

# The Buddhist Priest and the Ceremony of Attaining Womanhood during the Yüan Dynasty

by

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## I. Disinclination to Marry Women in Their Virginity

In the annotation by Hsü T'ING 徐霆<sup>(1)</sup> on the *Hei-ta-shih-liao* 黑韃事略 written by P'ENG TA-YA 彭大雅 of the Sung dynasty, the following account is found. This happened at the beginning of the 13th century when Chinggis Khan, the first emperor of the Mongols, conquered the Kingdom of Hsi-hsia 西夏 of the Tangut 黨項 tribe.

"Some time ago I (Hsü T'ING) met with one Wang Ch'i 王楫 who told me this story. 'I conquered Hsi-hsia under Chinggis (Khan). It was a custom there from the prince down to the common people to do homage to the Buddhist prelate *Kuo-shih* 國師. If they had a maiden, they first presented her to the priest and not till then did they give her in marriage to a man. As

(1) 宋彭大雅撰徐霆注「黑韃事略」,清王國維撰「黑韃事略箋證」本二十一丁裏。王忠愍公遺書第三集所收。霆見王楫云,某向隨成吉思攻西夏,西夏國俗,自其主以下,皆敬事國師,凡有女子,必先以薦國師,而後敢適人,成吉思既滅其國,先饗國師,國師者比丘僧也。

Chinggis (Khan) conquered the province, he slew the *Kuo-shih* on the spot and cut up his body. *Kuo-shih* was a Buddhist prelate.”

The *Hei-ta-shih-liao*, the book from which the above is quoted, is an account of travel by P'ENG TA-YA, a secretary in the suite of Tsou Shên-chih 鄒伸之 who by the command of Shih Kao-chih 史高之 proceeded to the court of the Mongolian emperor in the 5th year of *Shao-ling* 紹定 under the reign of Emperor Li-tsung 理宗 of the South Sung dynasty, or 1232 A. D. The account is remarkably accurate in giving the real conditions of Mongolia in those days; and as a record of the earlier part of the Yüan dynasty, it is considered by various authorities to supplement the shortcomings of the *Yüan-ch'ac-pi-shih* 元朝秘史 and the *Ch'in-chêng-lu* 親征錄.<sup>(2)</sup> By the way, P'ENG TA-YA later in the 4th year of *Chia-hsi* 嘉熙 under the reign of Emperor Li-tsung or 1240 A. D., was once again sent as an envoy across the desert and the steppe to the court of the great emperor. Previous to the second journey, however, towards the end of the 1st year of *Tuan-p'ing* 端平 under the reign of Emperor Li-tsung or 1234 A. D. Tsou Shên-chih with Li Fu-li 李復禮, Ch'iao Shih-an 喬士安 and Liu P'u 劉溥 had been likewise dispatched beyond the desert by the command of the emperor to Mongolia Hsü T'ING was a man who went to the steppe in the suite of the envoy. He jotted down his experiences, and compiled a private book. On his way back from the steppe, he came across P'ENG TA-YA former secretary, at Ê-chu 鄂渚, and these two men, comparing their respective notes on their travels and on the customs of Mongols, adopted the writings by P'ENG as the basic text, giving in the notes those the observations by Hsü which differed from those by P'ENG. This is explained by Hsü T'ING himself in the postscript of the book. The most interesting infor-

(2) 清王國維著,《黑韃事略箋證》,同上第三集所收,二丁表。

The following is the comment of Mr. WANG on the merit of the *Hei-ta-shih-liao*.

此書敘述簡該,足徵視國之識,長孺所補亦頗得事實,蒙古開創時史料最少,此書所貢獻,當不在秘史親征錄之下也。

mation cited here on the *Kuo-shih* of Hsi-hsia, which he obtained from Wang C'hi is nothing but a quotation from the notes written by Hsü T'ING. By way of explanation, it may be said that WANG CH'I was a man sent from the court of the Yüan to that of the Sung on 15th (己卯), December, the 1st year of *Tuan-p'ing*. The mission of the second journey of Tsou Shên-chih, previously mentioned, was to repay the visit of Wang Ch'i and it is presumed that Hsü T'ING heard this story on that occasion direct from Wang Ch'i. Therefore, it is important to note that the date at which the information was obtained was not far distant from — only about nine years after — *ping-sü* 丙戌<sup>(3)</sup> under the reign of Emperor Li-tsung or 1226 A. D., when Wang Ch'i conquered Hsi-hsia under Chinggis Khan.

According to the account cited above, it is evident that the people of Hsi-hsia from the prince down to the common people extremely revered the *Kuo-shih*, or the Buddhist prelate, and that it was a national custom that every family with a damsel should not marry her to any man unless she was first presented to the Buddhist priest. As you know, Hsi-hsia was a state which formerly existed in a province now called Ning-hsia 寧夏. *Kuo-shih* is explained as the Buddhist prelate though the present writer is convinced that it was the Lamaist prelate. Since this point is discussed at large later, the reader will do well to keep it in his mind. The absence of the custom among the Mongols is proved by the fact that Chinggis Khan on conquering Hsi-hsia and hearing of the custom, executed the prelate known as *Kuo-shih* on the spot and cut up his body. This incident shows that the Buddhist priest in Hsi-hsia was in the habit of taking away the virginity of a damsel before marriage; in other words, there was no custom of taking a virgin in

(3) 明宋濂撰「元史」卷百五十三、列傳第四十、王楫傳、丙戌從征西夏及秦州、夏人盡撤橋梁爲備、軍阻不得前、帝問諸將、皆不知計出、楫夜督士卒、運木石、此曉橋成、乃得進(中略)、壬辰從攻汴京、癸巳奉命持國書使宋、以兀魯刺副之、至宋、宋人其禮重之、即遣使以金幣入貢、楫前後凡五往、以和議未決。明洪武版二丁表。

marriage : a damsel had to be deflowered by the Buddhist priest. This account, however, entirely fails to inform us of the manner of defloration, which will be dwelt upon later.

Unless the reader thoroughly comprehends the above-mentioned historical material, the following account in the *Travels of Ser Marco Polo* will not be understood accurately. Under the heading the Province of the Thebeth (Thibet), he says as follows.

“The Province named Thebeth was laid entirely waste at the time that *Mangu-Khan* carried his arms into that country. To the distance of twenty days' journey you see numberless towns and castles in a state of ruin. At the end of that period you begin to discover a few castles and strong towns, built upon rocky heights, or upon the summits of mountains, and gradually enter an inhabited and cultivated district, where there is no longer any danger from beasts of prey.

“A scandalous custom, which could only proceed from the blindness of idolatry, prevails amongst the people of these parts, who are disinclined to marry young women so long as they are in their virgin state, but require, on the contrary, that they should have had previous commerce with many of the other sex ; and this, they assert, is pleasing to their deities, and that a woman who had not had the company of men is worthless.”<sup>(4)</sup>

This account differs from the *Hei-ta-shih-liao* cited before only in that the person employed in defloration is an ordinary man here and a Buddhist priest in the other. Both perfectly agree in that a damsel was first deflowered by a man and then given in marriage to another man. Both accounts evince, however, that the people firmly believed this practice to be pleasing to their deities.

The text here cited is from the *Travels of Marco Polo*, compared and

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<sup>(4)</sup> MARCO POLO, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Edited by MARSDEN and with Introduction by MASEFIELD, 1907, London, 1926, chap. XXXVII, pp. 236-237. Everyman's Library, 1908, 2nd edit. 1911, 3rd edit. 1914, is also in the same line.

revised by EARNEST RYS, edited by MARSDEN, and revised with an introduction by JOHN MASEFIELD, J. M. DENT, London, 1926, which is a descent of the book edited by MARSDEN.<sup>(5)</sup> However, the edition translated and revised by Sir Henry Yule and M. HENRI CORDIER—the work considered by many authorities the magnum opus of the *Travels of Marco Polo*—does not mention either “idolatry” or “to please their gods,” but quite simply says as follows:

“After that you come at length to a tract where there are towns and villages in considerable numbers. The people of those towns have a strange custom in regard to marriage which I will now relate.

“No man of that country would on any consideration take to wife a girl who was a maid: for they say a wife is worth nothing unless she has been used to consort with men.”<sup>(6)</sup>

It was at the beginning of 1928 that Prof. BENEDETTO of Milan University, Italy, in the Milan Antiquarium Museum, came across an older manuscript of the book which is written in old French; and having taken it as an original source and compared it with other manuscripts at various places in Europe, he revised and elaborated it. Finally, his book, one of the finest versions of the work, was published. Fortunately an English translation by Mr. ALDO RICCI came out in 1931. The present writer finds his humble opinion considerably strengthened by this book.

“And during all those twenty days’ journey, one finds no hostelries, nor any supplies, except perhaps every three or four days; hence it is necessary to take with one food for both men and beasts.

“At the end of these twenty days, during which one comes ever across

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<sup>(5)</sup> KOMROFF, M., *The Travels of Marco Polo*, MARSDEN’S Revised Translation and Edited with Introduction by MANUAL KOMROFF, New York, 1926. This also follows the same line with the edition mentioned above.

<sup>(6)</sup> MARCO POLO, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, Translated and Edited by Sir HENRY YULE, 3rd edit., Revised by HENRI CORDIER, London, 1903, II, chap. xiv, pp. 42-45.

so many fierce and cruel wild beasts, that are so dangerous and terrible, one reaches a region where there are many small towns and villages among the mountains.

“And their customs as regards marriage are as follows. You must know that no one would for anything in the world take a virgin to wife, for they say that a woman who has not had commerce with many men is worthless; for they believe that a woman who has not been known by a man is hated by the gods, so that the men abhor and avoid her, since, were she dear to their idols, men would seek her out and desire her. This, then, is what they do.”<sup>(7)</sup>

It is evident that the disinclination of the people to marry virgins came from their belief in the gods they worshipped. That the MARSDEN edition which seemed to have been replaced by the translation and revision by YULE and CORDIER was not to be rejected as worthless, was proved by the publication of the BENEDETTO edition. So far as my following quotation is concerned, it may be said that the value of the YULE-CORDIER edition has come down below that of the two books above-mentioned. It does not mean that the whole of the YULE-CORDIER edition is worthless. The point is that no hasty conclusion should be drawn until each part quoted is studied and corrected in the light of historical materials in each of the various editions.

Returning from this digression, I may add that all the three books perfectly agree in that, after giving the account in question, they go on to say that the damsels in the province quite willingly offer their virginity to strangers.

It is important to note, therefore, both the *Hei-ta-shih-liao* and the *Travels of Ser Marco Polo*, differing only concerning the deflowerer, one giving a Buddhist priest and the other a stranger, perfectly agree in that the damsels were

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<sup>(7)</sup> MARCO POLO, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Translated into English from the Text of L. F. BENEDETTO by Prof. ALDO RICCI, The Broadway Travellers, Sir E. Denison and Eileen Power, London, 1931, pp. 178-180.

deflowered before marriage.

This shows us that the people in Hsi-hsia and Tibet during the Yüan dynasty had a peculiar marriage practice, namely, a custom of having their damsels deflowered before marriage and giving them away in marriage only after that.

But here is another historical material of considerable interest. The *Shih-san-chou-chih* 十三州志 by K'AN YIN 關翹 of the Liang 涼 dynasty which goes back far beyond the Yüan dynasty, gives the following as a custom in Wu-sun 烏孫.

"In the Kingdom of Wu-sun the bridegroom sells a horse for his betrothal gift. The bride is to lodge at the house of the go-between, and only after a lapse of much time the bridegroom comes for the bride." (8)

As a record of the custom of the kingdom of Wu-sun, this is exceedingly valuable. It goes without saying that the go-between uses his good offices for the families of the bride and the bridegroom. What is of interest is that the damsel is first to lodge at the house of the go-between before she is given away in marriage, and that the bridegroom waits a long time before coming for her. This account is not clear as to whether the go-between himself deflowers the damsel before she is given away in marriage or the maiden is to lodge at his house only for the sake of formality. However, the writer supposes that the former was the case in its origin, since it must have come out of the idea that the go-between could only recommend a maiden whom he had personally tested on his own responsibility, or that the maiden, being deflowered by a much experienced person and her danger being removed, was now qualified for marriage. Though this was an example in the kingdom of

(8) 涼關翹纂,張澍輯「十三州志」。烏孫國,嫁娶賣馬聘,先令媒者與婦宿,徐乃婿迎。「知服齋叢書」第二集所收三丁裏。「二酉堂叢書」所收六丁表。「太平御覽」五百四十一,儀禮二十, Under 婚姻 is written 十二州志 and the character 賣 is miswritten 責。「說郛」所收六十。明陳耀文撰「天中記」四十二。 Under 婚 this account is reprinted with the title 媒先宿婦。

Wu-sun of a Turkish tribe before the Yüan dynasty, here I should like to give you an example showing the real state witnessed by a man of the Sung dynasty (the rival of the Yüan dynasty).

