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PUBLIC FORUM

Folk Culture Coming Across the Sea of Genkai “Explore Cultural Linkage”

IM Dong-kwon
Grand Prize Laureate

【Date】 16:00 – 18:00 Saturday, September 17, 2005

【Venue】 ACROSS Fukuoka Event Hall (Tenjin, Chuo-ku, Fukuoka City)

【Program】

Outline of Forum and Introduction of Speakers:

Professor Inaba Tsugio, Kyushu University

Keynote Speech:

Professor Im Dong-kwon, Grand Prize Laureate

Panel Discussion:

(Panelists) Professor Sano Kenji, Kanagawa University

Assistant Professor Nagamatsu Atsushi, Miyazaki Municipal University

Professor Matsubara Takatoshi, Research Center for Korean Studies, Kyushu University

Coordinator:

Professor Inaba Tsugio



Introduction

Inaba Tsugio:

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Although I specialize in the history of education, which may have no direct academic link to Professor Im's lecture, I am serving as the coordinator here today as my association with Korea is believed to be the deepest among the members of the Selection Committee for the Academic Prize of the Fukuoka Asian Culture Prizes.

I studied in South Korea from 1971 to 1974. I received MA from Kyushu University, and then moved to Korea University to take doctor program.

As residents of Fukuoka and therefore in the close proximity to South Korea, all of you are well aware that considerable parts of Japanese culture in our daily lives have their roots in Korea.

While studying in Seoul, the first word that surprised me was what we pronounce in Japanese as *chongar*. In Hakata, there are so many people working on business far away from their families, and we call them "Hakata Chongar." I used to be under the impression that this word came from Europe. So it took me by surprise when I realized that it was derived from a Korean word meaning "unmarried man." The correct pronunciation in Korean is *chongak* and is very difficult to enunciate. The Japanese phrase *peko-peko* is another example of a word with Korean origin. *Pe* is stomach, and *koppuda* means empty. Therefore, *peko* itself is supposed to mean "I am hungry." However, in the Japanese phrase, *peko* is preceded by *hara*, which means stomach in Japanese. We don't have to add *hara* before *peko* in a proper way.

These are only a few examples of well established Korean cultures in our day-to-day lives. Professor Im's keynote speech and the subsequent panel discussion will highlight a surprising amount of Japanese culture, originating from Korea, which up until now has escaped your attention. I would also like to draw your attention to their unique development which has taken place only within Japanese culture, and so thus like to suggest that you listen to today's forum keeping in mind both the similarities and differences between Japanese and Korean cultures.

Keynote Lecture

Im Dong-kwong:

When we talk about Korean and Japanese cultural developments, there is a basic assumption that Northern Culture propagated through the Korean Peninsula to Japan.

In Korea, it was not only culture but also our ancestors that were believed to come from the north and moved toward the south. This is quite obvious when you look at the sense of direction of Korean people.

In Korea, people identify 'south' as 'front' and 'belly.' We can find either of these three words in the names of mountains located in the south of major cities in Korea; Mt. South in Seoul, and also in Gyeongju which was the capital of ancient Silla, Mt. Forward in Daegu, as well as Mt. Belly in Buyeo.

The north corresponds to 'rear' and 'back,' and thus the east is 'left,' and the west is 'right.' This traditional perception of direction have deeply connected with Korean geomancy(*Pungsu*), which is faithfully followed in construction of houses, palaces, and cemeteries. So the presence of geomancy can be one of the evidences that a large part of Korean culture came from the north.

Then, why people came from the north? Which part of the north did people come from? In raciology Japanese and Korean are classified as Mongoloid because both have Mongolian spots. This partly endorses the general belief that Korean ancestors came from Mongolia and its surrounding areas. However, Korean culture had been under the strong influence of China.

Taking these into consideration, we can make an assumption that Korean culture traveled from the north to the south in Korean Peninsula, and crossed the sea of Genkai-nada, and finally took root in Japan.

So, the next question arises. When and how people (and their culture) entered into Japan? From Busan, particularly on a clear day after the rain, Tsushima Island is faintly visible. Korean people of ancient generations were probably curious about what lay there. They may even have imagined that southern island could be a better place to live, and eventually found the courage to take rafts or boats and made their way to Tsushima Island. Once they arrived there and looked to the south again, they caught another faint sight of an island Iki Island in the distance. So they again took their voyage and reached to Iki, where Kyushu Island then came into their sight. There might be this kind of brave people who crossed the sea in search of a new Utopia.

England, Spain, and the Netherlands, they all had many colonies around the world because they were brave enough to cross the sea. The majority of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii were from Okinawa. This is also the case in South America. As for Korean immigrants in Japan, a considerable number of them were from Jeju. They are all islanders. Agricultural people cannot leave their land. They cannot survive without paddy fields. But for marine people, what serves as a food source is the sea. With skills and wisdom, they managed to migrate in search of a new Utopia.

When people came, they brought their life and culture with them. Culture always travels with people. In our case, continental culture came across from the sea of Genkai-nada to Japan, and this is the main topic of today.

So, more specifically, what are examples of such culture? One is *sotdae* which serves as like a gate, referred to as *torii* in Japan. It is a pole with bird-shaped decoration. *Sotdae* symbolizes the god of the village and marks the boundary of the village land. This bird sets its beak to the north, which is synonymous with 'birthplace' in Korea. *Sotdae* had evolved into *jangseung*, a wood pole carved with images of human face. Later on the distinction between male and female began to be made. It also began to be painted in different colors depending on the direction it pointed. For example, the names of 'Ch'onha Taejanggung' (Great General under Heaven) and 'Chiha Yojanggung' (Underground Female General) denote male and female respectively. The name of the colors associated with each directions are added to them; blue for east, white for west, red for south, and black for north. Thus, there are the 'East Blue General,' the 'West White General,' the 'South Red General,' and the 'North Black General.' People put up *jangseung* at the entrance of their village, as a sign of the boundary, which shows clear distinction between 'sacred and real,' as well as 'in and out' of the village.

