

And giving her the seeds of five grains, he said: "Go down to the mortal world and take charge of agriculture." Chach'ōngbi took leave of the Jade Emperor and descended to the mortal world. There she commanded Chōng Sunam to sow the five grains and to take care of the horses and cattle. At that time, Chach'ōngbi had no buckwheat seeds so she returned to the Jade Emperor to obtain some. Thus buckwheat was sown late and even now grows and ripens after all the other grains.

AK

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Segyōng* is a primitive agricultural method. In an uncultivated area, people simply hoe up the surface of soil, sow seeds such as bean, corn, millet, and sorghum, and leave them without manure until harvest. After several years with declining fertility, the people have to move to a different place to farm.

<sup>2</sup> The festival of water and land was celebrated to propitiate water spirits and land ghosts.

<sup>3</sup> "Salaraja" (Great King Sala) is the title given to every buddha victorious over vice and passion.

### Origin Myth of the Messenger

This shamanist myth, a story about the underworld messenger Kang Im, has been transmitted only on Cheju Island. On the mainland, however, there is a story about a wise petty official who appeals to Yama (the king of hell) to solve a problem that the magistrate could not solve and then leaves as the messenger of the otherworld. This myth gives a good sense of the shamanist worldview. The variant presented here was collected by Akamatsu Chijō and Akiba Takashi in *Studies in Korean Shamanism*. It has been adjusted somewhat in the interest of plot.

Emperor Pōmūl of Tongjōng had nine sons, but the oldest three died, then the youngest three died and so there were finally only three



Section on the rite for the dead

siblings. These three were outside playing one day when a great master, who was passing by said: "Those children will live a short life." The children immediately went to the king and told him what had been said. The king called for the Buddhist monk and asked: "What did you say?" The monk replied, "Although these children are of high birth, they will live a short life. But if they go to the world of humans and work in the silver trade, the brass trade, and the silk trade and experience hardship they will live a long life. Yet even if they ply their trades, things won't go well if they go to the house of Kwayangsang. If they don't go there, all will go well." And so the king said: "That's what they'll do."

The oldest son agreed to enter the silver trade, the second son the brass trade, and the third son the silk trade. So they prepared to become peddlers. They went to the land of humans and sat down for a little while next to a pond in the state of Chunyŏn. Then Kwayangsang came there to water his horse.

"What kind of unmarried men are you?" he asked.

"We are the sons of the emperor of Tongjŏng and we've come to the land of humans to ply our trades."

"How would you like to come and stay at my home?" he suggested.

"Of course," they said. And so they went to Kwayangsang's house. Kwayangsang offered them an endless amount of rice wine with drugs and they became intoxicated. Then he killed them, took their possessions, and threw the dead bodies into the pond.

One day he went to the pond and suddenly saw three beautiful blossoms blooming there. The covetous Kwayangsang plucked these flowers and hung them over his gate, but every time he entered or left through the gate, the flowers hit his head. "Crazy flowers," he said and threw the flowers into the fire. The next morning a grandmother from Green Moss Mountain came to get some embers from Kwayangsang's house. When she looked in the firebox, there was no fire but there were three gems. She thought this was strange and she told Kwayangsang. The very greedy Kwayangsang said: "Oh, my, those are my gems." And the gems were very beautiful and so he put them in his mouth and they went down his throat.

After that, Kwayangsang's belly swelled up little by little and ten months later three brothers were born. The three brothers were raised well and, when they turned fifteen, after they had been made to study, they went to take the state examination. The three brothers received the highest marks at the state examination and became members of the Royal Academy and returned home riding fabled horses. Kwayangsang was very happy at home and prepared a feast. But after a sleepless night of preparation, the next day the three brothers suddenly died. Kwayangsang was so vexed and sad that he wrote an appeal to the magistrate of Kimch'i district about the unfairness he had suffered and asked him to solve the problem. After the funeral of the three brothers, for one hundred days he continuously sent written appeals on thin paper. Finally, they say, there were nine and a half boxes of them.

The Kimch'i magistrate did not know how to handle this issue and found it frustrating. Kwayangsang said every day: "How come a district magistrate cannot solve a single problem?" and slandered him. The Kimch'i magistrate became enraged by this slander and thought, "After I die I'll solve the problem, and so he decided to die." But his staff member prevented him from doing this by saying: "Sir, give an order to Kang Im telling him to catch Yama. If you ask Yama to solve the problem, it will work out well. Please, don't die."

The Kimch'i magistrate thought: "Kang Im is not nearly clever enough. How will he be able to catch Yama?" But even though he thought that there was no way to catch Yama and that certainly Kang Im would not be able to do it, he called for Kang Im. And he gave him a stern order: "Go catch Yama and bring him to me. If you don't catch him and bring him back, I will kill you."

Kang Im answered: "Yes, I will do as you order." He went home and thought: "There is no way to catch Yama and bring him back." He thought he'd rather commit suicide, but his wife said, "Catching Yama is not difficult. Please, don't kill yourself." And so she pounded white rice thirty times until it was fine and made three pieces of white steamed rice cake. One piece of rice cake was offered to the kitchen god. In the backyard they erected a platform and another piece of rice

cake was put there and they prayed. The last piece of rice cake she gave to Kang Im and said: "If you take this rice cake with you and walk along continuously without stopping, it will work out."

Kang Im shouldered his traveling gear and went off on foot. And as he went along without stopping, there was an old woman walking up ahead. No matter how long he followed her, he could not catch up. He thought this was strange and wondered why she did not answer even when he called to her. He thought this was very strange but he continued following her. The old woman went to a hill and, sighing heavily, sat down. He went and bowed to her and the old woman said: "I am your house's Kitchen God Grandmother. Your wife is exceedingly devoted, so I have come to guide you." She took out the rice cake and told him to taste it. This rice cake was clearly made by his wife. Only when he realized this and bowed once again and asked the way to land of Yama did she say: "If you follow the road, you'll find a pond. If you perform ablutions at the pond and do your devotions and burn incense and put this rice cake down and pray, three transcendents will descend. You'll know how to do the next thing yourself." Then she suddenly disappeared.

