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<td>Title</td>
<td>沖縄県における入院患者の死とユタのヌジファについての研究（ユタとヌジファ）</td>
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I Mediators between this world and the hereafter: Spiritual concepts and frames of interpretation concerning misfortune as seen from the Okinawan shaman

Isabell PROCHASKA

1. Introduction

In this paper, I want to focus on religious practitioners in Okinawa, who are often referred to as yuta, shamans or spirit mediums. The majority of these spiritual healers are women. Although they are all considered to be representative practitioners of Okinawan indigenous religion, their concepts of cosmology, religious practice and spiritual ability vary from case to case, thus making it difficult to talk about the religion of the yuta. Still, common features are visible in e.g., their initiation histories, their work focussing on individual problems and their interpretational frameworks in situations of crisis.

The first part of this paper is dealing with life histories of three informants. I want to refer to these spiritual healers as kaminchu (神人, Ok. カミンシュ “kami-person”), which is the term they themselves use for their position", as the word yuta often incorporates a derogatory image.

The second part is focussing on spirit concepts and frames of interpretation concerning
misfortune and illness. One focal point is the strong connection between the kaminchu and her ancestors. Ancestor worship represents a core concept in the Okinawan belief system, and dutiful prayers and memorial rites for the dead are seen to be essential. In many cases, misfortune and illness is believed to result from not respecting the right rituals or not following memorial services for the deceased. Therefore, kaminchu deal with individual problems which are very often related to ancestral matters.

Finally, I will introduce excerpts from an interview, where an informant was talking about nujihwa, a ritual, where the soul of a restless spirit is believed to be taken to the hereafter (後生, Ok. グソー gusō).

2. Case studies (life histories)

In the following, I want to introduce life histories of three female kaminchu in Okinawa (two of them live on Okinawa’s main island, and one is a resident of an outer island in Northern Okinawa). The data included in this report was collected through a number of interviews carried out in the research period from April 2005 until January 2007. Additional information and a deeper insight into the topic were obtained through participant observation during consultation sessions (Ok. ハンジ hanji) and praying rituals (also with other informants whose life histories will not be introduced here). I will refer to my informants with the honorific title “san” (様、さん), which seems to sound more natural in this context than the English correspondent “Miss”.

In Okinawa, kaminchu are said to be sādaka-’nmari サーダカンマリ, meaning “to be born with high sā”. Lebra describes sā as “spiritual rank or value” (Lebra 1966: 26). The concept underlying the characteristic of sādaka-’nmari is the belief that these people have an extrasensory perception, and therefore this talent is seen as a conditional ability to become a spirit medium. In many cases, this special talent is a personality feature which shows already in childhood, and many kaminchu report their early recollections of experiences with supernatural beings, e.g. ghosts or kami or other “metaphysical realities”.

One common factor in these life histories is the fact that none of my informants intended to become a kaminchu. Their initiation was marked by a “vocation” and a fate of being “chosen by the kami”. In all three cases, the informants were going through a difficult phase in their lives. Thus, when they established contacts with the supernatural world, they first refused their lot. The (future) kaminchu’s involvement in spiritual kami-matters (神事, Ok. カミグトゥ kamigutu) is usually marked by a state of emotional disorder, which is called kamidāri (カミダーリィ). This symptom is often seen as a result from ignoring and refusing the notifications of the kami for the destined role. In the beginning of her initiation time the (future) kaminchu is deeply involved in conducting rituals for her
ancestors. During the time of apprenticeship - especially in the first phase - the (future) kaminchu prays at various sacred sites, which are mainly relevant places in connection with her ancestors. This can be also seen as "reconstructing", "recreating" her own identity through conscious piety to her ancestors. In many cases, she finds out that a certain ancestor was a kaminchu, thus stressing the obligation to succeed her inherited fate. Many kaminchu have a special ancestor they feel closely linked to and to whom they refer as their protector kami.

Another common feature of these three informants is the fact, that they were wives and mothers at the time when they experienced their kamidari-phase. Two of them postponed their spiritual apprenticeship to the time, when their children were older and their motherhood less burdening.

While their ways of initiation and apprenticeship differ (two of them learned with experienced senior kaminchu, while one was taught only by the kami), they are all dealing with individual problems of their clients and share similar frames of interpretation concerning misfortune and disorder.

2.1. I-san (54)
I-san was born in Naha as the fourth child in a family of ten children. Her siblings all have spiritual abilities (霊感 reikan), but she is the only one doing kamigutu professionally. She also mentioned that her grandfather (her father's father) was a kaminchu, emphasizing her ancestrally inherited ability.

Asked about spiritual experiences in her youth, she described an event when she was seven years old. One night, while she was in her bed, she saw her neighbour standing outside her room, an old lady with whom she had a close relationship and who was like a grandmother to her. Although her family's and the neighbour's gardens were separated by a wall and although the bedroom's slide doors facing the garden were closed, I-san could clearly see the old lady standing outside, crying. Her family tried to console her, telling her she need not to worry. Next morning, a family member of the neighbouring house came to I-san's family, reporting that the grandmother had died the previous night. I-san also recollected that she often had prophetic dreams in her youth.

I-san married at the age of 24, and became a mother of two sons and one daughter. She is presently living with her family (her eldest son is in his late 20ies) in central Okinawa. When she was 30, her younger brother, who used to visit her family very often,

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1 The ancestors are often referred to one's roots, ne 根. The Okinawan style of praying is often described with the expression "to dig up from the roots" (根から掘り上げる).

2 The protector kami is called chijigami (チテ神).
died suddenly in an accident. I-san found herself in a phase of mental anxiety and great sadness. It was at that time that she began to see and hear supernatural phenomena, but asserting herself that she does not believe in “such things”, she asked her husband to take her to the hospital. However, medical specialists could not cure her disorder. I-san also consulted kaminchu, wishing to become a “normal person” again. She was having dreams which pointed her vocation as a future kaminchu. In one of those dreams, an old man in white clothes and with a long white beard trailing down to his knees, visited her, holding a rugged stick. He commanded her that she should learn kamigutu and offered her a book (帳簿 chōbo). At that time, I-san was busy with the raising of her children (her eldest son was in the fourth grade of elementary school), so she refused to take the book from the old man, and asked him to wait. I-san visited a kaminchu to report her dream. She was advised to perform a praying ritual to ask the kami to postpone her involvement with kamigutu and wait until her children’s education would become less burdening. After an interval of about 10 years I-san began to learn about kamigutu with three sensei (teachers). Her time of apprenticeship included revelations, supernatural experiences, pilgrimages to sacred sites (御嶽、Ok. ウタキ utaki) and worship places (拝所 haisho), and dutiful prayers to the ancestors of both her and her husband’s natal family lines.

When I met I-san for the first time in June 2005, she proudly announced that she had graduated from her 13-year-long apprenticeship very recently, a few months ago, stressing the necessity for a grounded training which is comparable to learning for a driver’s license. Her “praying license” (qualification document) was given to her in a dream: one night, a male kami entered her house through the veranda, leaving his high geta (Japanese wooden clogs) outside. He approached I-san who was in her bed, and put a cylinder into her back through the nape of her neck, announcing “I come from the kami.”

In the case of I-san, it is mostly in dreams that her contact with kami and revelations are experienced. One significant factor is that very often, in those dreams, historical elements appear, that frequently refer to concrete information like e.g., places from the time of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. In one of those dreams she was within the grounds of Shuri castle. Two or three women dressed in old Ryûkyûan style, with traditional kimono and old-fashioned hairstyle, were standing at her side, holding a red bingata (traditional Okinawan style) kimono for her to try on. A man approached her, asking her to marry him. I-san responded that she could not give him an answer and that she had to consult her husband first. In yet another dream, she was in the castle ruins of Nakagusuku. On the wall of the castle ruins, a female kami in traditional appearance of the Ryûkyû Kingdom times asked her to follow her, greeting her with a warm “Welcome”. She could see a very deep well within the castle grounds. When I-san visited Nakagusuku castle with her husband, she
found this well in reality, and “connected this place” - meaning that this place became included into her set of personal places of worship.