In ancient Korea, if there were ungrateful sons and daughters in a village, people took them to the front of *jangseung*, and thrown out of the village together with him or her household goods. This meant his or her expulsion from the village. They were never allowed to return into their communities. This is an example of folk beliefs which almost have become rules of communities in Korea. These rules existed across the country in ancient Korea though the details varied among villages.

Later, *jangseungs* also came to function as milestones showing the distance to travel to the next village at their bottoms.

In Japan, I happened to find something similar with *jangseung* at Taishogun (great general) Shrine in Kyoto. According to the commentary on this, as guardian deity, *Taishogun* was enshrined to the north, south, east, and west of the area when the new capital of 'Heiankyo' was built by Emperor Kanmu.

Reading the commentary, I took a hint that the mother of Emperor Kanmu was from Baekje.

Back in those days, children were usually raised at the home of their grandparents on their mother's side, and after growing up there, brought to their father's home. Viewed in this light, Emperor Kanmu probably spent his childhood in Baekje and subsequently moved to the Heiankyo together with the Baekje's local worship of God.

I also discovered that worshipping Taishogun was a common practice in Kyushu, especially in Nichinan City which has the highest number of Taishogun Shrines in Japan. Nationwide, there are about 800 shrines. Shiga Prefecture alone is home to 200 shrines which are located in the vicinity of communities belonging to the Baekje people. This is a very clear example that migration of culture occurs together with that of people.

Now let me talk about *moso* (blind monks). I have heard that in Japan, there were blind people who served as monks, and the group of these people have been recognized as a part of social system. In Korea it would seem that we didn't have people like Japan's *moso*. However, the blind were recognized as fortune-tellers or theotherapists because they were believed to have superhuman power for fortune telling, disease healing, and disaster prediction. These were government-licensed occupation for the blind in Korea. It was thought that fortune-tellers could foresee the future, using their special spiritual power to communicate with the gods, reciting sutras, and then recounting the fates of others.

Among those people with such power, especially when they were women, some became to serve as shamans or priestesses. Whether she was blind or not, a female shaman sang, danced, and conducted various rituals. She also helped fulfill the wishes of others including disease healing, family prosperity, and the success of their children who were far away from home.

In contrast to this, a blind male did not sing nor dance. He did nothing other than sit and beat drums while chanting sutras. Since his power was limited, compared to blind females, he could only discover causes of diseases or predict whether wishes would come true or not. Blind females were hence engaged in a wider range of ritual activities.

Next, I would like to talk about the theme of the sea. When we look at a modern map of our area, there is the sea of Genkai-nada between South Korea and Japan. However, according to Japanese archaeologists, 180 to 200 thousand years ago, the sea used to be part of the land inhabited by humans. Based on Korean archaeologists' view, it is believed to be 200 thousand years ago, while some Chinese archaeologists maintain it is 400 thousand years ago. If that were the case, the early people of the continent now called China could have reached to Japanese Archipelago on foot through Korean Peninsula, and all these areas are then considered to have been under homogeneous culture at that time.

Twenty thousand years ago, however, the sea of Genkai-nada was created, resulting in

the separation of the three regions. As migration ceased, the culture in each region developed independently and each became unique. That's the nature of culture. In the absence of migrants, Japanese and Korean cultures have gained their respective distinctiveness.

As I mentioned earlier, and the *Gishiwajinden*¹ testifies, there later emerged Chinese people who sailed across the sea, along the west coast of the Korean Peninsula and arrived in Japan three or four thousand years ago. The exact figures vary according to researchers.

Crossing such a vast area of sea must have required maritime knowledge and decent ships. A Japanese authority in maritime research observed that ships originated in the Nile River and subsequently spread around the world.

Speaking of maritime knowledge, there is a legend in Korea about Japan's *kamikaze* (divine wind). In the 13th century, the Mongolian Forces occupied Jeju Island for military training purposes. When they were about to leave the island to invade Japan, a local fisherman warned them not to leave because of a typhoon coming. But his warning was not heeded. Mongolians had no maritime knowledge, but they were so confident after their successful advance to Europe. They thought it would be easy to cross such a small sea. They set out on their ships and eventually encountered *kamikaze*.

In the '*Kibaminzoku* (Horserider) Theory' which Mr. EGAMI Namio puts forward, he says that in the beginning of migration, only the people moved, but later horses were also brought with them. In order to bring horses, the ship's structure must have been altered to store the forage for feeding them.

In subsequent years, ship traffic increased, particularly during the eras of Silla and Baekje. At the time of the Baekgang battle in 663 A.D., as many as 200 to 300 ships sailed around each of the countries. Moreover, it was perhaps possible that as early as 600 A.D. people built the ships that were large enough to sail the Seto Inland Sea easily. If that were the case, Japan was considered to be rather easily accessible even though it was separated by the sea. It is thus estimated that the culture which had already come into Japan from Baekje and Silla might have dramatically increased in its volume around the fifth or sixth century. In other words, 1500 or 1600 years ago, people and their culture already flowed into Japan from the Chinese Continent.