Kang Im thought this was very strange so he went on ceaselessly. And just as expected, there was a pond. He performed ablutions and did his devotions and prayed to three transcendents. Three transcendents came down from the Jade Emperor's heaven and said: "It is silent here without people." They arrived at the pond and saw the prayers and devotions of Kang Im and were impressed. They ate the food offering. "Who are you?" they asked.

"I am a person intending to enter the land of Yama. But I don't know the way and so here I am like this. Please, show me the way."

They thought for a moment. And then, as they gave him a blue fan, a gold fan, and a red chain, they said: "As you go along, if you have difficulties, use these. That's the way to get to the land of Yama." Kang Im thanked him by bowing twice and suddenly the three transcendents disappeared.

Kang Im picked up the blue fan, the gold fan, and the red chain. And as he went along, it became so foggy he could not distinguish the

four cardinal points. And so he threw the blue fan and the fog cleared and he could see the road clearly. Then a little while later the road became unclear and he could not tell which way to go. He threw the gold fan and the road became clear. He went a little further and Yi Wōnjap, the otherworld messenger, was wearing a large bell, carrying books on his chest and a superintendent badge by his side, holding the messenger flag in his hand, and walking very slowly.

"Hello, messenger, can I ask you something?"

Yi Wōnjap looked back and said: "Of course. Who are you?"

"I am the messenger of this world, Kang Im."

"I am the otherworld messenger, Yi Wōnjap."

After they had exchanged names they exchanged their food and ate it. Kang Im said to the otherworld messenger: "Where are you going?"

"I am going to catch people who have committed crimes in this world."

When they parted he asked: "How can I see Yama?"

"If you stay here, he'll come tomorrow."

Just as expected, the next morning Yama appeared in his sedan chair. "I am the messenger of this world, Kang Im, come to catch Yama," Kang Im yelled—and he grabbed the sedan chair and shook it. Yama got angry and said: "You are wicked. Who do you think you are that you can catch me? Seize that Kang Im!"

"The heavens and earth shook and the world became dark and one could not distinguish the four directions. There was nothing more frightening. Kang Im quietly prepared himself and thought: "If I do this, I die. If I do that, I die as well. I prefer to fight valiantly and die." And he threw the red chain he had acquired from the Birth Grandmother and said: "It is the same if you rule this world or the otherworld. It doesn't matter how much you rule over the otherworld, you have to obey the person who manages the human world." Yama admired Kang Im's intrepidity and said: "Very well, I'll go. Just now Yu Sūngsang's daughter of the human world asked for me while praying. After I go there, I will accompany you." Kang Im the messenger said: "I will accompany you as well." And so together they went to Yu Sūngsang's house where there was praying and the daughter

was finishing her devotions. Yama said: "If you go on ahead, I will go tomorrow." And so Kang Im returned first.

When Kang Im arrived first, he greeted the magistrate of Kimch'i and said: "Tomorrow Yama will come." The magistrate said: "This fellow is lying," and he threw Kang Im in prison. The next day the heavens and earth trembled and lightning flashed in all directions and it grew pitch dark and Yama arrived with his party. The Kimch'i magistrate was astonished and disguised himself as a pillar. Yama got angry, however, and hacked at the pillar and the Kimch'i magistrate had no choice but to transform back to himself.

"Did that good-for-nothing call for me?" Yama said scoldingly, "What did he call me for?" he asked.

Kang Im told him the facts in their full detail.

"Oh, I see. Now I know everything," the magistrate said. And so he gave an order: "Drain all the water from the pond." And they brought Kwayangsang to the pond. They drained all the water from the pond and there were the three brothers' bodies. "Do you still not know your sin?" he asked. And Kwayangsang could do nothing but tell the truth. "Let's go to your children's graves," Kang Im said. So they went and when they looked in the graves there were no bodies but only were dummies there.

"You killed those three brothers and their reincarnated souls decided to scare you," Kang Im said. And the three brothers were once again reincarnated and sent back to where their parents were and Kwayangsang was tortured and put to death. Yama said that Kang Im was so intelligent and valorous that he wanted to take him along. And so he took Kang Im's soul. And they say he was employed as the messenger of the land of Yama.

TT

## Origin Myth of the Kunung

Even though the Origin Myth of the Kunung is a shamanist myth attested only on Cheju Island, it shows similarities to the myth of the founder of Koryō, Chakchegōn. The oldest son of General Wang is Wang Kōn, the same as the founder of Koryō, and his mother's name, Hūisuk Ūirang, is similar to the name of Chakchegōn's wife, Queen Wisuk. In this variant, it seems that the shamanist chant has made use of Chakchegōn's rescue of the Dragon King and marriage to the Dragon King's daughter. The variant presented here comes from Akamatsu Chijō and Akiba Takashi, *Studies in Korean Shamanism*, and has been rewritten in the interest of plot.



Section on the hero (Seoul area)

If you were to introduce the family of Kunung<sup>1</sup> it would be similar to the following. His grandfather was named Heavenly Emperor Chesök and his grandmother Earthly Empress Chesök. His father was Grand Progenitor Wang—General Wang—and his mother was called Hūsuk. His oldest son was Wang Kōn, his second son was Wang Pin, and his youngest son was Wang Sarang.

Kunung's father lived as a widower, chopping down trees and selling lumber. One day, a young married man came and said: "I am the son of the East Sea Dragon King. The East Sea Dragon King and the West Sea Dragon King have been fighting and our country always loses, so I have come to request help from you, General Wang."

General Wang answered, "I am not afraid of anything in the world except sea-water. How then am I supposed to go down under the water?"