In the *Sung-mo-chi-wên* 松漢記聞 by HUNG HAO 洪皓 of the Sung dynasty, one finds the following paragraphs under an account of the Hui-hu 回鶻 or Uigurs.

“Towards the end of the T'ang dynasty, the Uigurs gradually commenced to decay, and when the Sung dynasty was at its heyday, some of them settled themselves in Ch'in-ch'uan 秦川 province and became civilized and cultured. As the Jurchins 女眞 conquered Shen 陝 province, all the Uigurs who lived there were made to emigrate to Yen-shan 燕山 by them. Originally the tribes at Kan 甘, Liang 涼, Kua 瓜, and Sha 沙, all had their families and holds, but later they submitted and showed fealty to Hsi-hsia 西夏. They proved most fervent adorers of Buddha and had a temple common to all, with a statue of Buddha installed. At each feast they slaughtered a lamb and, as the banquet was at its height, they dipped their fingers in the blood, and applying them to the mouth of the Buddha, or holding the feet of the Buddha, they cried. All this they called doing homage to Buddha. When they prayed, they wore surplices and uttered some Sanskrit words. People of Yen 燕 let them offer prayer and found it quite effective. While the people lived in Ch'in-ch'uan province, their unmarried women first had intercourse with Chinese men, often giving birth to several children; only when they reached thirty years of age, they were qualified to marry men of their own kind. As a go-between came for negotiations, the parents would tell him that their daughter had kept company with such-and-such men. The more men she had the intercourse with, the more valued she was. This was quite a common custom. When the year *hsin-yu* 辛酉 witnessed outrages by the Chin-kuo 金國, these people were all permitted to go home to Western Regions. Many refusing to go, remained. Those men with slightly sunken

eyes and moustaches which do not droop, whom we still see to-day, are the results of their union with Chinese men.”

This book *Sung-mo-chi-wên*<sup>(9)</sup> is a compilation of the travels and letters of HUNG HAO when he was sent as an envoy to the Kingdom of Chin 金. The date of its publication is assigned to the 26th year of the *Shao-hsing* 紹興 era, 1156 A. D. under the Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 of the South Sung dynasty. It follows, therefore, that the year *hsin-yu* 辛酉 here mentioned falls upon the 1st year of the *Huang-tsung* 皇統 era under the reign of the Emperor Hsi-tsung 熙宗 of the Chin dynasty (1141 A. D.) or the 11th year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興 when the Chin going down south, invaded Sung territory and, in December, concluded peace with the latter for a concession of land. Therefore, the “to-day” when they still saw “men with slightly sunken eyes and moustaches which do not droop” refers to a period between 1141 and 1156 A. D. and HUNG HAO is simply giving here what he personally witnessed in his journey. According to the *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要<sup>(10)</sup> by Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹 of the Ch'ing dynasty, “Shen-hsi 陝西 is called Ch'in-ch'uan 秦川 or Kuan-chung 關中.” In my opinion, this referred to the district now divided into Shen-hsi and Kan-su 甘肅 provinces. It is quite probable that a number of Turks inhabited there and the Buddhism they embraced was Tibetan Lamaism.

(9) 宋洪皓撰[松漠記聞],明李拭編[歷代小史]本卷六十三所收三丁表一四丁表。同鶴自唐末浸微,本朝盛時,有入居秦川爲熟戶者,女真破陝,悉徙之燕山,甘涼瓜沙舊皆族帳,後悉羈縻于西夏,……奉釋氏最甚,共爲一堂,塑佛像其中,每齋必割羊,或酒酣以指染血塗佛口,或捧其足而鳴,之謂爲親敬,誦經則衣袈裟,作西竺語,燕人或俾之祈禱多驗,……其居秦川時,女未嫁者,先與漢人通,有生數子,年近三十,始能配其種類,媒妁來議者,父母則曰,吾女嘗與某人某人昵,以多爲勝,風俗皆然,……辛酉歲,金國肆,皆許西歸,多留不反,今亦有目微深而髯不虬者,蓋漢兒通而生也。

(10) 清顧祖禹撰[讀史方輿紀要]卷五十二,陝西一,一丁表。陝西謂之秦川,亦曰關中。

Now let us examine again a report to the effect that even to-day a similar practice is current among a Turkish tribe in Chinese Turkestan.

In the *Hsin-chiang-yu-chi* 新疆遊記 by HsIEH PIN 謝彬 who travelled through the Province of HsIN-CHIANG (Chinese Turkestan) from October, 1916, to December, 1917, we find the following paragraph where he describes a dinner party to which he was invited on April 19th, 1917, during his sojourn at Kulja 迪化.

“In the course of the banquet, a man told this story. A certain akhund 阿渾 (a Mohammedan priest) at Kurla, Yen-ki District (焉耆縣庫爾勒), had thirty-nine concubines, two of whom waited upon him every night. During the day, besides, he went abroad hunting for beautiful women. It was customary for him to deflower every maiden among his devotees. Everything this man said was based upon fact. It is a custom among the Mohammedans with maidens to invite their akhund when their maidens are about ten years old and ask him to offer up a prayer and deflower them. According to their usage, this act is called “opening the closed.” Unless this is performed, the maidens are never married by men. When young maidens undergo this ceremony, they usually can not stand up for a few days; in some unfortunate cases, their private parts being corrupted, they come to be disabled. Some years ago Yang 楊, governor of the province, issued a proclamation prohibiting the people to “open the closed” of a maiden as well as give one away in marriage before she is fourteen years old.”<sup>(11)</sup>

The akhund, *Ahun* 阿渾, in the quotation, sometimes written *Afu* 阿訇

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<sup>(11)</sup> 民國謝彬著,「新疆遊記」上海中華書局出版,民國二十一年十月,八版一三三——一三四頁。席間某甲言,焉耆庫爾勒某阿渾,(即回教中之掌教者),有妾三十九人,每晚以二人值宿,日閒猶向外間獵豔,至教門幼女,例開窟窿,亦無不實事求是。(回俗女子至十左右,即送請阿渾誦經,爲之破爪,彼俗稱爲開窟窿,否則無人承配,幼女舉行此典,恒數日不能起,甚有下部潰爛,至成癱疾者,上年楊省長特申禁令,非至十四歲,不得開窟窿爲嫁娶)。

or *Ahung* 阿吽, appears also in other documents. As HsIEH PIN himself explains in the parentheses, it is the name for the Mohammedan priest,—the three renderings being mere phonetic equivalents in Chinese characters. This is a record of what HsIEH PIN heard, not what he actually observed during his sojourn at Kulja 迪化, or Urumtsi 烏魯木齊. However, the truth of the matter is most eloquently endorsed by detailed account of the question in an article entitled the “Proclamation Prohibiting the Early Marriage of Mohammedan Maidens,” (示禁纏女早婚文) bearing as the date of issue, Sept. 11th, the 4th year of the Chinese Republic, which is among the proclamations in the *Pu-kuo-chai-wên-tu* 補過齋文牘—a book by YANG TSÊNG-HSIN 楊增新 governor of the province at that time. <sup>(12)</sup>

The Buddhist monk Ekai Kawaguchi, Japanese traveller in Tibet, in his recent radio lecture on “Strange Customs in Tibet,” said that even to-day Tibetan wives as well as maidens offer pleasure to strangers. <sup>(13)</sup>

From the above-given materials, it cannot be denied that among various tribes, such as Tibetans, the Tangut tribe, and the Turks inhabiting the north-western regions of China, there was or has been a custom to detest to marry

<sup>(12)</sup> 楊增新著「補過齋文牘」辛集二，令文彙編十三丁裏一十五丁表，Under the title「示禁纏女早婚文」it is recorded that a Mohammedan woman 塔西汗 in 呼圖壁縣 had a damsel named 瑪不哈。Through a certain man's good offices, this girl became wife of a Mohammedan 烏受 at the age of eleven. After such sentences as 該女陰戶高腫數寸，交骨離開二三分未合，子腸突出寸餘 come the following:

此等惡習，恐不僅呼圖壁一處，爲然請通飭各縣，凡纏女完婚，應以年滿十四歲以上爲準，(中略)各屬纏民，每將十一二歲幼女，締爲婚姻，過門成禮，實爲纏民中一大惡習，該烏受強與十一歲之幼女完婚，致瑪不哈身受重傷，迄今兩閱月，調養未愈，尤屬慘酷，(中略)纏女婚配年齡以十四歲，爲最低限度，(中略)出示曉諭，各屬纏民，以後女子出嫁年齡，至少須滿十四爲度，女家父母，故意違背，處以相當之責罰，夫家強迫索取，未滿十四歲之女子，完婚者准女家控告，(中略)各屬纏民等，須知女子年齡太幼，勉強完婚，輕則妨子女之生育，重則有生命之危險，實於壻與婦，兩俱不利，各阿洪勸人爲善，應隨時將此義，向愚纏剴切說明，本巡按使，明定限制，嚴禁早婚，係爲剷除惡習，保衛人民，起見其各凜遵毋違。

<sup>(13)</sup> KAWAGUCHI, EKAI, the Buddhist monk, His radio address at the J. O. A. K. Broadcasting Station, Tokyo, Jan. 26th, 1934, on “Tibet and Mongolia, the Mysterious Lands” as one of the series of lectures entitled the “Riddles of the World.”

women in their virginity.

Moreover, that this practice existed not only in the north-western parts, but also among the southern tribes may be proved by referring to various documents.

The *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* 真臘風土記 written by CHOU TA-KUAN 周達觀 of the Yüan dynasty contains the following passage.

“Between seven and nine years of age in a wealthy family and not later than eleven years in a poor family, damsels are, at the request of their parents, deflowered by the Buddhist or Taoist priest. This is what they call *chên-tán* 陣毯.”<sup>(14)</sup>

The year after the death of Khubilai khan, founder of the Yüan dynasty, the court decided, in March, the 1st year of *Yüan-chên* 元貞 under the reign of Emperor Ch'êng-tsung 成宗 (1295 A. D.), to send an envoy to pay its respect to Annam which had offered it tribute, and at the same time to visit and gain over the Province of Chên-la 真臘: CHOU TA-KUAN was in the suite of this envoy; the following year, or the 2nd year of *Yüan-chên* he left his country, and came back the next year, the year *ting-yu* 丁酉 or the 1st year of *Ta-tê* 大德, after spending a whole year abroad and he wrote down what he observed. The *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* is a book he compiled from it. By way of explanation, it may be said that Chên-la was a province which formerly existed in the region where to-day is situated the Kingdom of Cambodia, a protectorate of France. It is important to note that the damsels were deflowered by the Buddhist or Taoist priest at the request of their parents.

DE MORGAN who visited the Philippine Islands towards the end of the 16th century records that this custom existed also in the islands.

“There were also men who had for employment to ravish and take away the virginity of damsels and they took these to them and paid them to do it,

<sup>(14)</sup> 元周達觀撰真臘風土記,室女,「古今說海」本十一丁裏。The various reprints of this work are discussed at large later.

considering it to be a hindrance and impediment, when they married, if they were virgins.”<sup>(15)</sup>

As it will be seen from what follows in full detail, a similar practice existed in Japan, Champa, Siam, and India. As for the particular cases in each of these countries, they will be discussed under another heading.

From the historical materials above-given, it may be seen that this custom specially ranged north and south and temporally from ancient times to the present, and tribes which favoured it were many and various. The functionaries were also variegated, —Buddhist priests, Taoist priests, akhunds, strangers, and hired persons.

At all events we have seen now that the damsels were deflowered before marriage was a positive fact.

It is the object of the present paper to consider the manner in which such defloration was performed, its significance, and its adequate interpretation.

## II. The *Jus Primæ Noctis* Not an Adequate Interpretation

A number of European scholars are apt to interpret the instances given in the preceding section with the right of the first night. That the writer has an entirely different opinion the reader shall see, but as a matter of introduction, the writer will briefly explain what the western scholars mean by the right of the first night, criticize various theories, and then present his own conclusion.

