

vidual to individuals and obligations of individuals to groups.

### *Chitnanugi : Sharing Produce*

Fishermen develop a system of sharing based on communal labor called *chit-nanugi* (*chit*= share ; *nanugi*= dividing)(Han, Sang, 1977 : 44). Sometimes a fisherman works alone at sea. At other times, two or more fishermen go to sea together. In this case, members come to build a partnership through communal effort. Dividing the outcome of the communal work is totally based on partnerships which can include as components human labor, capital and tools.

Chong-min and Sang-dok decide to fish together at night. They borrow a small fishing boat from Chin-ch'il, and each one brings rice for cooking and *kimch'i* for two meals. Also they buy matches, kerosene, and *soju*. Sang-dok brings his own fishing net for both of them. Next evening they return with a catch which is to be divided. First they pay the *oesang* (credit) for the matches, kerosene, and *soju* to the shopkeeper by giving some fish from their catch. They then divide the remaining fish into three equal amounts. Each partner has one package of fish, called *han-chit*. The remaining package is again divided into two equal parts. They designate one part for the boat owner as *pan-chit* (a half share). The division of the catch can be explained by reference to the amount of investment for the production in terms of materials expended or the capital and labor involved.

The basic requisite for dividing the catch can be calculated as follows. Total expenses (rice, wood, matches, kerosene, alcohol, etc.) are deducted from total catch value. The net catch value is divided according to the numbers of participants and their contribution of gear, such as the boat and nets. At this time, the human labor is also calculated as one full share, and the gear (boat and nets) is considered as a half share. Several ethnographic studies have dealt with similar considerations in various areas in the world.<sup>2)</sup>

Originally the share system (*chitnanugi*) in regard to the division of the catch was exclusively developed for fishing, but it has subsequently been applied to a work team for seaweed collection. Here there is a concept of partnership operative among the crew. This partnership is not necessarily based on kinship or neighborhood or even on age. This is a different human relationship from kinship, friendship, or

neighborhood, and concerns the sharing of communal produce. The partnership may be thought as a form of the social relations of production not only in the village of Hasami but in societies which generally possess a share system like *chitnanugi*. In Hasami, there is no direct answer as to how the participants begin to build the partnership. Most villagers know each other's skill in fishing and in working at sea. Here is a face-to-face society, meaning that all know or, at least, all can easily recognize what others are doing or what is going on in the general pattern of work activities. Sometimes a fisherman organizes a team of four others for fishing. Or a fisherman may simply ask someone to go to sea with him. Once the partnership has begun, it continues a long time. Partners usually build a strong friendship beyond the demands of work. Or conversely, the partnership occasionally terminates with the division of each share.

The *chitnanugi* among partners has an essentially egalitarian basis represented by the idea of equal shares among partners. This equal share of the catch for each participant can be viewed as yet another version of the balanced reciprocity in terms of labor contribution for each portion of the shares because it includes the participants' labor, and a participant takes a share from his partners' (or partner's) labor.

### *The Processes of Gift-Giving and Visiting*

The gift may be seen as an element in two varying dimensions of everyday life in the village in question. The one is a gift in regard to the visiting pattern, and the other relates conceptually to the ritual processes.

There are two major types of visiting patterns in the community: "*masil-kagi*" and "*türyōda-bogi*." The first refers to an informal visiting pattern among neighbors. The second may be defined as a formalized visiting pattern on the basis of ceremonial activities or in association with special events, such as sickness, accident, or death.

In order to present a clearer picture of visiting patterns related to the gift-giving process, the focus may be placed on the internal integration and solidarity of the community through some examples of social interaction. This may be called a form of secularized behavior in relation to ritualistic or religious aspects. Offerings for delivery spirits, mourning ceremonies, and ancestral observances are those chosen for

discussion.

A unique reciprocal interaction is held to exist between villagers and spirits in religious behavior, something which also serves to develop internal community integration and allows members of the given community to maintain a continuous flow of social reciprocity. Communal village ceremonies and shamanistic seances may be analyzed as adequate examples of this point. Introduced also is the supernatural, involving as it does spiritual connections and the conceptual visiting by spirits during ritual and ceremonies. This is seen by the villagers themselves as an integral part of the visiting pattern.

### 1. Formal Visiting Behavior

In comparison with the *masil-kagi*, the *tŭryŏda-bogi* is relatively more formalized. It always includes carrying a more formal gift. The term "*tŭryŏda-bogi*" literally means "to enter into and to see," i.e., some person or situation. The range of the *tŭryŏda-bogi* visiting behavior relates to seeing a sick person or participating in a ceremony in a ritual context. In these instances of visiting behavior, gifts are mandatory.