I-san’s spiritual tasks include praying rituals for clients at various occasions (e.g. memorial services for restless spirits, praying rituals for the house lot) as well as personal consultations (hanji). She even goes to mainland Japan to conduct rituals for her clients. Besides, she fulfills her duties of visiting sacred sites and worship places, which are her personal spiritual locations. Her guardian kami is a brother-sister-kami. At one occasion, she explained that her guardian kami was the kami of the land (土地の神様 tochi no kamisama).

2.2. K-san (in her 70ies)

K-san was born on I-island in the North of Okinawa, where she now lives with her daughter and two grandchildren. Her ancestors are originally from Motobu in Northern Okinawa. It was the generation of her parents who migrated to I-island. K-san may be called a “retired” kaminchu as she is carrying out prayers, rituals or consultations for hardly any clients at present. Regarding her age, these duties - often demanding physical endurance while visiting various places of worship from morning until late in the evening - have become too exhausting for her, and she feels it is time to “entrust it to the younger ones”.

K-san was said to have been a spiritually sensitive child from her early childhood on: “When I was three years old, my mother used to carry me on her back. We went home in the night, and I was frightened by the vision of ghosts (幽霊 yûrei), I said “Mother, there is a ghost, please keep it back!” It was when I got older that I was told about my strange attitude as a child. Seeing ghosts on the street at night prompted the people to recognize me as a kaminchu. From my earliest recollections I remember that I could see ghosts at the age of five or six. For example, I saw a man with wet hair wearing a white kimono, like a dress. Another time, I saw a samurai-like man riding a horse. Now, when I think back, I understand that what I saw as a child were not ghosts but kami, but my parents were dull concerning spiritual matters. If they had been more sensitive and had more insight, they might have sent me somewhere (to a spiritual teacher) so that I could have been taught how to deal with these experiences.”

At the age of 27/28 she began learning kamigutu. At that time, she regularly went to the hospital because of constant physical disorders. Before that, she also had dreams in which

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Kami appeared, and she even had visions while she was awake. But she didn’t know anything about spiritual matters. “I was young. These things… I suppose I didn’t believe in myself. I told myself, this can’t be true…” It was in this stage of life that her eldest son suddenly died. He was complaining about headache, but shortly after he was hospitalized for treatment, he passed away. After this tragic event, K-san found herself in a state of despair and after many “strange experiences” she visited a kaminchu in Naha, by whom she was severely scolded for not having noticed the signs earlier. K-san was told to do prayers at various sacred sites and worship places, and she was taught how to conduct these duties. These places included holy sites as well as important places related to her ancestors (e.g. her ancestor’s grave). For prayers she could not carry out by herself, K-san hired a praying specialist. Her time of apprenticeship took some 14 or 15 years. During that time, she learned how to handle ritual tools (incense etc.) and how to distinguish in which situations and places to use which kind of offerings and paraphernalia. Depending on the client, K-san also used to pass the kami’s message by singing during her consultation sessions.

2.3. H-san (in her 70ies)

H-san is a mother of three sons and a daughter. She is living in central Okinawa with her eldest son’s family. Her husband passed away few years ago. H-san’s portrait is distinctive in comparison to the other informants, because while she is dealing with private clients (with some with them she has a relation for decades), she also conducts special rites as a priestess representing her munchu (patrilineal kin group).

About her spiritual abilities in her childhood, H-san explains:

“When I was young, I didn’t realize it myself, but was told by the others that I was different from other children. Yes, the wife of my teacher later told me that I was strange as a child. And then, when I think about my youth, I guess I did things the others did not do. For example, I could see other people. That is, I told my friends, “If you marry this man, you will become unhappy” or “Don’t get together with this person.” Maybe, this was also a kind of instruction from the kami, in the way of helping people.”

When H-san was 25 years old, she had visions “like television”, and lost weight and could not eat. At that time she weighted only 38kg, and she could only eat a few bites of potatoes and drink some water. At that time, a member of a new religious movement told

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1 During the interview, K-san neither used the word kaminchu, nor yuta, when talking about the beginning of her apprenticeship. Instead, she explained: “You see, in Okinawa, there are many people, who believe in kami, you know. Well, I went there to learn.”

2 H-san, Motobu, interview, December 2006
her that he could see her ancestor shining around her, and that this ancestor was a person with high spiritual rank. H-san began to research about her ancestors and fulfilled duties for her munchu. Besides, she was engaged in building a worship house in the village of the founder of her munchu. She found out (by revelations of the kami) that her ancestor was a priestess of high rank during Kingdom times, and that this ancestor also held an important role with rituals dealing with the Highest Priestess Kikoe Ōgimi. H-san had various supernatural experiences, in which she learned from different kami. For example, once, a male kami took her inside a cave, where he showed her the “ancient times”. She was taught about various historical (and mythological) events by her kami, sometimes having contact with the historical persons themselves. Thus, she attained a very responsive attitude towards history itself, and her insight into these dimensions through the teachings of her kami made her also aware and critical concerning official, “public” history or ordinary myths which she thinks them to be as “beautifying and falsifying the reality”. In her own words:

“All along what is called “history”, they just make up various stories and myths in a beautiful way from what really happened at that time. But if I wrote down what I have really seen - people do tell me to write it down - but if I wrote it... I am just like a small atom, this big thing of the kami, the kami’s way, no... I cannot do it.”

H-san’s kami concepts are also closely linked to Shinto beliefs, and she feels a strong affiliation to a certain Shinto shrine in mainland Japan, to which she makes annual pilgrimages. Her consultations for private clients are held in front of her kami altar at home, where she has a round mirror, through which she is communicating with the kami. After she notes her client’s address and birth dates of the family members, her kami sends her a revelation, which she quickly writes down. Finally her client is handed this manuscript and consulted about its content if there are unclear points. H-san also conducts special rites for her clients (e.g. praying rituals for the house lot), and she also has clients on mainland Japan.

Besides, as mentioned before, H-san is actively engaged in rituals for her munchu, conducting first prayers in the new year or various rituals at other ceremonial occasions. In these situations, H-san is working as a priestess for her kingroup.

3. Spirit/soul-concepts (霊魂観 reikonkan)
Okinawan folk belief incorporates various terms for “spirit”, “soul” or “ghost”, illustrating

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1) H-san, Motobu, interview, December 2006
2) The name of the shrine is known to the author, but will not be mentioned in this paper
3) The position of the munchu-priestess is called kudii (クディ).
the rich and broad concepts concerning spiritual issues. A soul concept peculiar to Okinawa is *mabui*, which can eventually drop from the body in frightening situations or accidents. Besides, there are also the (standard) Japanese terms for soul, *tamashii* 魂 or *reikon* 霊魂. Another common term is *rei* 精 for spirit, which is often mentioned in relation to spirits of deceased, including restless spirits. A term referring to malevolent spirits is *yurei* 幽霊, corresponding with the English term ghost. As it was already visible in the life histories discussed in the case studies, ancestral spirits (祖先 sorei) form an essential focus in ritual activities. Ancestral matters will be discussed more detailed in the chapter dealing with frames of interpretation concerning misfortune and illness.