To begin with, the right of the first night is a literal translation of the Latin phrase *jus primæ noctis*.<sup>(16)</sup> The origin of this phrase, when and

<sup>(15)</sup> DE MORGA, A., *The Philippine Islands, etc.*, London, 1868, pp. 304-305.

<sup>(16)</sup> WESTERMARCK, EDWARD, *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th edit., London, 1921, chap. V, A Criticism of the Hypothesis of Promiscuity: The *Jus Primæ Noctis*, pp. 166-206. Among the numerous books on the so-called right of the first night, this is one of the handiest, giving opinions and reviews of many authorities.

whence it came to be used, is not definitely known unfortunately. In the mediaeval days when the European countries were still under the feudal system, the lord had a certain privilege to make the maidens within his realm wait upon him by order or by force and, after deflowering them, to give them away freely in marriage to his subjects or elsewhere. Some historians tell us that a similar practice existed among the priests of the Christian Church. It seems that this privilege of the princes or lords, what they call in French "*le droit du seigneur*" refers to the same thing. <sup>(17)</sup>

On the other hand, this practice of the right of the first night <sup>(18)</sup> was neither confined among the mediaeval lords, nor did it originate from them. The writer is inclined to believe that it was practised ever since the earliest and most primitive period of human society, and of very wide range. If so, by whom was it practised in primitive society and at an uncivilized period? While the human intellect remained undeveloped, one would imagine that it was practised by shamans and magicians, who were the only intellectual leaders among them. As human society made slight progress and the families of the same tribe gathered together to form a community, it was the community heads, the chiefs, and the patriarchs that performed the rite. In accordance with progress and change of times, they were replaced by religious functionaries who came to be recorded in history. Such instances may be found in the ancient history of Japan. As has been stated in the preceding section, it is supposed that the affair came to be handled sometimes by Buddhist priests, at other times by Taoist priests, and still at other times by Mohammedan ak-hunds. The form they had taken developed, so that with change of times and the tenor of history, the right came to be exercised by princes, lords, nobles, etc. However, apart from these, there were cases where the right was exercised

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<sup>(17)</sup> VEULLOT, Louis, *Le droit du seigneur au moyen âge*, Paris, 1854.

<sup>(18)</sup> SCHMIDT, Karl, *Jus Primae Noctis*, Freiburg, i B., 1881, s. 41 Das Streit über das Jus Primae Noctis (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XVI, p. 445 sq.)

by the go-between as in Wu-sun by strangers as in Tibet, by hired men as in the Philippine Islands, and even by the friends of the bride and the bridegroom, by the guests invited to the ceremony, by the elders of the tribe or community, and by outcasts and peasants in some extraordinary cases.

As is obvious from the foregoing account, the reader will realize that the persons exercising the right have been extremely varied. As already stated, the races who had this custom include almost all of the world, and the area of its distribution has been very extensive. Besides, the practice is still observed at present as in the past, as a number of travellers and scholars report. When this question is considered, it goes without saying that the phenomenon is an important subject of study for folklorists, students of religion, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, historians, etc., from their respective points of view.

In this paper the instance where a Buddhist priest was an operator is to be introduced and discussed. It is quite different from the instance where a mediaeval lord of Europe operated. It is doubtful whether this may be termed a *jus* (right). The detailed discussion in the following paragraphs will make this point clear.

The instance to be discussed later in full may be regarded perhaps as a ceremony of attaining womanhood, or rather of preparing a maiden for her coming marriage,—in other words, preparing the bride for a perfect fulfilment of sexual intercourse between her and the bridegroom on the night of their wedding. For this reason, it was imperative that the operator should be a local priest highly respected and revered by all the devotees. At the request of the guardian of the maiden, a priest worthy of such reverence had to perform the ceremony; and the performance, it may be considered, was only a kind of duty on the part of the priest. It is evident that marriage means exclusive possession of a woman by a man. Therefore, before the couple have commerce, a religious functionary deflowers the bride before the bride-

groom. In other words, when a maiden reaches or is about to reach her marriageable age, a priest at the request of her parents or brothers performs the ceremony of defloration for her. Such is supposed to have been the original spirit of the custom. That there was an age limit for this,—that is, the ceremony was to be observed at an age not more than eleven years, as will be explained later,—had a definite meaning.

To begin with, the practice was only a surviving custom of uncivilized tribes, a tradition handed down by the primitive society; its existence is nothing but a relic. The present writer does not imagine by any means that it was a “right” in the modern sense of the term. Mr. TARŌ NAKAYAMA, authority on the history of marriage in this country, in his work the *History of Japanese Marriage* discusses the right of the first night as follows:

“It is a duty inflicted upon a woman who has been a community property and is to be emancipated from communal marriage. . . . There are cases where the hymen was broken as a charm and which may be classed with the right of the first night. It should be noted that this, though looking alike, is not what I mean.”<sup>(19)</sup>

As to Mr. NAKAYAMA's taking the custom of the first night as a relic of communal marriage, I am not in a position to favour it. His other interpretation of the hymen-breaking as a charm, I am happy to note, coincides with my opinion. I quite agree with Mr. NAKAYAMA in interpreting it as a charm—a religious observance. A study of the original significance of this folk-way or folk-custom will prove, I am convinced, that it was a definitely religious function operated by a religious functionary, such as a Buddhist or Taoist priest, or an akhund, as I shall definitely state later in presenting my argument.

With change of times and the interfusion of civilizations as a result inter-

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<sup>(19)</sup> NAKAYAMA, TARO, *The History of Japanese Marriage* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1928, p. 162.

course with other races, as in the case of any custom of any race, the original spirit of a custom was forgotten, or twisted so that it was abused by a dignitary who misinterpreted it as a right, or executed by a revered person who considered it a natural privilege. In this manner a custom often deviated further and further from the original spirit into an evil course. In the case of this custom, likewise, it may be said that the mediaeval lords of Europe and the *daimios* under the Tokugawa régime went astray from the fundamental principle when they, as a privilege, requisitioned maidens in their territories to minister to them.

The phrase "the right of the first night" is quite improper for the instance to be presented in this paper. So I shall make it a rule, as far as possible, to avoid the use of the phrase. However, since it is a phrase accepted in the scholastic world, I shall retain it in my subsequent quotations from various authorities if it occurs in the original.

### III. The Province of Chên-la 真臘

"If they had a maiden, they first presented her to the priest and not till then did they give her in marriage to a man" —this passage may be rightly interpreted as recording a custom of a Buddhist priest deflowering a maiden and thus qualifying her for marriage. If so, where was this practised? What document is available? What kind of ceremony was observed? I have now reached the stage where I should answer these questions.

Fortunately this matter is described at large, as already stated, in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* by CHOU TA-KUAN of the Yüan dynasty. I shall now proceed to give some account of Chên-la Kingdom and, as I consider it to be of some use, add a few words in tracing its civilization and giving the distribution of religions in it.

Chên-la was the name of a state which formerly existed in the region the

Kingdom of Combodia now occupies. Its locality was in the south-western part of French Indo-China, contiguous to Laos 老撾 on the north-east, Annam on the east, Cochin-China on the south, Siam on the north-west, and the Gulf of Siam on the west. You all know that it became a French protectorate in 1863 under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Indo-China. The population includes Chinese, Annamese, Laotians, and Malayans, but the majority belongs to a race called Khmers, one of the Indo-China races. It cannot be denied that the people are under the influence of both the Chinese and Hindu civilizations. The first instance that Chên-la appeared as the name of a province in that region was at the beginning of the 7th century and during the Sui 隋 dynasty in Chinese historical works. <sup>(20)</sup> Chên-la was spelt 眞臘 or Chan-la 占臘; and on the other hand, some ancient Buddhist scriptures used such renderings as *K'an-P'u-chih* 漱浦只, *Kan-p'u* 甘菩, *Kan-p'u-chê* 甘菩遮, or *Kan-p'u-kuo* 紺蒲果. <sup>(21)</sup> In the *Ming-shih* 明史, following the above, had a phonetic spelling *Kan-po-chih* 甘孛智. <sup>(22)</sup> In some other books *Kan-p'o-chê* 甘破蔗 and *Kan-wu-chê* 甘武者 are found. This province concluded an amity treaty with several dynasties—from Sui and T'ang down to Sung which rose and fell in China. That relation continued until the *Yüan* dynasty. In the era of *Yüan-chên* 元貞 and *Ta-tê* 大德 when CHOU TA-KUAN visited the country, it was still called Chên-la, as previously indicated. The characters 漱浦只, 甘菩, 甘菩遮, and 甘孛智 are only phonetic transcriptions of Cambodia, or Cambodge. *Chien-p'u-chai* 柬埔寨 <sup>(23)</sup> in the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao* 東西洋考 by CHANG HSIEN 張燮 of the Ming dynasty refers to the same state.

<sup>(20)</sup> 唐魏徵撰,「隋書」卷八十二,眞臘傳。In 617 A. D., Chên-la paid tribute to Sui.

<sup>(21)</sup> 佛跋跋陀羅譯「大方廣佛華嚴經」卷第三十,實叉難陀譯「華嚴經」卷第四十五,唐慧琳撰「一切經音義」卷第二十二。

<sup>(22)</sup> 清張廷玉撰,「明史」卷第三百二十三,列傳二百十二,外國傳。

<sup>(23)</sup> 明張燮撰,「東西洋考」卷三,明萬曆刊。Besides this in book form, it is also reprinted in 清李錫齡編,惜陰軒叢書第三十五——三十八册。

The Kingdom of Chên-la seems to have been at the zenith of her prosperity at the end of the 13th century when CHOU TA-KUAN visited the Kingdom with the peace envoy from the Yüan court. Despite this effort on the part of Yüan by sending an envoy, it seems that Chên-la failed to sign a formal treaty of friendship with Yüan. In the *Hsi-yang-chao-kung-tien-lu* 西洋朝貢典錄 written in 1520 by HUANG SHÊNG-TS'ENG 黃省曾 of the Ming dynasty, we read:

“During the Yüan dynasty, neither Java nor Cambodia paid tribute.”<sup>(24)</sup>

Even at the time of CHOU TA-KUAN'S visit, Chên-la is reported to have so provoked Siam that the two countries were engaged in war. On account of this war, Chên-la began to decline gradually and by the beginning of the 15th century when Emperor Yung-lo 永樂帝 of the Ming dynasty sent Chêng Ho 鄭和 to the South Sea Islands, it seems that the province, now under the pressure of Siam, was not much of a state. This is inferred from the fact that in the record of Chêng Ho's expeditions mentions such states as Champa 占城, Sumatra 蘇門答刺, and Siam 暹羅, but not Chên-la 眞臘. For this reason the reader will now understand the importance of the work by CHOU TA-KUAN in a study of the circumstances of Chên-la. As a document proving the gradual encroachment of Chên-la by other nations, I shall introduce the opinion of a western scholar. M. R. GROUSSET in his *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient* says:

“The Siamese maintained enough forces for waging war against Cambodia. Four times in a century (about 1357, 1394, 1420, 1490) they invaded the country and pillaged Ankor. Henceforth, the kings of Cambodia abandoned the glorious city too near the frontier, and moved their residence on the lower Mekhong, to Lovêk, Oudon and Phno<sub>n</sub> Penh on the side of Cochin-China.”<sup>(25)</sup>

And in modern times, as has been already stated briefly, the province has

(24) 明黃省曾撰,《西洋朝貢典錄》序文,清張海鵬編借月山房彙鈔,第三十九册所收。

(25) GROUSSET, Rene, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1922, II, p. 591.

been in the sphere of French influence since the middle of the 19th century up to the present.

Finally, what were the religions of Chên-la? Buddhism and Brahminism were predominant. At present there are a great many Christians among the Annamese and also many Mohammedans among the Malaysians. But we shall not discuss other religions here. It should be noted that Buddhism and Brahminism were chiefly embraced by the people. Taoism imported from China also prevailed at some period as it is seen by the account in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*.

It is said that Buddhism was imported into this kingdom as early as the 3rd or the 4th century. That the country at the beginning of the middle ages attained the zenith of prosperity and had a brilliant civilization as a result of absorbing two different cultures from China and India may be surmised from the magnificent Buddhistic ruins. The ruins of the Angkor Thom, the Angkor Wat, and other Buddhist temples in the neighbourhood eloquently declare the past glory. As I study all those ruins, I think I can gather something from their architecture and sculpture. A survey of the Buddhas, the Bodhi-sattvas, and the gods of heavens, indicates in their art, not only the kind of the gods the people worshipped, but also an interesting contrast in the manner of representing them.