When people are ill, their friends, kinsmen, and neighbors may visit and bring fruit, fish, or rice to console them. It is usually said, "We can't visit somebody in such cases with *pinson* ("empty hands")." The receiver is customarily obliged to remember who comes when and what kind of gift he brings. When the donors, in turn, are confronted with a similar situation or a subsequent special event, they expect to receive gifts in direct proportion to what they had previously given. If the receiver fails to effect such a return at an appropriate time, it is said that "They have no face to save" or "They have no sense of honor." Such a situation gives rise to gossip.

#### 1) *Offering to the Delivery Spirit*

A fisherman, for example, may visit a family with a new-born baby and give some kelp, rice, or fish to the mother and her family. In this instance, kelp is viewed as a necessary gift because villagers (Koreans in general) hold that such seaweed is beneficial to new mothers. The fisherman's *tŭryŏda-bogi* involves two dimensions of exchange. His gifts are placed on a small ceremonial table (*chiangsang*) inside the room where the new-born baby and its mother rest. The *chiangsang* (*chiang*= female spirit who takes care of the baby; *sang*= table) is



house on May 25, 1976. From the 23rd of the month, the host family was busy preparing for the ceremony with neighbors, kinsmen, and members of a rotating credit association working for the family. After finishing the ceremony, Yi sat down and calculated the total cost for the ceremony on the 26th of May. According to his reckoning and his written *mulmokkye*, he had spent 59,800 *wŏn* for rice-cakes, on pig at 30,000 *wŏn*, fish at 13,000 *wŏn*, *yulch'o* (ceremonial candy, fruits, incentives for the visiting spirit) at 2,700 *wŏn*, fruit at 1,000 *wŏn*, *makkŏlli* at 17,600 *wŏn* (about 100 gallons), *soju* at 9,000 *wŏn* (about 9 gallons), and miscellaneous items at 1,500 *wŏn*. The total came to 134,600 *wŏn* (about \$ 270). He, in turn, received gifts of 67,500 *wŏn* in cash, about four *kamani* (1 *kamani*=47.7 gallons) of rice, and four *kamani* of barley. The cash value of the grains amounts to approximately 60,000 *wŏn*. It follows that he had roughly a 7,000 *wŏn* (about \$ 14) loss from the ceremony.

From this simple calculation, one can provide the model of gift exchange showing the situation operative between *pujudongu* and *ttŏktongguri* by women and yet another context of exchange between *pujugŭm* and *pongga* by men. This exchange is repeated in other instances and times and keeps moving from family to family.

A receiver is not forever a receiver, and a giver is not forever a giver. From situation to situation, the former receiver is going to be a giver and vice versa. In other words, everyone in this community is a receiver of gifts and a giver of gifts. Members of the community interact with each other through the patterns of visiting and continue to exchange gifts. It seems to be that the nature of homogeneity and tradition of the community can possibly be built up and continue through repetition and regeneration of driving forces such as a reciprocal interaction to keep an internal solidarity. In this context of the reciprocal exchange of visiting and gift-giving, there is some degree of difference between kindred and nonkin. However, this difference is not appreciable on the formal level in such visiting and exchange behavior.

## 2. Ancestral Observances

The situation of ancestral worship offers an excellent example of general exchange. The ideological and doctrinal nature of ancestor worship may be defined as the ritualization of filial piety (Fortes 1959 :

29). Needless to say, Koreans (and other East Asians) have developed a sophisticated notion of ancestor worship within a social system inclusive of patrilineal descent and in the Korean case, at least, of primogeniture. This and other clusterings in the societal organization have of course been strongly influenced by Confucian ideology.

1) *Types of Ancestral Observances*

Certain categories of ceremonies included in the pattern of ancestor worship can be detailed. In the village of Hasami, there is a series of eight ceremonies related to ancestor worship: *ch'osang*, *sakche*, *sosang*, *t'alsang*, *tamche*, *kije*, *sije*, and *milche*. This particular series differ slightly from mainland ideal but is characteristic of the Chindo area.

During the writer's stay in Hasami, two infants, an unmarried male in his early twenties, and two elderly males died, but the *ch'osang* (funeral ceremony) was conducted only for the two elderly men, a reflection of the respect shown specifically to male elders.