"If you come with me, it will be all right." He put General Wang on his back and went down under the water. And a path appeared in the sea, and they went to the land of the Dragon King.

The East Sea Dragon King was delighted and said: "Tomorrow we're to fight the West Sea Dragon King. I'll make like I've been defeated and return underwater and the West Sea Dragon King will then go above the water to boast. At that point, kill him with an arrow."

General Wang promised to do it. The next day, the fight broke out and the East Sea Dragon King made like he had been defeated and went underwater. The West Sea Dragon King went above the water to boast about his victory. Then General Wang killed the West Sea Dragon King with an arrow. The East Sea Dragon King came out and was delighted and asked: "What should I give you as a reward?" The young unmarried man who was the son of the Dragon King said quietly to General Wang: "Tell him you want nothing except that inkstone case. My sister is inside the inkstone case. If you do that, everything will go well." And so General Wang said he would like the inkstone case and, unable to do anything else, the Dragon King gave him the inkstone case.

General Wang took the inkstone case and returned once again to the

human world. When night fell, a beautiful fairy would come out of the inkstone case and they would sleep together and she would bring all the clothes and food he desired. After three years, they had three children. The first son was named Wang Kōn, the second son was named Wang Pin, and the third son was named Wang Sarang. And he lived like a very wealthy man. One day, the daughter of the Dragon King said: "From today on, you will continue to live well as a wealthy man. But I am not a human and so I am going to return to the Dragon Palace. All of you should continue to function as Kunung gods, however, and receive offerings."

TT

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> "Kunung" may be translated as "hero" (military or civilian)—such as generals, high ministers, or envoys to foreign countries.

## Origin Myth of Life Grandmother

The Origin Myth of Life Grandmother, Cheju Island's Samsin myth, concerns the shaman god who manages human birth. Although Buddhist influence appears in the god's name—Bosal (boddhisatva) or Saengbul (living Buddha, or "life")—there has been no change in the true shamanist nature of the god. This variant is taken from *Studies in Korean Shamanism*, where it appears as "Saengbul Halmang Ponp'uri, of Myōngjin Country," and has been rewritten here in the interest of plot.

The Samsin's grandfather was Heavenly King Boddhisattva (Ch'ōnwang Bosal), the Samsin's grandmother was Earthly Queen Boddhisatva (Chiwang Posal). The Samsin's father was Earth Great King, and the Samsin's mother was the daughter of the country of Myōngjin. In the year when Life Grandmother turned seven, on the first day of the first month, at the time of the tiger,<sup>1</sup> she received an order from the Jade Emperor to manage human life in this world. When she descended, it was a grieving place she came to, because they said a person was dying. A baby couldn't be born and it looked like it was going to die and so she gave life and the baby was born. She cut the umbilical cord with silver scissors, tied it carefully with thread, and brought the baby to the bedroom where she bathed it in warm water. She called for the wet nurse and had the baby drink breast milk. To the new mother she fed seaweed soup. Three days later, she had the new mother bathe in mugwort water, burned the placenta, and dressed the child in baby clothes.

After only seven days, the child sat up. After only one hundred days, the child prostrated itself. Around that time, the former Birth Grandmother came and said: "I am in charge of birth. Which woman came and performed that function for this child I released?" And while she said this, she struck the Birth Grandmother, who received the blow and then made an appeal to the Jade Emperor.

The Jade Emperor thought this strange, so he sent the yellow-turbaned strongman, messenger Chungwōn, and messenger Iron Net

Invitation to grandmother god from Rite for the body-governing spirit of shamans (Cheju Island)



to catch the former Birth Grandmother. And he said: "What kind of woman are you to hit Birth Grandmother?" And when he asked her this, she responded as follows: "I am the daughter of the East Sea Dragon Palace, in the country of Tongjōng. When I was one, I committed the sin of striking my mother's bosom; when I was two, the sin of pulling out my father's beard; when I was three, the sin of scattering the grain; when I was four, the sin of pulling out the seedlings; when I was five, the sin of overturning a rock onto the seedlings; when I was six, the sin of talking back to my parents; when I was seven, the sin of swearing at the village elders; when I was eight, the sin of pulling down the fence around the field; when I was nine, the sin of striking the innocent animals. In this way I committed nine types of sins." The king my father said, "Your sins cannot be forgiven," and he punished me. He put me in an iron chest and wrote

on it that this was the daughter of the East Sea Dragon Palace, in the country of Tongjōng. Then he threw the chest into the ocean.

After it floated under the sea for three years and on top of the sea for three years, a subject of the South Sea Dragon Palace, Ūn Paksā Ūn Pingsō, discovered the chest. And when he opened it and looked inside, he found the child holding a luminescent gem in its mouth. "Who are you?" he asked. And the child told the long story of being punished by her father the king and about the container that brought her there under the water for three years and on top of the water for three years. And she said: "Ūn Pingsō said that in order to atone for my sins, I must go to the world of humans and help women in labor and so I have done that for the humans."

The Jade Emperor listened and said: "You too are not an ordinary person." And so, for both the former Life Grandmother and the Life Grandmother he planted pairs of flowers in a silver basin and said that as soon as the flowers bloomed they were to go and do their work. The former Life Grandmother's flowers were at first healthy but then they withered; the current Life Grandmother's flowers were at first weak but later they thrived. And forty-five thousand six hundred types of flowers thrived and so the former Birth Grandmother was told to go to hell and take care of the young dead children and the current Birth Grandmother was told to go and take care of birth for the humans.

The former Birth Grandmother made an appeal to the Jade Emperor: "If you let me go and manage childbirth, I will work diligently." But the Jade Emperor would not listen and sent her to hell.

