

so admirably told in the pages of Pere Dallet's book,* whence it is transferred almost bodily, with some curious mistranslations, to the pages of Griffis' *Corea, the Hermit Nation*,† that there seems the less need to recount it here. And the other is so fully treated by Mr. Griffis himself in the book above mentioned, which is easily accessible to all, that I propose to refer you to his pages for that also.‡

To the information which he there gives, I will only add that two tablets now stand on the headland above Son-dol Mok, erected (as it is stated on the inscription) by the people, great and small, of Kang-wha, in grateful memory of those who fell fighting, as they deem it, for their country, under the guns of the American squadron in 1871. A small chapel for offering sacrifice to the manes of the deceased soldiers, which was erected apparently at the same time, seems now wholly neglected and is rapidly falling into ruin.

The tablet gives a list of all those slain on the Korean side, amounting in all to four officers of varying rank and forty-nine of the rank and file. The discrepancy between this and the two hundred and forty-three mentioned by Griffis is so great that one feels it requires some explanation.

I believe that the grounds of the monastery at Chundeung Sa contains a similar tablet in memory of the French expedition of 1866. In 1876, five years after the American expedition, the Japanese treaty with Korea, which led the way to the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, was signed, as I have already told you, in Kang-wha, which from that date to this has not been disturbed by war's horrid alarms. Let us hope that the island, whose name is thus intertwined with some of the most stirring events in past Korean history, will not fail to secure its full share in the enjoyment of this era of peace, prosperity and good government to which we all are looking forward as we stand on the threshold of the twentieth century after Christ.

* Histoire de l'Eglise de Coree, Vol. II. pp. 572-586.

† Corea, the Hermit Nation, pp. 377-387. I would suggest that the French "une arche—surmontee d'une toiture en pagode" can hardly be rendered "surmounted by a tortoise! and a pagoda!"

‡ Griffis' Corea, the Hermit Nation, pp. 403-419.

THE SPIRIT WORSHIP OF THE KOREANS.

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INTRODUCTORY to our subject an interesting question presents itself which we may profitably pause to consider and attempt to answer. The question is, Do the Koreans possess a religion? While students in Korea seem now to have reached a basis of agreement, in former years it was much debated—a strong difference of opinion prevailing, some holding to the negative and some to the affirmative. Those who held to the negative side of the question meant, however, to declare, not that the Korean people were devoid of all idea of religion, but that the old systems had fallen into decay and lost their hold on the people, so that to all practical purposes they were non-existent. This question is an interesting one even to-day to students of Korean conditions, but it seems to me that the definition of terms must play a large part in the final solution.

What is meant by the expression "possess a religion," as a phase of national life? Some would reduce the answer to the smallest possible content and claim that to "possess a religion" implies nothing more than that the religion has become a phase of national life and that a large number of the people accept its tenets and observe its rites. If this be a sufficient definition, then Korea "possesses" three religions, viz., Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism. This was the position of those who took the affirmative—that Korea has a religion. Others, however, held that this was far too low a concept of "possessing a religion," and would be satisfied with nothing less than the definition of Principal Caird: "Religion is the surrender of the finite will to the infinite, the abnegation of all desire, inclination and ambition that pertains to me as this private individual, the giving up of every aim or activity that points only to my exclusive pleasure and interest, and the absolute identification of my will with the will

of God." Thus speaks the Christian scholar; and in the peculiarly Christian sense of this view none of the above mentioned religions can be said to have a religious hold on the Korean people. And this is the contention of those who held that Korea was without a religion.

The question we are therefore seeking an answer to resolves itself into one concerning the development of the religious sense of the Korean people, and on this there is small ground for controversy. Any one acquainted with the Korean people will know that they have a religious sense, though it may be on a low plane of exercise.

1. They possess a sense of dependence on that which is above and superior to themselves. They look out of themselves in time of need. It may be only into the great blue firmament above, but it is a look of expectation and hope.
2. They firmly believe that the human and the divine find a plane of intercommunication and relation.
3. We find everywhere among them an earnest striving of the soul after freedom from annoyance and pain.

And over against these three subjective conditions stand the various religious systems held by the Korean people, with their solutions of the problems and questions of human destiny. The missionary, blinded somewhat by strong personal views of the superiority of the faith he propagates, and the anthropologist with a keen desire to sink to the lowest depths the level from which the man of to-day was evolved, may affirm of a people that they are without a religion, but the facts always prove the contrary. "A religious system is a normal and essential factor in every evolving society," and as such it is not wanting in Korea.

We have mentioned three forms of religious belief as prevailing in Korea to-day. What is their relative status? They may be said to exist as a community of religious belief, and no one of them is the religion of the Korean people to the exclusion of the others. The worship of the dead, as formulated by the Confucian school, is the religion of the imperial house and as such is the state religion, for in Korea the reigning house is always the State. As such, Confucianism is recognised and protected by law, and the expenses in connec-

tion with the state and provincial worship of the Confucian sages is a charge on the public revenue. Then every prefect is also compelled to maintain worship at the shrines of the local spirits and the *pom-neum*, or tithes of rice for the Confucian worship, also include rice for the official worship of these Shamanite gods. The Buddhist hierarchy has also a semi-official status. A Buddhist monastery on Kang-wha is utilized by the government as the depository for the duplicate archives of the dynasty and the monks constitute an official guard of them. Subsidies are also granted other Buddhist monasteries from imperial funds and in all Buddhist temples there will be found on the altars tablets to the reigning emperor, empress and prince imperial.