The *sakche* is a special mourning ceremony performed by the chief mourners on every first and fifteenth day of the lunar months during the one year mourning period (Han, Sang. 1977 : 156). Two sequences of *sakche* had begun in 1975 and ended during the early stages of the period of observation. Because of the subsequent deaths of two other elderly people men, two more *sakche* were observed. Including the overlap from the two sequences begun in the preceding year, there were 56 observances of *sakche* in Hasami during the year.

*Sosang*, an ancestral worship ceremony observed on the first anniversary of the parents' death.

*T'alsang*, an ancestral worship ceremony that marks the end of the mourning obligation.

*Tamche*, an ancestral worship ceremony observed in Hasami on the 15th day after the *t'alsang* ceremony.

*Kije* is an ancestral ceremony conducted at home on the annual commemoration day. 64 out of 74 households in Hasami observed this ceremony, and it actually occurred 161 times during the year.

*Sije* (see preceding Ch. 3) is the annual ceremony when distant ancestors are honored. In theory, all the offspring of the lineage founder are obliged to participate in the ceremony and worship the dead ancestors in the lineage group. The *sije* was held six times in the year of fieldwork.

*Milche* is a ritual service at annual festivals performed by a worshipper at the commemoration service at home (Lee, Kwang. 1975 : 101). There are six annual festivals related to ancestor worship in a year, and there were 64 households which had the *kije* prepared for the *milche*. The *milche* was thus observed 384 times.

In summary, the total number of times that ancestral worship occasioned the distribution of ceremonial food in this village is 615. The numbers noted are minimal because the data resulted from the researcher's participation, questions, and confirmation of pertinent responses.

This 615 Hasamian ancestral ceremonies, involving 74 households and 355 persons in the distribution of ceremonial food, occurred over one year.

The Korean word *chesa* is a general term for all kinds of ancestral ceremonies and usually refers specifically to the annual memorial ceremony. Included under a concept of *chesa* are 161 instances of *kije*, a sizable number of such occurrences in a village of 74 households. Some 384 observances of *milche* in the 64 households which had *kije* also occurred. The *kije* is the major form of ancestral ceremonies in terms of frequency as well as in the villagers' conceptualization.

## 2) *Samdae-bongsa* and *Kidun-chesa* : Local Traditions

Analysis of the 615 instances of ancestor worship in terms of the object of the ceremony conveys a sense of the distribution and range of such ancestral ceremonies. According to the ideal patterns of Korean ancestor worship, the *sadae-bongsa* (*sadae*=four generations ; *bongsa*=performing ancestral ceremony) is stressed (Kim, Taek. 1964 : 163). Only four generations of ancestors are commemorated at home (Janelli 1974 : 182) in terms of *kije*. In other words, Ego has to conduct ceremonies for ancestors up to and including his great-great-grandfather and his wife. Further, the idea of the *sadae-bongsa* is matched with and is identical with the range of the *tangnae* system which may occur within a sublineage and may thus generally be defined as reflection "a group of patrilineal descendants of a great-great-grandfather" (Yoo, M. 1978 : 32).

In Hasami, "*samdae-bongsa*" (*samdae*=three generations ; *bongsa*=performing ancestral ceremony) is practiced. This means that Ego only has to perform the ancestral ceremony up to and including his great-grandfather and his wife. Hasami thus offers a slight departure

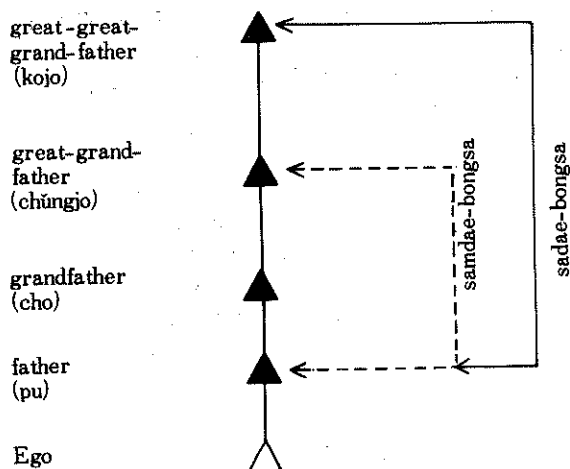


Diagram 16. Sadae-bongsa and Samdae-bongsa

from the usual rules of ancestral reverence characteristic of Korea at large.