He then spoke to the Birth Grandmother: "Go up to the Buddhist sanctuary in the Western Paradise and attach a wind bell with a fish clapper to the three-story pavilion and live there." So following his command, she went up and built a palace of glass and a pagoda of iron and affixed windows of jade. While living there, she became versed in astronomy and geography. In addition she commanded every class of bodhisattva.

One day, Thousand Bodhisattva said: "There's a paradise of four warm seasons." The Birth Grandmother accompanied all the bodhisattvas there and indeed it was obviously paradise. After getting rid of the

weeds, they made a table from a good stone and intended to establish a flower garden in the Western Paradise. But because they had no flower seeds, they consulted with the king of the underworld, who said there were some in heaven. They went to the Jade Emperor to obtain the flower seeds and, on the third day of the third month, they planted colored flowers in the five directions. In the east they planted blue, in the west they planted white, in the south they planted red, in the north they planted black, in the center they planted yellow. In the east, blue trees appeared, in the west, white trees appeared, in the south red trees, in the north black trees, in the center yellow trees. The east's blue trees with blue flowers give life to boys, the west's white trees with white flowers give life to girls, the south's red trees with red flowers give long life, the north's black trees with black flowers give short life, the center of heaven and earth's yellow trees with yellow flowers allow men to pass all the civil service examinations and have a successful career. Those flowers are the origin of human life.

As soon as the flowers prospered, they gave life to the humans. But when the thousand bodhisattvas returned home, someone had been plucking flowers. So the Birth Grandmother requested a flower warden from the Jade Emperor. The king of hell was called and asked if there was a suitable person. He replied: "In the land of humans at Tonggye Namsangju Monastery, after performing a festival of water and land, Kim Chōngguk's son was born. This child has committed no sins after being born into the world, his behavior is good as well, and I believe he is a suitable person." Immediately, Kim Chōngguk's son was called and appointed the flower warden.

TT

### Note

<sup>1</sup> It corresponds to 3-5 A.M.

## Origin Myth of the Main Shrine of the Sōgwip'ō Gods

On Cheju Island there are shrines where they welcome the village guardian spirits and hold shrine rites. Myths are accordingly told about the gods who protect and administer the villages. This origin story clearly shows that the relationship between the gods determines the relationship between the villagers. This prose version is based on the version in *Studies in Korean Shamanism*, where it appears as "The Origin Myth of the Sōgwip'ō Guardian Gods."

In Solmaguk in Cheju, the god named Ilmungwan Paramun was born. This god's appearance was like this: he had a fistlike topknot and a single-strand woven headband, hat strings made of ox tendon, a cap made of animal fur, silk with the sun design lining, waistband of Chinese silk, coat lapel like the white heron, trousers of silk from the Middle East with a phoenix design, jacket of silk from the north with a phoenix pattern, a sleeveless outer coat, and a pouch. And with a drawn bow, he stepped forward. His phoenix eyes glared fiercely and he had a three-point beard. When he shot an arrow, three thousand troops would appear; when he shot another, the three thousand troops would disappear. He was versed in astronomy and geography.

The god Paramun heard a rumor that in Hongt'och'ōn village there was a beautiful girl by the name of Ko Sanguk and so he mounted a blue cloud and went to find that place. He requested to greet her and, just as expected, a beautiful girl came out and they met. After the god Paramun had finished greeting her, he said: "I have longed for you and thought nothing of a long journey. In this way I have come to find you." Ko Sanguk was happy to meet him too and said: "Last night I had the strangest dream. I dreamed that I would have the pleasure of meeting you today." After she told him that, they became husband and wife and lived happily for a few days.

But several days later, another beautiful woman appeared. This one was many times more beautiful than even Ko Sanguk. It was Chi Sanguk, Ko Sanguk's younger sister, whose beauty was unsurpassed under heaven and earth. Ilmungwan fell even deeper in love with Chi

Sanguk than he was with Ko Sanguk, and Chi Sanguk knew how Ilmungwan felt. One evening, the two met and confessed their love for each other. Without Ko Sanguk's knowledge, they made a plan to flee. Several days later, in the deep of night, the two met without Ko Sanguk knowing and mounted a blue cloud. They rode the cloud and arrived at Mount Halla, the numinous mountain on Cheju Island.

Ko Sanguk woke up in the morning and saw that Ilmungwan Paramun had disappeared. She searched through the entire house but there was no trace of him. She went to ask her sister, but there was no trace of her either. Only then did Ko Sanguk realize that the two had fled. So she decided to find out where they had gone. She sent a benediction to heaven and held out a holy flag. The flag fluttered furiously in the direction of Mount Halla even in a headwind.

Ko Sanguk followed the direction and arrived at Mount Halla. There she discovered her younger sister who'd fled with Paramun living with him like husband and wife and intoxicated with love. Ko Sanguk's fury resounded through the heavens and, intending to kill both with a single blow, she launched a fierce attack. Her younger sister didn't give in, however, and raised a fog that hid her body. Wrapped in a fog that made the night as dark as Chinese ink, Ko Sanguk became confused. Unable to do anything else, she asked her younger sister to gather the fog. Then she said: "You're no longer my younger sister. Change your family name. Let's go our separate ways."

And so in this manner, Ko Sanguk severed all her ties and descended to Hallim village. Chi Sanguk and Paramun decided to look for a place, so they put down a telescope and with it they surveyed the area. There was a suitable place at Sarorūm Pongdaegi. There they set up a white tent and took their place.

Kim Pongt'ae from upper Sōdong had gone to the mountain to hunt. When he saw the white tent, he thought: "Unless you're a god, you can't have a white tent. That's strange. They must be gods." And so he went not more than one hundred paces away and, bringing his two hands together, made a bow. Paramun saw this and asked him a question.



"What kind of person are you?"

"I'm Kim Pongt'ae from upper Sōdong."

"Why did you come here?"

"I came to hunt. What type of god are you?"