Of these three systems Spirit Worship is the most ancient, its introduction among the Korean people being lost in the gloom of prehistoric times. The next in order of time was the cult of the dead to which Confucius afterwards gave his name, and which was probably brought to Korea by Keui-ja B.C. 1122. Buddhism did not come till fourteen hundred years later (A.D. 372). These three systems have existed side by side, or rather have overlapped and interpenetrated each other, until to-day they are held in the mind of the average Korean as a confused jumble. Confucianism has been able to maintain itself freer from adulteration than the other two, but Buddhism has not hesitated to appropriate Confucian ethics on the one hand and on the other to ally itself with Shamanism. Shamanism has absorbed from the other two cults nearly everything of a supernaturalistic character they possess, following no law of consistency or selection. Thus, while theoretically the Korean recognizes the separate character of the three cults of Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism, practically they lie in his mind as a confused, undigested mass of teaching and belief, hopelessly intermixed and chaotic. He believes in all three. He personally takes his own education from Confucius; he sends his wife to Buddha to pray for offspring, and in the ills of life he willingly pays toll to Shamanite Mu-dang and Pan-su. The average Korean is thus a follower of all three systems, in the hope that by their united help he may reach a happy destiny.

The subject which I have selected for discussion is the Shamanite or Spirit Worship of the Koreans. By this is meant a belief in the existence of innumerable spiritual intelligences ranging in character from the mischievous and prankish Tok-gabi or goblin to the high and mighty T'a Chang-gun, Lord of the Spirit World; in the immanence of these beings and in their control of the forces of the natural world and of the destinies of man; in the obligation and subjection of man to these spirits and in the necessity of ceremonies and offerings in propitiation of them; a belief that these beings have the power to take possession of a man either for the purpose of afflicting him or of using him for their own purposes; that they perform many supernatural things among men, and that they possess a knowledge of the future and can be induced to reveal it and to aid or hinder man in his enterprises; that they hallow to themselves certain material objects, such as sheets of paper, calabashes, whisks of straw, earthen pots, garments, heaps of stones, trees, rocks and springs, and that many of the objects thus sanctified become genuine fetiches, endowed with the supernatural attributes of the being they represent, this being specially true in the case of portraits sacred to demons.

While this definition is not complete in all details it fairly outlines the creed of the Korean Shaman. Concerning the character of these spirits, it is claimed that many of them are good and can be induced to exercise a beneficent influence over the life of man, but many are malevolent and no one of them but possesses the power to afflict man on the merest caprice, and does so. In this respect they correspond to the old Greek idea of a "daimōn," and the word demonolatry is possibly a good name for the system.

This belief in demons, ghosts and goblins is not confined to Korea but is universal, and in Asia it is a large feature in the religious belief of the masses. It constitutes a vast undergrowth in the religious world through which the student must force his way with axe and torch. It differs from the ethnic cults of religion in that it is prehistoric, documentless and without system, and it lacks all articulation which would permit the religious anatomist to dissect and classify it. In development it is as rank as a tropical forest,

dark as the burrow of a rat, as boneless as a fog, and as formless as chaos. If we attempt to trace its origin historically we get lost. In China, the ideographs for spirit, ghost and goblin are as ancient as those for heaven and God. In Korea, Tan-gun, the first character in the native histories—if he ever existed—was probably a shaman. And in Japan we are told that history takes its rise in the spiritualistic legends of Kami-no-michi.

THE SHAMAN PANTHEON.

The Korean name for this great systemless spirit worship is Sin-do (神道) or Spirit Way. It is sometimes confused by the Koreans with Sūn-do (仙道) or Taoism, but this is a mistake on their part, and while the fame of Lao-tse is known among them they do not appear to have adopted his cult.

The first article in the creed of the Shaman spirit worshipper is a belief in the existence of innumerable spiritual intelligences which control the fortunes of men. Most of these spiritual beings are represented to the eye by some material object or fetich, thus making fetichism an important feature of Korean Shamanism. The fetich, whatever it may be, is regarded as clothed with a certain sanctity and to it the Korean pays his worship. Spirit and fetich become so identified in the mind of the devotee that it is hard to determine which has the greater ascendancy, but it is certain that the fetiches, however decayed and filthy they may become from age, are still very sacred and the Korean dreads to show them violence. This shows itself in the prohibition to visit them sometimes imposed on converts to Christianity by non-believing relatives, because the convert's presence before the fetiches so annoyed and angered them that they would bring disaster on the household.

It is a large task to undertake to catalogue the spirits in the Korean pantheon. When we remember that in Japan Sintoism claims eight million gods and in India Hinduism thirty-three millions, we can easily believe that the number is beyond native computation. It is difficult to describe them, because they are unhistorical; we can learn little that is coherent and consistent. They also elude classification,

for they know neither species nor genus. We can but take up a few of the more commonly known ones for consideration. These are selected at hap-hazard, but they are representative of the entire class and will indicate the facts of the whole.

1. The O-bang Chang-gun (五方將軍). If you should visit the home of one of the blind soothsayer priests of this system in Korea you would find there a shrine or altar hung with red silk, and containing a banner or tablet inscribed with the collective names of the spirits of the O-bang Chang-gun or the God-Generals of the Five Quarters of the Sky. According to the blind shamans these spirits rule the visible firmament and are the chief deities of the Korean pantheon. To them the shaman pays his best devotions with prayers, bell-ringing and incense, and upon them he depends for aid in all his work. Their names and jurisdiction as given to me by a shaman are as follows:—

(a) The Ch'üng-che Chang-gun (青帝將軍), or Green God-General, ruling the eastern sky.

(b) Ch'ük-che Chang-gun (赤帝將軍), or Red God-General, ruling the southern sky.

(c) The P'äk-che Chang-gun (白帝將軍), or White God-General, ruling the western sky.

(d) The Heuk-che Chang-gun (黑帝將軍), or Black God-General, ruling the northern sky.