Though this reveals the peculiar taste of the Khmers, we cannot at the same time deny an apparent tendency of what is called the Central-Indian style. On the other hand, the technical skill in a symmetrical arrangement of the temples, gates, and the corridors, may strongly suggest an imitation of Chinese temples: moreover, a careful study of their details would often detect an abundant manifestation of Chinese taste, for instance, in the design of each detail.

What interests me most in this connection is the engraving of such images as Çiva and Gaṇeṣa in the battle scene on the eastern corridor on the north side where are represented Buddhas, Bodhi-sattvas, the gods of heavens, the demons and *Rākṣasa*, in the sculpture on the great Angkor Wat. This Gaṇeṣa

is identical with the *Huan-hsi-t'ien* 歡喜天 the idol of a demon and a woman embracing each other—an idol most revered in esoteric Buddhism. Every one knows that this is the principal idol in Lamaism. The reader is desired to remember this fact as the writer has to refer to it later.

#### IV. "The Damsel" (室女), an Article in the

##### *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*

A detailed account of life of CHOU TA-KUAN who was dispatched to Chên-la in the *Ta-tê* era, or 1296-7 A. D. under the reign of Emperor Ch'êng-tung 成宗 of the Yüan dynasty is not available. That his pen-name was Ts'ao-t'ing-i-min 草庭逸民 and he was a native of Yung-chia 永嘉 in Wên-chou 溫州 is all that is known about him. The editions of the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* both old and new, available for us to-day are eight in number.<sup>(26)</sup> A comparative study of these editions shows that the *Shuo-fu* 說郢 edition by the Han-fên-lou 涵芬樓 of Shanghai is somewhat different from the rest. There is no very serious difference among them which affects the cardinal points. However, in quoting as a practical material, they are not equal in value. The text compiled in the *Pien-i-tien* 邊裔典 of the *T'u-shu-chi-chêng* 圖書

<sup>(26)</sup> (a) 百川學海本。宋左圭輯,明徐仁毓閱,刊年不詳,癸集,坤所集。Here is written 宋周達觀撰 which does not appear in the original 百川學海。Probably an addition by 徐仁毓。

(b) 古今說海本。明陸揖編,嘉靖甲辰夏四月,說選部偏記家中 is recorded 元周達觀撰。甲辰 was 嘉靖二十三年 or 1544 A. D.

(c) 古今逸史本。明吳瑄校,刊年不詳,第八册所収。

(d) 歷代小史本。明李拭編,萬曆刊本。

(e) 說郢本。明陶宗儀輯,引六十二,第七十二册載錄。

(f) 說郢本。上海涵芬樓鉛印本,第三十九卷第二十册所収。

(g) 欽定古今圖書集成本 edited by 清蔣廷錫 and others at the request of Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙。邊裔典所収。The original reprint is extremely rare. A smaller book published by 上海圖書集成書局 is widely circulated.

(h) 史地叢考本。民國馮承鈞編,上海商務印書館,民國二十二年一月。This includes not only the text, but also an abridged translation of the notes by Dr. PELLIOU published in the B. E. F. E. O., 1902.

集成 which was adopted as the basic document by M. A. RÉMUSAT when he translated the book in 1819, may be called the poorest of them all. It goes without saying that the *Li-tai-hsiao-shih* 歷代小史 edition, the *Ku-chin-shuo-hai* 古今說海 edition, the *Ku-chin-i-shih* 古今逸史 edition, and the *Po-ch'uan-hsieh-hai* 百川學海 edition are all superior to the *Shuo-fu* edition published in the Ming dynasty.

The *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* begins with "General Remarks" and is wound up with "Comings and Goings of the King." Between them are dealt with the following thirty-nine items: —Walled City, Dwelling-places, Dress, Officials, Three Religions (Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism), Inhabitants, Woman in Childbed, Damsel, Slaves, Language, Savages, Writing, Calendar and Season, Law, Diseases, Funeral, Agriculture, Topography, Products, Trade, Demand for Chinese Goods, Plants, Birds, Animals, Vegetables, Fishes and Reptiles, Brewed Drinks, Condiments and Noodle, Sericulture, Tools, Vehicles and Palanquins, Ships, Provinces, Villages, Extracting the Liver, Phenomenals, Bath, Emigration, and Army.

The account in question comes under the heading the "Damsel" and the whole text upon which the present thesis is based follows.

### The Damsel

The parents who have a damsel always bless her, saying "May thou be desired by men! May thou be taken in marriage by many men!"

Between seven and nine years of age in a wealthy family and not later than eleven years in a poor family, the damsels are deflowered by the Buddhist or Taoist priest at the request of their parents. This is what they call *chên-tán* 陣毯. Each year the mandarin chooses a certain day in the month corresponding to April by our Chinese calendar and officially announces the date throughout the land. Each family with a damsel due for *chên-tán* should

notify the mandarin beforehand and receive a large candle marked at a certain point. On the appointed day the candle is lighted at dusk; when it burns down to the mark, the moment for *chên-tán* has come. A month, a half-month, or ten days previous to this, the parents choose a Buddhist or Taoist priest and send the damsel to him. Naturally option arises. well-known priests are all preferred by mandarins or the rich. The poor have no choice.

The titled and the rich make a present of as much as one hundred piculs of wine, rice, cloth, areca-nuts, silver-wares, etc., which corresponds to two or three hundred taels of Chinese silver. Gifts of less wealthy people are thirty or forty piculs, or even ten or twenty piculs according to their wealth. It is because a poor family cannot offer this present that their ceremony is postponed often as late as the damsel is eleven years old. Sometimes a rich family donates money to a poor damsel for her *chên-tán*. This is commended as a meritorious deed.

A priest is allowed to administer to only one damsel a year. Once he accepts an offer, he never consents to another. On the appointed evening a grand banquet is held with music; the relatives and neighbours assemble. On a high shelf put up outside the gate are exhibited some clay figures of men and animals, numbering from over ten to three or four. A poor family has none. This is an ancient custom. They are taken down only after seven days.

At dusk, with palanquins and parasols and music, they fetch the priest. With variously coloured silk, they fasten two pavilions; in one sits the damsel and in the other the priest. Unintelligible words are uttered. The din of the music and noises is deafening. Disturbing the night is not forbidden on this particular night. I hear that when the moment arrives the priest enters the room with the damsel and, taking away her virginity with one of his fingers, puts it into wine. Some say that parents, relatives, and neighbours each besprinkles his or her forehead with it. Others say that they lick it with their lips. Still others say that the priest and the damsel actually copulate though

some deny it. Being a stranger from China, I was not allowed to witness the scene. Hence this inaccuracy in my statement.

At daybreak the priest is sent back with palanquins and parasols amid the music. Later the damsel is redeemed with a present of cloth and silk, otherwise she is held by the priest and not allowed to marry any man.

This is what I saw on the sixth night of the fourth month, the year *Ta-tê ting-yu* 大德丁酉, or 1297 A. D. Prior to the day, the parents always sleep by the damsel in the same room. She is now sent out of the room to go wherever she likes; she is under no restraint whatever. Though there is a custom of sending a betrothal gift, it is but a simple matter. Usually a man ravishes a damsel first and then marries her, and such act is considered neither shameful nor unusual. On the evening of *chên-tán* more than ten families on one street hold the ceremony. As they march out to fetch their priests, they pass one another on the way. That night there is no place where the music is not heard. <sup>(27)</sup>

(27) 元周達觀撰「真臘風土記」室女之項。「古今說海」十一丁裏——十四丁表：「歷代小史」本卷百〇三。人家養女，其父母必視之曰：願汝有人要，將來嫁千百箇丈夫，富室之女，自七歲至九歲，至貧之家，則止於十一歲，必命僧道去其童身，名曰陳毬。蓋官司每歲於中國四月內，擇一月頒行本國，應有養女，當陳毬之家，先行申報官司，官司先給巨燭一條，燭間刻畫一處，約是夜，遇昏點燭，至刻畫處，則為陳毬時候矣。先期一月，或半月，或十日，父母必擇一僧，或一道，隨其何處寺觀，往往亦自有主顧，向上好僧，皆為官戶富室所先，貧者亦不暇擇也。官富之家，饋以酒米布帛檳榔銀器之類，至有一百擔者，直中國白金二三百兩之物，少者或三四十擔，或一二十擔，隨家豐儉，所以貧人家至于十一歲而始行事者，為難辨此物耳。亦有捨錢與貧女陳毬者，謂之做好事。蓋一歲中，一僧止可御一女，僧既允受，更不他許。是夜大設飲食鼓樂，會親隣，門外縛一高棚，裝塑泥人泥獸之屬于其上，或十餘，或止三四枚，貧家則無之，各按故事，凡七日而始撤，既昏以轎傘鼓樂迎此僧而歸，以綵帛結二亭子，一則坐女于其中，一則僧坐其中，不曉其口說何語，鼓樂之聲喧闐，是夜不禁犯夜，聞至期與女俱入房，親以手去其童，納之酒中，或謂父母親隣，各點于額上，或謂俱嘗以口，或謂僧與女交媾之事，或謂無此，但不容唐人見之，所以莫知其的。至天將明時，則又以轎傘鼓樂送僧去，後當以布帛之類與僧贖身，否則此女終為此僧所有，不可得而他適也，余所見者，大德丁酉之四月初六夜也。前此父母必與女同寢，此後則於房外，任其所之，無復拘束隄防之矣。至若嫁娶，則雖有納幣之禮，不過苟簡從事，多有先姦而後娶者，其風俗既不以為耻，亦不以為怪也。陳毬之夜，一巷中，或至十餘家，城中迎僧道者，交錯於途路間，鼓樂之聲，無處無之。

The above is all the literature on exercising the right of the first night, or what I call the ceremony of attaining womanhood which, on the night of April 6th, 1279, CHOU TA-KUAN personally observed in Cambodia. As the reader will realize, the account is in such full detail that it is not only interesting as a history, but also a valuable document as a minute description of the circumstances of a custom of the people.

So full of interest is this account that as early as 1819 it was already translated and introduced to the French Orientalists by M. ABEL-RÉMUSAT.<sup>(28)</sup> For his basic manuscript, however, he relied upon the quotation in the *Pien-i-tien* very carelessly compiled in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*. His first translation in book form having been a slight pamphlet, it was reprinted and republished in 1829 in the first volume of his "*Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*", a collection of his papers.<sup>(29)</sup> Because this was based upon the worst manuscript, as stated above, it could not be expected to be accurate. On this account, the matter was re-examined in 1902 by Dr. P PELLIOU, who undertook to translate from the text compiled in the *Ku-chin-shuo-hai* as "*Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge, par Tchou Ta-Kuan*" and published it in the "*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.*"<sup>(30)</sup> So it follows that the French Orientalists

<sup>(28)</sup> RÉMUSAT, ABEL, *Description du royaume de Cambodge, par un voyageur chinois qui a visité cette contrée à la fin du XIII siècle; précédée d'une notice chronologique sur le même pays, trad. du chinois*, Paris, 1819, in -8, (avec une carte).

<sup>(29)</sup> RÉMUSAT, ABEL, ditto, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, ou Recueil de morceaux de critique et de Mémoires Relatifs aux Religions, aux Sciences, aux coutumes, a L'Histoire et à la géographie des Nations Orientales*, Paris, 1829, t. I, pp. 71-152 (sans la carte). This paper is already stated in the text is a translation of the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* quoted in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng, Pien-i-tien*. By the way, the original text of the *Pien-i-tien* was later in 1833 introduced by M. KLAPROTH.

KLAPROTH JULIUS, *Chrestomathie chinoise publice aux Frais de la Société Asiatique*, Paris, 1833, pp. 21 sq.

<sup>(30)</sup> PELLIOU, PAUL, 眞臘風土記, *Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge par Tchou Ta-kouan, 周達觀*, traduits et annotés par M. PAUL PELLIOU, (*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, II, No. 2, Avril-Juin, 1902, pp. 123-177.) Previous to this, apart from the translation by RÉMUSAT, 眞臘國 in 宋馬端臨撰「文獻通考」四裔考 had been trans-

are quite familiar with this literature. All these have been translations of the whole text of the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*. The notes on the text by Dr. PELLIOU, a very able man of profound scholarship and keen historical insight, are highly enlightening for us. In spite of the familiarity of the French Orientalists with this literature, their efforts have been only in the way of translating or annotating the text. No one has yet attempted to treat it as a subject of study as the present writer intends to treat it in this paper.