"I am Ilmungwan Paramun who was born in the state of Sōlmae. And this is Chi Sanguk from the state of Hongt'o, Hongt'o village where the rain fell, the rainy village."

"Why did you come here?"

"We received an order from the Jade Emperor to come and see and take control of people."

"Oh, I see."

"You are destined to be our guide, so you must lead the way."

"Yes, I would be much obliged."

"What is the village that we can see closest to here?"

"That is upper Sōgwi. The one below it is lower Sōgwi."

"And the one to the west, which village is that?"

"That is Sōhūng village."

"Well then, show us the way to upper Sōgwi."

And so Ilmungwan Paramun and Chi Sanguk came to upper Sōgwi. But as it was not a suitable place for them to take their places, they went to Kim Pongt'ae's house and stayed there for three months. But there were smells of cooked food and dust there, and they didn't like the sight of people riding horses, nor did they like the sight of animals. So they went to Kohūl and took their places there. They liked the sound of the rushing brook there and the luxuriousness of the woods, but they couldn't endure the melancholy and so they decided to find a new place. So they went to find Ko Sanguk. But Ko Sanguk had not yet gotten over her anger.

"Why did you call for me?"

"Rather than continuing in this manner, we came to consult harmoniously with you about how we should divide the boundary for the purpose of taking both land and people."

"We've cut our ties once, so what is harmony and what is consultation?"

Nevertheless, Paramun pleaded with her and Ko Sanguk suggested



Welcoming the village god (Chungmun Village Shrine, Sōgwip'o City, Cheju Island)

that they decide the boundary by shooting arrows. At once the arrows flew. Ko Sanguk's arrow landed at Haktam and the arrow that Paramun shot landed at Munsōm Handol. Then Ko Sanguk said: "I will guard Haktam and I will occupy Sōhong district. You can occupy north of Munsōm, upper and lower Sōgwi. After you go there, the people from Sōhong district cannot marry Tonghong villagers and Tonghong villagers cannot come to Sōhong. You should remember that." After she said that, Ko Sanguk entered Sōhong village and Paramun went to lower Sōgwi Namsanggaji and took his place there. But no people came there to perform rituals.

One day, the eldest grandson of the O family from upper Sōgwi took ill. He was in grave condition and told the entire story of Paramun and Chi Sanguk. He said that it was because people neglected these gods that they had made him ill. And so the O family went to lower Sōgwi and consulted with the Song family and they gathered the people of upper Sōgwi and told them the story. Then they built a shrine and went to Seoul and bought all types of silk and offered them to the gods. After that, they celebrated the New Year's

Great Ritual during the first month, the Great Ritual to welcome the wind god (Yöngson Maji) on the fifteenth day of the second month, the Great Ritual to the horse (Mabullim) on the thirteenth day of the seventh month, and the Birthday Ritual on the first day of the eleventh month.

Afterward, Kim Pongt'ae became the recorder for Paramun and Chi Sanguk. Before that, the king's wife who protected Sonmmöri Sujin Cove heard that some new gods had taken their places in upper Sögwı, and she went to find and greet them. Afterwards, she said: "I am growing weak and cannot stop the danger that comes from east and west. Nor can I rule the people from east to west. If you could rule the people of upper and lower Sögwı I will take charge of the Dragon Palace and rule over the diving women and the boat visitors." And then she went to the Dragon Palace. And so Ilmungwan Paramun and Chi Sanguk took charge of upper and lower Sögwı and ruled over them and received ritual offerings from the humans.

TT

## Origin Myth of T'osan Shrine

This origin myth is about the shrine god of T'osan village, Chöngüi township (*myöŋ*), North Cheju district of Cheju Island. This shrine god is a snake god. As one sees in the myth, the snake is killed in its lair by Söryöŋ, the magistrate of Cheju. But the snake god takes revenge on Söryöŋ and then takes its place at the T'osan Shrine on Cheju Island where it receives offerings. This variant is from *Studies in Korean Shamanism*, where it appears as "The Origin Myth of T'osan Shrine." It has been rewritten here in the interest of plot.

A long time ago, the magistrate of Naju was repeatedly forced from office. People thought this was strange and were intimidated about becoming the next magistrate of Naju. Magistrate Yi, who lived at that time in Yöngju, said: "If I become magistrate, I will serve the entire three-year term." He volunteered and received a royal decree and, in this way, his wish came true. As he set out for his post, he arrived in front of the numinous Mount Halla in Naju and all of a sudden thunder peeled across the sky and a hard rain fell on the entire area



Rite at the village god shrine (North Cheju county, Cheju Island)

and there was commotion in all directions. When he asked the local official who was accompanying him what was happening, he was told: "There is a magistrate in this district. That's why this is happening."

"Is the magistrate more extraordinary than me?"

"Yes, the magistrate is a shrine god."

"Well, what should I do?"

"Get down off your horse and it should be all right."

And so he got down off the horse and suddenly the sky cleared and the sun turned red and he arrived safely at his post.

Not three days later, he heard that the Mount Halla shrine was a propitious place. He arrived in front of Mount Halla and a fog rolled in from all four directions and it was pitch black before his eyes. The policeman who accompanied him said: "My master, please read the Buddhist scripture!" And he read the scripture: "If you are a divine spirit, please lift this fog." And then the fog disappeared in all directions and it became clear before his eyes. He climbed Mount Halla and there was a giant palace that charmed people's eyes with its eight-story pavilion with fish-clapper wind chimes hanging from each of its four corners. They called for the hereditary caretaker of the shrine and asked: "Where is the spirit?" He said: "If you intend to see the spirit, you must hold a shamanist ritual." And when they held the shamanist ritual, a giant dragon with three heads and nine tails appeared with its top touching the sky and its bottom touching the ground. And the shaman said: "That thing is the spirit."

"Is the dragon holding the gem?"

"It seems like it has the gem in its mouth, but I don't see it."