(e) The Whang-che Chang-gun (黃帝將軍), or Yellow God-General, ruling the middle sky.

These five gods are in many places regarded as the tutelary gods of small villages and you will often find a group of posts, rudely carved to represent human beings, at the entrance and exit of a village, which stand for these Chang-gun. With the group will also be found a pole surmounted by a wooden duck, which seems to be the sign of the generals. These Chang-gun are supposed to protect those who are their favourites, and their fetich is a very common one in Korea. Thus they stand on a road leading in and out of a village or at the entrance to a valley in which a hamlet may be located, to warn away any evil-minded spiritual wanderers from entering and molesting the inhabitants. And each year a sacrifice of rice dough and fruits is offered to them as a propitiation.

2. The Sin-jang (神將). Below the five great generals are their lieutenants who obey their behests and wait in a special manner upon the shamans. These spirits are known as the Sin-jang or Spirit-Generals. They number eighty thousand, and each is at the head of a spiritual host. This will enable us to understand how easy it would be for Sintoism to have eight million gods and Hinduism thirty-three millions. By the use of his magic formulas any blind shaman can call to his aid one or more of these spirit-generals, with their hosts of followers, and secure their aid in exorcism or divination. To them the Koreans also privately erect shrines which will contain a daub of a painting representing the spirit-general, divinity being indicated, as is the case with most pagan art, by monstrosity.

3. The San Sin-yüng (山神靈), or San Sin (山神). Korea is a mountainous land and the Koreans are mountaineers. To understand either the one or the other this fact must be given due weight. Brought up amidst these huge piled-up masses of rock and earth, taught from earliest childhood to scale their heights, spending his days in their ever-changing lights and shadows, which seem to give new forms to the mountains themselves, the Korean, in his poetry and prose alike, betrays the influence the mountains have had upon him. There is always an air of mystery about mountains, and this mystery has penetrated the Korean's innermost soul. He loves them; he does not understand them; he fears them. Through their mighty bowels flows a pulsing flood of vital life that breeds men of desperate valour, so he says the ancients erected their ponderous dolmens and cromlechs to cut off the flow of the life-pulse and allow men instead of warriors to be born. But of all the mysteries of his mountains, that which pleases and at the same time terrifies him most, is the San Sin or Mountain Spirit. The mountain spirit dwells somewhere up on the slope towards the summit and is the real proprietor of the soil. And when the simple country folk go to gather wood on the rugged sides of the mountain they half feel like intruders and a fear and a dread comes over them lest he punish them for theft. Then when the wood gatherers assemble at mid-day for their meal, the first spoonful of rice is cast out on the mountain side to the San Sin. They dread to

offend him ; and when the sickle slips and the foot or hand is cut, or a sudden fall and a broken limb results, they wonder what offence they have committed against the San Sin.

In passing through Korea the shrines to these San Sin will often meet the eye. They are only miserable shanties at the best, built beside some gushing stream or beneath some umbrageous tree or over some moss-covered rock. In the latter case, the rock serves as an altar and the shrine is regarded as especially fortunate. Here the spirit is represented by a picture, usually showing him to be an old man clad in official robes of high rank and sitting on a tiger. Most of the San Sin are represented as males, and in this case the temple will contain portraits of the members of his harem and altars to them. But sometimes the San Sin is a goddess, and then the picture will be of a woman with men attendants. At one shrine in South Korea I found that a Japanese kakemono; with the picture of a beautiful Japanese type, had been hung in the shrine and was worshipped as the goddess by the mountaineers.

The San Sin is the special deity of the hunters of deer and wild ginseng, and is held in high honour by them. To him they present their vows and offerings and trust him for success in their expeditions.

The tiger is held to be the special servant and messenger of the San Sin and this adds to the terror in which he is held. Sometimes, when a man-eater begins his depredations in a neighbourhood, the people will conclude that the San-sin is angry with them and has sent the tiger to afflict them. Then they hasten to the nearest shrine to appease the spirit's wrath with offerings. This demon is generally the special god of hermits, who pass their lives in his service. And very frequently a Korean will retire into some mountain fastness and spend one hundred days in prayer, fasting and bathing, trusting to secure an interview with a San Sin and his advice or aid in some personal enterprise. People who do this are ever afterwards held in peculiar sanctity by their neighbours.

This spirit is very often seen in visions by Koreans during a dream. He always appears as he is pictured in the portrait at the shrine or as a tiger. Both these visions are omens of good luck and the Korean is delighted to have one. Many

are the curious stories they tell of their encounters with these San Sin and of what followed. The Koreans are great dreamers. I might say dreaming is a national pastime with them. But among their dreams some of the most curious are concerning these San Sin.

One of the best examples of a San Sin shrine is to be found in the mountain fortress at the back of the city of Yon-an. Here I found a well-built building with the portraits of many worthies who had perished at various times in behalf of the city, especially in its historic defence against the Japanese invaders of 1572. In front of the principal shrine was a group of spears and tridents and in the floor a stone with a round hole. When it was desired to know whether an offering was accepted or not a spear was inserted in the hole in the stone, point up, and if the spear stood upright it was regarded as propitious. It is needless to say that a little dexterous twist of the spear would always ensure it remaining erect if the shaman so wished.

Much more might be said about these Mountain Spirits. They are the mountain gods of a mountaineer people, and a whole paper might be taken up with the cult, the traditions and stories which pass current among the people, the methods of invocation and exorcism, but enough has been given to indicate the large place these San Sin fill in the Shaman pantheon.