The creation of maritime culture also gave birth to a new religion. When people were

¹ Gishi wajinden is the chapter dedicated to Japan among eastern barbarians, of a Chinese geography and history book, Sangokushi, edited by Chinju at the end of third century. It was the first foreign book which described Japan with enough details (circa 2000 Chinese characters) to understand customs, specialties and political structure of that time, so its documental value is huge. It mentioned Yamataikoku reigned by Queen Himiko as Japan's political center but its locality remains mysterious.(excerpted from: www.webdico.com/dico/histxtg12.html)

landlocked, they worshiped the gods of mountains, childbirth, warfare, rocks, and trees. However, once they went out to the sea, the biggest fear for them was the sea. They did not want to be drowned to death. Since they could not guarantee their safety on their own ability, they had no other option than to pray for the god. It is out of this fear that those seagoing people created the gods of sea and ships, or *Funadama* in Japanese. In the area of the southern coast of South Korea is home to numerous beliefs in sea gods, as with Japan's coastal area. The sea gods were worshipped and revered as guardians of seagoing people.

In Japan, tutelary deities are generally enshrined on hilly groves in the vicinity of villages. These groves are called *Chinju-no-mori* in Japanese. The gods that enshrined there are mostly the mountain gods who control harvest and fertility as well as mountain related affairs. Such shrines are found near almost every grove in Japan. In South Korea, there are also the gods of mountains and forests known as '*mouri*.' It sounds similar to the Japanese *mori* (groves) in *Chinju-no-mori*. This similarity indicates that, as a term for the place where gods dwell, *mori* might have been converted into Korean *mouri*, or vice versa. It seems to me that there is a link between these two words.

As I mentioned, people and culture came from the north to the south. When people live far away from home, they feel a sense of longing for their home and try to have a view of their homeland. They might well go up to a nearby hill with their children to show them the direction of their homeland. I believe that the name, Mt. Kunimi (translated as 'viewing one's country') is a product of such behavior.

In the history of Japan, Mt. Kunimi is most often associated with Emperor Nintoku. According to legend, he used to look for smoke from the houses of his people in order to confirm their well-being. Smoke indicated that the people were eating regularly whereas its absence worried the emperor who took it as a sign of their hunger or poverty. When visiting Kyushu, however, a different interpretation regarding Mt. Kunimi came to my mind. To be more precise, it was 10 years ago when I visited Ebino Highland which is surrounded by five other higher mountains. Among these five, the highest one is called Mt. Karakuni-dake. I wondered why this mountain which is even higher than Mt. Takachiho-no-mine was named as Karakuni (translated as 'Korea'). So I ascended to its summit to read the information board. It simply read that the mountain was named Mt. Karakuni-dake because it commanded a very beautiful view. I remained unconvinced and turned to libraries for further information. But my efforts were in

vain.

My interpretation is that Mt. Karakuni-dake was named by those who came from Korea, those who used to take a view of their homeland to the north of its peak.

A few days before I came to Fukuoka, I consulted a map of Northern Kyushu and discovered that there were many mountains called 'Mt. Kunimi' in the western area next to Fukuoka, including a 777 meter one in Nishi-Arita, a 177 meter one in Imari, and a 496 meter one in Kita-Mastura. However, no matter how closely I looked into the map, there were no such mountains in Southern Kyushu. I also realized that, coincidentally, the area where these Mt Kunimi are located closely overlapped with the area where many potters of Korean origin lived. It is thus possible for one to assume that the mountains called 'Kunimi' were the mountains from which those Korean immigrants climbed up and take a far view to the north, longing for their homeland.

One mountain was named Mt. Kunimi because an ancient king used it as a viewpoint to observe the wellbeing of his subjects. The other may have been for those far from home yearning to see their homeland again. Since there are many examples of the latter in Kyushu, I hope that someone will be interested in this as a subject of research.

Although I have mentioned that culture came from the north, this was by no means one-way traffic. From Korea's perspective, Japanese culture also traveled from the south. For example, tug-of-war was introduced from Japan to South Korea.

In addition, cultural syncretism also occurred in the coastal areas of southern part of South Korea: the shrines dedicated to mountain gods are looked after only by men and are off-limits to women in South Korea. However, in Okinawa, the situation is the exactly opposite. These opposite practices were both introduced to Korea's southern coastal area. In Jeollanam-do and Gyeongsangnam-do, ritual activities are performed by both husbands and wives. Religious rites, which are performed by men in the northern regions of South Korea and by women in Okinawa (located to the south of South Korea), are thus syncretized at the halfway point between the two regions.

In Okinawa, women wear special headbands when planting of rice seedlings or doing other work. In South Korea, women wear special hoods instead of headbands. But headbands are worn by women in Jeju Island and the rural areas along the southern coast of Jeollanam-do. This is one of characteristics of Southern Culture that permeated the islands, but not the inland area. Cultural syncretism occurred again here, at the halfway point between the North and the South.

There are a lot of legacies and influences that Korean Missions left in Japan. For example, the town names such as *Tojin* Town in Fukuoka, *Koryo* Town in Hirado and

Kagoshima are supposed to be derived from the missions. Other than these, there are many towns named *Tojin* throughout Japan. The missions also brought Chinese style dance which is today represented by the *Karako* Dance of Ushimado in Okayama Prefecture, the *Tojin* Dance of Ogaki and Gifu, and the *Honen* Dance of Maehashi in Gunma Prefecture.

As the visit by the missions increased in frequency, so did the volume of their culture introduced to Japan. There are a lot of local festivals that feature the missions' march of that time; Kishu Toshogu Shrine's festival dedicated to Tokugawa Shogunate in Wakayama, Asakusa Festival or Kanda Myojin Festival, and Akasaka Sanno Festival, all of these developed under such influences.

Thus propagation of culture takes place when people move from one place to another, and culture is altered in harmony with local characteristics including climate, produce, and lifestyle. In ancient times, continental culture came to Japan across the sea of Genkai-nada and was reinvented into what we know today as Japanese culture. Now I would like to conclude my presentation. Thank you for your attention.