"Well, what kind of divine power does it have to repeatedly force the magistrate of Naju from his office?"

And so he sent the crimson-hooded assassin to chop up the dragon god and put it in the shrine room and burn it up. It was reincarnated as a jade checker and roamed about like the crane of Green Mountain.

At that time, Cheju Island's Mr. Kang of the punishment bureau and Mr. Han of the personnel bureau intended to pay tribute to the king. On the way to Seoul, they anchored their boat at the Han River and, as they were going up onto land, a jade checker suddenly fell

from the sky. It shone with luminescent splendor. Thinking that it was some sort of iron material, they put it in their bag and went on to Seoul. All of the tributes from Korea's eight provinces were rejected. Only Kang of the punishment bureau and Han of the personnel bureau, who came from Cheju Island's T'osan, were able to pay tribute. They received both a great deal of money and profit. When they left Seoul they were quite happy and on the way thought: "This jade checker must be the reincarnation of some extraordinary divinity. The success of the tribute to the king comes from this god's help." And they thought: "The topography is rough and difficult and the people are simple on Cheju Island. If we bring this thing back with us, there's a danger it will start a disgraceful affair."

And so they put the jade checker back down in its original place and started across the Han River in their boat. But the weather suddenly changed and big waves and a strong wind came up. For three months and ten days, for one hundred days, they experienced difficulties. Later they inquired of a great master in a monastery, who said: "There is a god you must bring to Cheju. If you do not pay respect to that god, you will return as spirits." And this is why, in the eleventh month, in the fierce cold, they took off their clothes and bathed in the waters of the Han River and found the jade checker, which they brought to the shrine of ships. They prepared every kind of Buddhist offering and held a ritual. And so after this, they looked and the waves had calmed and a light fair wind blew gently. And they were as happy as if they'd been saved from death, and they raised a big sail and departed. Not ten days later, they had arrived close to Cheju Island and the sailors said: "That thing is a ghost without a doubt. If you bring it to Cheju Island, we're likely to be harmed. We'll receive complaints from the people of Cheju." Each person expressed his honest thoughts, but their opinions about the jade checker were different, so they were unable to settle the dispute. In the end, the jade checker was hurled into the depths of the great sea.

At that moment, a hurricane suddenly blew up. All the people on the boat were frightened to the roots of their souls and all made a desperate effort to reach land, but they failed. They were unable to go

to Choch'ŏn. Nor could they get to Kimnyŏng. They were simply battered about here and there by the waves until they were exhausted. While this was happening, they were suddenly tipped to one side by a violent wave and were washed up on the beach of Yŏon village. Their entire bodies were fatigued and, senseless, the boat people dropped with exhaustion as if they were dead.

At that time, a beautiful woman like the Moon Palace's lady-in-waiting arrived and said: "Kang of the punishment bureau and Han of the personnel bureau have rendered meritorious service. And so. . ." But before she finished speaking, they suddenly woke up and it was a dream.

The god was to be placed to the right of the Yŏon village god, Lady Myŏngwi, who asked this god: "Where are you the god of?"

"Naju Yŏngsan T'ŏju Ponhyang."

"What did you come here for?"

"I came here to look at the land, to look at the water, to look at the people."

"Here the land is mine, the water is mine, and the people are mine."

"Where is there a vacant place?"

"T'osan Hadang is vacant."

"Well, please show me the way to get there."

She recommended Grand Master Yi as a guide. And so he went accompanied by the guide to T'osan, but the chief guardian god of Mount Halla (Yŏngsanju Tohogwan) in Sangch'ŏn was enjoying himself there with many people to the accompaniment of music. When he saw a beautiful woman passing by, he suspected they weren't Cheju Island people and so he'd follow them. So he went along behind, but the god felt his presence and quickly escaped. She arrived at T'osan's land of the dead and drank water out of her hands and thought this was a suitable place, and so she took her place there. Then the chief guardian god of Mount Halla from Sangch'ŏn rushed in and grabbed her wrist. "You're evil! Are you the child of a gentleman-scholar? Are you the child of the middle class? Women aren't allowed to walk around alone on Cheju Island." While vigorously scolding her, he chopped off her hand with a silver knife.

Then he coiled a silk cloth around it and, with a splash, threw it into the sea close to the dragon land.

The chief guardian god, not having realized that she was a god, felt ashamed when he discovered the rudeness he had done and he left. She took her place in the Hadang in the neighborhood of the dragon land. But nobody came there to offer prayers, and no one ever treated her to a single glass of a sweet drink.

One day the daughter of Overseer O accompanied by the maidservant Cho, went to the lotus pond at Sumang village to do the wash. At that time, the god looked out on the southern sea and saw a foreign ship. And so he raised a raging wind and caused a shipwreck and the crew barely escaped death and reached land. These people discovered Sumang village's lotus pond and went there in search of water. They saw there a beautiful girl and, like eagles, they attacked her. The maidservant Cho took flight and escaped like a flash of lightning, but in the end they caught the Overseer O's daughter. Obstinate she resisted the base and lustful men who had captured her, but in the final fight the chaste young girl died. The cowardly sailors fled like the rushing wind. When the maid servant Cho came, she saw that the unblemished girl's resemblance to the Jade Emperor's lady-in-waiting had disappeared and her blood stained corpse was looking at the sky. The maidservant went to her side and moved her, but the tears made it hard to see. Finally, she could see that fresh blood flowed from her beautiful lips and her pale face and clothes were stained with blood. The maidservant wailed loudly: "Mistress, just once come back to life. Sorrowful mistress, merciful mistress!" But it was silent in all directions and there was no answer. Her parents' grief was so deep that they buried their daughter and mourned for her day and night.

