and with the 7th-day *Chi-sel-me* offered on the 7th day. During this period, they allow no animals to be killed in the house (a Buddhist practice), nothing to be baked or fired, no marine products to be caught, no foods to be sent outside of the house, and no impure persons to visit. While rearing a child, they care a lot about the goddess, whose anger is considered to cause all the diseases of the child. She is invoked whenever the child gets ill, and if the illness is serious, a *mu-dang* is invited to perform an exorcism, called *San-sin-hal-mang-sin-Bon-pu-ri*, to appease her.

A child who is weaker than the ordinary *chilnary* children or doomed to a fate is to have his nickname called up to the age of 15 or so in order to keep her/him from taking her/him away. The nicknames are usually the names of unwelcome objects.⁴⁴⁾ Such a child sometimes has a *mu-dang* adopt himself temporarily and bring up to the age of 15, who is called *Sin-chung-ja-son* (a descendent loyal to the goddess). The *mu-dang* brings up the child as tenderly as her own child, even by performing exorcisms for his sake. Every year on September 28th, the supposed birthday of all the *mu-dangs*, his true parents present foods and wine or money to the *mu-dang* in token of gratitude, praying for their child's longevity and happiness. When the child grown up to be fifteen years old and healthy

42) Yu, Ahn-jin. *The Traditional Korean Childhood Education*. Seoul: Jong-min-sa., 1980. pp. 67-69.

43) Chin, Song-ki. *Ibid.* 1981. pp. 351-353.

44) Kim, Yong-don. *Ibid.* 1973. pp. 115-118.

enough, he comes back to his own parents with the *mu-dang* performing the *Ha-jik-gul*, a farewell exorcism.

Ah-gi-gu-dok (the basket of a child), the cradle particular to Cheju-do, is made rectangular of bamboo tress, which a child avails himself of from the age three days up to that of two years. An *ah-gi-gu-dok* enables the mother to do various domestic works, not disturbed by her baby, as she can put it to sleep in the cradle by swinging it lightly with one of her feet. When she works in the field, she takes the infant in the cradle with her. While working, she only wishes her baby should keep on sleeping in the cradle under a shade tree.⁴⁵⁾

The cradle keeps the infant away from the surface of soil, preventing some insects from biting him, -An ingenious device.

CHAPTER VI. THE CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER STUDY

This study finds its purpose in surveying the myths, the legends, the shamanism, and the general characteristics of family life such as housing, family relations and child rearing in Cheju-do. Of many myths, legends and cases of shamanism, only those considered to be of help for this paper are selected and related to the family life. The results are follows :

First, the myths and legends of the island are closely related with the islanders' shamanism. The myths and legends have given birth to 18,000 odd gods or goddesses, still remaining in the consciousness of the islanders as fine pieces of literature almost intact.

Second, it is *Bon-pu-ri* that is the representative case into which the myths, the legends and the shamanism of Cheju-do are interrelated. It is a sort of story explaining about life of a god from his birth. To the islanders, it is one of the most sacred prayers, an incantation and the spring of literature.⁴⁶⁾

The *Sam-song* Myth which is about three progenitors, Ko, Yang and Pu as the founder myth of Cheju-do, and the *Dang Bon-pu-ri* about *Dang-sin* (a god of *dang*) are the two of the most typical *Bon-pu-ri*s. The latter, in particular, was an important folk religion which used

45) Chin, Song-ki. Ibid. 1981. pp.304-311.

46) Chin, Song-ki. Ibid. 1980. p.113.

to relieve the islanders of their pain and listen to their appeal, and which was originated from their animistic thoughts. Only a few islanders in farming and fishing villages retain it at present.

Third, the shamanism of the islanders can be summed up as praying to gods for the sake of one's ancestors and family by the medium of a *mu-dang*. It is woman who take part in the shamanistic rituals at first hand, while men are in charge of the Confucianistic rituals for the ancestors. Time has had the shamanism changed in its quality, it has allowed many things Confucianistic, Buddhistic and Christian to permeate itself. The fact that the most of the Christian and Buddhistic believers are women, who what is worse, stick to the practice of praying mainly for secular fortunes, implies that they have not freed themselves from the Shamanistic consciousness of the past.

Fourth, even at present time, many cases where the shamanism the bound up with housing can be found. For instance, they don't move house in the other periods than the moving season of *Sin-ku-gan*. They want to be informed of what direction will be lucky in moving. They don't have their houses enlarged and a new house built at random. They have a sheet or two of paper attached on the gate, on which prayer for welfare are written, on the day of *Ip-chun*. The structures and materials of houses have been much changed from those of the past; the names like *An-ko-ri* and *Bak-ko-ri* are still available.

Fifth, the structural-functional analysis sees many changes in the Jeju-do family system, which has been gradually turned into that of a nuclear family. Therefore, a study on families should put more emphasis on the aspect of family interaction,

The ancestral rituals are still performed more conspicuously than any other ritual, and the spirit of mutual aid among the members of kindred is found to be deeply rooted in the consciousness of the present islanders.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the very spirit is what the islanders continue to retain from generation to generation.

