

DEER AND WINE

Klaus ANTONI

I.

The first three books of the Engi-shiki contain an enumeration of the religious ceremonies held in the imperial palace, the Jingi-kan and different shrines. As to the manner of performance and the religious meanings of these festivals, nearly no information is given. Only the various kinds of offerings dedicated to the festivals are listed up. These lists seem to contain no intelligible systematology because of the extremely heterogenous nature of objects used as offerings.

Nevertheless I shall discuss here one special kind of offering, presented at various occasions, trying to show - at least for this special case - that distinct objects may belong to equally distinct categories of festivals. More than that I'll try to show the original connection of this object to one of the festivals mentioned in the Engi-shiki. For the analysis given here a comparatively unusual item was chosen: deer-skins dedicated to some of the ceremonies.

Among the total number of 63 festivals mentioned in the first three books the custom of offering deer-skins is mentioned in the case of ten festivals(i). Five of them belong to the regular annual festivals; the other five are irregular ceremonies. Furthermore, deer-skins are mentioned six times in the books on the Ise-shrine.

Table 1

If we compare the various occasions mentioning deer-skins some interesting conclusions may be drawn:

1.) As to the combination of deer-skins with other objects: In most cases deer-skins appear together with other genetically connected things, i.e. skins of other animals, deer antlers and the hunting weapons bow and arrow. On further consideration we can distinguish four different groups of object-combinations:

Table 2

The first of these groups contains just skins of different kinds of animals - deer, boar, monkey and ox. Also the second group only mentions skins, but just deer-skins without adding other sorts of skins. In the third group we find deer-skins too but in combination with bows and arrows. It is only the fourth group which contains all of the objects: deer-skins, antlers, bows and arrows. Since the deer is a hunting animal for mankind this group seems to me to be the most complete one - it combines all objects belonging to the complex of hunting. And even at this early point of analysis we may guess that the festivals combined in this

group are of a special importance to the problem discussed here.

2.) The comparison of the religious intentions of the ceremonies is also interesting, since all of them belong to two basic religious motifs: * warding off mischief, * purification (see table 2)

Only one case cannot be seen under these categories, the list of the "21 treasures of the Ise-shrine (N°. 11)". But this is not astonishing since the list itself is not part of a religious ceremony - it is just a list of different treasures.

Comparing the intention of the festivals mentioned above we realize that all the ceremonies of the first group are connected with the motif "warding off mischief" and also with another motif, which I like to call "the border". All of them are rituals to prevent evil from entering into clearly defined regions, for example the imperial capital. Thus this group is clearly different from the others not only concerning the nature of objects given as offerings but also the intention of the festivals belonging to it. In none of these occasions are hunting weapons or antlers mentioned.

The minor groups (2) and (3) are connected with the motif "purification". Since they consist of only three occasions altogether which furthermore are of only subordinate importance, they cannot hold an essential position for solving our problem.

Just as in the previous question - the combination of several objects - our attention is drawn to the fourth group again.

Four of the seven occasions mentioned in this group belong to the complex of "purification" while two of them are connected with the motif of "warding off evil". The seventh case, i.e. the treasures of the Ise-shrine, plays a different role as stated above. Three of the 'purification-ceremonies' are connected with the Consecrated Princess of the Ise-shrine, only one is not associated with such a definite context. This is the Oharae, one of the annual festivals. Annual festivals are also the two ceremonies of this group, which belong to "warding off evil", i.e. the Hanashizume and the Kaze no kami for warding off diseases and drought respectively.

In my opinion the key for solving our problem is hidden within these three festivals, since (1) all of them belong to the fourth group which, containing all of the mentioned objects, is the most "complete" one. And (2) they represent in the broadest manner the intentions of all ceremonies under discussion here, i.e. "warding off evil" without regional limitation and "purification" without referring to any special persons or situations.

And last but not least they represent the oldest of the above-mentioned ceremonies.