### 3.1. Mabui (マブイ)

Every person is believed to have a spiritual power (energy) called *mabui*. In detail, this *mabui* is defined as *ichimabui* (living *mabui*) when still alive, and as *shinimabui* (dead *mabui*) when the person has passed away. According to Sakurai (1973: 34 ff.), the term *mabui* derives from the word *mamori* (守り), thus illustrating the protective power which every person possesses. The location of *mabui* is believed to be in the chest. In situations of shock or fright, people can lose their *ichimabui*, and thus become weak and unmotivated. In this case, a ritual called *mabuigumi* (literally “to put back the *mabui*”) has to be performed. An essential point of reference in this ritual is the place where the *mabui* is believed to have left the body. There, the *mabui* is called and put back into the “powerless” person. Especially children and older persons share a high risk of losing their *mabui*. Therefore, it was a common custom that children had a special spot on their back of their kimono, where a piece of cloth was attached or a spot embroidered with a thread. This sign is called *mabuyû-û*, *mabui*-thread, and its function is to keep the child’s *mabui* from leaving the body, as it was believed that the *mabui* would leave the body from the back. In another example Akamine portraits the custom in Ōgimi village (northern Okinawa), where the deceased is dressed in a underclothing kimono, on which a part of the seam on the back was undone so that the *shinimabui* could leave the body (Akamine 1989: 422).

### 3.2. Spirit (霊 rei)

While the dead body is kept in the tomb, the spirit of the deceased is believed to wander between this world and the hereafter during the first phase after death. Therefore, special rites have to be performed (e.g. on the third, 21st, 35th, 49th day after death) with the intention to put the spirit to rest in *gusô*, the hereafter. Sakurai describes various rituals

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* Usually, the term *mabui* alone refers to *ichimabui*, that is the *mabui* of a living person.
which show that it is believed that the spirit of the deceased returns to the community on the third day (in some cases on the fifth day) after death. For example, on Ie-island, bamboo sticks are put into the fields to prevent that the spirit of the deceased will make the crop rotten. On Ishigaki island the spirit is believed to come back on the third day after death, and on Miyako island, the entrance area of the mourning house is covered with sand on the third day, to see if there are foot prints of the deceased who is believed to come back (Sakurai 1973: 160-1). As Akamine points out, there is also the belief that the spirit will become a kami after a certain time of purification has passed. Various customs underly the idea that the spirit will become a kami and therefore lose individual features after a period of time. For example, in some regions the ancestors tablets are turned around or burned after 33 years have passed (Akamine 1989). According to Sakurai, the tomb is not only functioning as the place where the remains of the deceased are preserved, but is seen as the symbol for the afterworld (gusō) itself (Sakurai 1973: 133).

While kaminchu act as mediators between the supernatural and this world, there are also occasions where these two dimensions meet, and communication (at least “one-way” communication) with the spirits of the deceased is made possible through commemoration. For example, at Bon festival ancestral spirits are believed to visit the offspring in this world. The grave site is cleaned, and the spirits are welcomed at home and believed to reside at the Buddhist altar, where the ancestral tablets are kept. Further, at a ceremony called shimi (清明祭, Ok. シーミー), kin group members gather to share a meal in front of the grave. They make offerings to their ancestors, who are believed to be present as well. In Okinawa, June 23rd is the memorial day for the war dead, and on this day many people visit the Peace Memorial Park in Mabuni (Southern Okinawa) to make offerings (e.g. flowers, food, drinks, cigarettes) in front of the memorial, where the names of the war dead are engraved. As the following statement of H-san illustrates, there can be confusion concerning the location of the spirits:

“They put flowers here at the memorial, but the soul is not here. Here, it's just the names which are engraved. The spirits will get confused. There is the grave, that's where the spirits are. And then, there are the local memorials in every village. But then, there is the big memorial service here. But here, it's just the name, not the spirit, so I always tell others, they don't have to bring flowers, the souls are not here.”

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1 Akamine mentions that the idea of 33 years is showing strong Buddhist influences and is thought to be an imported concept, which was not originally shared in traditional Okinawan views on the hereafter.

3.2.1. **Nujihwa 抜霊**

Especially in the case of war dead, the bereaved are often at a loss because of the absence of the body of the deceased. Further, if the exact place cannot be identified, where the relative is said to have died, the object of commemoration is suffering an absence of topos. Therefore, religious specialists such as *kaminchu* conduct special rites called *nujihwa*, to take the restless spirit to the grave and placate it, and the ritual can be also interpreted as a form of grief care (Hamasaki 2005). If there are no remains of the deceased, small stones or sand is taken from the place where *nujihwa* is conducted, symbolizing the soul (Sakurai 1973: 116). *Nuhjiwa* can also be performed if the person has died in the hospital, as it is believed that the soul of the deceased will stay in the sickroom.

When I-san was 32 years old, she had an encounter with the spirit of her husband’s father. “There was nobody at home, and I was just about to hang the laundry, I was on the way to the veranda, when I felt that someone was standing, just right in the middle of the house. I thought it’s a hallucination, and when I tried to look closer, it was a soldier, a Japanese soldier. I knew it was a soldier, the uniform, and then he was wearing shoes. So, the fact that I saw a soldier now, in these days…it meant that he was not from this world.”¹ The man addressed her as the wife of his third son, so she understood that this soldier was the spirit of her husband’s father. I-san was ordered to take a notebook and a pen, and she drew three pictures of a landscape, which seemed to relate to the same place. I-san did not know herself what she was drawing, her hand just moved naturally, and gradually she recognized a river, trees and a trench. She also drew a man lying close to the river, and supposed that it was the soldier, who has died on this spot. The spirit explained that these three pictures were of the same place, but in different times - before, during, and after the war, and he told the name of the place. After this experience she understood that her father-in-law was asking for *nujihwa*, because his family members did not conduct appropriate rituals for him and his soul was still in the spot where he had passed away during the war. Her mother-in-law first refused to conduct the ritual, because she did not believe I-san and supposed that it was a “dream” she might have had. How, she asked, could I-san be so sure that the spirit was the late grandfather. I-san was not even alive when he passed away. Her mother-in-law asked for details in the appearance of the soldier. I-san mentioned that the man had a very thick beard, which was one characteristic feature. When her mother-in-law heard this detail she was moved and started crying, apologizing for her ignorance. After talking with her husband’s brothers,

¹ I-san, Nishihara, interview, January 2007
they decided to visit the place with the mother. I-san's spiritual teacher was conducting the ritual. After they arrived at the dictated place, the family members were startled by the similarity of the actual landscape with the picture I-san was made to draw at her encounter with the grandfather's spirit. Her sensei took 49 stones from the spot which corresponded to the These stones were then put into the urn inside the family grave.

4. Frames of interpretation concerning misfortune and illness

As the common expression "yuta hanbun, isha hanbun" (half yuta [shaman], half doctor) illustrates, people often refer to both traditional and medical (Western) services in situations of illness and disorder. This attitude can even be seen in the kaminchu herself, who often advises her clients to also visit a doctor for a diagnosis. In his article "Therapies of Resistance?", Allen perceives both (Okinawan) shamans and psychiatrists as therapists, and stresses the way how shamans work "tradition" into a modern context (Allen 2002).

K-san: "I know that persons get ill because of a certain reason, but I also tell my clients to go to the hospital first and get a medical examination. If they know the name of the disease, then this person has to rely on the hospital, on the doctor. That's what I tell them. Illness is cured by the doctor. And if it is another suffering, then the yuta will cure it."

In this chapter, I want to focus on frames of interpretation which are shared by the kaminchu in relation to misfortune and illness. It is also important to note that these interpretational frameworks are - to various degrees - shared by the clients who consult a traditional religious specialist. As Ohashi points out the majority of people who urge to make use of religious traditional treatment are female, especially senior family members, who are sensitive in recognizing "spiritual matters" in crisis situations which Ohashi calls "kaminess" (Ohashi 1998: 530).

4.1. Ancestral matters

Okinawan religion is often illustrated as "ancestor worship". Therefore, ancestral matters are important signifiers in the interpretational framework of misfortune and disorder. "Spiritual health" of the living offspring is believed to be closely linked to contended ancestors, whose memorial services have been fulfilled. In other words, misfortune and illness is often believed to result from neglected ancestral spirits, who ask for appropriate respect and "treatment".