4. The Sun-ang Dang (城隍堂). This is the name of those heaps of stones, or cairns, which attract the attention of all visitors to Korea. The name is spelt in several ways. As pronounced by the people it is Sun-an Dang, but it should be written as it is given by Mr. Gale in his dictionary, viz. Sŭng-whang Dang. An analysis of this name gives us a hint of the meaning of the altar. It is Sŭng (城), "wall, fortress, or city;" whang (隍), "site or locality;" dang (堂), "temple, shrine or altar." This would then give us as a translation of the name Shrine or Temple of the Site of the Fortress or City.

The altar or shrine consists of a heap of stones piled up beneath some tree or clump of bushes. The stones are all of small size and are put in place by votaries and passers-by. On the branches of the trees will be found scraps of paper,

rags, cast-off garments, coins, locks of hair, sometimes the effigies of human beings, or utensils used for the offerings. These dangs are always found beside the road, sometimes down in the plain or at the entrance to a village, but more often in the top of a defile where the road takes its plunge over the crest of a ridge from one valley into another. Very often a small shanty is built alongside the cairn which will contain a daub of a picture, ordinarily of some animal, but often of the San Sin of the mountain. And sometimes these shrines become quite pretentious, being built of good timber with tiled roof and a keeper dwelling in a house beside it, while about it will stretch a grove of old trees. Here in the hot summer days the Koreans will come with wine and song and dance, to enjoy the grateful shade, drink of the cool springs close by, and bow at the shrine. This cult of the Sun-ang is specially strong in the Whang-hai province, though as already indicated it is much in evidence everywhere throughout Korea.

The dang is not sacred to any one spirit but seems to belong to all the local gods, and is a place where the people may meet and propitiate them. They are the most important factors in the work of the Korean shamans, but as this part of Korean life is peculiarly superstitious no rational, coherent explanation of them can be obtained from the Koreans. Here in the trees or among the stones the local gods are supposed to reside. The tree at the shrine becomes sacred to them and is called the "Demon Tree." Here the protecting or tutelary spirit of the valley or defile holds court assisted by the mountain spirits, a few hob-goblins, with some "unclean devils" or sa-geui and such "tramp imps" or "deun-sin" as have been permitted to rest there. Here their reign terrorizes or delights the simple farmers about, sending weal or woe as they see fit.

The worship at the dang generally consists of an offering of food by the person seeking a favour, with prostrations and prayers. The common sight is a woman placing a few small bowls of rice on the stones and then rubbing her hands together and lifting them to her face, and while she bows or prostrates herself she whispers her petition. You listen. She murmurs "Oh! Shrine of the Fortress! Listen I beg.

Our house child is sick, and he will die. Hear us. Give life." And so on until she musters courage to gather up the offerings and take them back to the house. This is a very common sight and thousands of Koreans are sent every year to perform this at these shrines. The first fifteen days of each new year are fortunate for petitions for a year of prosperity and freedom from sickness and the dangs are specially popular at that time.

Travellers also address their petitions to the Sun-ang as they pass. Many a time I have seen a Korean add a stone to the heap under a tree and at the same time spit in front of the altar. This expectoration-feature is a peculiar one in connection with the observances at the dang, and the only explanation I have heard is that it is an observance in connection with the superstitions about snakes. The Koreans stand in dread of offending a snake. They will rarely kill one, for they believe that if they do so the spirit in the snake will follow them through life and work their final and irretrievable ruin. So travellers, when they reach a dang, expectorate at it in order to give any snake-spirit that may be there something to occupy him until they are able to pass on out of view. This dread of a supposed spirit in a snake and the fear of its wrath is curious. May it not be a faint adumbration of the story which tells us that in the infancy of the human race the arch-foe of man, finding the serpent more subtle than the other beasts of the field, entered his body and in that disguise deceived our first parents—this fear of the visible agent being rather a tribute of terror to the one who once used the snake for his purposes?

Of the rags, strips of paper and various objects which catch the eye at the dang there is generally a large variety. These are part of the symbolism of Shamanism and belong to the same category as the fetiches which play so important a part in the system. They are symbolic of the desires of the petitioners at the shrine. The following will give you an idea of their significance. A man goes to a mu-dang or female shaman to have his fortune told and learns that he will surely die that year. He naturally feels frightened and demands how he can ward off this calamity. He is told to make an offering in sacrifice at the Sun-ang Dang and to

hang upon the tree beside it the collar of his coat. This becomes a symbol of himself and possibly there is a dim idea of substitution in it. The thread and the longer strips of rags are generally placed there in behalf of children and indicate a petition for long life. The coins are a sign of a prayer for money. The coloured rags I am told usually indicate the prayers of a bride, for the Koreans have a notion that when a bride leaves her father's house to go to her future home the household gods all try to go with her. This would mean the speedy destruction of her father's household; so at the first dang on the way she pauses, petitions them to come no further, and ties a strip of silk or cloth from her wedding outfit on the tree, to which they may fasten themselves and hold it in her place. Sometimes there will be other offerings such as salt, cotton, silk and kindred objects. These may have been offered by merchants dealing in these commodities.

5. The To-ji-ji-sin (土地之神). These are the Earth Spirits and form an order by themselves. They differ from the Mountain Spirits or San Sin in that while the latter represent and brood over the mountains as such and are enshrouded in the awe which a Korean feels for the mountains, the Earth Spirits are simply the dwellers in that particular spot on the mountain which the Korean wishes to use. These occupy a prominent part in the funeral rites of the Koreans. They are supposed to be the occupants of the grave site and must be propitiated before the corpse can be laid to rest. This is done by a sacrificial offering resembling that to the dead and is presided over by two persons, a Ché-gwan (祭官) or "Sacrificer" and a Ch'uk-gwan (祝官) or "Intoner," who intones the ritual. It will thus be seen that these "Spirits of the Soil" have really been adopted into the Confucian worship of the dead from Shamanism.