Now, Dr. PELLIOU, in his notice and review, in the 1913 Bulletin, of a book entitled *Hsü-Hsü-shêngs hsi-yu-jih-chi* 徐旭生西遊日記 by HSÜ PING-CH'ANG 徐炳昶 who accompanied the scientific expedition to the North-west headed by Dr. Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer, —Dr. PELLIOU discussed the right of the first night exercised by the Mohammedan priests in the Province of Hsin-chiang and referred to his previous work. <sup>(31)</sup> In connection with it, Mr HERBERT MÜLLER of Peking expressed in a recent Bulletin (for 1932) <sup>(32)</sup> an opinion which will be cited later. On reading it, I have found that his opinion is so widely different from mine that I have considered it opportune to publish the material in my possession, to present my conclusion on the subject, and to submit it to your criticism. Prompted by this, I have decided to write the present paper.

M. AYMONIER, in his book on Cambodia, after introducing the account of the "Damsel", he draws an extremely dogmatic conclusion and boldly denies the custom as incredible. <sup>(33)</sup> However, in the face of the undeniable evidence

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lated by SAINT-DENNYS. Dr. PELLIOU probably consulted this.

SAINT-DENNYS, D'HERVEY de, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la chine ouvrage composé au XIII siècle de Notre Ère par Ma-touan-lin*, Traduit pour la première fois du Chinois avec un commentaire le marquis, II meridionaux, 1833, pp. 476-488.

<sup>(31)</sup> PELLIOU, PAUL, Livres Recus, (T'oung Pao, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3-5, Année 1931, pp. 509-510).

<sup>(32)</sup> MÜLLER, HERBERT, *Mohammedans and Chinese Common Opinion*, (T'oung Pao, Vol. XXIX, No. 1-3 Année 1932, pp. 118-121).

<sup>(33)</sup> AYMONIER, Etienne, *Le Cambodge*, Paris, 1900-'4, III, p. 625.

I shall produce, in the following pages, from the documents which prove the presence of a similar custom among the various peoples and religious sects of the East, M. AYMONIER's conclusion, I am convinced, will have to be revised.

#### V. *Chên-tán* 陳毯 and *Li-shih* 利市

As for the manner and process of the ceremony, as given in the preceding section, we are told that virginity was taken away with a finger, that the damsel was deflowered in the natural way by a Buddhist or Taoist priest, and that nothing of the sort was performed. The report of CHOU TA-KUAN may be regarded an honest one. Being a foreigner, he was not admitted into the room to witness the procedure. So he was compelled to enumerate the various information he had obtained. The original type of this custom, however, is considered to have been, not a form of commerce between man and woman, but a practice of breaking the hymen with a finger. Is not the former a degraded form, a secondary deviation from the original purpose of the custom? The justice of my insistence upon the latter as the primary, I believe, is proved by the following instances of a similar nature.

At the beginning of the 15th century, when Emperor Yung lo of the Ming dynasty sent an expedition to the South Sea Islands, MA HUAN 馬歡 who was in the suite of Chêng Ho 鄭和 wrote the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽. Concerning Siam, he writes:

"On the occasion of a marriage, they invite a priest first, receive the bridegroom, and go to the bride's house. Then it commences. The priest tears off the red of the maiden and besprinkles the bridegroom's forehead with it. This is called *li-shih* 利市. After it commerce is performed. Three days later, they again invite the priest and their friends and present them with areca-nuts, festooned ships and other things. On bringing the bride to the house of the bridegroom, they prepare a feast and entertain their friends amid the music."<sup>(3)</sup>

When compared with the account in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*, the age of the bride is not given here, but this considerably agrees with the following passage.

"I hear that when the moment arrives the priest enters the room with the damsel and, taking away her virginity with one of his fingers, puts it into wine. Some say that parents, relatives, and neighbours each besprinkles his or her forehead with it."<sup>(35)</sup>

One mentions "tearing off the red," while the other "taking away her virginity." In my opinion, both the expressions imply the removal of the hymen and the red nothing but the bleeding in removing it. Here is a passage to which I should call your attention.

"On the occasion of a marriage, his priest and friends come for the bridegroom, and proceed to the house of the bride. The priest takes the red of woman and sprinkles it on the man's forehead. This is called *li-shih*. An unspeakably loathsome custom! Three days later when the priest and relatives carrying areca-nuts and festooned ships, send the bridegroom back to his home, a feast is given amid the music."

This paragraph will at once strike the reader as a material in a sisterly relation with the one by MA HUAN. Dr. PELLIOU made a glaring mistake when

<sup>(34)</sup> 明馬歡述,「瀛涯勝覽」暹羅國之條。明沈節甫編,紀錄彙編卷之六十二所收。明萬曆刊。十五丁表一裏。男女婚姻,先請僧迎男子至女家,就是僧討取童女喜紅,貼於男之面額,名曰利市。然後成親,過三日後,又請僧及諸親友,拌檳榔綵船等物,迎女歸男家,則置酒作樂待親友。Prior to this description, it reads: "The people of this country believe in Buddhism. A great number of the natives become priests and nuns. The colours of the dress of the priests and nuns are much the same as those of the Chinese. They live in Buddhist or Taoist temples and purify themselves." Immediately previous to this paragraph on wedding, circumcision on men is reported as follows: 男子年二十餘歲,則將莖物週迴之皮韭菜樣細刀挑開,嵌入錫珠十數顆,皮內用藥封,護待瘡口。When all this is considered, the act of the Buddhist priest to tear off the hymen and sprinkle the blood upon the bridegroom's forehead will serve to prove that it was the ceremony of attaining womanhood in contrast with the ceremony of circumcision cited above.

<sup>(35)</sup> 元,周達觀撰,「真臘風土記」op. cit.

he quoted in his annotations this as the paragraph in the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* by MA HUAN.<sup>(36)</sup>

A man named CHANG SHÊNG 張昇 of the Ming dynasty, considering the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* by MA HUAN to be full of unintelligible passages on account of its diverse subjects and its abtruse composition, rewrote it so that it might be read and understood more easily and published it with the title *Ying-ai-shêng-lan-chi* 瀛涯勝覽集.<sup>(37)</sup> The paragraph on Siam in the book is the one just quoted.

That Dr. PELLIOU who professes to be and is acknowledged to be the greatest authority on Chinese classics of all the living Orientalists in Europe should have made this mistake, it is much to be regretted. I should think that Dr. PELLIOU's error was caused in the following way. The compiler of the *Pien-i-tien* in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* in quoting the passage from the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan-chi* 瀛涯勝覽集 by CHANG SHÊNG 張昇 called it by mistake a quotation from the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽 by MA HUAN 馬歡, and Dr. PELLIOU is to blame for uncritically following suit.<sup>(38)</sup> With the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale in his hand where one is said to feel no inconvenience in the matter of Chinese literature, that Dr. PELLIOU should have done this is a matter we should seriously regret. I must now return from this careless digression, and produce one more historical document. An account of this custom occurs in the *San-ts'ai-t'u-hui* 三才圖會 by WANG CH'U 王圻 of the Ming dynasty towards the end of the 16th century. Under the heading "the Kingdom of Chên-la," we read the following:

"When a damsel reaches her ninth year, a priest is invited to her house.

<sup>(36)</sup> PELLIOU, Paul, op. cit., B. E. F. E. O., p. 154, note 4.

<sup>(37)</sup> 明張昇撰,瀛涯勝覽集暹羅國。同上,紀錄彙編卷之六十三,第九册目,八丁表一裏。婚則僧羣迎婿至女家,僧取女紅,貼于男額,曰利市。陋不可言,踰三日,僧暨親黨擁檳榔綵舟,送歸乃開筵作樂。

<sup>(38)</sup> 欽定古今圖書集成,邊裔典卷百〇一,眞臘部彙考,二之十四表,第四十九帙。鉛印小型本。

He offers a prayer and performs a Hindoo rite. He tears off her hymen with his fingers, and applies the blood on her forehead and her mother's also. This is called *li-shih*. This done, the damsel is qualified to marry a man someday. All her friends are overjoyed and happy. When a damsel is full ten years old, she is given away in marriage."<sup>(39)</sup>

At a first glance it seems as if this and the *Chen-la-fêng-t'u-chi* stand in the relationship of parent and child. They differ in that this calls the ceremony *li-shih* 利市 and that *chên-tán* 陣毯. Therefore, it may be justly assumed that they are documents of two entirely different sources, reporting one and the same fact. Can the writer be a follower of Ma Huan and Chang Shêng? In comparing the three works, it is noted that in the first two there are no such passages as "The priest offers a prayer and performs a Hindoo rite" or "This done, the damsel is qualified to marry a man someday." In the last work, there is no phrase corresponding to the "areca-nuts and festooned ships, etc." After comparing the different documents, it may be asserted that they are by no means of the same source.

Another matter which should be explained here is the two words—*chên-tán* used in the *Chen-la-fêng-t'u-chi* and *li-shih* used in the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* and others. As to the former, Dr. PELLIOU already noticed this and remarked that the two words might be a local expression, perhaps a phonetic transcription, but that to-day it would be impossible to trace to the original meaning of the phrase.<sup>(40)</sup> When I treated this matter before, I failed to give a lucid explanation. But as a result of my recent study I have since formed a private opinion which I shall now proceed to state.

As I read the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* for the first time, I intuitively perceived without Dr. PELLIOU'S hint, that this must be a phonetic spelling of some local

<sup>(39)</sup> 明王圻撰,三才圖會卷十二,人物,真臘國,明萬曆刊本,十二丁裏。生女至九歲,即請僧誦經作梵法,以手指挑損童身,取其紅點額,其母亦用點額,爲利市。如此則其女他日嫁人,諧好歡洽,凡女滿十歲即嫁。

<sup>(40)</sup> PELLIOU, Paul, op. cit., B. E. F. E. O., p. 153, note 4.

expression. Since Dr. PELLIOT, a great senior scholar in this field, admitted that he could not trace to the original word, I deemed it a very difficult study and was not able to explain it. As a result of my continual study, it seems that I have solved the problem by the discovery of a Malay word. According to the Malay-English dictionary by Mr. R. J. WILKINSON <sup>(41)</sup>, there is a word "*cinta*." It has about five different meanings as follows:

I. Corresponds to "care" in English;

1. Be worried about, bear in mind, care about;
2. Take care of, look on, pay attention to;
3. Favour, like, love;
4. Be worried, be concerned, feel anxious.

II. Corresponds to "trouble" in English;

1. Be in trouble, be put out of order, disturb, torment, embarrass;
2. Trouble, be troubled with illness, fall ill.

III. Corresponds to longing, a noun derived from the verb "long";

1. Desire passionately, pine for;
2. Be strongly attached to, yearn after.

IV. Expresses a feeling of eager passion.

V. Expresses lament for the dead and sorrow for a lifelong parting,

Which one of all these mentioned above should be adopted for our case, it cannot be asserted so readily. It is not hard, however, that the original form of *chên-tán* was "*cinta*." As my reason, may I present my humble opinion here?

In the first place, on the part of the Buddhist or Taoist priest who is the operator; as on request he has consented to perform the rite on the appointed day, he may be said to "take care of", "pay attention to," "be worried about", "bear in mind" and "favour" all under the first meaning of the word. In

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<sup>(41)</sup> WILKINSON, R. J., *A Malay-English Dictionary*, Singapore, 1903, p. 264.

the second place, on the part of the damsel who is operated upon, she may be said to "be in trouble", "be embarrassed", "be troubled", "fall ill", "be put out of order," and "be disturbed", under the second meaning. And on the part of the parents of the damsel, they may be said certainly to "give trouble to", "trouble", and "ask a favour of" the Buddhist or Taoist priest. Again on the part of the damsel and her parents, as she reaches the age for it, it is quite natural that they should "desire passionately, and crave for" the ceremony. How much more so when this is a preliminary to marriage and, as explained later, she is not allowed to marry without it? When all this is considered, one would be at a loss to know which one of the meanings should be adopted as the right one. This is the reason why I said that it could not be settled so readily.

Moreover, in Mr. KLINKERT'S *New Malay-Dutch Dictionary*, this word is given as "*tiinta*", and the first meaning is *zorg* care, trouble; *kommer* sorrow; and the second meaning, as a word used in Java, "love," which may be regarded as in the same line with "like" and "love" under the first meaning in Mr. WILKINSON'S *Malay-English Dictionary*. And under the heading "love", "marriage for love", "passion for love" and many such phrases are given as examples. <sup>(42)</sup> The word "*chinta*" in Telgu has the same meaning according to Mr. BROWN. <sup>(43)</sup> I should think this is worthy of note.