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" K-san, I-island, interview, August 2005
4.1.1. Succession of ancestor tablets (位牌 ihai, Ok. ｔｏｔｏめ)

“There’s ancestor worship in Okinawa. That’s why we treasure our ancestors, maybe Okinawa’s case is number one in the world concerning ancestor worship. That’s why in Okinawa, the successor of the buddhist altar must be the eldest son.”

One typical feature in Okinawan tradition is the succession of the ancestor tablets which are passed on to the eldest son. There are strict rules concerning the succession of the ancestor tablets, and it is often the kaminchu who is supporting the ideology of male successors of the ancestor tablets and the tabus related to them. The successor of the ihai must be male, a family member of the same blood relation, and ideally the eldest son. If the eldest son has passed away, or if the family is lacking sons, a male relative (sharing the same blood relation) is adopted to succeed the ancestor tablets. Further, it is seen as unfavourable to worship brothers together in the same Buddhist altar. The rules and tabus in ihai succession vary regionally. For example, as Sakurai points out, in Miyako the principles of the succession of the ancestor tablets have similar features to mainland Japanese customs (Sakurai 1973: 174-5).

If the worship of the ancestors would become distorted, which is believed to result from not keeping the rules concerning the ihai successor, the family members are said to expect trouble and misfortune caused by ancestral spirits. Therefore, the attempt to avoid mistakes in ihai succession also incorporates a defensive character, and kaminchu, who are functioning as “knowledge-preservers” of traditional religious concepts are often consulted in matters concerning the succession of the ancestor tablets.

4.1.2. Notification of ancestors (shirashi)

As Ōhashi points out, the client and yuta share a common belief and value system, with the focal point on ancestral spirits who are wished to rest in peace. If the wishes and requests concerning the ancestors have not been satisfied sufficiently, their spirits are believed to inform the offspring about their situation through notifications (shirashi), e.g. through illness and misfortune. However, symptoms of shirashi are not recognized easily, and therefore the kaminchu plays an important role in interpreting the true intention underlying the notification (Ōhashi 1998: 215). Signs of shirashi can be interpreted in dreams or cases of disorder. According to the worship customs and ritual habits of the client, shirashi can point out various interpretations, i.e. an ancestor asking for nujihwa, or a sign indicating a distorted ihai succession.

* K-san, I-island, interview, August 2005
4.1.3. Imitation pattern (*manikata*)

Situations of disorder are often interpreted as mirrored patterns of one’s ancestors. For example, as Ōhashi illustrates in one consultation case, a *yuta* explains a young man’s alcoholic habits as *manikata* of his late grandfather who was a hard drinker as well (Ōhashi 1998: 569-70). In another case study, the *yuta* identifies the drinking problem of a young woman as follows (addressing the mother of the woman): “She is not drinking because she likes it. It is her ancestor who makes her drink. You must not scold her.” (Ōhashi 1998: 527).

According to I-san, *manikata* can be seen in good features as well as in bad habits. Therefore, one’s special skills are believed to evolve from ancestral inheritance, as her following comment illustrates: “See, you are doing academic things. Then, it is certain that you have ancestors who also did academic things.”¹ The concept of negative features which are believed to be inherited from one’s ancestors, is accompanied by an aftertaste of fatality. Therefore, as I-san explained, if someone suffers from cancer, there must be an ancestor who had also suffered from cancer and passed away. The same pattern is repeated, and I-san also mentioned the term karma in reference to *manikata*.

4.2. The spiritual topos

While malevolent spirits and ancestral matters are believed to cause misfortune and disorder, there is another dimension, which is a significant factor in the understanding of the cosmology shared by *kaminchu*, namely the place itself. In detail, it is more the *kami*-concept incorporated in the place than the geographical location itself, which is seen as spiritual. For example, there are special place-related *kami* in a traditional household, such as the *kami* of the hearth (火の神, Ok. ヒヌカン *hi nu kan*), the *kami* of the toilet (便所の神, Ok. フールヌカン *fūru nu kan*) or the *kami* of the land (土地の神 *tochi no kami*), where the house is build. These places (*kami* concepts) can be seen as venerable “junctions” of this world and the supernatural. Therefore, the *kaminchu* is also dealing with house lot rituals (屋敷御願, Ok. ヤシチウガン *yashichi-ugan*), in which she prays at important places within the house (e.g. the four corners encompassing the house, the *hi nu kan*, the Buddhist altar, the toilet, the central pillar of the building) as well as at important places within the community structure, e.g. the well (井戸, Ok. カー *kā*)².

H-san: “The land...what is called land...if you buy a piece of land it doesn’t mean that it belongs to you. The land belongs to the *kami* of the land (*tochi no kamisama*). That’s why

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¹ I-san, Nishihara, interview, December 2006
² The *kami* of the well *kā no kami* is believed to reside even in wells which have gone dry. Therefore, many dry wells are still preserved as places of worship
there is always an *utaki* related to the *kami*. So, when the land owners change, and they buy the land and make it their own, but when they don't renew it [meaning that if the change of the land’s owner is not reported to the *kami* of the land], then it will lead to troubles." Thus, not following ritual services for the land can either make the *kami* of the land angry and cause misfortune, or make the house lot weak and accessible for wandering restless spirits.

Sakurai illustrates following example of a consultation scene: a young girl with symptoms of psychological disorder could not find positive changes through professional medical treatment. Therefore, the family members consulted a *yuta* with the purpose to identify the reasons for the girl’s situation. After the *yuta* had asked the family members about their ritual customs and property relations concerning the house lot, she gave advises which referred to the structure within the property. For example she advised to fill in the small pond in the garden (Sakurai 1973: 275).

4.3. Restless spirits

The wide range of antidemonic charms (魔除け *mayoke*) which are incorporated in Okinawan daily life and community structure underly the awareness of the presence of malevolent spirits. Traditional houses have small pottery lions called *šisā* (獅子、シーサー) on the roof to protect the property from negative influences. On spots where the house wall is facing a T-junction or close to corners, one can often find a small rectangular stone (ca. half a meter in height) with 3 Chinese characters. This stone is called *ishigantō* (Ok. イシガントゥー、石敢当) and its function is to ward off malevolent spirits. Further, there are various preventive measures against the “attack” of ghosts and malevolent spirits. For example, if a person is going in the nighttime through less frequented areas, there is the custom to take a *san* (Ok. サン) - a leaf of pampas grass which is bound to a R-shape. This antidemonic charm is waved around while walking and is believed to protect the human from negative malevolent spirits which are thought to reside in quiet areas. Also, a small *san* can be put on top of a basket with food to protect it from hungry ghosts. As one Okinawan woman said: “If you put a *san* on a plate with food, you will see that the food will go rotten more slowly.” Another preventive measure against malevolent spirits is to throw salt. I-san mentioned that there are (immature?) *kaminchu* who always throw salt when they see a spirit, and therefore they use to take salt with them wherever they go. But in I-san’s opinion it is rude und disrespectful to drive spirits off this way".

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1 H-san, Motobu, interview, December 2006
2 I-san, Nishihara, interview, June 2005
5. Interview with I-san about nujihma

In the following, I will present excerpts from an interview with I-san. One element which can not be expressed in the English translation is the fact that I-san quoted some parts of her praying expressions in Okinawan dialect (uchináguchi), thus stressing a “marker of identity embodied in the practice and therapy of shamanism in Okinawa” (Allen 2002: 236), which Allen also calls an element of “Okinawa-ness”. Complementary words or explanations are given in [brackets].

Nujihma means, if someone has died here, he still clings to this place, he is still here. But if you die, you don’t belong to this place anymore, you have to go to the hereafter, it’s the contrary, so you must not be here anymore. Otherwise you will suffer. So I tell this person “You must not come here anymore. No matter how lovely your wife and your children might be. You come here to meet your wife as if you were still a living being. When you come to meet your children, grandchildren…this will bring on the contrary various…bad effects”. So I say “You don’t belong here anymore.” and “You don’t have to be afraid. You will rest in peace.”, and I ask the kami, and I send him to the hereafter. This is nujihma. To pull the spirit.