At that time, T'osan's Kang of the punishment bureau and Han of the personnel bureau were married to each other's sisters and each had a lovely daughter. In the heat of the sixth month the two daughters were pounding at the barley mill when all of a sudden they got sick and were totally paralyzed. Obviously this was a serious illness, so the Kangs and Hans sent for the acupuncturist, and he performed

acupuncture. But all of a sudden, the two girls went mad and couldn't recognize their parents or family or any of the village people. So they sent for the shaman and they prayed and held a ritual. And the daughters shrieked with the god's voice and told all about the trip to and from Seoul and told the story all the way to the killing of the daughter of Overseer O. And they said: "Now I have returned to T'osan Hadang, the lower shrine, and while I defend that place, O's daughter is below me recording the deeds of the people. After you got married with the gifts I gave you, you failed to serve me with utmost sincerity. And so I gave you the spirit sickness because of your neglect."

"In the chest at the bedside of the daughter there is glossy silk and water silk. You should take that and for fourteen days hold a ritual. This will save the daughters."

When they opened the chest, sure enough, glossy silk and water silk were there. When they took it out, beneath the silk there was a snake and they thought this was strange. But they performed the ritual and the daughters were cured. And so in this manner, the village people rushed to serve the god sincerely as the master of the shrine. The snake is venerated as an ancestor every day of every month.

TT

## Origin Myth of Koenegi Shrine

This story is a Cheju Island shrine myth that has the structure of a hero myth. In this tale of heroism, the hero Koenegi, born to Paek Chunim Buddha in India, is a matchless warrior from the time of his birth. Deserted by his father, he arrives at the land of the Dragon King, marries the Dragon King's daughter, and then goes to the country of Ch'önja in the southland. Arriving just in time to fight the invading northern nomads, he repels them and then returns home. This story is found only on Cheju Island and is a valuable part of Korea's hero mythology. The variant presented here, from *Studies in Korean Shamanism*, has been rewritten in the interest of plot.

A long time ago a shrine god called Soch'önguk appeared at Kobuni ridge in lower Songdang village. At the white sand banks of the country of Ch'önja in the southland, Paek Chunim was born and it seemed that she was predestined to marry someone who had been born in Songdang village on Cheju Island. So she went to that place and met Soch'önguk, and their predestined marriage took place. When they had children, they first had five. When they conceived their sixth son, Paek Chunim said: "Soch'önguk, we've had so many children, can we live idly? How are we going to raise the child? Please do the farmwork."

Soch'önguk looked over the fields. There were nine bags of rice seed and nine bags of millet seed, so he took the plow and drove the cow and went out and tilled the fields. Paek Chunim prepared nine bowls of soup and nine bowls of rice for Soch'önguk for lunch and brought them out to the fields. Soch'önguk said: "I'm going to till a bit more and then I'll eat," so Paek Chunim returned home. While Soch'önguk was tilling the fields, a monk from T'aesan Monastery passed by and said: "Master in the fields, if you have any lunch, please give me a small portion. I want to eat a little to satisfy my hunger." Soch'önguk thought it would be impossible for the monk to eat it all, and so he told him to eat. But then the monk from T'aesan Monastery ate all nine bowls of soup and all nine bowls of rice and

then ran away. After Soch'ōnguk had tilled the fields, he was hungry and went to eat his lunch. But when he looked, he saw that the monk from T'aesan Monastery hadn't left him a single scrap and had eaten everything and had run away. Soch'ōnguk was very hungry but could do nothing other than kill the cow he had been using to plow the fields. He ran it through with a branch and roasted the meat. But afterwards, he was still hungry and so he looked around the area and there was a female cow. He caught it and ate it and in that way he relieved his hunger.

Soch'ōnguk had the heads and hides of the two cows beside him and was tilling the fields with the harness around his waist when Paek Chunim came by. She saw him and said: "Soch'ōnguk, how is it that you are tilling the field with your stomach?" Soch'ōnguk answered: "That's not what is going on. A monk from T'aesan Monastery was passing by and stole and ate the nine bowls of soup and the nine bowls of rice and then ran away. I couldn't do anything other than catch and eat the cow I was using to plow the fields. Then I caught and ate the neighbor's cow and that's how I satisfied my hunger." Paek Chunim said: "Catching and eating your own cow is fair. But aren't you a cow thief if you catch and eat the neighbor's cow?" And so she said: "From today on, let us live separately." So Paek Chunim went north toward the mountain, and Soch'ōnguk went south toward the sea. The only thing Soch'ōnguk knew how to do was to hunt, so he carried a barrel of gunpowder along with his rifle and went up into the mountains and caught all sorts of animals. He made the daughter of Chōngdonggal his concubine and they lived by eating boiled meat.

Paek Chunim gave birth to the son she had conceived and when the child was three, she put him on her back and went off to find Soch'ōnguk. Smoke came from a farmer's hut and when she looked around she saw Soch'ōnguk. When Paek Chunim put the child down, he pulled on his father's beard and pressed on his chest. At that, Soch'ōnguk said: "When this child was conceived, we were forced to separate. Ever since it was born, its behavior has been terrible. I don't have the heart to kill it, though, so I'm going to throw it into the Eastern Sea." So he put his three-year-old son into an iron chest, put a

lock on the chest, and threw it into the Eastern Sea.

The iron chest went down to the land of the Dragon King, and when it got caught on the branch of a coral tree, a strong wind came up in all kinds of clouds. When he noticed this, the Dragon Land's Great King said: "Oldest daughter, go find out what is happening."

"Nothing is happening."

"Second daughter, go out and see."

"Nothing is happening."

"Youngest daughter, go out and see."

The youngest daughter returned and said: "An iron chest has gotten caught on the branch of a coral tree."

The Dragon Land's Great King said, "Oldest daughter, bring it down here."

"It won't budge."

"Second daughter, bring it down here."

"It won't budge."

"Youngest daughter, bring it down here."

The youngest daughter took it lightly and brought it down.

Then the Great King spoke again and said: "Oldest daughter, open the door and look." But she couldn't open it.