Now the question arises whether one of the three festivals - Oharae, Hana-

shizume and Kaze no kami - differs from the others in having an original relation to the element deer-skin. Anticipating the answer it may be said that only in the case of one of the festivals can such a position be postulated, i.e. the Hanashizume.

Kaze no kami and Hanashizume both serve the intention of warding off mischief which means drought or disease respectively. But the origin of Kaze no kami is of much more recent date than that of Hanashizume. Kaze no kami originated only in the days of emperor Temmu(ii), that means after the Taika reform, whereas Hanashizume has been known ever since the reign of the - legendary? - emperor Sujin. Therefore Kaze no kami cannot be the original festival and is of no importance for the question concerning the original relation between object and ceremony.

This historically based argument also applies in the case of Hanashizume and Oharae dating back to Temmu's reign as well. But there is one argument which might prove the primacy of Oharae. In a decree issued by Temmu to the Oharae, which is quoted in the Nihongi, deer-skins as offerings to the festival are mentioned(iii). Without question this notation represents the earliest record of the custom that deer-skins were used in such a manner. On the other hand the decree merely shows that deer-skins were used as offerings in these days on the occasion of a festival founded by emperor Temmu. Since this happened after the Taika-reform no information is given about the usage before this very important event. So the quotation given in the Nihongi consists basically of the same information as the later Engi-shiki. The historical aspect however becomes important only in connection with the question of when the festivals themselves were founded. And it is only the Hanashizume which can be traced back to the early days of emperor Sujin. In addition, two further arguments for the primacy of the Hanashizume can be stated:

- 1.) While all other festivals receive six skins at most in the Hanashizume a number of 20 pieces in total are offered.
- 2.) The importance of this enormous quantity is documented furthermore by the notation in the Engi-shiki record that only these 20 skins together with 14 bows (2x7) and four rounds of arrows were allotted by the Jingi-kan. In no other case is such a notation given.

So the Hanashizume seems to represent the festival we were looking for, probably bearing an original relation to the offering of deer-skins, bows, arrows and antlers.

II.

The Hanashizume, the "feast of pacifying the blossoms", was celebrated as one of the "minor festivals", shōshi, at no fixed date(iv) in the third month in the two shrines of Sai(v) and Omiwa in Yamato. It was celebrated in honour of the divini-

ties of these shrines which are both manifestations of the God Omononushi of Mount Miwa or Mimoro. In our days the Sai shrine is part of the Omiwa-jinja located near the city of Sakurai in Nara prefecture.

As to the performance and original religious meaning of the festival no information is given by the Engi-shiki. But another source, the Ryō no Gige gives a hint for answering this question. It states that the name of the festival is based on the circumstance that in the third month of the year not only the blossoms of the trees are scattering but also the divinities of disease who are responsible for epidemics (Ryō no Gige, Jingi-ryō 6= KT 22:77). So the Hanashizume originally is a ceremony warding off diseases.

Tradition reveals that the festival was founded in the days of emperor Sujin alias Mimaki-iri-biko. According to the Kojiki and Nihongi (NKBT 1:178f.; NKBT 67:238f.) the people was threatened by a fateful disease during the reign of this emperor. In a dream the God Omononushi appears before the helpless emperor and declares to have inflicted this plague upon mankind(vi). He states that if people worshipped him and if a certain man named Otataneko became his priest the disease would come to an end. That man was found and he reveals himself a descendant of this god. So the emperor makes him worship the Great God, i.e. Omiwa on the mountain(vii).

After this all other kami of the country were worshipped as well and the divine epidemic came to an end.