Panel Discussion

Inaba:

I would like to start the discussion with questions and comments about Professor Im Dong-kwon's keynote lecture from the panelists here, expressing their point of view as experts in their respective fields. Professor Sano, would you like to start us off please?

Kenji Sano:

First of all, please take a look at this inverted map of Japan. It is the map produced by Toyama Prefecture, so the circles are drawn around Toyama City. If you try to make the similar map by drawing circles around Fukuoka City as its center point, you would have a different perspective. Having heard Professor Inaba say that the School of Education in Kyushu University has an end-of-year party in Busan, I realized afresh that from Fukuoka, Busan is closer than Tokyo. The inverted map like this may change not only your sense of distance but also your view of the world.

South Korea is a peninsular nation, and Japan is an insular one. For those who live in *Primorsky Kray* (Maritime Territory) of Russia and the coastal areas of South Korea, the Sea of Japan could be seen as an obstacle. They might hold the negative view that the sea blocks their way out.

However, the sea is not an obstacle for cultural exchange. Indeed, it is quite the opposite, conveying vast amounts of culture. For insular and mountainous country like Japan, ships used to be the main mode of transportation until just recently. This is also the case especially in remote islands where network of roads have remained underdeveloped. During the Middle Ages, there already existed a sea route which went through the Sea of Japan connecting the entire country. The *Kitamae-bune* (North trade ships) promoted the distribution of culture from then Kyoto-Osaka district to Hokkaido, while bringing kelp produced in Hokkaido to Okinawa. In this way, these ships carrying many goods including the kelp of Hokkaido, influenced the food culture of Okinawa.

Folkloristics is the study of the culture of a particular people. If such a study were about Japan, the subject would be everything concerning the Japanese people. If you were to study your own folklore, observing yours alone would not be sufficient. You would not be able to see your back by yourself and would thus need to view your own culture from the outside. This is what is known as the comparative study of folklore. Simply put, looking at his own culture from the outside is exactly what Professor Im has been doing. Professor Im has conducted extensive research on the folklore of the Korean people, and then studied the folk culture of neighboring areas including Japan, Yamato, Okinawa, Ainu, China, and Mongolia, enabling himself to see his own culture from an external point of view. He combined his internal and external observations to analyze the folk culture of the Korean people. Professor Im has argued for this methodology from an early stage and has put it into practice.

A Japanese well-known folklorist, YANAGITA Kunio, published his literary work *Tono monogatari* (the Legends of Tono) in 1910, during his literary youth. But prior to this, he wrote a book entitled *Ishigami-mondo* (the Debate about Stone Gods), in which he focused on stonework and its related issues. In my view, this work not only marked his debut as a folklorist but also his declaration that he would shift from literature to folklore. *Ishigami-mondo* was a transcription of the heated discussion between him and MINAMIKATA Kumakusu. The topic that Yanagita focused on the most was *jusan-zuka* (thirteen mounds), and in fact, at that time he was so preoccupied with *jusan-zuka* that he earned the nickname of the 'Man of *Jusan-zuka*.'

Jusan-zuka is the term for a type of stonework. Other types include *Douso-jin* (village boundary gods) and *Jizo* (stone statues of *Ksitigarbha*) which are a common sight around the outskirts of villages. Where does this stonework culture come from? *Jangseung* culture in Korean Peninsula seems to provide an important clue when solving this mystery.

There are numerous *jusan-zuka* in Chikuzen region. In the “Topography of Chikuzen Province, Continued (*Chikuzen-nokuni-zoku-fudoki*),” KAIBARA Ekiken suggested that *jusan-butsu* could provide an explanation as to why Chikuzen region hosts such a large number of *jusan-zuka*. The origin of *jusan-zuka* and the worship of *douso-jin* in Japan are difficult to understand if you rely solely on what you know about Japan and her people. Before analyzing Japan’s worship to *douso-jin*, you need to look at the cases in your neighbors, including Korea and Mongolia (especially their worship of *oboo*).

We cannot understand the similarities and differences between some ethnic groups without the comparative study. Based on comparison, we can clarify the characteristics of our own folklore. This is the approach that Professor Im has taken in his research. He has conducted a thorough comparative study into a wide range of subjects such as folk tales, legends, myths, and culture of materials in Japan, China, Korea, and Mongolia. Through these studies, he has successfully established his comparative approach which focuses on presenting his/her own folklore in a new light in comparison with others. He also applied this approach with Chinese characters, Confucianism, Buddhism, and rice culture which are shared within East Asian region to identify similarities and differences between each of the folklores in the region.

Now my question is about *sotdae*, which Professor Im took as an example of comparison. From the viewpoint of comparative folklore, what can be said about *sotdae* and *torii*?

Im Dong-kwong:

Sotdae means ‘soar’ or a ‘soaring pillar’. It has a small, bird-like wooden sculpture on the top of it. The bill of the bird points toward north where people’s hometown is supposedly located. The area where *sotdae* is situated is normally considered sacred. People should not step into the area nor violate its sanctity, because it denotes the dwelling place of gods. *Sotdae*, especially situated at the entrance of a village, marks the boundary between this world and the sacred. No one is allowed to step inside without permission.

Sotdae can be found everywhere in South Korea. They are placed across the country. There can be more than one *sotdae* in the same place. You can also find old and new *sotdaes* that are erected in the same spot, and three or four *sotdaes* that are set up at the one time. The Japanese *torii* gate does not have a bird on it, though it is still called *torii* or ‘bird place’ in Chinese characters. I think it was originally designed to be a sort of birds perch. In my view, *torii* has something related with birds considering its word origin.