There are hospitals where they don’t reject [the demand to conduct nujihma], but there are also hospitals, where they refuse and say “No”, then that’s a problem. But when there is this problem, there is a certain method. So, if they say “Yes, please”, I pull the spirit from the sickroom in the hospital, from the bed. This is in case they give a permission [to make nujihma]. But if they don’t allow it, there is the mortuary, you know? The room where the body is placed after the person has passed away. So usually the deceased is taken away from here, from the mortuary…not in

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1 The interview was held on January 31, 2007 at the University of the Ryukyús.
an obvious way so that people wouldn’t notice, right? So from here, where they take
the body out, from here, where they transport the body, I pray to make it pass to
the room in the hospital. Because they said “No, you cannot go inside.” There is this
method, from the place where they take the body out, the mortuary. And then I put
incense at the entrance, I mean the exit, and I tell the address, this and this house
number, Mr. So and so, born on this and this day, in the year of this sign, and the
name of the hospital, and he was in the [for example] third floor, for half a year,
ah...six years he has been hospitalized. But, he passed away on this and this day, so
this is why I come here to take his soul. And after I have asked the kami, I speak
to this person. Because there are patients, who didn’t get…for whom they didn’t
make nujihwa, nothing at all, and there are people left in the hospital. So if I just
pray, then all [the souls] come to peek, and they think “Is it for me?” and so on.
You know, they all...there are some who want to have it [nujihwa] done, but there are
also some who are left and who don’t know anything about this. So if I just do it
in a simple way, they come and think “Is it for me? Is she addressing me?” But, if
I say the name, there are also people who have the same name, so I say the
address, and this person from this and this place, the [Chinese] zodiac sign, and
then the room number [in the hospital] in this floor. And then the date, this person
was hospitalized until this and this day, and he died on this day. So when I say
these details, then the said person also knows, “Oh, it’s me!” Yes... well, but actually
[ideally] it has to be done from the bed.

病院はね、病院側が拒否しないのであいですよ、と言うところもあれば、だけれども、あの、
これまた困るのね、あのいけません、だめですと断ると困るのですね。断るところはね、やり方があ
るわけ、また。あの、どうぞ、て言われたらね、この人が入院していたところの部屋に入って、
ベッドね、ベッドのところから抜く。これはどうぞと言った時に取るのね。そしたらね、だめです、
言われた時にはね、霊安室があるでしょう、霊安室。霊安室って分かります？亡くなった人を、あの
安置するところね。そしたらね、ここからね、霊安室からね、普段こっちから出すさ、死者って…
人で目立たないように出すでしょう。そしたらね、この出すところから、この遺体をね、遺体を運
んで出すところからね、この病院の中のね、部屋にね、通してね、押すの。だめだと言われたら、
中に入ってはいけません、と言ったったらね、やり方はね、この遺体を出すところがあるのね、
霊安室。そしたらここで入り口から、ああ出口から、ここに線香を置いて住所と言って、どこどこ何
番地の何々さん何月何日に干支は何と言う名前何か、この病院のね、あの 3 階に、もう半年、ああ
6 ヶ年くらい入院もしていましたとか。ですが、いついつに亡くなっていますので、この人の魂をです
ね、拾うに来ましたので、あの拾うためにね、あの来ました、と。そしてこんだけ神聖にお願いし
たら、今度はまたこの本人にね、こうするとね、あの患者さんこの患者さんね、やってない、今ま
で何もやってないヌジファもしない、放置されている人がいるのよ、病院には、それで、ただはい、拝みますよ、言った場合には皆さ、のぞくように、皆のぞくように来るわけ。「自分かな？」とか。皆、ほらやって欲しい人たちもいるけど、全くこれの分からない人たち放置するでしょう。だけど、ただこうして言った場合には「自分かな？自分かな？」とやるでしょう。だけど、こんなして、私あの同姓どうもいるし、だめだから、住所と言ってどここの誰、千支、そして何号室の何階、何号室。そしていつもつまり五十まで入院した人。いつ亡くなった人と言う、このあれを入れたらね、誰だということも分かるの、この本人もね、「ああ、僕のことだなあ」と。はい、もう本当はね、ベッドから。

I get most [of the requests to conduct nujihwa] after the release of the hospital, well, not release but after they have transported the body out of the hospital, then they contact me, that's the common case. Like they would say “The cremation is done.” But there are also cases when they say “He has just passed away now.” Now. So in this case, I go to the hospital, where this person's body is still there. In this situation, I take 12 incense sticks and when they take the body away I do it right afterwards, I say “Please come, follow.” and I do this at the bed, after they take the body away, immediately. With the incense I do like this [waving movements] and I say Mr. So and so from this and this place, and I say the [Chinese] zodiac sign, and he passed away in this hour and so and so minutes. And I tell the soul “You must not stay here. I came to take you. Please come to the incense [meaning, the soul is believed to attach to the incense], welcome, please follow” and after they have taken the body I guide it [the soul] like this. And so, what I do afterwards is that after this there is the coffin, right? The coffin, when people die. So I let the deceased person hold it [the incense], here [I-san is holding both her hands on her chest], on the top, on the chest, I put it here. So then, they cremate the body. The cremation will take it away. The point is, this person's flesh and body is taken there, but now this person's soul is put here [the incense], and put here on the top, and I say “This [the soul] has also arrived here [at the body in the coffin], the nujihwa is done.” After I put it there. This is just a difference in timing. This is nujihwa, for people who once lived and have passed away. Accident victims, with accidents it's the same. I go to the scene of the accident because it [the soul] is still there, and I take it from here, this is also nujihwa.

ほとんどは退院して、退院しても遺体が運ばれた後にに連絡が来ることが多いわけ。うん、もうあの、火葬しましたけれど、とかね。けれども、今亡くなりました、と言うのがあるのよ。今、今まだ遺体が病院にありますと言う時に行く時にあるけれども。この時にはね、御線香、この御線香
12本、12本持って行ってね、それで行くでしよう、そしてこの遺体を運ぶね。そうしたらそのすぐ、私はやるの、付いてきてくださいって、私はこのベッド、この運んだら、すぐやるの。この線香に、まあ、こんなことにしてどここのだれだれさん、千支もぬーぬっちゅ言うって何时何分にあの亡くなりましたのでって言うことで、あのうままない、魂、マブヤーぬくちぇーないびらんどーと言うことで、あのそーいがちゃーぴたんって言って、はい、このうこーんかい、ぬーくみましそーり、と言って、はい、めんそーりよ、と言って、付いていきなさいよ、と言って、この運んだ後にすぐこうして連れて行くの、私が、そしてこれをどうするかと言うと、この時はこうしたら、あの棺あるでしょう、棺。棺あるでしょう、人が亡くなったなら。こう抱かすの、ここに、こここの上に置く、胸の上にね、この置いて。そして火葬するさ。火葬が持っていくさ。ようすると、この人の肉体も身体もあっち運んだけど、今度はこれにこの人の魂。これに乗せてこの、こうしているところの上に、これもこれもついてきましたよ、と。ヌジファーしてきましたよ、と。ここに乗せてから。こんな、このタイミングの違いでやり方も違うよ、て言うこと。うん。これが、これが生きた人間が、生きてた人間が亡くなった後にするヌジファ。人間のヌジファ、これは。事故者、事故も一緒。現場行ってここにいるからここから連れて行く、またこれヌジファ。

6. Conclusion

Kaminchu, who function as mediators between this world and gusō, fulfill an important role in the socio-religious Okinawan structure. As they incorporate traditional knowledge concerning ritual attitude and appropriate measures relating to ancestor worship and thai succession, their interpretational frameworks in crisis situations aim for the “spiritual health” of both the living and the deceased, and thus focus on recreating harmony.