Sixth, it is the customs of childbirth and child-rearing that have been most strongly influenced by the contemporary civilization. The housewives of higher education naturally prefers the modern way of child rearing.

The myths and legends of the island will not be erased away even if time passes away, remaining as pieces of literature in the consciousness of the islanders will be gradually changed under the influence of modern civilization, Such a prospective change has the need to study on how the family ethics in Cheju-do should be established felt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chin, Song-ki. *The Islanders Way of Life Brought About by Three Muches*. Jeju : Jeju-do. Vol. IV. 1962.
2. _____ . *The Folklore of Southern Island*. Seoul : Kye-hak-sa. , 1981.
3. _____ . *The Myths of Tam-ra*. Seoul : Pyung-moon-sa. , 1980.
4. _____ . *The Folkstory of Southern Island*. Seoul : Hyong-sol Pub. , Co. , 1982.
5. _____ . *Jeju Islanders and Family Relations*. Jeju : North Jeju. Bol. 67. 1970.
6. Choe, Chae-sok. *A Study of Korean Family*. Seoul : Min-jung-so-gwan, 1970.
7. _____ . *Kinship Organization in Cheju Island*. Seoul : Il-ji-sa, 1979.
8. Cho, Hye-jong. *A Study of Women Divers in Cheju Island*. Han, Sang-bok. Edt. , Korea : Korean and Korean Culture. Sim-sol-dang, 1982.
9. Chong, Yong-hwa. *An Anthropological Approach to Cheju Island*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Cultural Institution. Vol. 3. 1983.
10. _____ . Fordham, Frida. *An Introduction to Jung's Psychology*. Great Britan : Penguin Books Ltd. , 1982.
11. Hyon, Yong-jun. *Family and Religion in South Korea-Chiefly based on Cheju Island*. Korea : East Asian Cultural Studies. Vol. XI. No. 1-4. March, 1972.
12. _____ . *A Study on the Sam-song Myth*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Institution. Vol. 2. 1983.
13. _____ . *Formation of Shamanistic Deity in Jeju Island*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Cultural Institution. Vol. I. 1982.
14. _____ . *Family, Family and Religion*. Jeju : The Reports of Culture and Relics of Jeju Island. 1973.
15. _____ . *The Myths of Jeju Island*. Seoul : Dam-moon-dang, 1976.
16. _____ . *The Legends of Jeju Island*. Seoul : Dam-moon-dang, 1976.
17. Jeju-do. *The Chronicles of Jeju Island*. Jeju : Jeju-do, Sam-hwa Pub. , Co. , Vol. I & II. 1982.
18. Kim, Du-hun. *A Study of Korean Family System*. Seoul : Seoul National University Press, 1969.

19. Kim, Yang-soon. *A Study on the Domestic Family Life in Cheju Island*. Journal of Korean Home Economics. Vol. 15. No. 1. March. 1977.
20. _____. *A Structural-Functional Approach of the Theory of the Korean Family*. Journal of Korean Home Economics. Vol. 17. No. 3. September, 1979.
21. Kim, Yong-don. *Passage Ceremonies*. Jeju : the Reports of Culture and Relics of Jeju Island. 1973.
22. Shin, Haeong-chol. *The Traditionalism in Socio-Cultural Consciousness of Cheju Islanders-based on Analysis of Social Survey-*. Jeju National University Journal. Vol 11. Feb. 1980.
23. Yi, Hoe-jae. *Urban Kinship Relations in Korea*. Seoul : The Korean Studies Series. Vol. 27. The Korean Research Center, 1971.
24. _____. *Family and Society*. Seoul : Kyong-mun-sa, 1983.
25. Yi, Kwang-gyu. *A Structural Analysis of The Korean Family*. Seoul : Il-ju-sa, 1975.
26. _____. *A Sociological Approach to Cheju Family*. Jeju : Jeju National University. Tam-ra Cultural Institution. Vol 3. 1983.
27. _____. *Family Relations viewed from Folk Tales*. Seoul : Journal of Sociology in Seoul National University. Vol. 5. 1980.
28. Yu, Ahn-jin. *The Traditional Korean Childhood Education*. Seoul : Jong-min-sa, 1980.

제주도의 무속신앙과 가족생활에 대한一考察

요 약

제주도에는 수많은 신화, 전설, 무속신앙이 전해지고 있다. 이는 제주도민의 생활속에 깊이 잔재하여 있으며, 그중 일부는 현대까지도 도민의 가족생활에 영향을 주고있다.

본 연구는 사회, 인류학적 측면에서 제주도의 신화, 전설, 무속신앙과 도민의 주택, 가족관계 및 육아등의 가족생활 사이의 특성을 조사하려는데 그 목적이 있다.

무수히 많은 신화, 전설, 무속신앙중에서 본 논문에 필요한 부분만을 집중적으로 요약하였으며, 가족생활과의 연관성에 중점을 두고 조사하였다.