Another point of interest is that "cinta" among modern Malayans implies passion or sexual commerce and the word is also used for one's sweetheart according to my respected friend, Professor ERIN ASAI of the Osaka School of Foreign Languages. <sup>(44)</sup>

<sup>(42)</sup> KLINKERT, H. C., *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Zakwoordenboek*, Leiden 1918, p. 444.

<sup>(43)</sup> BROWN, CHARLES PHILIP, *A Telgu-English Dictionary*, Madras, 1903, p. 409. *Chinta* (Skt.) Reflection, thought, wish, musing, consideration, recollection, care, sorrow, pity, grief.

<sup>(44)</sup> Prof. REIJI GAMŌ of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages has also supplied exactly the same information from a Malayan, one of his colleagues. I heartily acknowledge the courtesy of Professors ASAI and GAMŌ.

That this Malayan "*cinta*" is of Sanskrit origin is definitely stated in Mr. WILKINSON'S dictionary of which mention has been made. Therefore, it is necessary that we should go further back in order to study the word. According to the Sanskrit-English Dictionary by MONIER-WILLIAMS<sup>(45)</sup>, one finds that "*cinta*" is a noun meaning thought, care, and anxiety, derieved from the verb "*cint*" which means think, consider, have a thought or on idea, reflect. That this word in Pali is "*cinta*" again meaning thought or consideration is found in *the Pali-English Dictionary* by Mr. RHYS DAVIDS.<sup>(46)</sup> According to MICHELL'S *Siamese-English Dictionary*, the same derivative "*cintah*" in Siamese means thought or to think, and "*chintarah*" a young lady.<sup>(47)</sup> I should think this strikes us as rather interesting. It is evident that, as seen from the above examples, the mental state of thinking or caring is readily changed to that of love or passion. Instances where "*mono-omou*" (thinking, meditating) in Japanese has meant love since ancient times are only too many to be mentioned. It is also self-evident that a sentiment of love is easily combined with an idea of sexual passion or commerce. It may be surmised that "*cinta*" in modern Malay meaning passion reflects, not the primary meaning of sacredness of *chên-tán*, but the inheritance of a secondary form evolved and degraded.

In short, *chên-tán* is a Malay word derived from the Sanskrit "*cinta*" and its meanings are so variegated as given above that it is not safe to determine readily which item it belongs to.

Since the origin of the two Chinese characters *chên-tán* has been investigated, it is now time to discuss *li-shih* also. In contrast with *chên-tán*, a word which came from India, *li-shih* is considered a word obtained from a custom in Southern China. One reason for this supposition is the existence

<sup>(45)</sup> MONIER-WILLIAMS, M. A., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 398.

<sup>(46)</sup> RHYS DAVIDS, T. W., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1925, p. 101.

<sup>(47)</sup> MICHELL, E. B., *A Siamese-English Dictionary*, Bangkok, 1892, p. 72. *Chintah* Thought, to think; *Chinta'rah* Clever, wise, prudent; *Chini'rah* Young lady.

of a custom to call a gift *li-shih* in Central and Southern China — namely, *Chiang-su* 江蘇, *Chê-chiang* 浙江, *Kuang-tung* 廣東, and *Kuang hsi* 廣西; and that this had some relation with marriage is proved by the following account under the heading "Wedding" in the *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* 東京夢華錄 written by MÊNG YÜAM-LAO 孟元老 in the 17th year of *Shao-hsing*, 紹興, 1147 A. D., under the reign of Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 of the Sung dynasty.

"At the house of the bride a banquet and *Li-shih* are prepared. On the day on which a man takes a damsel to wife, his carriages or palanquins leave his house and, receiving the guests on the way, arrive at the gate of the bride's house. The family entertain the guests amid the music. The stairs are decorated with coloured silk. After dressing themselves, they enter the carriages or palanquins. Even before the servants get up, they cook and eat *li-shih*. This is called *ch'i-tan-tzū* 起擔子. This done, they go for the guests. Going round, they at last reach the gate of the bridegroom's house. Their servants and the family of the bridegroom ask for *li-shih* money and presents, and decorated flowers 花紅. This is called *lan-mên* 攔門. The bride gets off the carriage. A fortune-teller holds a measure full of grain, money, fruits, *ts'ao-chieh* 草節, etc., and uttering a charm, throws them at the gate. Children compete in picking them up. This is called scattering grain. First of all, the go-between is asked to take his seat, then the bride's aunt, or the bride's mother. They each drink a cupful of wine. Then the bridegroom's mother is asked to take her seat and towards the lowest seat the bridegroom is seated. Over the doorway a roll of coloured silk is hung and its lower end is split into narrow strips and tucked up sidewise. As the bridegroom enters the room, the people compete in tearing off the strips of the silk before they go away. This is called *li-shih*. They receive the bridegroom by the gate and show him to the highest seat." <sup>(48)</sup> The *Mêng-liang-lu* 夢梁錄 written by Wu Tzū-MU 吳自牧 in 1274 A. D., the 10th year of *Hsien-ch'un* 咸淳 under

the reign of Emperor Tu-tsung 度宗 of the Sung dynasty, which seems to follow the book, also gives much the same account.

“First, the family of the bride invite the bridegroom to their house. They entertain him cordially with wine. The bride scatters decorated silver coins marked *li-shih-ch'ien* 利市錢. As the meeting is over, the musicians play. The bride leaves the house and enters the carriage. After he enters, the servants who carry him recite poems before starting and ask for some *li-shih-ch'ien*. The banquet over, the carriage starts amid the music. . . . Nowadays the wealthy and the titled do not observe this; they no more provide music or beautiful candles. They receive the bridegroom and show him into the room. In front of the room a long piece of coloured silk is drawn across over the entrance of the room and the ends are split. As the bridegroom enters, the people make a rush and tear off the silk strips. This is called *li-shih*. The people wait at the gate and simultaneously demand for *li-shih*.”<sup>(48)</sup>

According to this account, over the entrance of the room in which the bridegroom is to sleep with the bride, a piece of silk is drawn across and the lower part is split and tucked up on the doorhead. When the bridegroom, after undergoing every item of the ceremony, enters the room, the people who have been waiting for him, tear off the silk and go away with the slips. This

<sup>(48)</sup> 宋孟元老撰，東京夢華錄卷五，西紀一一四七年著，清張海鵬編，學津討源第七集所收。四丁表一裏。(前略)女家親人有茶酒利市之類，至迎娶日，兒家以車子或花擔子，發迎客引至女家門，女家管待迎客，與之綵段作樂，催粧上車擔，從人未肯起，炒咬利市，謂之起擔子，與了然後行迎客，同至兒家門，從人及兒家人，乞覓利市錢物，花紅等，謂之攔門，新婦下車子，有陰陽人，執斗內盛穀豆，錢果，草節等，呪祝望門而撒，小兒輩爭拾之，謂之撒穀豆。 . . . 先媒氏請，次姨氏或妯氏請，各斟一盃飲之，次丈母請，方下坐新人，門額用綵一段，碎裂其下，橫抹掛之，婿入房，即衆爭撻小片而去，謂之利市，繳門紅婿於床前請。(後略)

<sup>(49)</sup> 宋吳自牧撰，夢梁錄卷二十，西紀一二七四年著，同上學津討源第七條所收，四丁表一五丁表。(前略)前女家迎取新人，其女家以酒禮款待，行郎散花紅銀，攔利市錢，會訖然後樂作樂， . . . 催請，新人出閣登車，既已登車，擊檐從人未肯起步，仍念詩詞求利市錢，酒畢方行起檐作樂， . . . 寅貴今此禮久不用矣，止用妓樂花燭，引入房，房門前先用綵帛一段，橫挂於楣上，碎裂其下，婿入門，衆手爭扯而去，謂之利市，微門爭求利市也。

act is called *li-shih*.

Now comes the question whether there may be any relation between this *li-shih* and the *li-shih* in Chên-la and Siam. The following is the writer's opinion. This act of tearing off the silk must be an expression of some folk-way relative to the first tearing off of the hymen by the bridegroom. Is it not possible that the friends' competing for tearing off the silk, blessing the bridegroom on his entering his nuptial chamber was a sympathetic magic indicative of their conviction in his perfect fulfilment of the ceremony? If this was the case, to contend that the *li-shih* in Chên-la and Siam as stated already was a word borrowed from the Chinese characters to apply to the custom is not necessarily an absurdity. It is interesting to note that a gift of money on the wedding day to the attendants and servants similar to our tips is also called *li-shih-ch'ien*. In the next place, the question of an enormous honorarium to the operator will be taken up. In short, as seen in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*, the operating priest received as his honorarium an enormous sum of money and a large quantity of various goods. Because it was a marriage custom in Southern China to give money or goods to others and to call it *li-shih*, did the people not use *li-shih* or the wedding gift for the ceremony of deforation, or the ceremony of attaining womanhood as the writer styles it? It is quite common to give as an honorarium money or goods on the occasion of the ceremony of attaining womanhood. The instances given below definitely indicate a gift of money offered as an honorarium. On the coast of Malabar in India, the Brahmans for a long period exercised the right of the first night for brides. DE BARTHEMA says: When the king of Calicut takes a wife, he selects the most worthy and the most honoured of the Brahmans and makes him sleep the first night with his wife in order that he may deflower her. Do not imagine that the Brahman goes willingly to perform this operation; the king is even obliged to pay him four or five hundred ducats. DE BARTHEMA adds that the king only, and no other person in Calicut, adopts

this practice. <sup>(50)</sup>

C. M. GUYON's report also gives the custom of sending a handsome reward to a Brahman. He says that a young Malabar husband often gives a reward to the Brahman who has brought him his bride. The reason is that he is persuaded that a marriage initiated by a Brahman assures future felicity. <sup>(51)</sup>

In the Voyage and Travel of Sir JOHN MAUNDEVILLE, so well-known as a record of Oriental customs in the middle of the 14th century, we again read, that on a certain island in the Far East it is customary for the bride not to sleep with the bridegroom on the first night of marriage. Instead she sleeps with another man to whom it is usual to pay a fee in money or goods. This custom has been handed down from ancient times. <sup>(52)</sup>

WESTERMARCK is right when he comments on the account: "I have not been able to find the authority for this supposition, but it cannot be supposed to have originated in the mediaeval author's own imagination." <sup>(53)</sup> It is true that MAUNDEVILLE's work is sometimes criticised as a forgery full of invented information. However, these facts recorded in it were surely based upon something he had come across and it is probable that he wrote it after hearing of this custom recorded in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* or the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan*, etc.

When viewed in the light of these historical materials, there was this fact that maidens before marriage were deflowered by religious functionaries such as Buddhist or Taoist priests, or men other than they were to marry and that some fee in the form of money or valuables varying in quantity was presented

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<sup>(50)</sup> DE BARTHEMA, Loudovico, *Travels of L. di Varthema*, Translated by J. W. JONES, Edited by G. P. BADGER, London, 1683, p. 140. (Quoted in Westermarck, vol. I, p. 171.)

<sup>(51)</sup> GUYON, C. M., *A New History of the East-Indies Ancient and Modern*, London, 1757, I, p. 431.

<sup>(52)</sup> MAUNDEVILLE, Sir John, *The Voyage and Travel of Sir John Maundeville*, Reprinted from the Edition of 1725 A. D. with an Introduction by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1835, p. 285 sq.

<sup>(53)</sup> WESTERMARCK, Edward, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

to the operators. In the 16th century, probably this custom remained only among the rich, and not among the common people. For lack of means for the gift, some people could not hold the ceremony at the proper age. Therefore, if one recalls the case of Chên-la where a damsel of a poor family could undergo the ceremony only through the charity of the rich, and considers it in connection with this, one may see why this ceremony was called *li-shih* a borrowed use of a word associated with wedding in Southern China. In this case of *li-shih* as in that of *chên-tán* the writer has only expressed his own opinion; therefore, any suggestion to enlighten the writer from any reader would be gratefully appreciated.

The writer understands Dr. PELLIER to mean that he cannot trace the custom of *chên-tán* 陳毯 at present. But Mr. MOORE in his book entitled "*Malabar Law and Custom*" published at Madras in 1905 gives us the following interesting account informing of the existence of this practice at the beginning of the 20th century. We read that in that district, as a maiden grows up, she goes to a Brahman accompanied by her guardian. The priest in person deflowers her solemnly in front of the altar. At the same time he fastens round her neck a small gold piece called *tali-kettu*. After this the maiden is treated as a mature woman qualified to choose a worthy husband. <sup>(54)</sup> Even to-day this ceremony is practised among the tribes in Cochin-China and Malabar, such as Paduvals, Izhavans, and Tiyyans. <sup>(54)</sup> The gold piece around the neck is believed to have power to expel demons and also serves as a sign of the completion of the ceremony. If a maiden passes her age of puberty, neglecting the ceremony, not only she but also her whole family and relatives will be open to such censure that they will never be accepted as respectable people again. Nobody will approach her; no man will seek her hand.