If one looks only at the numbers and range of the ancestral ceremonies within a patrilineal group, it follows that the total numbers of the ceremonies might be reduced. However, as the following table indicates, the range of ancestral ceremonies goes beyond the boundary of the patrilineal kinship ideology and touches on the matri-kin and affinal kindred as well. The situation creates a large number of ancestral ceremonies, even though ideology and practice in regard to ancestral worship are limited to the *samdae-bongsa*. There is also a specific term for an ancestral ceremony for the dead out of the axis of patrilineal stem family line: *kidun-chesa* (*kidun*=out of legitimacy or illegitimate). Villagers categorize the following examples as *kidun-chesa* (numbers in parentheses refer to cases observed during field work): ancestral ceremonies for the father's brother (1), grandfather's brother (2), mother's parents (2), mother's stepmother (1), and unknown (1). From the Table 9, one can draw a general range for the *kidun-chesa*, the ancestral ceremony for brothers, father's brother's and their wives, grandfather's brothers and their wives, mother's parents, wife's brothers and parents, daughter-in-law who has no offspring, unknown. There were 34 cases of *kidun-chesa* in Hasami,



Table 9. Object of Ancestral Ceremony and Numbers in Hasamian *Kije*

object of ancestral ceremony	numbers	object of ancestral ceremony	numbers
father	39	son, daughter-in-law	3
mother	26	brothers	9
husband	11	parents' brothers	4
wife	3	grandparent's brothers	6
grandfather	17	mother's parents	2
grandmother	18	wife's parents	8
great-grandfather	9	wife's brothers	2
great-grandmother	8	unknown	2
total numbers		165	

more than 20% of the total number of ancestral ceremonies in this village. Yet another figure shows the importance of the *kidun-chesa* in terms of increasing the ancestral observances in Hasami. There were 21 households which had only one *kije* in a year, and 8 households out of those 21 performed only the *kidun-chesa*. Informants gave two reasons for performing the *kidun-chesa*: (1) "When I asked shamans or fortunetellers, it was said that if I conducted an ancestral ceremony for a dead spirit which had no person to observe it. I could have luck"; (2) "Because I always receive ceremonial food from another person's ancestral ceremony, I want to perform a *kidun-chesa* in order to have a chance to give ceremonial food and repay other persons with them." Reciprocal relations are thus perpetuated through a ceremonial food exchange.

Differing from the ideal pattern of ancestor worship in Korea is a tradition relating to the performance of ancestral ceremonies. According to the general tradition of Korean ancestor worship, and eldest son performs the ritual service not only for his father and mother, but for all the ancestors for whom his father had the duty of the ritual service (Lee, Kwang. 1975: 84). However, there is a local tradition of obligation for ancestral ceremonies for the deceased parents in Hasami and surrounding areas. The first born son is responsible for the deceased father's ancestral ceremony, while a younger son is in charge of the deceased mother's ancestral rites (Ito 1973: 153). The result can be called a system of divided inheritance in regard to ancestral rituals. It

decentralizes and diffuses the performance obligations. In reference to the manner in which the inheritance of ancestral ceremony is divided, balanced reciprocity among villagers through distribution of ceremonial food and visiting is more frequent.

### 3) *Tūryōda-bogi and Ceremonial Participation*

The main element in the ancestral ceremony (*kije*) usually calls for action by a nuclear family. But there may be some participants who are in the performer's brother's and sister's families, close relatives as well as friends. This participating in ceremony is called *tūryōda-bogi*. Persons who are doing the *tūryōda-bogi* should bring rice or fish as gifts, and are also expected to contribute labor in preparing for the ceremony. Generally speaking, the system of *tūryōda-bogi* is conducted within a network of close kin and close friends: there is exchange of gifts, ceremonial food, and labor within this system.

While only relatives can attend the actual ritual at midnight, neighbors are invited to share a substantial breakfast the following morning (Brandt 1971: 121). This behavior and process are called *ūmpok*, a distribution of ceremonial food to neighbors and villagers after a ritual. Literally, *ūmpok* means 'eating luck.' The scale and range of each *ūmpok* is dependent not only on the performer's social and economic status but also on the kind of ceremony as well as on the ancestor to whom the ceremony is directed. There are three different levels of ceremonial participation in terms of range of *ūmpok*. The first category would be an ancestral ceremony without food-sharing beyond close relatives. Villagers call this category "an ancestral ceremony to prepare for only a bowl of steamed rice (*mea*) with nothing." If a performer is poor or his social status is low, he usually observes only this first form of the ceremonies. The second category is "an ancestral ceremony with food-sharing with close neighbors." On the average, 30 people eat the ceremonial food of the *ūmpok*, most of it being consumed during the day of the ceremonial sharing. The third category is "an ancestral ceremony with food-sharing with the village," involving as many as 70 persons.