6. The Chôn-sin (尊神). In most hamlets and inhabited valleys will be found a shrine called the Chôn-dang or Honourable Temple. This is the home of the Chôn-sin or Tutelary Spirit of the village or group of hamlets in the valley. In the vicinity of Seoul his shrine will contain a portrait representing him in human form, always enshrined with great reverence and ceremony. I have seen shrines to the

Chôn-sin in the country, however, where he was represented by a fetich consisting of a straw booth erected over a pair of sandals, the whole standing under a "demon tree." He is in a special sense the community's god as a community, and the entire community is taxed by the local elders for the support of the sacrifices and worship. It is at this point Christians come into collision with their pagan neighbours. The latter are firm believers in the power of the Chôn-sin over their welfare as a community and make a contribution to the worship at the shrine obligatory on all. To this the conscience of the Christians will not permit them to consent, hence they are treated as foes alike of gods and men. It is the old story of the conflicts in the Roman Empire. I would say, however, that in recent years non-Christian Koreans have become very concessive in this matter to their believing neighbours and that time will remove all friction. The periodical sacrifice at this temple is a very elaborate affair.

7. The Tok-gabi (魍魎). These are the goblins and bogies of Korea. They are among the most universally known, feared and detested inhabitants of the spirit-world. The superstitions about them make them out to be a composite of the western ghost, Jack-o'-lantern, elf, brownie and gnome, but probably the best rendering of the Korean name and idea is that of goblin. They may be either spiritual in their origin or they may have sprung from a human original. In the latter case they are supposed to be the souls of men who have met a violent death. I investigated the case of a girl in Chemulpo whom the Koreans said was demoniacally possessed and who claimed in her more lucid moments to be afflicted with goblins. The mu-dang shamans undertook to exorcise her and to their incantations she confessed that three goblins had her, one being the soul of a woman who had been burned to death, the second that of a woman who had been drowned and the third that of a man who had died by execution. This of course explains only a part of Korean goblinism, but to the Korean there is nothing inconsistent in the fancy that a man thus ending his life becomes a goblin. Thus it is that execution grounds, battle-fields, the scenes of murder and fatal disaster, are thought to be haunted by them. In this particular they are a counterpart of the western ghost. They

always go in troops, however, and are impish in appearance and behaviour. They are always represented as dwarfs and, like the fairies of old, can assume different shapes in which to deceive men. They frequent secluded glades and the banks of streams, and may be met under bridges and in caves. Empty houses will always be occupied by them and once they get in it is hard to get them out. The buildings that formerly stood in the old Mulberry Palace enclosure here in Seoul were reputed to be thus haunted, and frightful stories are still current among the people as to the scenes that occurred there every night. They sometimes take a fancy to a house or a village, and then life becomes unbearable for the unfortunate inhabitants. I often pass a nook in the hills of Kang-wha where once stood a small hamlet embowered in persimmon trees, but the goblins got after the people and so terrorized them every night that they finally arose, tore down their houses and moved to another place. A Christian once described an experience he claimed to have had with the goblins and, as it is typical of the goblin pranks Koreans describe, I give it. One night he was asleep with his family, when suddenly they were all awakened in terror by the sound of a terrible crash and roar as if a mighty wind had struck the house. Every window and door seemed to be straining and tearing out of its place; bowls and dishes were dashing about, and bedlam seemed let loose. They thought a storm had come upon them, and they fled outside only to find it beautiful and starry, not a breath of air stirring or a sound to be heard. Then they knew what it meant, and committing themselves to God they returned in fear and anxiety to the house again. All seemed quiet and they thought the goblins were gone, when, just as they were about to fall asleep again, the terrible crash was heard once more and riot reigned. This time the Christian stood his ground and instead of fleeing he and his family knelt and prayed to God, when the riot ceased as suddenly as it began and they had peace from then on.

I doubt not but that this Christian had some sort of experience that night, though whether purely subjective or not I do not know, and the exact facts are impossible to obtain. No Korean story ever loses in the telling, and this is especially so of the Tok-gabi stories. But the account above given

is thoroughly typical, and I venture to affirm that half of the Koreans living in the country to-day would claim to have had some sort of an experience like that. The goblin is up to all sorts of mischievous pranks. The good house-wife goes to bed at night with the rice-kettle cleaned and the lid on properly. The next morning she finds the lid in the bottom of the kettle, and how it got there only the goblins can explain, for no human ingenuity could jam an eight-inch iron lid through a six-inch opening into an iron pot.

Once when destroying the fetiches belonging to a convert I found one of a goblin. I do not think it is common for the Koreans to keep a goblin fetic, but this family had one. It consisted of a small straw booth mounted on poles and contained a horse-hair hat, like that worn by chair coolies, and a surplice such as is worn by yamen runners. These fetiches were rotten with age, yet the insane fancy of Shamanism had led this family to worship them and make offerings and prostrations to them for years.

About the Tok-gabi centres much of the folk-lore of the people. It may be said to divide with the rabbit and the frog the honours in the folk-lore world. As a feature of Korean Shamanism it is of prime importance and has its own superstitious and ritual of exorcism. A very common belief in connection with the Tok-gabi is that the phosphorescent lights seen about the marshes are the Tok-gabi on the move and the people are invincible in this faith.