<sup>(54)</sup> MOORE, LEWIS, *Malabar Law and Custom*, Madras, 1905, p. 70.

<sup>(55)</sup> ANANTHA KRISHA JYER, L. K., *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909-12, vol. I, p. 287 sq.

Therefore, every one is anxious to observe this ceremony of defloration as soon as possible.<sup>(55)</sup> Although no more practised under the name of *chên-tán*, a practice similar to it in substance may be said to have been continued and observed at that period. Besides, the ceremony is to be conducted with solemnity, and after it the damsel is to be treated as a mature woman qualified to choose a worthy husband. Not only the girl herself who passes her age of puberty without observing the ceremony, but also her family and relatives are criticised and rejected. Social sanction is exactly as strict as it was in the 13th century. This being the case, it cannot be denied that in this region women do not wish to marry in their virgin state and that the fact that they have undergone the ceremony is a chief consideration on the part of the men who married them.

The instances given here are mostly those of the south, it is true. However, as an instance strongly endorsing the report by WANG CH'Í 王楫 on the custom in Hsi-hsia 西夏, mention has been made of the *Hsin-chiang Yu-chi*, a record of travel by Mr. HSIEH PING 謝彬 who traversed the Province of Hsin-chiang from October, the 5th year, to June, the 6th year of the Chinese Republic. Kurla 庫爾勒 lies along the highway about 100 Chinese miles in the south-west of Kara shar 焉耆. The reader has seen that this custom was practised by Buddhist or Taoist priests or akhunds in the north also.

The writer will now go on to tell what comments the western authorities make on this custom, examine and criticise their interpretations, and finally present his own humble opinion.

## VI. Opinions of Various Authorities

Since the custom of *chên-tán* or *li-shih* was, as stated above, introduced by M. RÉMUSAT to the Orientalists in Europe and later the text was retranslated and annotated by Dr. PELLIER, it is natural that the subject should have

become a familiar question among the western Orientalists.

The writer will now introduce the opinions of a few western scholars and then criticise them.

M. LE TOURNEAU, eminent French scholar, comments that this custom of *chên-tán* or *li-shih* is by no means limited to this region alone, but practised among various tribes of the world, to which the writer has no objection. However, where he explains this custom as a religious rite coming out of the right of the first night, the writer cannot agree. He says that it was practised in the Balearic Isles, and in Peru till very recent times, and is practised even to-day among savage tribes in India and some other countries, and then changing his tone, he goes on to say that the right of the first night in the hand of the priest was, like that in the hand of the chief or the feudal lord, nothing but misuse of power and indulgence in pleasure. As the conqueror has a power of life and death with the conquered, it is natural that the former should do as he pleases with the wives of the latter. The priest being a kind of spiritual lord, it is no surprise that he should demand a similar privilege. As it is often the case with Oriental religions, some religions are founded upon phallicism and once a priest wishes to satisfy his lust, his brazen audacious conduct may be disguised in a superstitious daze. In short, the right of the first night may be attributed either to a simple polygamic significance or to unmorality of primitive man. <sup>(56)</sup>

Thus he asserts dogmatically. But is this interpretation acceptable? M. LE TOURNEAU uses such words as "misuse of power and indulgence in pleasure." Where the chief of a tribe or a lord exercised the right, the writer is, as already stated, of the opinion that it was a later and secondary development from the origin of the custom, and it should be treated quite differently from a case in which a religious functionary, or a Buddhist priest as in the present one was an operator. The writer would like first to consider the

<sup>(56)</sup> LE-TOURNEAU Ch., *L'évolution du mariage et de la famille*, Paris, 1888.

religious meaning a shaman had in primitive society. In view of the instances given above, it is not probable that a Buddhist priest, a Brahman, a Taoist priest, or an akhund came to perform the part originally played by a shaman? This kind of folk-way, custom, or institution should be considered genetically and from the standpoint of social psychology. If one should view it in the light of idealistic ethics, from the standpoint of moral evolution, and assert primitive society as lawless, especially its sexual life as utterly licentious and self-indulgent—one of uncontrolled unmorality, one's observation would be too superficial and too modernized. The writer who has some ground to argue that the conception of sex in primitive society was, because of religious faith, fairly controlled, differs widely from western scholars in this matter.

Among the western authorities, there are those who in interpreting this custom adopt patriarchy and others who adopt matriarchy. The former are represented by C. N. STARCHE and the latter by J. BACHOFEN. STARCHE says that it is only natural that women desirous of excellent offspring should hope to be blessed first by unusual men with uncommon power, other than their accepted husbands.—It is their custom to yearn after their chiefs or priests in order to obtain uncommon offspring. Dedicating their first night, or offering their virginity to some particular men before marriage is due to their wish for the felicity of their offspring. <sup>(57)</sup>

However, BACHOFEN argues that in primitive times, purity did not belong to the goddess of lasciviousness and reproduction. Therefore, punishment of universal amours is profanity to the gods. To apologize for blasphemy to the goddess of lasciviousness and reproduction, pacify her anger, and propitiate her, it becomes necessary that sex should be emancipated for some time prior to marriage. <sup>(58)</sup> And he regards this as an act of offering virginity,

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<sup>(57)</sup> STARCHE, C. N., *The Primitive Family in Its Origin and Development*, London, 1889. p. 126

<sup>(58)</sup> BACHOFEN, J. J., *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861, s. 12, 13, 17, 18,

as a preliminary compensation for monopolizing a woman in monogamy, to the goddess of nature, mistress of lasciviousness and reproduction. Another theory of propitiation and redemption is held by LORD AVEBURY, who says that in primitive times all men in a village possessed in common all the women in the community. Therefore, possession of a particular woman by a single man meant a crime. Individual marriage had to offer an apology and redemption of some sort for the customary communal marriage. So the bride was offered before marriage to the men of the community to redeem for the crime of individual marriage. <sup>(59)</sup>

This practically agrees with the opinion of Mr. NAKAYAMA, which has been mentioned previously. The present writer who believes that sexual life even in primitive society was not so utterly loose, fails to detect a fact or precise evidence of communal possession of women in all his research of social life both historical and pre-historic. It is unfortunate that the writer should be unable to approve of any of these theories. Nevertheless, Mr. A. H. Post's opinion has something in common with the writer's. Mr. Post says that it should be noted that the operation of the first night was exercised, not as a right of the ruler, but rather as an obligation discharged willingly. The defloration was done in person by sacred people, such as Buddhist or Taoist priests, or those who had unusual religious power, no doubt, originated from a religious faith on the part of the ruled people that this ceremony would assure future felicity and blessing in their married life and also from their eager request for it to their ruling chiefs or priests. <sup>(60)</sup>

It goes without saying that even this fails to satisfy the writer completely. Only as far as Mr. Post considers the practice a duty rather than a right, the

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<sup>(59)</sup> AVEBURY, Lord JOHN LUBBOCK, *Origin of Civilisation*, London, 1912, p. 439 sq. A similar view is also given, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion*, London, 1911.

<sup>(60)</sup> POST, A. H., *Die Geschlechtsgenossenschaft der Urzeit und die Entstehung der Ehe*, Oldenburg, 1875, s. 37.

writer agrees as has been already stated. In view of primitive social psychology which, it is presumed, would have tended primarily towards a charm against calamities and demons rather than to blessing and thanksgiving, it would be open to discussion whether Mr. Post's assertion should be justified. Sir J. G. FRAZER, noted scholar, explains it as a sympathetic magic for reproductivity. He says that it is a sympathetic magic for praying and wishing for the increase of reproductivity of women, fertility of land, and reproductivity of mankind and domestic animals. And its origin is sought in religious prostitution performed at the altar of the goddess of reproductivity. <sup>(61)</sup>

Men like HAVELOCK ELLIS, HARTLAND, and WESTERMARCK favour the same theory, but the writer, as has been stated in connection with Mr. Post's opinion, would interpret primitive social psychology as in a negative mood anxious for expelling demons rather than in a positive spirit praying for future blessing. Even W. WUNDT, the greatest authority on folk-psychology, makes a most ridiculous comment on this question. He says that the custom consisted of offering virginity even before the captor as a reward to his companion for assistance in marriage by capture. <sup>(62)</sup>

There are also others like MORGAN and ENGELS, who interpret the custom as arising from property right belonging to the mighty. Again, according to A. HAMILTON, there is a custom on the Malabar coast to dedicate virginity to the god she worships exactly in the same sense that the people dedicate the first crops to their patron gods. <sup>(63)</sup>

There is another theory which, evolving from this idea, supposes dedicating virginity to religious functionaries who intercede between the gods and men, in other words, those who interpret the custom with a popular idea of

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<sup>(61)</sup> FRAZER, Sir JAMES G., *The Golden Bough, The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, London, 1911, vol. II, p. 284.

<sup>(62)</sup> WUNDT, W., *Elemente der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1912.

<sup>(63)</sup> HAMILTON, Alex., *New Account of the East Indies*, Pinkerton Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1811, VIII, p. 374.

offering the first fruit to the gods, and having the sacredness removed and then, availing themselves of what is left. There is still another theory that women being naturally unclean may be permitted to marry only after they are cleansed and purified—one in which damsels are treated like the furniture and utensils used by the sick or the dead and consequently regarded as unclean and defiled, so that only after magic purification by priests they may be used by common people.

According to such men, this purification is requested of those invested with some special religious power, and VON MARTIUS reports that some shamans in Brazil are even to-day practising this.<sup>(64)</sup> To discuss the opinions of various authorities, criticise them one after another, and determine the merit thereof, would make a very clean case. That, however, is not the aim of the present paper; nor does space allow it. Therefore, suffice it to say generally that there are too many things the writer is not satisfied with. Why the first fruit should be dedicated merely because it is the first fruit? Should woman be supposed to be unclean? In connection with these questions there are a number of things which should be studied. As to “a compensation for marriage by capture,” “a redemption for communal marriage,” and “a survival of the custom of group marriage,” why should the writer make any comment? Finally, a view worthy of note will be introduced here.

That is Mr. E. CRAWLEY, an Englishman, who expresses this opinion in his *Mystic Rose, A Study of Primitive Marriage*.<sup>(65)</sup> A lengthy article of several hundred pages cannot be discussed in full here. To introduce his opinion in a word,—he interprets the custom as a sexual taboo. This is an exceedingly clever and rather plausible explanation. Sexual life in primitive society was, unlike that so far supposed by scholars, rather regular and good

<sup>(64)</sup> MARTIUS, C. F. Ph. von, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's Zumal Brasilens*, Leipzig, 1867, Bd. I, s. 113.

<sup>(65)</sup> CRAWLEY, Ernest, *The Mystic Rose, A Study of Primitive Marriage*, London, 1902, pp. 347-475, 479 sq.

order was kept. To begin with, virginity was tabooed among the men. If a man violating the ban, touched, indulge in, or raped a virgin, a curse, they believed, would befall him presently in the form of a calamity. Therefore, it would seem that sexual life among the young men and women could not have been, as so far supposed by scholars, that of promiscuous marriage, mixed marriage, group marriage or communal marriage. It may be considered that this taboo was more strictly observed than we can now imagine and social order was preserved. Therefore, when the damsel reached a certain age, or the marriageable age, she had to be released from this taboo by a religious functionary, such as a Buddhist or Taoist priest, or an akhund, which accounts for the presence of this custom. Thus the maiden released from the taboo, that is, the maiden deflowered by a religious priest is now qualified for marriage. This view is no doubt more reasonable, more convincing than the others above-mentioned. However, the writer proposes to explain this custom from an entirely different reason which will be given in full later.

These are all views of western authorities, but here an opinion of a modern Chinese will be given. It is a review of the account in the *Hsin-chiang-yu-chi* by HSIEH PIN cited previously. Mr. HSÜ PING-CH'ANG, a member of the scientific expedition to the north-west, headed by Dr. SVEN HEDIN, Swedish explorer, wrote the *Hsü Hsü-shêng-hsi-yu-jih-chi*, in which he roughly reproduces the account by Mr. HSIEH PIN in the *Hsin-chiang yu-chi* and makes this comment.