In this record Omononushi appears a quite unpleasant character, i.e. a God who, to receive veneration by men, even sends disease and epidemics over the world. But this is only one aspect of a much more complex divinity. The detailed mythological accounts in the old traditions show that the God Omononushi is just one of the different manifestations of a very important divinity, the Great God of Izumo Okuninushi(viii). And this deity founded together with the God Sukunabikona the methods of healing - thus forming a clear contrast to the above-mentioned character of Omononushi. Okuninushi and Sukunabikona were the traditional Gods of medicine in pre-buddhistic Japan(ix). That a healing power was explicitly seen in Omononushi too is shown by another account in the Kojiki and Nihongi. This shows that both names in fact refer to one and the same God. According to the Nihongi some months after the epidemic a man named Ikui was appointed sake-brewer for the God Omononushi. When worshipping the God this man recites a - very famous - song in which Omononushi is called the God of divine sake, i.e. ricewine, and his abode - Omiwa-shrine and Mount Mimoro - the "place of delicious wine" (Nihongi, Sujin = NKBT 67:242).

How intimate the connection between God and wine actually was - and still is - is shown by the fact that in some records instead of the usual term for "sacred rice-wine", i.e. miki, the name of the God himself and of his abode respectively,

i.e. miwa, are used to denominate the holy drink(x). And up to this day Omononushi, the God of Miwa, has been the divinity of the sacred rice-wine, and from all over Japan the sake-brewers still come to the shrine to be blessed by that God once a year.

Furthermore Okuninushi and his companion Sukunabikona too are found in a deep relation to the sacred rice-wine. In a song devoted by Jinjū Kōgō, famous empress and mother of emperor Ojin, to the God Sukunabikona this divinity is called the "master of holy rice-wine", i.e. kushi no kami. The song itself is nearly identical with the song recited by the above-mentioned Ikui for Omononushi (Kojiki=NKBT 1:237; Nihongi=NKBT 67:350). Consequently all of the three Gods - Okuninushi, Omononushi and Sukunabikona - are worshipped at the Omiwa-shrine. Already HIRATA Atsutane in his monographical work on Sukunabikona, called Shizu no iwaya, made it clear that this wine was not a profane one but had healing power (Hirata 1911: 13ff.). So the miki or miwa which is the sacred rice-wine, indeed is a healing drink.

So the functions of both divinities Omononushi alias Okuninushi and Sukunabikona as Gods and masters of the sacred wine are exactly in accord with their original characters as gods of medicine. To my regret it is not possible here to discuss all the questions arising from the fact that rice-wine obviously had a predominant importance at least within a part of archaic Japanese religion. But I shall debate that problem in a special inquiry in the future. Here, only the cognition is important that the God of Miwa, in whose honour the Hanashizume is celebrated, is not merely a divinity of disease but much more characteristically of healing and medicine and especially of rice-wine.

What do these circumstances have to do with the original problem, the hunting weapons and especially deer-skins of the Hanashizume?

III.

To answer this question it seems opportune to leave the sphere of Japanese tradition to take a look at the cultural conditions which have been preserved outside Japan, among the mountain-aborigines of Taiwan.

In fact the method of explaining historical data of great antiquity by means of more recent ethnographical reports is problematical. But where by a certain ethnic group very old ideas have been preserved within a broader context of ideas, i.e. a still existing conception of life, such a mode of proceeding is not only permitted but even very convenient.

So I believe that a report about a mountain people of Taiwan(xi) is extremely instructive for our question. This report states:

"The production of millet-wine is, or at least in 1916 still was, a ceremonial and extremely secret affair. Certain women of the tribe, holding a

predominant position within this group, declared that in case of highly sacred events, for example a successful head-hunting, the millet was chewed by the women and spat into deer-skins to become fermented." (Bücheler 1934:70)

Also of great importance is the subsequent remark by the author that this way of production was used only for the ceremonial and not for the profane wine.

Obviously the combination 'deer-skin and sacred wine' appears, according to that report, within a closed religious framework. If we remember the Engi-shiki report, an analogous combination can be observed, since the God Omononushi is, as stated above, a divinity of the sacred wine. And also the mode of producing the wine by chewing the grain is documented in the old Japanese sources. For example the Osumi-Fudoki knows a kuchikami no sake, i.e. a "sake brewed or chewed by the mouth" (NKBT 2:526f.)

On the topic 'deer and wine' there exist further ethnographical reports from Taiwan. Songs of native cultures which reveal the deep association between the elements 'deer hunting' and 'wine' have been handed down(xii).