8. The Sa-geui (邪鬼) or Deun-sin (浮鬼). Among the many classes of demons which hound the Koreans through life the Deun-sin or Tramp Spirit is about the worst. They are also known as Sa-geui or Unclean Demons, and the notion concerning them is that they are the criminals of the Shamanic spirit-world and, having been cast out from their original estate, are doomed to wander up and down through the earth with no resting place. The Koreans picture them as the beggars of the spirit-world, hopelessly ruined and lost and actuated in all they do by a diabolical hatred of gods and men. Our translators of the Bible have chosen a very fit word in this "sa-geui" as a rendition for the Scriptural term "unclean spirit." An incident will show the prevailing superstition about them. Years ago during a visit to the distant city of

Weui-ju at the mouth of the Yalu, I was summoned one night to the house of a woman who had met with an accident. It had been raining and the night was very dark. I had not gone very far along the main street of the city when I noticed a light in the distance in the middle of the road. On arriving at it I saw a strange sight—one I shall never forget. A woman had spread some straw and a mat over the mud in the middle of the road, set up a screen and placed a table loaded with food, fruit and nuts upon it, and by it two lighted candles. She stood at the end of the mat, engaged in bowing and prostrating herself, while out on the night air through the darkness, rang the wail of her voice in prayer. I asked my Korean companion the meaning of it, and he told me that the Koreans believe that the Deun-sin frequent the air over the middle of the road and that they are compelled by the other inhabitants of the spirit-world to wander up and down until some faulty action on the part of a human being gives them a foothold in his house. This opportunity they eagerly seize, and, taking possession of the man, all sorts of afflictions and trouble befall him. "In that woman's house," continued he, "there is sickness. She has been told by the mu-dang (female shaman) to propitiate the Deun-sin, so she is there in the middle of the road, under that part of the sky where they are, making her offering and gifts to them."

The Deun-sin is popularly regarded as the spirit or god of indigestion and persons suffering from a bad attack of this disease will often seek relief by propitiating it.

In their treatment of these unclean spiritual tramps the mu-dang, or female shamans, always propitiate and bribe them to depart; while the pansu, or blind male shamans, exorcise and capture them with the aid of the Chang-gun and Sin-jang or Spirit-Generals, and either set them adrift over the middle of the road or bottle them up and bury them in disgrace under the middle of the road.

9. The Yong (龍) or Yong-sin. The dragon is very well known among the Koreans and is called a Yong. It is a water monster and has its dwelling-place in deep pools and in wells, ponds and lakes and along the river banks. This superstition concerning the dragon is probably as old as the present dominant race in Korea, and was brought by them from

their ancestral home, which may have been somewhere in south-west Asia. It is one of the most ancient of man's childhood myths, and the fact that it is the common property of the various races on earth is testimony to the unity of mankind. We who come from the west with our superior civilization are almost as familiar with this monster as the people of the east, and though we no longer credit it, yet there was a time when it held a place in the popular beliefs of the white man. With the Aryan it has stood forth as a foe or enemy, or, possibly more accurately, as the symbol of disorder and destruction. The legends of Greece give it a place. Among the seven mighty labours of Hercules the slaying of the dragon was one. Other heroes, as Apollos and Perseus, were also dragon-slayers. The Teutons also made out their god Thor to be a slayer of dragons, and even in the legends of medieval Christianity the dragon has been adopted as a symbol and we have St. George and St. Silvester as dragon-slayers. In this latter case, Christian art has used its license of symbolism and the dragon is used simply as a symbol of paganism or sin, and under the picture of the saint slaying the dragon is set forth the conflict and triumph of Christianity over paganism and sin.

Before the days of Christianity the dragon was a matter of belief among our ancestors and the Saxons and Angles who invaded Britain bore it as a device on their shields and banners. Among the Celts it was the symbol of sovereignty, and Tennyson has shown a true historic sense in giving it a prominent place in the "Coming of Arthur." In this connection I cannot resist the temptation to quote that scene which describes how the two magicians, Bleys and Merlin, went to get the babe and the vision which accompanied him. The poet tells us how they

"Descending thro' the dismal night—a night
In which the bounds of heaven and earth were lost—
Beheld, so high upon the dreary deeps
It seem'd in heaven, a ship, the shape thereof
A dragon wing'd, and all from stem to stern
Bright with a shining people on the decks,
And gone as soon as seen. And then the two
Dropt to the cove, and watch'd the great sea fall,

Wave after wave, each mightier than the last,
 Till last, a ninth one, gathering half the deep
 And full of voices, slowly rose and plunged
 Roaring, and all the wave was in a flame:
 And down the wave and in the flame was borne
 A naked babe, and rode to Merlin's feet,

Who stooped and caught the babe, and cried "The King!"

Here we have in this picture the sea, the storm, the dragon-shaped boat, the flame and roaring, all attendant upon a royal babe destined to become a warrior, king and sage. It is but a poet's fancy, and yet it is a curious coincidence that in a land like Korea which holds to the dragon cult a native writer would have dealt with a like event in an almost identical manner. This fancy Tennyson maintains, making the dragons "the golden dragon of Britain," the emblem of Arthur's kingship. And among the Koreans he is the emblem of royalty. He is the imperial beast and in the legendary origin of some of the dynasties he appears as a progenitor of the royal line.

In the present-day mythological lore of the Korean shamans the dragons are regarded as actual living beasts and earth, air, and sea as inhabited by them. A practical illustration of this superstition may be found in many of the cities and sections of the country. Here in Seoul, if you go out by the North-East Gate, you will find a place where the road goes over a ridge of land and is paved with flat stones, the reason being that this ridge is really a dragon's backbone and that the scuffling of the people's feet over the monster's back pained and angered him so that he had to be encased in stone. Like the tok-gabi (goblin), the dragon is the favourite theme of the story-tellers, and he is one of the stock features in most Korean novels. He generally appears as the herald of the birth of some marvellous child and all Koreans to-day regard a dream or a vision of a dragon as an omen of the very best import. I think that most Koreans believe in his actual existence and one in every ten Koreans you meet anywhere in the land would probably declare that at some time in his life he had seen a dragon.