One significant factor underlying the cosmology of kaminchu is the importance of place/location. For example, as it was described above with mabuigumi (the ritual where the lost soul is put back into the body), it is important to find out where the person has experienced the shock situation. This attitude is consistent with the belief that the lost mabui is still residing in the place where it was dropped from the body. Also in the case of nujihwa, it is important to identify an actual place which is seen as the topos where the two dimensions touch. Here, the dimension, in which the restless spirit is believed to wander, and this world, in which the offspring is suffering disorder, can meet and lead to a peaceful, cathartic solution.

The attitude to fulfill ritual duties can assume a defensive character, which aims to avoid crisis caused by restless ancestors, but it is moreover a matter of being concerned with one’s own, the ancestors’ and one’s future offspring’s “spiritual health”, which is aimed by practicing ancestor worship and a cross-generational harmony is desired both this worldly and transcendentally.
AKAMINE Masanobu

ALLEN, Matthew

HAMASAKI Moriyasu
2005 "Okinawa ni okeru grīfukea toshite no nujifa ni tsuite" ["Nujihwa as A Grief Care in Okinawa"] Ryūkyū daigaku hōbungakubu ningenkagakka kiyō [Bullentin of Human Sciences, Faculty of Law and Letters, University of the Ryūkyūs].16

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1966 Okinawan Religion. Honolulu: University of Hawaii

ŌASHI Hideshi
1998 Okinawa shamanizumu no shakaishinrigakuteki kenkyū [Socio-psychological research into Okinawan shamanism]. Tokyo: Kōbundō

SAKURAI Tokutarō
1973 Okinawa no shamanizumu [Okinawan shamanism]. Tokyo: Kōbundō

II ヌジファとその事例
ここでさらに、ヌジファについての2人のユタ（カミンチュ）による説明を、インタビューのやりとりを再現しながら、紹介したい。

１ ヌジファ等についてのMKさんへのインタビュー
MKさんは、ひろく相談者（クライアント）を集める著名なユタ（カミンチュ）。那覇市在。60代半ば、女性。浜崎が2006年9月22日（金曜日）MKさんの自宅でインタビュー。毎月1日、15日には相談者（クライアント）が、MKさん宅にハンジを求めて集まる（参考までに、次に、MKさん宅におけるハンジの様子の写真を、MKさんの中許可の下、掲載したい）。
MKさん宅におけるのハンジの様子 1

MKさん宅におけるのハンジの様子 2
MKさん宅におけるハンジの様子 3

MKさんとカリウタナ（カリ御嶽）
MKさんは、ヌジファのやり方や場所等について、浜崎の質問に詳く答え、以下のように説明してくれた。多少繰り返しになる箇所もあるが、MKさん自身の言葉を示したい。

（１）ヌジファのやり方
① MKさん：すぐの場合にはですよ*、なくなった病院の部屋で、個室の場合、なくなった場合
はですよ、このユチンから、四つのこの道からサンで、ユリーとるんですよ。ユリーとっ
て、線香、
浜崎：ユリーって、マブイ、
MKさん：はい、マブイですね。マブイとって、線香とこの白い白紙ですよ、とって、着替えさ
せてくださいますでしょう、病院で、それをそっちの中に入れるんです。胸の中に、
浜崎：白紙と線香も一緒で。
MKさん：線香も一緒にですよ。やって入れて、で、サンはサンで、また、四つ角からみんなこの
ベッドの上からもとって、そのまま持たせて、お家にやって、そして火葬場に行きます
でしょう。

* ヌジファを行うタイミングは、亡くなってすぐが最もいいということである。MKさんは、
次のように述べている。「もうなるべくは、もう人が、すぐこの人が亡くなった時点でやる」、
「亡くなった時ですぐやらないと、すぐ人が入れかえしますからね。その時はできないんで
ですよ。」

② MKさん：ちょうどこの人のベッドから、ベッドのユチンありますでしょう。枕元から足元、
ミチスジして、あの便所は共同でやっていたら、便所からっていうよりは、もう、こっち
から、こっちからとなります。
浜崎：ユチンのユは4ですね。
MKさん：いや、ユチンって言ったら、あの、東西南北のユチンなるわけですよ。ニーヌファ（北）、
ウマヌファ（南）、ウーヌファ（東）、トゥイヌファ（西）。このベッド、これがベッドで
ますよね。こっちがニーヌファだったら、こっちがまたウーヌファ、ウマ、トゥイっていう
ことで、はい、このユチン、寝ているところからのミチ、はい、こっちの中心、この人の
ベッドちょっと枕元こっちして、このミチからのバンをこんたしてとって、ちゃんとこの
人のミチに入れて、それはそのまま、そのまま火葬まで、そのままなんんです。これはもう、
取ったらいけないわけです。

③ 浜崎：あの、線香は何本とか、
MKさん：はい、線香はね、24香。24と15香。はい、15香のミチ。
浜崎：束を作るんですか。
MKさん：はい、束をそのまま24香とですよ。
浜崎：6、
MKさん：はい、6の4つで24になりますよね。ヒラウコー（平お香）4つしたら。
MKさん：この24香とこれ15香、12本と3本入れて、これでやるんですよね。こんなしてね。
浜崎：写真もいいでしょう。
MKさん：はいはい。じゃ、白い白紙置きましょうね。
浜崎：あ、そうそこか。
MKさん：3枚ずつ使います。この白い紙をですよ。3枚使って、これのミチスジに、あのいまでのあればったらですよ。
これからですよ、これでこんなしてですよ、とって、これをとる場合はこんなやりながらですよ、線香でこんなしてとって、ちゃんとこれを包んで胸の中に収めるんです。やってですよ、そうしたら、もうこっちに、ユリーがとられてないとかなんとかっていうのはないです。これをこっちに入れるわけです。寝ている所にですよ。こんなにして、サン、サンがありますでしょう。はい、サンも一緒にやるんです。それしたら、このミチからとれますから、あの、もう一番寝ていた所の部屋が一番いいです。
＜MKさんによる、ヌジファの際のヒラウコーと白紙の使い方の実演 2＞
3枚重ねた白紙にヒラウコーを置く。

＜MKさんによる、ヌジファの際のヒラウコーと白紙の使い方の実演 3＞
ヒラウコーを白紙で包み、それを時計回りに回して、ベッド（らくがきちょうをベッドに見立てている）のユチシと中心でユリーをとる。
＜MKさんによる、ヌジファの際のヒラウコーと白紙の使い方の実演  4＞
白紙でヒラウコーを完全に包む。

＜MKさんによる、ヌジファの際のヒラウコーと白紙の使い方の実演  5＞
説明のため、もう一度白紙を開いて見せてくれた（通常はこれは行わず写真4から6に戻いく）。
（2）ヌジファの際の唱えこと

MKさん：亡くなったらもう、……ナークヌミチェ（もう、このミチは）、ウマンライウトゥヌクイシミソーランクトゥ（ここにおとり残りしませんように）、ウムイウマンライウトゥチェキミソーランクトゥ（思いここにおとしてくれませんように）、はい、マブイスクインサビィードー（マブいすぐいもいたしますよ）っていうことで、とるわけです。

（3）ヌジファと後の判断、遺族の安心

① MKさん：マブイスクインサビィードーっていうことで、とるわけです。そして、こっちに入ったら、後からイッターヌジファサンタラャー（あなた達ヌジファしなかったでしょう）っていうこと、これだけでもないんですよ。

② 浜﨑：……遺族の側がやってもらうことで、安心するわけですね。

MKさん：そうですね。安心でもあるし、かんなんミー行った時ですよ、イッターユリエントゥラン（あなた達はユリーもとらない）っていうのがでるんですよ。だけど、これちゃんととって、遺族がきれいにして、はいもう、おばあちゃんだったら、ばあちゃんお家帰るよって、こっちにウトゥイスクインシミソーランキヨー（おとり残しもしないでください）っていうことでりますから、だから、安心して帰るわけですよね、もうこっちには
ウトゥイスクイしないで、したら、ミーサ行く時も、あの、それはないです。ミーグー
にいってね。判断があるんですよ。その時、ユリー、イッターサンテーサー（ゆりー、
あなた達なかったんだね）っていうことが出ないんですって。うん、だからもう、最初
が肝心なんですよ。で、遺族も安心するわけですね。自分がとるんだから。