Inaba: Now, Professor Nagamatsu, it's your turn.

Nagamatsu Atsushi:

As I was asked to talk about *moso*, I am going to introduce a story about it, which may be very familiar to people in Hakata.

Hakata is an interesting place in that it is in nature of the locals to love performing arts. Hakata is indeed a wonderful place where the sound of *Chikuzen-biwa* (lute) can be heard above the noise of the crowd. But I wonder why the art of performing *Chikuzen-biwa* was developed in Hakata.

I believe that it has an origin with *moso-biwa*. A blind monk is called *moso* in Japanese. In the past, these blind monks performed purification rites for families in the area. They visited the local homes and played the *biwa* in front of their cooking stoves on each canicular day of four seasons, including the day of the ox in midsummer when Japanese have a custom of eating eel.

In the community of Hakata, this practice continued until the second half of 1950s.

Today, *moso-biwa* is performed by monks from the *Genseiho* School based in Northern Kyushu. They belong to *Jojuin* Temple located in Takamiya, Minami-ku of Fukuoka City. This school is designated as one of the folklore cultural assets by Fukuoka City. There is another *moso-biwa* school located in Kagoshima, known as the *Jorakuin* School. One of today's performers is Mr. NAGATA Hojun, a priest who lives in Nobeoka City, Miyazaki Prefecture. He still continues to perform traditional rites for a thousand affiliated families of his temple. He visits three families everyday to purify them by playing the *biwa* in front of their kitchen stoves. Although he has failing eyesight, he continues this demanding job, using local bus services to visit around each parishioner of his temple. There used to be many monks like him throughout Kyushu Island, including Amakusa, Kagoshima, and Oita.

Why is Kyushu home to these *biwa*-players? There are two theories. According to the view of *Genseiho* School, it was a blind monk in Uto, Miyazaki, who founded the base of *Chikuzen-biwa*. He disseminated it as *moso-biwa* to Sadohara of Hyuga. The instrument then found its way to Satsuma, Minamata of Higo, Ajisaka of Chikugo (present-day Ogohri City and its neighboring area), Reizen of Hakata, and to Nakatsu of Buzen. In this manner, the esoteric art of *moso-biwa* for purification widely circulated throughout the region. Subsequently, in the Heian Era, poisonous snakes were found to have caused nuisances during the construction of *Enryakuji*, the head temple of *Tendai* School. Eight blind monks were chosen from Kyushu to get rid of the snakes. According

to the legend, they went up to Mt. Hieizan and successfully calmed the snakes by reciting *Jishinkyō* (a sutra for the gods of land). The eight blind monks who were accompanied by another ten monks formed an octagon and put the snakes into a box while luring them by chanting the sutra. *Tendai* School recognized their achievement and approved them to return home and tell this story while playing the *biwa*.

According to the *Jorakuin* School in Kagoshima, the content of the story is almost the same, but there is an addition at the beginning of the story: A blind monk arrived Uto of Miyazaki from Baekje, and he taught the *Jishin-daranikyō* and *Kojin* (God of kitchen stoves)-*barai*, a ritual for purification of kitchen stoves.

Though today's forum is focused on the sea of Genkai-nada, when we go through the Kanmon Strait across the Genkai-nada, and sail down to the sea of Hyuga-nada, we can hear a story that Baekje culture was also brought to the coast of Hyuga-nada. Among the well-known vestiges is Shiwasu Festival in Nango Village, Miyazaki Prefecture. This festival is dedicated to two kings who were exiled from Baekje. They were a father 'King Teika' and his son 'King Fukuchiyama.' One was enshrined in Hiki Shrine located in Kijo Town of the Prefecture, and the other in Mikado Shrine in Nango Village. These separately enshrined kings meet once a year during this festival.

As Professor Im mentioned earlier, South Korea also has people similar to *moso* known as *pansu*. They recite sutras, tell the future of others, and perform the ritual for purification of kitchen stoves.

Professor NAGAI Akiko from Fukuoka studies to compare *moso* in Japan and Korea. She published a book titled *the Social History of Japanese and Korean Moso* (blind priests) in 2002 with Ashi-shobo, where she writes that the number of blind people in a chapter or an affiliate had to be eight. This is still true today and is a mystery indeed.

Another episode about *moso* was made during the Bunroku-Keicho War (Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea; 1592-1598). Eight blind Koreans greatly helped their king escape the war, and the special government agency was later established in recognition of these eight blind people, who were also allowed to wear *ikan* (formal costume for the noble class). In Korea, it has also long been a common rule that any organization for the blind consists of eight members.

Such a tradition coincides with the eight blind monks from Kyushu, who were known for their great achievement at Hieizan-Enryakuji Temple. It is thought that sending eight *biwa* players from Kyushu is not completely unrelated to the theory that *biwa* playing was introduced from Baekje to Japan.

However, nowadays we know little about the religious involvement of blind people in South Korea, due to drastic changes to its society. Professor Im, I would appreciate it if

you could tell us about what kind of activities are undertaken by the blind in the priesthood of your country.

Im Dong-kwong:

According to ancient Korean literature and folklores, there were blind shamans. Female shamans pleased gods with their dancing, singing, and performing arts to ensure that their wishes were granted, while blind shamans were not so much performers as fortune-tellers.

Blind male shamans do not sing nor dance, but recite sutras while drumming in a sitting position. Their sutras are different from the Buddhist ones. There are twenty to thirty varieties each for a different disease. But sutra-chanting shamans in Korea are not priests. Unlike Japan, there seems no established blind priesthood in Korean Buddhism. I have called a Korean Buddhist organization and asked about this, but it also said that there was no blind priesthood as an institution.