The bulwarks of this fancy are the shamans. They foster the belief in the dragon and make him an important part of their teachings. They have a special ceremonial for propitia-

tion known as the Yong-sin Kut (龍神), Dragon Service, and this is often performed in times of drought. For the dragon when angry shuts up the sky and withholds the rain. Sometimes death by drowning is attributed to the anger of the Yong and then a private kut will be held by the relatives of the dead to appease the monster. Thus this monster, part fish, part reptile, part bird and part beast, inspires the Korean with fear and reverence. His is a favourite name for Korean children and to him they are often sold. In selling children to the Yong the parents will take the child to the well, or a river's bank and there, with offering and worship, dedicate him to the dragon. From that time on the child, whether boy or girl, will be known as some kind of a dragon. The large number of "dragon" children among the Koreans indicates how popular is his worship.

This finishes our review of the spirits who may be found at the various shrines throughout Korea. We have selected only a few of the more common ones and besides those we have mentioned there are multitudes of others believed in and worshipped throughout the country. The task of describing them would be an endless one.

But Shamanism comes much closer to the Korean than these shrines about his towns and hamlets and along his roads. It enters his home and surrounds him there with its fancies so that day and night he is ever in the presence of the emblems of this spirit dominion. It is true we find no "god-shelves" in the house, but the gods are there just the same, and if you enter the house you will find that for a small mud hut the average Korean house has an over-supply of supernatural occupants. These household gods are a part of every Korean house, as much of the aristocratic gentleman's abode as of the low-born coolie's hut. While there may be no "god-shelf" in a Korean house yet no Korean (unless he were a Christian) would think of purchasing a house without first enquiring of the owner the names and character of the "gods" of the house. For when a Korean moves from one house to another he does not take his gods with him but passes from the dominion of the gods of the house he has left to that of the gods of the house to which he removes. This of course affects the price of Christian houses in the rural districts, for they are not as

desirable for pagan purchasers as those in which the house gods have not been disturbed. A pagan having found out the gods or demons of the house he has purchased will be careful to make offerings to them all, but if for some unknown cause one of his family falls sick he will seek the former owner and find out again the gods of the place and compare it with his list so as to be sure he has not omitted one in his offerings. Among these household lares of the Koreans the chief one is

10. The Söng-ju (成造). The Söng-ju is the ruler of the Korean's house, the spiritual major-domo of the entire establishment. His fetich is enshrined on the frame of the house as soon as the beams are set up and from that day he is lord of all who dwell within and their weal or woe is subject to his whim. His fetich consists of blank sheets of paper and a small bag of rice, which are hung from the ridge-beam of the principal room—generally the living-room of the house. This fetich is charged with protecting the family from all misfortune and especially from affliction at the hands of the demons. The Söng-ju is set up at the time of the erection of the house after the following manner. After the site is graded and the framework of the house erected, a pause is made in the construction until a lucky day can be found for enshrining the spirit. Sheets of ordinary paper and a bag of rice containing as many spoonfuls of rice as the owner is years old are fastened to the ridge and prayer and worship offered. The construction of the house then continues until completed, when another lucky day is selected and a mu-dang shaman is called to preside. A Kut (賽神) or Grand Ceremony is held by her. A large sacrifice of food is prepared and an elaborate ritual gone through with until the mudang has worked herself up to the proper pitch of frenzy. She then seizes a wand, called the Söng-ju wand, which enables her to seek the Söng-ju, he having arrived by this time. When found he perches on the wand and drags her back to the fetich, into which she introduces him by violently shaking the stick and beating round about the fetich. He is supposed now to feed on the feast for a time, after which the food is passed out to the assembled guests who dispose of the material substance of the feast, the Söng-ju contenting himself with the spiritual essence of it. The Söng-ju thus becomes the chief protector

of the house and every inmate lives in constant anxiety of offending him. The children are carefully taught not to tread on the threshold, for that is treading on his neck; and when a meal is eaten in the inner room all parties are careful so to place their tables that they will not be eating facing the fetich. This would anger him and cause him to afflict some member of the household.

The Söng-ju is worshipped each spring and autumn in common with other household gods, the spring sacrifice being a petition for a year of prosperity, and the autumn one being in the nature of a Thanksgiving or Harvest Home Festival.

11. The T'ö-ju (土主). Ranking next to the Sung-ju in importance is the T'ö-ju or Lord of the Site. This demon represents a phase in that great system of Earth Spirits of which the San Sin, and T'ö-ji-ji-sin are parts. The Koreans themselves can give no coherent explanation of the spirit or his fetich, any more than that it is the custom to have one. The fetich consists of a bundle of straw set up like a booth on three sticks. It varies in height from one to three or four feet. Ordinarily this is all, but sometimes they combine with it the Öp-ju or God of Luck, who is represented by a rice pot with some grain in it, so that the two spirits conjoined make one fetich and are worshipped together. The fetich of the T'ö-ju is not set up immediately after the erection of the house, but on the occasion of celebrating the first great spirit fête afterward. It is then set up in a clean spot back of the house.

12. Öp-ju (業主). This is the symbol of one of the cardinal features of Shamanism, namely luck. As far as my study has gone I cannot avoid the conclusion that the idea of blessing or grace, that is, the kindly favour of the deity bestowed out of pure love and kindness on his children, is not known. Shamanism does not rise to this high level, but remains down on the lower level of luck and ill-luck as the chief good or evil flowing from their deities. It is true that the Koreans have an expression called the O Pok—Five Blessings, viz. longevity, children, rank, wealth, and a peaceful death, but that is a purely Confucian idea. Shamanism concerns itself with luck and ill-luck. When all things go well, then the spirits are bestowing luck on the family; when things go badly, luck has been withdrawn and ill-luck takes its place.