One song runs as follows:

*We come and arrange a festive ceremony
we have planted ginger
we go and exchange (for this) glutinous rice
we come and brew wine
we beg the chiefs to come and to drink (the) wine
when we drank enough
we go to catch deer
having caught deer we return (and)
we come again and arrange a festive ceremony (Florenz 1898/1899:127)*

Another song:

*We caught deer
we harvested rice
we brewed wine
(you) people of the tribe all come together
arrange a festive ceremony and
drink together (Florenz 1898/99:145).*

Comparing the first report to the songs it becomes obvious that a common mental base exists: deer and alcoholic drink belong together. On the other hand there is an important difference concerning the sort of the drinks. The record, originating probably from the Atayal-tribe, which attaches so much importance to the usage of the deer-skin, speaks of millet-wine while the songs do mention wine made of rice. But both records are in conformity with each other in that both of the drinks are produced by chewing, which is stated for the songs in a commentary by the compiler (Florenz 1898/99:128f.)

It was mentioned above that this way of production was already known in Japanese antiquity, and even today people on the Ryūkyū islands make use of it (Iha 1959:11-16).

IV.

If the essential pieces of information were put together the following could be said:

Taiwan 1: deer (skin) - wine - chewing - millet

Taiwan 2: deer (hunting) - wine -chewing - rice

Obviously they all have the combination of deer, wine and chewing in common. The only difference lies in the usage of millet and rice respectively.

But this circumstance is due to the different cultural development of the mentioned ethnic groups. The first, the head-hunting group, has preserved a more primitive, i.e. original state of culture than the peoples whose songs have been handed down. The latter had already been influenced by Chinese civilisation, as Karl FLORENZ (1898/99:113ff.) states in his commentary. The rice used by them happens to be just a substitute for the previously used millet and other grains respectively.

Thus originally there must have been an association of the components 'deer' and 'millet', instead of 'deer' and 'rice'.

Let us return to Japan now. The above-mentioned elements 'deer (skin), wine and chewing' were also known in Japan as shown by the *Engi-shiki* and the earlier *Osumi-Fudoki*. But in Japan the raw material for the wine is rice. For a total conformity between the Taiwanese and the Japanese instances however, millet instead of rice would be needed, since rice in Taiwan was only a substitute for millet.

The hypothesis that deer-skins of the *Hanashizume* indeed have a connection with the *sake*-God *Omononushi* would be clearly supported if the combination of millet and deer, so important in the Taiwanese example, were documented for Japanese antiquity as well. The cultural complex looked for would have to combine hunting and farming, especially millet farming and deer hunting.

And indeed, such a cultural stratum theoretically demanded here is postulated for Japan.

V.

OBAYASHI Taryō (1966) for example states that wet-rice-farming surely was essential for the development of the Japanese culture but that on the other hand the importance of cultivation of millet and *imo* by shifting cultivation should not be overlooked. Millet-cultivation, in all probability beginning at the end of the Jōmon-era, was reserved for the mountainous areas and was connected with hunting. Women worked in the fields while men went hunting. According to OBAYASHI that cultural complex had much in common with the cultures of the non-Chinese tribes of South-China. Like OBAYASHI also NAUMANN (1971) objects to the opinion that no way of

cultivation was known in Japan prior to rice-farming.

"For up to this day in the Japanese mountainous areas which are unfit for rice-farming shifting cultivation has been practiced to a large extent."
(Naumann 1971:230)

Among the cultivated cereals millet was predominant and also in Japan, millet-cultivation was connected with hunting, especially deer-hunting. This is exactly the cultural complex we were looking for!

The religious base for combining agriculture and hunting lies in the idea that killing the hunted animal is essential for the ripening of the grain (Naumann 1971: 231). This is expressed in Japanese spring festivals, "when sham hunting (Schein-jagd) was combined with the erection of a deer-image, this 'deer' being killed afterwards" (Naumann 1971: 231). But originally this sham hunting must have been preceded by a real deer hunt of which the success was essential for the success of the festival.