"Second daughter, open the door and look." But she couldn't open it either.

"Youngest daughter, open the door and look." The youngest daughter kicked it with her foot three times and the door opened. Inside the iron chest, a boy like jade sat surrounded by books.

The Great King asked: "Which land do you come from?"

"I live on Cheju Island in South Chosōn."

"Why did you come here?"

"There is a great uprising in the country of Ch'ōnja in the southland. I was on my way to suppress the uprising, but I was pushed by a storm to the land of the Dragon King."

The Great King recognized in him a great general and said: "Please enter my oldest daughter's room." But there was no answer. He said: "Please enter my second daughter's room." But again there was no answer. Then he said: "Please enter my youngest daughter's room."

And so the boy went to the youngest daughter's room. The youngest daughter prepared an abundant table and brought it to the room, but he didn't even glance up.

Then the youngest daughter said: "Chosŏn General, sir, what do you eat?"

"Even though they say my country is a small one, I eat an entire pig and an entire cow."

The youngest daughter told the Dragon Land's Great King of the conversation and the Great King said: "Can I not entertain my son-in-law?"

So everyday they caught a pig and a cow and entertained him and the storehouse emptied. The Great King thought that if he continued to entertain his son-in-law, the Dragon Land would end up ruined and so he said to his youngest daughter: "They say that once a woman is married she is no better than a stranger, and so you must go with your husband." At that time, the youngest daughter was showing signs of pregnancy and, together, they got into the iron chest and were tossed out into the water.

When the iron chest landed at the white sand banks of the country of Ch'ŏnja in the southland, a strong wind picked up. At night, the torch cast a bright light. During the day, the sky vibrated with the sound of reading and there was commotion in the country of Ch'ŏnja. All sorts of rumors were frequently heard, and the Son of Heaven said: "Why is the royal palace filled with this commotion? I command someone to go to the beach and look around."

"I went and looked and there is an iron chest there. From this iron chest extraordinary things are emanating."

"Call for Blind Man Hwang."

Blind Man Hwang performed a divination and said that if they wanted to open that iron door, the Son of Heaven should put on his clothes and hat, light incense and candles, and make four bows to the north. Unable to do anything else, the Son of Heaven donned his clothes and hat, and made four bows to the north, and the iron door opened. The jade-like young man and the young woman were sitting there and he asked: "Which land do you come from?"

"We live on Cheju Island in South Chosŏn."

"Why did you come here?"

At that time, the northern enemies were powerful and they were attacking and the young man said: "I have come to repel the northern enemies and restore peace to the world."

The Son of Heaven took him by the wrist and brought him into the palace. He gave him an iron helmet and armor and a dagger and arrows as well as a big army. And then the young man left to fight.

In the first battle, he killed a two-headed general. In the second battle, he killed a three-headed general. And in the third battle, he killed a four-headed general. Then there were no more generals to oppose him. When he had restored peace to the world, the Son of Heaven said: "There are no more of these generals in the universe. I'll give you land and water and you can live by collecting taxes from the land and state."

"I don't like that."

"I will give you a reward of a thousand pieces of gold and invest you as a great feudal lord."

"I don't like that."

"Well, then, tell me your desire."

"I want to return to my home country." He said this and then he chopped down a dry pine tree and made a warship from it. He filled the ship with a load of provisions and coral and, accompanied by a host of soldiers, returned to Chosŏn.

They passed by Kyŏngsang province and Chŏlla province and all the islands and came to Cheju Island. When they got to the sea around Cheju Island, they made their way through the ebb and flow tides and the ship set ground on the beach of Cow Island. They looked around Cow Island and he said: "This place has food only for horses and cows. Let's go to Cheju Island."

They went to Chongdal village's Tumŏni Cove, but the villagers lived by selling only salt there. So they left and went up into the nearby mountains. He made the sound of a large cannon that shook the earth. The father Soch'ŏnguk and the mother Paek Chunim looked at their maidservant and said: "How is it that there is the big sound of

a cannon?"

The maidservant said: "Your son—who you tried to kill when he was three years old and who you put inside the iron chest—has come to attack you."

"You are an evil woman. During the time that has passed, the iron armor would have rusted away. How could the sixth son still be alive as you say?"

Then the cannon sounded loudly and the sixth son arrived. His father was so scared that he went to Kobuni ridge at lower Songdang and died and took his place there. His mother let her hair down in terror and fled to the top of the shrine and died and took her place there.

When the father was alive, he was a good hunter. Thinking that his father must like game, from each village the son called for all the best hunters and together they hunted. All the animals they caught were offered to the father at a ritual. Then he hit the gong three times, and a million soldiers gathered and he said: "One million soldiers, return to your home country."

After the soldiers took their leave, he said: "Let's go sightseeing on Mount Halla." They passed by lower Songdang and upper Songdang and arrived at a lotus pond. He drank the water and looked right and left and said this must be where a famous general could be born. He said: "Let's catch the wind blowing north." And when they went north it was the wind up to Kimnyōng village. They sat down and took a good look around and then went to upper Koenegi. The wind that brought them up blew down, and the wind going down blew up. And they looked down at lower Koenegi and the stars were shining and the moon was shining and lower Koenegi was big enough for them to take their place there. Deciding to take their places there, they descended. He said: "Soch'ōnguk's sixth son, by command of the Jade Emperor, at the shrine of Kimnyōng village, will fashion remarkable things for the people."

The people said: "But where will you take your place? Please tell us where you'd take your place."

"I will take my place at Lower Koenegi Shrine."

"What do you eat?"

"I eat an entire cow and an entire pig,"

"We are a poor people. How can we catch a cow for your sake? We'll catch a pig from each house and offer you."

"Do that."

And so at lower Koenegi he chose his place and they caught the pig and they weighed out one hundred catties each and boiled it and held a ritual and worshiped.

TT