３ 浜崎：…マブイそのものがちゃんと成仏できるということですね。それはあるのと、遺族に
とっての意味が相当大きいのだけど、と思うんです。

MKさん：うん、あの、ほら、これとって、やっぱり安心するわけですよ。もう、すぐ뒀ってい
うね。うん、こっちには、

浜崎：いつもでも気がかりが、あの、

MKさん：気がかりにしてね。うん、だから、これとるのも、……真心でやりますからね、やっぱり
そのあれば、亡くなった方もそうですねけど、遺族にとってもこの安らぎっていうんですか、
かったあれば、あると大きいと思います*。

* 死後49日目にはマブイワカシも行われる。MKさんは次のように述べている。「イチミ（生
き身、現世）とグソーのサシワキ（さし分け）、あの世とこの世のサシワキ。自分の奥さん
でも旦那でも、あの世とは手は取られなかったということで、これのまたチリワキ（切り分
け）、グソーユヌチリワキ（後生世の切り分け）っていうことで、もう普通49日終わった
ら、マブイワカシ、あの世とこの世のミチスジをするんです。」

(4) 遺体を離れそのままになるマブイ

１ 浜崎：その、……亡くなって、その、マブイがいったん離れるわけですよね。

MKさん：はい、そうです。

浜崎：体離れて、

MKさん：離れて、やっぱりこっちに、

浜崎：ほっとくと、まあ、そのままままだなる、

MKさん：はい、そのままままだなる、

浜崎：あの、戻ることもあるんですねね。自分で、マブヤが、

MKさん：いや、亡くなったらもう、そのままままだですよ。普通だったら、もう、消滅でいくで
すけど、これがいかなくて、やっぱり思いの深いから長いこと入院して、いった場合には
かんなずこっちのミチにあるわけですよ。だから、もう、最後ミーウトゥイしたこのベッ
ドでとりますけど、やっぱり病院全体、検査したりして、……はい、マブイスクインサビー
ンドー（マブイすくいもいたしますよ）っていうことで、とるわけです。

２ 浜崎：あれですかね、普通は、なのか、こうあの、亡くなって、体離れて、そのマブイは自
分でグソーまで普通はいくのが多いんですよね。

MKさん：いえ。

— 52 —
渋 崎：いかない。
MKさん：これがなかなかいかないのだが、あるんですよ。

（5）ヌシファを行う場所
① MKさん：すぐの場合にはですよ、なくなった病院の部屋で、個室の場合、なくなった場合はですよ、このユチンから、四つのこの道からサンで、ユリーとるんですよ。

渋 崎：亡くなったから、病室ではやらないで。
MKさん：いやいや、病室でもやって、火葬場でやる人がいるんですよ。火葬場っていうのはこの人一人じゃないから。
渋 崎：あ、そうですね。
MKさん：あまりの人によって違うわけですよ。お祈りする人によって。火葬場からとったっていうから、火葬場からはどんな何でもとれないよって、沢山の人でね何時間ね、は誰、でこんなにしていらっしゃるかね、ぜんぜん火葬場からはとれないよ、人の道も混じるよっていうことで話して、絶対火葬場からはとるなってして、これを病院から、うん、病院からとって、して、また病院の霊安室ですか、そのすぐそのあれだったら、こっちからもあれですけど、こっちも人が亡くなってしようかってことに、
渋 崎：入れ替わり。
MKさん：入れ替わりですからね。こっちよりは、もう、この病室の、病室からねすぐ亡くなったら、もうダメって分かれる人はですよ、「先生ダメだからどんなしたらいいか」って言って病院から電話来る場合もあるんですよ。付き添う人がね。いやいや、じゃ線香はいつも、でも持っていてね、すぐやって、これとって乗もう、着替えさせたらすぐこっちに入れて、これはとらんって、もうそのまま火葬場行って、そしたらこっちにユリーとるウトクウクヌクリが、落ち残りがないからそうしなさいってことで教えてるんですけどね。うん、もうこれが、マブイ、はい、するのです。入れるのんです。こっちにウトクウクヌクリ、もうこれはユリーっていうんですけどね。あのとるんですけど。

③ MKさん：個室とまたこの4人部屋とか2人部屋の時は、ちょうどこの人のベッドから、ベッドのユチンありますでしょう。枕元から足元、ミチスジして、あの便所は共同でやっていらしたら、便所からというよりは、もう、こっちから、こっちからとります。……このユチン、寝ているところからのミチ、はい、こっちの中心、この人のベッドちょっと枕元こっちして、このミチからのパンをこんなにしてって、ちゃんとこの人のミチに入れて、これはそのまま、そのまま火葬まで、そのままなんんです。これはもう、取ったらいけないわけです。……こっちでとれんかったら、忘れてもらんかったから、この霊安室での入り口でやるってやる人がいるんです。だけどもう、部屋番号打ってですよ、霊安室っていうより

—53—
は、こっちのほら近い所のムラの神様がありますでしょう。こっちから、かえって、
浜崎：ムラ神様。
MKさん：ムラ神をお願いして、はいあの、どこどこの病院で入院して、何号室の部屋にいきましたっ
tてこっちのもうウトゥイヌクもさせないのでくださいって言って、問い合わせしてですね、
やった方が、もう人が入ってからはできませんから。
浜崎：そうですよね。
MKさん：もうなるべくは、もう人が、すぐこの人が亡くなった時点でやる。また忘れた場合は村
tをかかってやる方がいいっていうことをやっていますけどね。私は霊安室とかからはな
かなかとらないです。もう、行って来たら、この人一人じゃなくてもう、ウマンチューで
すよね。沢が人が亡くなったり、もう一日に2人、3人って亡くなることがありますか
ら、これがマチブッたら（から木合ったら）、いかんからっていうことでなかなかこっち
からはとりません。もう、かんずな、この部屋の所からです。

④ MKさん：線香でこんなにどって、……サンも一緒にやるんです。そうしたら、このミチから
とれますから、あの、もう一番寝ていた所の部屋が一番いいです。

⑤ MKさん：遅れて分からないでヌジファしてなければ、まだこの、例えば与儀の病院だった場
合には、与儀のウガンジュ、すぐ前に井戸もあるんですよ。
浜崎：ああ、そうだか。
MKさん：はい、こっちからこの病室打って、この与儀のミチスジ打ってですよ、何号室に入院も
しましたっていうことで、もう長い年月経っていますから、もうこっちからユーリもとり
ますから、この地域にね、オトノ、ウトゥイヌクイ、落とさないで、もういまからマブイ
もやりますっていうことで、やったことがあるんです。これはもう長いことになっていまし
たから、病院にも行けないし、はい、そのミチして、八重山の方でしたから……与儀のム
ラ押んで、また行ったこともあるんです。そんな例もあります。……
うん、入っていたら霊安室からようやりますけどね、やる人もいます、中には、だけど、
私はこれだけの人がいるからやりませんっていうことです。して、ムラから、はい、ム
ラから、この、琉大だったら、琉大の、上原ですよ。その番地うってですよ、また上原
のウガンジュ（お願い、拜所）ありますから、こっちから、また、やります。琉大も深い
です。

⑥ MKさん：中には、ほとんど霊安室からやる人が多いですよ。だけど、あっちからはもう私は、はぁ、
許可はもらいますよ、行ってどうぞってっって言いますけどね、私はむこうからってはや
らないです。もういろいろみんな来ますからね、あ、だからとるのん間違えたらいけませ
んからね。