Wine is not mentioned in that context, but it seems to me to be conceivable to imagine a usage of the hunted deer similar to that customary among the Taiwanese tribes. That means that - among other usages - the skin of the deer may have been used for producing a sacred drink.

VI.

Unfortunately one last problem remains unsolved: Did there exist millet-wine in ancient Japan?

The written sources don't have satisfying answers to this question since no information is given about the ingredients of the sacred miki or miwa in the oldest days. For a long time the opinion was handed down that according to a Manyōshū song (n° 554), mentioning kibī nō sakē the existence of millet-wine, i.e. kibi no sake, was proved. But due to linguistic reasons this interpretation is doubted now and commentators think the kibī of the song to be just the name of a place in today's Okayama prefecture(xiii).

On the other hand the Ainu from Hokkaidō produced a light alcoholic drink made from millet named awa-sake or Ezo-shu. And in Kyūshū there are several places where even today sake is made from millet (Yanatori 1979: 66). So, millet wine is known in Japan without question but we do not know since when it has been produced. According to the archaeologist GOTO Moriichi (1958: 134) people of the late Jōmon-era understood brewing of alcoholic beverages, but nothing is known about the cereals used for that process. Since this is the period UBAYASHI talked about, as mentioned above, we may at least guess that millet was among these grains. Finally for CASAL it is out of the question that millet-sake was produced prior to the sake made of rice and that this drink played an important role in the autochthonous religion of Japan (Casal 1949:4). But unfortunately the author gives no sources

verifying this opinion.

But a statement in the *Nihongi* (NKBT 67:129) deals with this question and furthermore leads us back to the above-mentioned divinities of sake. The text tells us that one of these Gods, Sukunabikona, went to the island awa-shima which means 'millet-island' and climbed there on a millet-stalk before leaving for his abode tokoyo no kuni. Even more detailed is the report of the *Hōki-Fudoki* (NKBT 2:480) on this point. It claims that the island got its name just because Sukunabikona climbed on that millet-stalk.

VII.

Summarizing the above statements it can be concluded that the combination of deer-skins and hunting weapons as offerings certainly do not seem to be accidental. It becomes intelligible in view of a culture where cultivation, hunting and brewing of a sacred drink constituted an indispensable union.

But in the times of the *Engi-shiki* such religious ideas were lost, the objects only had the function of offerings. The cultural anthropologist E.B.TYLOR gave the term 'survival' to such phenomena. This seems to me a suitable term to denominate the objects discussed here. Deer-skins and hunting weapons in my opinion were survivals of a prehistoric culture in Japan, connected with the production of sacred drinks on the occasion of agricultural ceremonies. Consequently these objects finally appear at the Hanashizume which is the festival of Omononushi from Mount Miwa - the divinity of sacred sake in Japan.

Table 1

No.	Name of ceremony	ES	KT26	BockI	Deer-antlers	Deer-skins	Arrows	Bows
1	Hanashizume	I	18	73	2x3 sets	2x10	2x2	2x7
2	Kaze no kami		20	74	2 sets	4	1 round	4
3	Oharae		26	83	3 pairs	6	200	6
4	Michiae		28	86	---	4+	---	---
						4 monkey, bear		
						2 ox		
		II						
5	Kantoki no kami	III	49	101	---	4	8	4
6	Propitiating the ground for a New Palace		51	103	---	5	5	5
7	Deities of Epidemic at the 4 Corners of Palace		54	106	---	4+	---	---
8	Deities of Epidemic at the ten places		55	106	---	4 ox, bear, monkey	---	---
9	Foreign Guest is sent to the Boundary		66	113	---	10x1 +	---	---
10	Sae no kami		66	113	---	10x1 ox, bear, boar	---	---
					---	2+	---	---
					---	2x ox, bear, boar	---	---
					---	4+	---	---
					---	4x bear, ox, boar	---	---
11	21 Treasures (shimpō)	IV	87f.	138ff	6	1 1/2	4496	24
12	Oharae (Itsuki no miya)	V	99	152	4 pairs	4	4	4
13	Harae (No no miya)		104	157	---	2	---	---
14	Oharae (No no miya)		105	158	2 head	2	100	2
15	Michiae (No no miya)		105	159	---	2+	---	---
16	Oharae		112	167	4 pairs	2 ox, boar, bear	4	4