Inaba: Thank you very much. Now let me move on to Professor Matsubara.

Matsubara Takatoshi:

The year of 2005 has been designated as the Japan-Korea Friendship Year. Both governments agreed to build the foundations for an amicable Japan-Korea relationship and a mutually beneficial partnership in the 21st century. As a long-time observer of Korea, I am very happy that Professor Im Dong-kwon has been awarded the Asian Culture Prize, because it provides Japanese people with an ideal opportunity to learn about Korean folklore, and I am delighted that Fukuoka city has played a part in this respect.

In short, Professor Im's accomplishments can be fairly compared to those of Japan's YANAGITA Kunio. There is no doubt that Professor Im is a pioneer in Korean folklore study. He has been engaged in folkloric research for 55 years. In 1971, at the foreword of one of his early books, *the Study on Korean Folklore*, he wrote that the study of Korean folklore had just recently entered the pioneering phase after the enlightenment one.

Professor Im started his research by collecting folksongs, which were amounted to about 25 thousands. I would like to emphasize what outstanding work this was. He then conducted the research on folklore, annual festivals, folk tales, and legends. Meanwhile he took about 20 thousands photographs capturing all the key elements of Korean folklore.

Japan's occupation on the Korean Peninsula began in 1910 and ended with the

liberation of people of North and South Korea on August 15, 1945. On that day, Professor Im probably swore to himself that he would know his own people, and where he was from. What he saw was the ordeal inflicted on Korean people by Japan. He reaffirmed his commitment as a folklorist. He has so far published 46 books and possibly hundreds of papers.

Well, this is a photograph of Busan taken from Tsushima Island. Although Tsushima and Busan are separated by sea, both are easily visible from each other. Professor Im previously suggested that Korean people might have crossed the sea in the hope of finding Utopia on their other side. I believe that his idea led him to develop the next subject of his research, and to establish his thesis that 'People's migration never occurs without their cultural migration.'

I would now like to ask a couple of questions to Professor Im.

Busan is about 50 km away from Tsushima Island. Iki Island is located between Tsushima and Yobuko, and Okinoshima Island is halfway between them. Munakata Taisha Shrine is there and Fukuoka is here where we are now. I would like to hear Professor Im's view on this. How do you see the positional relationship of this area? At Munakata Taisha, there is an autumnal festival referred to as the 'Miare Festival.' It features a large-scale fleet of fishing boats, which, for some reasons, is sailing towards the Korean Peninsula across the sea of Genkai-nada. Okinoshima is called 'Umi-no-Shosoin,' literally 'marine imperial treasure house,' as it is a treasure site with full of ancient cultural properties. Professor Im used the keyword, Utopia, as the image that Korean people might have associated with the sea. For the Japanese, however, the association with the sea seems to be a treasure ship such as the 'Konpira-bune Ship' sung in a folksong. As sung in a government-selected school song, 'Yashi-no-mi (coconuts),' Japanese also fit the sea into an image of something that drifts ashore. We have an image of the culture that is drifting ashore like coconuts. What about Korean people? This question can be paraphrased into "how do they receive their gods coming from the sea?" Professor Im, what kind of perspective do you have when you look at Munakata Taisha's offshore *torii* gate in terms of marine folklore?

My second question is about the folklore of *ama* or female divers. Tsushima and Shima Peninsular of Mie Prefecture are home to many *ama*. *Ama* is said to be descendents of the Jeju Islanders. In the *Man'youshu* or the 'Anthology of Myriad Leaves', there was already a poem about *ama* around Shikanoshima Island in the present Fukuoka City. I would like to hear what you think, and if any, what you recently discovered from the comparison between *ama* of Japan and that of the Korean Peninsula.

This is my third question. Professor Im has laid great stress on the 'flow of people is synonymous with the flow of culture' and even published a book focusing on the Korean Diplomatic Missions and the cultural mobility. Their cultural legacies which are known to us include the 'Kara Dance' of Ushimado Town, or that of Tsu City in Mie Prefecture. These dances were brought with the missions, yet the names bear a Chinese character referring to ancient China, '唐 (Kara).' We should not misinterpret this '唐' character. I believe this '唐' definitely refers to Korea, not China. If so, I would like you to give us some examples that show the resemblance between the Kara Dances in Japan and the folk rituals in Korean Peninsula.

In relation to this third question, Yamakasa Festival of Fukuoka City has also a connection with the Korean Envoys. Yamakasa floats are carried over along the route purified by those holding a flag called '*chongdo*.' The Korean Delegates also walked to Edo with a flag called *chongdo*. How do you see this similarity? I would appreciate it greatly if you would answer even one out of these three questions.

Im Dong-kwong:

Concerning your first question relating to Korean marine folklore and the people's image of sea, I agree with YANAGITA Kunio's hypothesis that your Japanese ancestors drifted to the present Japanese Islands from the Pacific on the Black Current, just like the coconuts in that song. But this certainly does not apply to Korea. This is because Northern Korea is accessible by land. There would have been no reason whatsoever for our Korean ancestors to risk crossing the sea. Korea has not been involved in seafaring activities, as geographically speaking, it makes up part of the Chinese Continent. Thus Korean folklorists have a different view from YANAGITA Kunio, concerning the origin of their people. They believe that their ancestor came across the Chinese Continent from north, and so did their culture.