—54—
（6）病院とのトラブルについて
MKさん自身は、ヌジファを行うことに関連して、病院側とトラブルになったことはないというが、そのような話は聞いたことがあると述べている。

浜崎：あの、病院でやった時に、なんか、あの病院側とうつトラブル、困ったこととか、そういったっていうのは、
MKさん：ないですよ。
浜崎：ないですか。
MKさん：これ、最初でほら、ユーリーとなりますからっていうことで、I[MKさんの知人の方]さんなんかも、ほら、ばあちゃんよ、病院でユーリーとったさーね、どんなにしてやりなさって言って。病院とのあれはなかったよね。
Iさん：全然なかったですよ。その、まちがって、
MKさん：もう、おかしいっていう時にどうしなさいって教えましたから。あれから何もでないもんでね。
Iさん：全然。
浜崎：何か合図が来たりするということですかね。おかしいって。
MKさん：うん、もうようもって明日、明後日ぐらいじゃないかなあっていうあれで、ちゃんと準備しておきなさいって、私はもう着物もちゃんと準備して、いつでもはいって持って行けるようにしなさいっていうことを、ちゃんと判断しづいいらっしゃるようにやるんですよ。で、まあ、錦香もどんなにどんなにしてね、ちゃんとサンもしてからに、ちゃんと懐に入れて、洋服あっちから洋服、着物でも交換しますけど、病院がやって後からやりなさいっていうことで、うん、あの別に先生方には話しますから、トラブルは、今までやった分ではトラブルはないです。
浜崎：ああ、そうですか。
MKさん：はい、ああ、どうぞって言います、先生方も。
浜崎：あの、病院の方の関係者の聞くと、他に迷惑がかからなければならないと、なんかそういう意見が圧倒的に多いような感じですってね。ですから、頭からダメっていうのはあまりやっぱりないみたいで、
MKさん：はい、なかったですね。したら、かえって病院の方も、かえってこれとってもらったから、はい、いいみたいですよ。……うん、また断られる人もいるみたいですよ、中にはね。私は一度もないんです。本当に、ありがたいことに、どうぞと言って、また説明もしますから。どうぞっていうことで、やりますけどど。普通は、あのなんか、シミランソーティ（させなかった）、ヤー、シンシーグルーター（先生の連中）、ヌーンワカラン（何も分からん）っていう人もいましたからね。いや、そんなことないですよって、私言うんですけどね。うん、そんな話聞いたこともあります。うん、私の場合はないです。
2 ヌジファ等についてのSさんへのインタビュー

Sさんは、浦添市に住む評判をあつめるユタ（カミンチュ）。50代前半、女性。Sさんの娘さんもユタとして活動している。浜崎が2006年9月22日（金曜日）Sさんの自宅でインタビュー。ここに、相談者（クライアント）がハンジを求めて集まる。I教授（インタビュー当時琉球大学、現在大阪大学）が、同行してくれた。

Sさんは、サンによるヌジファ、ムラ神様からの案内、健康願い等について語ってくれた。マニカタ（先祖の真似型）という考え方との関連と考えると、健康願いの話は特に興味深い。

(1) 身体からのマブイの離脱とサンによるヌジファ

Sさん：なくなった場合は、そこに寝て魂がフーっと抜けるんですよ。……これを、この、サンで、……とってその死体に入れてあげるんです。で、ここは、体は抜け殻ですね。ですから、魂っていうのは、フーっと抜け出て、もう、上にあがった状態、宙に浮いた状態らしいんです。それをとって、一緒に持って行かないと、これだけ病院に落とすとなると、またこれをとってこないといけないですね。ここではサンでとってくるんですよ。

浜崎：サンていこうと、

Sさん：サンていようと、すずきの葉っぱですね。すずきの葉っぱ3本。これをアンマーカンプー（母親のくるっとまいた髪型）みたいに、髪、これは昔の沖縄の、琉球の髪結いみたいにして、これでとっていくんですね。

(2) 病院でのヌジファ、ムラ神様からの案内

① 浜崎：何回か、そういう、病院行かれ、ヌジファおやりになったことはありますか。

Sさん：ありますよ。で、強い念の場合、たとえば、ここに、病院に半年、ないし1年、あるいは10年間寝込んでる場合は、ここはムラ神様から案内かけてくるんですよ。

浜崎：と、と言いますと、

Sさん：いわば、内地では氏神様ですね。ここでは、ムラ神様。もともとこのシマを作った人、に、もう、ここでこういう人が亡くなりましたので、魂招きをさせてくださいという言葉をかけてあげるんですね。そして、井戸から、こう井戸とすると、この井戸からこの魂をよんであげて、このサンでこれを回すことですね。回してこのサンに魂をのせるんです。そうして、また、成仏されない方、この人にのせてあげる場合もあるんです。ですので、ある程度は病院すぐ、ベッドからとなります。マブヤーという、魂をね。そして、一体化してお家につれて帰るんです。で、一番わかりやすいのは、子供さん、長男あるいは娘さんが、お母さんであれば、『お母さん、お家帰るよ』だったら、フーっとこれが降りてきて、一体化する場合もあります。

② 浜崎：病院だと、いた部屋とか、他にもありますか、トイレとか。

Sさん：ベッドから。トイレっていうのは、関係ないです。病院で亡くなってマブヤー入れるって
（３）健康願い——もとの体（チュラ肌馬肌）に戻してください
Sさん：で、また、この人が肺ガンかって亡くなったのであれば、この肺ガンをもとの体になおしてください。もとの体にしてくださいっていう意味で健康願いっていうのが、

津崎：亡くなって後、元の体にっていう。
Sさん：はい、亡くなっても、もうそのまま、たとえば、肺ガンであれば、そのままの状態なんです。肺ガンで亡くなった方。そして、その事情が、また、子孫に伝わりくなる場合があるんですね。この人と千支、相性がぴったり合った場合、同じまた喫気持ちになったり、肺ガンになったりする、それをはむって歩くのがムラ、首里十二支なんですね。……で、チュラ肌馬肌（美肌肌肌）っていったからに、もとの生まれたままの肌に戻してください。

３ 考察

"Mediators between this world and the hereafter" においては、3 人のユタ（カミンチョ）のライフ・ヒストリーを通して、神経におけるユタ（カミンチョ）の現状の一端をうかがい知ることができた。ユタは基本的に個人的な相談事に関わるとされているが、H さんの場合はムンチョー（門中）の行事にも関わっている。I さんによれば、ヌジファとは死後の霊魂のこの世への執着を解き、神様にお願いしてあの世に送ってあげることとされ、病院の病室で可能な時はベッドで行い、可能でない場合は霊安室で平生や住所をうって線香をおいて行うということである。したがって、ユタ（カミンチョ）は死者と生者の両方の "spiritual health" を目指しており、「a cross-generational harmony」をもたらす者であると言えるということが論じられた。

MKさんは、ヌジファのやり方について、「ウムイウマンカイウトゥチエキミソーラングトゥ（思いこにおとしてくれませんように）」、「マブイスクインサピィンドー（マブイくいくもいたしますよ）」等声をかけながら、ユチン（四隅）から線香でユリをとって白紙で包み、胸のある、懐に入れてあげ、サンはサンでひとつにそのまま家、火葬場まで送ると言う。またMKさんは、ヌジファはベッドで行うのが最も望ましいが、それができない場合は霊安室や火葬場でやるのではなく、むしろムラ神様（ウガンジュ（お願い所、拝所））をお願いするのがよいと述べ、死後遺体を離れてそのままになるマブイが多く、ヌジファをやることによってマブイがグローに行き、家族は安心すること。MKさん自身の場合は病院とのトラブルは特にないが述べている。

Sさんも、ヌジファのやり方として。体を抜けた魂をサンでとるとということ。ベッドでもとるとが強い念の場合ムラ神様から案内をかけるということ、死後魂を生まれたときの健康な体（チュラ肌馬肌）にしてくださいと健康願いをするということを語ってくれた。