Table 2

<u>Group 1:</u>	Only skins, but various animals	category
No. 4	Michiae	W(D), B
7	Epidemic, Palace	W(D), B
8	Epidemic, Province	W(D), B
9	Foreign Guest	B
10	Sae no kami	B
15	Michiae (No no miya)	W(D), B
<u>Group 2:</u>	Only deer-skins	
13	Harae (No no miya)	P
<u>Group 3:</u>	Deer-skins, arrows and bows	
5	Kantoki	P
6	New Palace	W,P
<u>Group 4:</u>	Deer-antlers, - skins, arrows and bows	
1	Hanashizume	W(D)
2	Kaze no kami	W(DR)
3	Oharae	P
11	21 Treasures	---
12	Oharae (Itsuki no miya)	P
14	(No no miya)	P
16	(Palace)	P

Abbreviations : W = Warding off mischief

D = Disease

DR = Drought

B = Border

P = Purification

Notes

- i). The skins were delivered by the provinces Izu and Kii (Engi-shiki III = KT 26:70, Bock 1:118)
- ii). Temmu 4/4/10 = NKBT 68:418; cf. Norito 4 = KT 26:163, Bock II; 73; cf. discussion in SATOW/FLORENZ, Rituals II, TASJ VII, 1879:418.
- iii). Temmu 5/8/16 = NKBT 68:424, cf. discussion in SATOW/FLORENZ, Rituals IV.
- iv). Today the ceremony is celebrated on the 18th April in the two Shrines, cf. OJSR 4:908.
- v). The complete name of the Sai-shrine is 'Sanimasu Omiwa aramitama jinja' another name is Kechinsha or Shizume no miya. It is the shrine of the aramitama of the God Omononushi, cf. Engi-shiki IX = KT 26:192, Bock II:120, Shintō-Daijiten II:87. Ad Kechin, cf. Nishida 1967:23ff. cf. OJSR 4:822ff., 550, 711
- vi). Here a Chinese view can be seen: the emperor himself is responsible and so he tries to give back welfare to the state. cf. Nihongi, Sujin 7/2/15 = NKBT 67:238/39
- vii). The descent of Otataneko is revealed in the famous legend of Mount Miwa, cf. Kojiki, Sujin = NKBT 1:181; cf. OJSR 4:670-687.
- viii). cf. Nihongi I = NKBT: 128f. (the names are: Okuninushi, Omononushi, Kunitasukuri Onamushi, Ashihara no shikoo, Yachihoko, Okunitama, Utsukushikunitama). Cf. Kojiki I = NKBT 1:108f., where Okuninushi meets the 'sprit' of Mount Mimoro.
- ix). Kojiki = NKBT 1:107ff, Nihongi = NKBT 67:122ff. cf. Antoni 1982:29-33.
- x). Tosa-Fudoki = NKBT 2:499f.; Manyōshū N°. 17, 18, 202, 1094; 3229.
- xi). Cf. Bücheler 1934:158 about the probable atayal identity of the tribe. cf. Kaneko 1975:254-256.
- xii). These drinks, as the Japanese sake too, are in fact no 'wines' but 'beers' here. I have used the traditional translation 'wine'.
- xiii). Even nowadays the Nihon Kokugo Daijiten states that the kibi no sake of the Manyōshū song means a "sake made from millet". But since the Manyōshū bi in Kibi belongs to the otsu-rui, the bi in kibi = millet on the other hand belongs to the ko-rui, this interpretation is doubtful. Cf. Tsuchiya 1969:441.