As for the question concerning what interpretation should be given to the offshore *torii* gates, it is believed that there are two ways for gods to appear before us. The first, according to Japanese mythology, is descending from heaven. The second is emerging from across the sea. I did the research and found which direction of the sea was thought to be the gateway for such divine routes. As far as I researched, it was not likely to be the Pacific. I visited Tsushima Island, where several shrines dedicated to the God of Watatsumi (the sea god), and found that all the shrines have offshore *torii* gates facing to the Korean Peninsula. Tsushima's oldest shrine, Kisaka Shrine, and its offshore *torii* gates, face to the north. North represents the direction where the ancestor arrived on the island. The offshore *torii* gates thus indicate where the maritime gods came from

across the sea. This explanation only makes sense in Japan that is an insular country. It is definitely not the case with Korea. With the map of Tsushima, I confirmed that two thirds of the island's shrines face to the north or Korea, and that no shrine faces to the direction of Japan. This endorses the interpretation that the immigrants came to Japan by way of Tsushima.

When I was visiting Sumiyoshi Shrine in Tsushima, a local told me that Tsushima was the first place to establish Sumiyoshi Shrine, and then followed by Iki, Chikushi, Nagato, and finally Osaka. He went on to say that even though today the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Osaka was the biggest and acted as such, owing to the large scale of its host city, Tsushima's Sumiyoshi Shrine was actually the prime one while Osaka's was the lowest. What he said sounds rather ridiculous, but I think he might have a point when considering the order and the location of these Sumiyoshi Shrines. It may indicate the route that the gods, as well as people, took from the Continent. They first arrived on Tsushima and continued their voyage to Iki, from island to island. They then landed on Tsukushi, where they sailed on to Nagato, and to Osaka. The Korean Diplomatic Missions were dispatched to Japan twelve times. Only one mission ended its trip in Tsushima, and the rest of eleven missions proceeded further north to Edo. The route taken by the missions has strong links to the Sumiyoshi Shrines. Although the Sumiyoshi Shrines are believed to enshrine the god of traffic safety today, originally they seemed to enshrine the god of maritime safety, the god who came from the Continent searching for Utopia. Another similar example is Munakata Taisha Shrine, consisting of three shrines (the first one on Okinoshima Island, the second off the island, and the head shrine inland). They are numbered from the offing because the god came across from the sea. Munakata Taisha is also believed to enshrine the guardian deity of maritime traffic.

As to the second question concerning the folklore of *ama*, they are not found in Korea except for Jeju Island. It is possible that they are descendents of the Japanese *ama*.

Jeju Island is the biggest island to the south of Korea and the seawater surrounding it is warm. In contrast, the water in the north of Korea is too cold for *ama* to work. The *amas* of Jeju Island occasionally go to the east coast or Busan to work, but only in summer. The research into the history of *ama* is therefore limited to Southern part of Korea as they need mild climate and temperature to work under the sea. Japanese *Ama* has a long history and tradition, and even today, can be found in several areas including Ise. The link between Korean and Japanese *ama* will be a subject remained in the future.

The third question is about 'Karako Dance' (dance of Korean children). The Korean

dance performed in Ushimado of Okayama Prefecture is called 'Karako Dance' while it is 'Tojin Dance' (dance of Koreans) in Tsu City of Mie Prefecture. Both of them are of the same origin. Ushimado's Karako Dance is performed by two 5 year-old boys chosen from among the village children. They wear Korean-style costumes and are carried on their fathers' shoulders to the front of a shrine, where they give a dance performance. The names of these dances start with a Chinese character of '唐.' It refers not to ancient China, but to Korea. This is because '韓' and '唐' are pronounced the same *kara*. I have often found, in early Japanese literature, people confusing '韓' with '唐' which refers to China.

I have got and read some notes written by a war priest who came to Korea with Lord Shimazu at the time of Bunroku-Keicho War (Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea; 1592-1598). He used the Japanese term of '唐人' for Korean people. He also wrote that in a local marketplace, he found many people whose noses were missing. They were soldiers who fought against Hideyoshi. He first ordered his army to submit the ears of the enemy soldiers as a proof of their merits, but later changed to the noses because the ears didn't tell either one or two enemies they killed. These 'noseless' people were referred to as '唐人' in his notes. In my book, the *Korean Mission and the Propagation of Culture*, I devoted one chapter to this issue of confusion by illustrating with some examples.

As for Tsu City which has a tradition of 'Tojin Dance,' however, the Missions never visited around this area. Neither did they land in Fukuoka. They took the sea route from Tsushima to Iki Island, and from Nagato to Itsukushima, and finally landed on Osaka. They then headed for Lake Biwa, and passed through Sekigahara. They continued to move southward and to Edo, via around Ogaki, Nagoya, Toyohashi, and Hakone.

Ogaki is known for its folk dancing which is said to be related to the missions, although this city was not exactly on the route. The dance is called the 'Honen Dance.' According to a local legend, a possible explanation for this is that the dance was introduced by a merchant from Ogaki who saw a Karako Dance when he visited Nagoya. He enjoyed it so much that he started dancing with young people in his home town of Ogaki.

'Tojin Dance' can be found in Tsu City and Suzuka City in Mie Prefecture. It is a dance similar with Karako Dance. The costumes resemble those worn by the Korean people during that period. Though people in Ushimado tried to reproduce the original dance by allowing children to dance, the Tojin Dance, on the other hand, bears only a vague resemblance to its original and is much more humorous in both its choreography and the facial expressions of the dancers.

Other places which maintain a similar tradition are Toyohashi ('Sasa Dance'), Kakegawa ('Honen Dance'), and the neighborhood of Mt. Fuji ('Tiger Dance'), and so forth. Despite the varying names given to them, they are all from the places in which the missions stopped over on the way to Edo.

One mission usually consisted of about 500 members. The Japanese feudal lords situated along the route were asked to provide meals and accommodations for 500 people, probably at a considerable cost. The last mission was stopped at Tsushima and asked to go back to Jeju Island because the local lords complained about the financial burden caused by the mission.