### 4) *A Note on Diet in Relation to Ritual*

Some of the relationship between the dietary and ritual systems in the community can be examined. It may be asked how these two subsystems articulate in a given context. It has been shown that the Hasamian ordinary dietary system consists of a basic pattern which

includes *pab* (rice) as a main dish and *kug* (soup), *kimch'i* (pickled cabbage), and *chi* (pickled vegetables) as additional dishes. Judging from the frequency of food intake, it is reasonable to say that the main components of the Hasamian ordinary dietary system are made up of starches and vegetables. However, interestingly enough, the ceremonial dietary system designates animal protein as the chief element in the ceremonial sharing, the *ũmpok*.

An individual villager eats mollusk soup once a week in his ordinary diet. This pattern reflects a subsistence economy and the associated environment. A comparison of the total number of ancestral ceremonies with the system of ceremonial sharing indicates that an individual Hasamian may eat animal protein every 11 days given the ceremonial food system. With the seven days of the ordinary dietary system and a ceremonial diet every eleventh day, an individual villager has an opportunity to obtain animal protein of relatively good quality every four days. It is thus possible to justify the native cognitive structure: "We are well nourished by virtue of our ancestors."

The effect of the ceremonial exchange is to contribute significantly to a balanced food intake for a villager. The result is to point up the relations between such exchange and the general effects of variation in diet brought about by the ceremonial observances.

### 3. Village Ceremonies

Two types of communal ceremonies observable yearly serve to create community unity in Hasami. These are *kõrije* and *ch'ungje*.

#### 1) Road Ceremony

*Kõrije*<sup>3)</sup> in Hasami is observed on the 15th day of the first month according to the lunar calendar. Three officiants (two *chegwan* and one *simpurũmkkun*) are informally selected for the village ceremony a day or two days before the event. This is done by an examination of their "four pillars" (*saju*), a favorable birth date which matches the time of the ceremony and reflects an astrologically sound combination. This ceremony in question is observed both by the village of Hasami and by Sangsami, a neighboring community. According to village tradition, Hasami separated from Sangsami at one time; both Sangsami and Hasami continue to be considered as one village in terms of observing the specific village ceremonies.

In native theory, there are some restrictive regulations concerning

purity and pollution in the context of a ceremony for the whole village. For example, the three officiants must ideally bathe in cold, fresh-running water just before the ceremony and after a bowel movement. After urinating, they should wash their hands with cold water from the creek. They should refrain from sexual intercourse after their nomination as officiants. Those in charge of the ceremony are forbidden to drink liquor during it. The entire village must remain quiet on this night, and no one is allowed outside during the ceremony. The three men able to communicate with the spirits are the only ones to stay outside and walk around on the roads. The basic thought behind this regulation is to enhance the sanctity of the ceremony and to exhibit a proper attitude toward the spirits resident in the village. These are held to care for the villagers and to guard their everyday life. During the course of field investigation, the elders in both villages warned this observer to avoid going to the place of *kōrije* or approaching the three men during the nighttime ceremony.

1. In the first month of 1976 by lunar reckoning, there was a funeral ceremony in Sangsami. Because villagers were much concerned about ritual purity in the ceremony and have a sense of pollution of the village through death and funeral observances, the decision was made to change the day of *kōrije* and to select the first day of the second month so as to avoid an allegedly polluted month. This was because of the occurrence of a death in the first month.

2. The place, *chekh'ōng* (ceremonial floor), was prepared and surrounded by white flags roped off with strands made of rice-straw. This was the recognized sacred area. Yet another duty of the three men was to clean a well for the ceremony, one located in the paddy land nearest to the ceremonial floor. After cleaning the well, the officiants placed red soil gathered from the local mountain on the road between the well and the ceremonial floor. No one was allowed to step on the red path after the well was cleaned. The three men alone could use the path for obtaining water for washing and for cooking the pig's head and the rice for the ceremony.

3. In the early afternoon, one of the *chegwan* attended a meeting of the elders to consult the *chemun* (ceremonial text), a text written in archaic Chinese characters. Even though the *chegwan* may command a reading knowledge of Chinese, the ceremonial literature is too difficult for them to read and they are helped by some of the elders in deciphering it.