Bibliography

- ANTONI Klaus 1982
Der Weiße Hase von Inaba - Vom Mythos zum Märchen. Münchner Ostasiatische Studien, Bd.28, München.
- BOCK Felicia, G. 1970/72
Engi-shiki. Procedures of the Engi Era. 2vol. Tōkyō
- BUCHELER Walther 1934
Bier und Bierbereitung in den frühen Kulturen und bei den Primitiven. Berlin.
- CASAL U.A. 1949
Inari-sama; the Japanese Rice-Deity and Other Crop-Divinities. In: Ethnos, XIV, 1:1-64, 1949
- Engi-shiki = (Shintei zōho) Kokushi Taikei 26
- FLORENZ Karl 1898/99
Formosanische Volkslieder, nach chinesischen Quellen. In: MOAG, VII, 1, 1898/99
- GOTO Moriichi 1958
Gyorō oyobi shuryō no seikatsu (Jōmon). In: Nihonbunkashi Taikei 1, 1958:132-145.
- HIRATA Atsutane (1911)
Shizu no iwaya. In: Hirata Atsutane zenshū, Bd.1, Tōkyō
- Hōki-Fudoki = NKBT 2
- IHA Nantetsu 1959
Okinawa Fudoki. Tōkyō
- KANEKO Erika 1975
Die Religionen der Altvölker Taiwans. In: Die Religionen der Menschheit, Bd. 23: 249-289, Stuttgart
- Kojiki = NKBT 1
Manyōshū = NKBT 4,5,6,7.
- NAUMANN Nelly 1971
Das Umwandeln des Himmelspfeilers. Tōkyō.
- Nihongi = NKBT 67, 68
- Nihon Kokugo Daijiten
Hrg.: Nihon daijiten kankō kai, Tōkyō
- Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei = NKBT
- NISHIDA Nagao 1967
Chinkasai (Hanashizume no matsuri) ippan. In: Shintōshi Kenkyū, XV, 2,3,4, 1967.
- OBAYASHI Taryō 1966
Nihon minzoku bunka kigen ron no gendankai. The present situation of research on the ethnogenesis of the Japanese. In: Minzokugaku-kenkyū XXX, 4, 1966.
- OJSR = Omiwa jinja shiryō. Hrg.: Omiwa jinja shiryō henshū iinkai, Sakurai 1968- , 10 vol.
- Osumi-Fudoki = NKBT 2
- Ryō no Gige = KT 22
- SATOW Ernest; FLORENZ Karl
Ancient Japanese Rituals. In: TASJ VII, IX, XXVII.
- TSUCHIYA Fumiaki 1969
Manyōshū shichū, vol. II, Tōkyō
- YANATORI Mitsuyoshi 1979
Nihonshu Daijiten. Tōkyō 1979

CENTRE D'ÉTUDES SUR LES RELIGIONS ET TRADITIONS POPULAIRES DU JAPON

C E R T P J

ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES - Ve SECTION

CAHIERS D'ÉTUDES ET DE DOCUMENTS

SUR LES RELIGIONS DU JAPON

7e fascicule

Publié avec une subvention de la Fondation de France

Fondation pour l'étude de la langue et de la
civilisation japonaises

et

avec le concours de l'ERA 647 du CNRS

Éditions ATELIER ALPHA BLEUE S.A.R.L.

1986

Rédaction :

Hartmut O. Rothermund, avec la collaboration de
Jean-Noël Robert et Dennis Gira

La composition a été assurée par :
Inoue Reiko

19, Avenue d'Iéna, 75116 Paris
Tél. 47.23.44.81

Achévé d'imprimer sur les Presses
de l'ATELIER ALPHA BLEUE
5, rue Sainte-Anastase, 75003 Paris
Tél. 42.72.74.62
le 9 Mars 1986

© CERTPJ et Atelier Alpha Bleue (S.A.R.L.) 1986

ISBN : 2.86469-040-3
ISSN : 0249-602X

Dépot légal : Mars 1986