The Öp-ju stands for this luck, fate or fortune of the family. Sometimes there will be a house or shanty built for him, known as the öp-jip, or sometimes he will be confined to the fetich of the T'ö-ju as above indicated. Ordinarily he has a fetich of his own consisting of a straw booth like that of the T'ö-ju, but containing an earthen jar or pot with rice, grain or beans in it, and sometimes a small stone. This fetich is worshipped regularly, spring and autumn, and at other times as luck may seem to demand.

One very interesting feature of this Öp-ju is the idea of the mascot, which is clearly held by the Koreans. The mascot in Korea is a person or animal attached to the Öp-ju, and through him to the family, and is thought to bring good luck. There are a number of these mascots, as the Öp-ku-rüŋgi or luck serpent; the öp-dä-a-ji or luck pig; the öp-jok-jä-bi or luck weasel; the in-öp or luck-child. As a general thing this luck mascot is not an actual tangible thing of flesh and bones, but an immaterial fancy or form that haunts the householder's dreams, visiting him in his sleep with its promises of better things. Sometimes, however, in the case of a snake or a weasel, it may become the actual beast itself, and the presence of a snake at a Korean house is not at all an occasion for alarm but rather of rejoicing and gladness. This question of sacred animals, however, comes up properly under the animistic worship of Shamanism.

13. The Kül-ip (乞粒). If you look sharply about the entrance of a Korean house you will generally find hanging in a dark corner, a bundle consisting of an old cast-off sandal or two, some money on a string, a coolie's hat, an old head of a fish, etc. This is the fetich of the Kül-ip or Messenger of the Gods of the House. He has charge of the outside fortunes of the family and runs errands for the spirits. The hat is part of his costume; the shoes are for his journey, and the money and the money-string is for his travelling funds.

14. The Mun-hö-ji-sin (門戶之神). This spirit guards the entrance to the house and is a sort of a spiritual gateman. His fetich consists of the hat and surplice of a yamen runner and hangs in the gate or entrance.

15. The Yök-sin (疫神). This is the dreaded Ma-ma or Small-pox God. It is the belief of the Koreans that small-

pox is a species of demoniacal possession. In fact, a close study of their medical theories will reveal the fact that they regard all disease as either demoniacal possession or else due to demoniacal influence. And in this lies the great power of the shamans. They are the real doctors of the land as far as practical purposes go, and, though they do not deal in medicine, they are popularly regarded as far more powerful agents in effecting a cure than the druggist or doctor. A well-informed native literatus said to me that it is safe to estimate that of all the money spent on sick folk in Korea seventy or eighty per cent. goes to the shamans.

The Ma-ma spirit is generally represented in the room of a sick person by a clean mat upon which stands a small table carrying a bowl of fresh, pure water. This remains during the period of the sickness and is not removed until the disease leaves the patient. If at any time the disease becomes dangerous the parents or relatives of the sick person will appear before this table and take several mouthfuls of water, uttering a prayer between each mouthful for the recovery of the patient. The same ceremony may be observed at a well or a spring. The person afflicted with a yök-sin is supposed to be peculiarly susceptible to the pains and hardships of persons who come near him. Thus it is said that if chair-coolies come inside the compound of a house where a person has the small-pox, the patient will immediately complain of a pain over the shoulders, although he may not know that there are any chair-coolies near him.

16. The Che-ong (除痛), Human Effigy. Each New Year the Koreans manufacture out of straw effigies which they use to carry away the bad luck of the house. You will find them all over the country thrown out in the fields or along the roads. Often you will find a piece of money tied to them. This is the bribe given to the effigy to carry away the ill-fortune. The effigy is also used at other times in connection with sickness, being clad in the garment of the sick person and bribed to carry away the disease.

17. The Sam Sin (三神), God of Nativity. This is a popular spirit in most Korean households and is represented by a fetich consisting of a gourd and a small bag of rice. It is supposed to preside over conception and birth and to

determine the posterity of each household. It is also supposed to determine sex, and mitigate or increase the pains of childbirth. When a child is born into a Korean home the house is immediately shut up to all visitors for a period varying from three to twenty-one days. This is in honour of the Sam Sin and to exclude from his sight all defiled persons such as mourners. Generally a straw rope is stretched across the door to bar entrance. If this rope is decorated with red peppers it indicates that the new-born child is a boy; if decorated with pine-tree sprigs, that it is a girl.

These few notes will give some idea of the character of the spirit-gods of Korean shamanism. They are a motley crew, a dismal company. What must be the condition of mind and heart which continues under their dominion and in their service? But this is the religion of the Korean home and these gods are found in every house, not Christian, in Korea. The Korean is born under their influence or even may think himself to be their offspring or incarnation. He is consecrated to them in childhood, grows up amid them and they remain in unbroken touch with him from the moment he sees life until the clouds cover him in his last long sleep in the grave. They occupy every quarter of heaven and every foot of earth. They lie in wait for him along the wayside, in the trees, on the rocks, in the mountains, valleys and streams. They keep him under a constant espionage day and night. Once I was compelled to travel through the night. It was cold and dark and my coolies pushed on awed and silent. About two o'clock in the morning a distant cock's crow rang out clear and distinct, when the men all drew a sigh of relief and murmured their gratitude. On inquiry for the reason of this they told me that evil demons cannot travel after cock-crow, so they felt safe then. It certainly must be a most uncomfortable condition of mind in which he passes his days, for they are all about him, they dance in front of him, follow behind him, fly over his head and cry out against him from the earth. He has no refuge from them even in his own house, for there they are plastered into or pinned on the walls or tied to the beams. Their fetiches confront him in the entrance, and there is a whole row of them back of the house. Their ubiquity is an ugly travesty of the omnipresence of God.

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