This 500-member mission included high-ranking officials and poets who had exchanges with Japanese intellectuals such as ARAI Hakuseki and AMENOMORI Hoshu. A great number of artists also accompanied the missions, as Japan had apparently requested so. Today, their paintings and framed calligraphies are found across the country. The number of the delegates when they set out from Seoul was 35 to 50, but increased to 70 or 80 by the time they arrived in Busan. The additional members were officials and painters who were recruited on the way to Busan.

In Korea of that time, there were acrobats called '*Bajosai*' who performed stunts on horseback. Since such acrobats were very rare in Japan, there was possibly a strong request from Japan to include them in the missions. In order to carry out such acrobatic performance, they need to bring their horses, too. Furthermore, stables and riding grounds were built in Edo to take care of the horses.

The number of the mission member ballooned to 500 when they departed from Busan. The reason was that the ships of that time needed many rowers. There were no motorboats. Fishermen in the southern coastal area from Busan to Mokpo were forcibly recruited for the ships. Korean dynasty ordered a local official, what is now equivalent to the governor of Gyeongsangnam-do, to procure several hundreds of rowers for sending the mission to Japan. Around 30 to 50 children were also taken to do manual work. The number of the mission member eventually swelled up to 500 or 550. They set out on a voyage in 20 to 30 ships.

The So clan in Tsushima met the delegation at Busan and escorted them to their land, where it was usually too windy to sail. Therefore the mission often had to drop the anchor for ten days or even one month. After leaving Tsushima, the mission reached Iki and again had to stop for a number of days. In Ushimado in the Seto Inland Sea area, some records show that the mission had to stay there, at the longest, for eighteen days. This was a common occurrence in other places as well. Presumably, it was a real hassle for the feudal lords to receive 500 guests for ten days or more at a time.

While the mission was held up at the port because of the windy weather, the Korean literati interacted directly with the Japanese literati. They conversed with each other by writing Chinese characters. These unintended stops thus gave the opportunities to share continental culture with the Japanese literati. But oarsmen and children had nothing to do. In evening pastimes, they drank and enjoyed themselves in exactly the same way as they usually did in their hometown. One such form of entertainment was the 'Tojin Dance' or 'Karako Dance' which continues to this very day in Japan. At that time, Korea was the only foreign country which was allowed to travel through Japan. I assume that Japanese people had been so fascinated by Korean performances that they sought to imitate.

Today, the Karako Dance can be found in 25 places throughout Japan. As for Kyushu area, we cannot find any in Fukuoka, but in Kumamoto and Ashibe Town. Korean dances which Japanese locals imitated have gradually developed into their own performing art such as the present Karako Dance or Tojin Dance. In the regions located to east of Kansai, there are few vestige of the Korean Missions with the exception of Tokyo and the area adjacent to Nikko. At the temples which are located between the Kanto region, Mt. Fuji, and Nikko, you can find some *Emma* (literally means 'horse painting,' illustrated wooden plaques given as votive offerings to shrines and temples) and picture scrolls depicting the procession of the missions. The procession is also featured in the so-called "Edo's three biggest festivals," Asakusa, Kanda-myojin, and Sanno-matsuri festivals.

Matsubara: Are there any dances similar to Tojin Dance in the Korean Peninsula?

Im Dong-kwong:

Yes. From the fact that the Korean Diplomatic Missions took the people from along the coast of Gyeongsangnam-do and Jeollanam-do, not the people from northern Korea, in my eyes, the traditional folk arts of Gyeongsangnam-do, that is designated as the intangible cultural assets in Korea, appears to be the one. More specifically, it is called 'Ogwangde Dance' in southern Korea including Daegu, Busan, and Goseong. A scene of this dance, performed by five masked dancers, is very similar indeed. I assume that the Japanese people reproduced a part which they found most entertaining.

Chongdo means 'purifying roads.' A bearer of a large flag saying '*chongdo*' was supposed to walk 50 to 60 meter ahead of the procession. Since the mission represented the country of Korea, the road they walked on had to be purified in advance. That is why the procession was always preceded by the *chongdo* flag bearer.

Conclusion

Inaba:

Today's forum can be likened to a Korean food '*pibimpap*.' Although it is spelled "*bibinba*" in Japanese, the correct pronunciation is *pibimpap*. *Pibim* means 'mix' and *pap* is rice, so it means 'mixed rice' with seasoned vegetables and meat. Only after the ingredients are well mixed does this dish taste delicious.

You may want to add a little or even a lot of *kochujang* when eating *pibimpap*. The choice of vegetables is also up to each of you. Like the way you enjoy *pibimpap*, I hope you savored today's forum and got something from it in your own way.

I would now like to close with my impressions of today's events. The 50-volume book series titled the *Korean Culture in Japan* were once published by Sanzenri-sha in Japan. The book concludes that there is nothing original in Japan and everything in Japan has its roots in Korea. One of the key phrases from today's Professor Im's lecture was cultural transformation. My understanding is that Japanese culture was a product of a cultural transformation which was originated in the Korean Peninsula and came to Japan across the sea of Genkaina-da. I also learned that Korean culture is not monolithic as there are many differences between the coastal and inland areas. As the Northern Culture which entered into Japan through Korea, there may also have been some cultures imported by Korea from Japan. For example, *Tunahiki* (tug-of-war) may have its origin in Japan. The *ama* in Jeju Island also has been said to come from Japan. By gaining all these knowledge and insights, we are able to see both Japanese and Korean cultures from a different angle. Perhaps now we will look Korean stars such as Bae Yong Joon and Choi Ji Woo in different ways.

Thank you for being with us today.