"Among the Mohammedans, when the maiden reaches a certain age, it is customary to invite an akhund (a Mohammedan priest) to open the closed. As I read this account by Mr. HSIEH PIN, I was much interested in the survival of the right of the first night. So throughout my recent journey I asked in every quarter whether such custom existed. I made sure that none existed anywhere Mr. HSIEH travelled. I now know that the account by Mr. HSIEH was all invented. It caused a disadvantage to the Chinese. The natives bear

malice towards us on account of this report.”<sup>(66)</sup>

However, this must be considered a bold assertion on the part of Mr. Hsü. It simply means that the people of whom he inquired denied the truth. He drew this conclusion too hastily without investigating extensively and intensively. Besides, Mr. Hsü, who had no knowledge whatever of the materials in various documents to which the writer has referred, fell into the fault of observing only from the viewpoint of a modern sociological observer. As is given in the account by Mr. HSIEN and also in the prohibition proclaimed by Governor YANG, as the writer has called your attention to it, the extant proclamation by Governor YANG may be said to determine the issue decisively. The writer takes this opportunity to declare that he does not believe this custom to be a misrepresentation or falsification by Mr. HSIEN.

Three years ago, Mr. H. MÜLLER, residing in Peiping, expressed his opinion in the *T'oung Pao*, apparently supporting the view of Mr. Hsü on the report by Mr. HSIEN.

“It is a wide spread belief amongst the ‘heathen Chinese’ or as they call themselves, the ‘followers of the great school’ 大教人 in contrast to the ‘followers of heretic schools’ 別教人, namely Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, etc., that Mohammedans generally have their daughters at the age of puberty deflowered through the service of the akhund of their mosque who performs this service either in the natural way or by the use of one of his fingers dipped in wine. This belief is in no way restricted to the population of Chinese Turkestan, but can be heard in conversation all over China wherever Mohammedans are living.....

“There is even said to exist in a certain private collection in Peking,

<sup>(66)</sup> 徐炳昶著,《徐旭生西日記》第一冊,西北科學考查團叢刊之一,叙言一四頁,民國十九年八月,北平刊。纏頭幼女,至若干歲,即請回教中阿訇,開窟窿。我覺得這種初夜權的遺留,頗有興趣,所以就在各方面打聽結果,是確知並沒有這一類的事,並且聽說,懂得漢文的纏,因為謝君這樣瞎說,對干漢人頗抱遺憾云云。

See note 10.

amongst other documents salvaged from Tun-huang, a pictorial representation of such a scene with a long text in 'Muhammedan' (Uigur?) writing.

"Another story, widely told amongst Chinese and believed by them, is that the sanctum sanctorum of Mohammedans is a picture showing a he-ass in upright cohabitation with a woman....."

"It is my opinion that the approach to an explanation of both stories cannot be historical, but has to be psychological. We know both stories from other regions of the world too. (Then Mr. MÜLLER quotes Dr. PELLIOU's article.)

"This seems to me to be the only possible explanation of the two stories as given and as to be found—with only slight differences—wherever two different races, creeds or social castes have come into contact with each other." <sup>(67)</sup>

May this be true? Mr. MÜLLER implies that any two races hostile to each other are in the habit of inventing such groundless report as if he endorsed the comment by Mr. Hsü on Mr. HsIEH:

"I now know that the account by Mr. HsIEH was all invented. It caused a disadvantage to the Chinese. The natives bear malice towards us on account of this report." <sup>(68)</sup>

It is exceedingly regrettable that Mr. MÜLLER, while quoting Dr. PELLIOU's view, should fail to recognize the historical fact, but explain it away as a sort of story arisen psychologically. Not only he tries to deny this ceremony of attaining womanhood, but also he fails to study with due regard the grotesque picture which represents a donkey and a woman embracing each other. The writer does not understand why Mr. MÜLLER considers all this a story arisen from enmity between two races which come in contact with each other. The value of the inquiry Mr. MÜLLER made of ignorant coolies and rikishamen may be questioned. Is he not also to blame as one who has not closely

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<sup>(67)</sup> MÜLLER, HERBERT, *Mohammedans and Chinese Common Opinion, T'oung Pao*, vol. XXIX, No. 1-3, année 1932, pp. 118-21.

<sup>(68)</sup> See note 63.

studied this custom quite common in China and many other countries?

As seen from the foregoing, if one were to explain, criticise, and comment upon the views of the scholars in the East and the West, one would find it almost an endless task. The interest this question has excited among the Orientalists of the world may be inferred from this very fact.

## VII. Conclusion

It is hoped that the reader who has read the foregoing pages has seen by these examples, that deforation performed at the request of the girl's parents or guardians by religious functionaries, such as Buddhist or Taoist priests or akhunds, was by no means an act of inquisitiveness, lasciviousness, or obscenity. He has seen that the custom of deforation was a preliminary to her future wedding,—in other words, a very solemn ceremony of qualifying her for marriage. That the practice was one of the requisites which a damsel expectant of marriage, whether of a rich family or of a poor one had to undergo, no one would question. One could suppose, therefore, that the parents, elder brothers and sisters of the damsel considered it a duty to be discharged: and on the part of the religious functionaries, such as Buddhist or Taoist priests, or akhunds, it was also a duty to be discharged without giving the appearance of compulsion or authority to this custom engendered through a unique social necessity. That no damsel was qualified for marriage until she has undergone the ceremony is clear in the *Hei-ta-shih-liao* by PÊNG TA-YA and Hsü T'ING, to which attention has been called. It says,

“If they had a maiden, they first presented her to the priest and not till then did they give her in marriage to a man.” In the *San-ts'ai-t'u-hui* by WANG CH'I is written,

“When a damsel reaches her ninth year, a priest is invited to her house. He offers a prayer and performs a Hindoo rite. He tears off her hymen with

his fingers, and applies the blood on her forehead. . . . This done, the damsel is qualified to marry a man someday. And again in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* by CHOU TA-KUAN, a Buddhist or Taoist priest is invited to take away the virginity of the damsel and then the damsel is redeemed with silk, cloth, corn, silver, etc., presented to the priest as his fee, and then.—

“I hear that when the moment arrives the priest enters the room with the damsel, and taking away her virginity with one of his fingers, puts it into wine. . . . Otherwise she is held by the priest and not allowed to marry any man.” This surely shows that this ceremony qualified the damsel for marriage. Moreover, a passage from Mr. MOORE'S book referred to before states the point more eloquently and accurately. From all this it is evident that the ceremony constituted an important duty for the parents of the damsel—an important matter not only affecting the whole course of her life but also affecting the whole family.

As to the method and procedure of the ceremony, it is reported that defloration was performed, as already reported, in person, or in the natural way, by a Buddhist or Taoist priest, a Brahman, or an akhund, or that the Buddhist priest or some other religious functionary who was entrusted with the task, breaking the hymen with his fingers, and putting the blood into wine, sprinkled the blood upon the foreheads of the bridegroom and the bride's mother.

Solemnity marked the origin of the ceremony. It need not be repeated that the functionary of the ceremony always fulfilled his duty in a solemn attitude, with a cautious procedure in a sacrificial spirit. The report of CHOU TA-KUAN, “A priest is allowed to administer to one damsel once a year. Once he accepts an offer, he never consents to another” would make this point clear. As a damsel reaches a certain age, she goes accompanied by her parents or guardian, to a sacred place (a Buddhist or Taoist temple or a mosque) and undergoes the ceremony of defloration performed by a Buddhist or Taoist priest in a mysterious magical setting. That a rich family invites a priest to

their home for the ceremony is evident according to the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi*. Sometimes a rich family donates money to a poor damsel who cannot afford a fee for her ceremony. And the fact that this was commended as a good deed, or a virtuous act, will, it is hoped, enable the reader to see why the writer supposes the ceremony to be a duty rather than a right. Therefore, the writer contends that the custom was the ceremony of attaining womanhood.

Another thing to prove that this was the ceremony of attaining womanhood is what CHOU TA-KUAN gives in the following:

“Prior to the day, the parents always sleep by the damsel in the same room. She is now sent out of the room to go wherever she likes; she is under no restraint whatever.” No comment is needed here. Until the ceremony is held the damsel had to sleep beside her parents. After it she is not admitted into the parents' room, but allowed to do as she chooses. She is now under no restraint. In other words, she is released from the control of her parents and is allowed to act freely—that is, she has reached her womanhood. This ought to prove that the practice was the all-important ceremony of attaining womanhood.

There is no question that the original type of this custom consisted in merely tearing off the hymen with fingers. It should be noted here that, as is seen in DE MORGA's quotation, the belief that virginity becomes an impediment when the damsel married formed the fundamental basis. So when under a certain ceremony the hymen was taken away, the virgin now became a woman, fully qualified for marriage. It was inevitable in the nature of this kind of thing that with the change of times, the religious simplicity, fervent faith, solemn ceremony, and pious procedure which prevailed at the beginning became gradually degraded as the pure intention got adulterated. So the functionary came to perform the process in his own person or perhaps he gave secret suggestions for her bedroom conduct. This should be considered as a degraded form.

In the life of XAMA 哈麻 in the *Yüan-shih* 元史, under the heading "August, the 13th Year of *Chih-chêng* 至正 in the Reign of Emperor Shun-ti 順帝", one reads:

"The Emperor issuing an edict appointed the priest from India *Ssü-t'u* (司徒) or minister of education and the priest from Hsi-fan 西蕃 Tibet Buddhist prelate to the Great Yüan court 大元國師. These each took three or four damsels of respectable families. This they called sacrifice. . . . They requisitioned women from far and near and only indulged in lasciviousness. They also selected chamber ladies for the dance of sixteen angels." <sup>(69)</sup>

That the compiler of the *Yüan-shih* 元史 adopted the material in the *Kêng-shên-wai-shih* 庚申外史 by CH'ÜAN HÊNG 權衡 of the Ming dynasty is evident in the following passage in the book.

"In the year Kuei-ssü 癸巳 or the 13th year of *Chih-chêng* 至正 . . . . LOUNG-PU 隴卜 *Tzû-chêng-yüan-shih* 資政院使 recommended KA-LIN-CH'IN 伽璘真, a priest from Hsi-fan 西蕃 . . . . XAMA 哈麻 brought a message from the court appointing him *Ssü-t'u* 司徒 with four damsels to wait upon him, and appointing the priest from Tibet 西蕃 Buddhist prelate to the Great Yüan court 大元國師 with three damsels to wait upon him." <sup>(70)</sup>

And also under the year *Ting-yü* 丁酉 or the 17th year, there is a paragraph on the dance of sixteen angels. These instances represent only a corrupted form of this custom invested with a new religious meaning. The instance given below concerns not a Buddhist priest, but a Shinto priest in our ancient

<sup>(69)</sup> 明宋濂撰「元史」卷二百〇六,哈麻傳。列傳九十二。姦臣傳三〇丁表一三一裏。洪武版。帝乃詔以西天僧爲司徒。西蕃僧爲大元國師,其徒皆取良家女,或四人或三人奉之,謂之供養。(中略)廣取女婦,惟姪戲是樂。又選采女爲十六天魔舞。

<sup>(70)</sup> 明權衡撰「庚申外史」二六丁表。清張海鵬訂「學海類編」本所收。癸巳至正十三年,脫脫奏,用哈麻爲宣政院使。(中略)是時資政院使隴卜亦進西蕃僧伽璘真,(中略)哈麻傳旨封爲司徒,以四女爲供養,西蕃僧爲大元國師,以三女爲供養。以宮女十六人,首垂髮數辮,戴象牙冠,身披纒絡,大紅銷金長短裙襖,雲裕合袖,天衣綬帶鞋襪,唱金字經舞,鷹兒舞名十六天魔舞。

times who, performing this practice under the mask of receiving an oracle, was degraded until he was rebuked by the Cabinet, which is recorded in the *Ruijū Sandaikaku* 類聚三代格.<sup>(71)</sup>

“The Record of the Cabinet for Prohibiting the Shinto Priest of Idzumo from Marrying a Number of Maidens of Peasantry and Keeping Them as Concubines. . . . The former governor held the post of chief priest as an additional office. On the day he was appointed to the new office he deserted his legal wife and, married a farmer's damsel and kept her as a concubine, calling her a virgin attendant at the Shrine. There was no end of his marrying damsels and keeping them as concubines. Such conduct induces loose morals. How is it possible for religion to benefit the people? Let this be improved and prevented from being so again. Should it be imperative to keep a concubine to attend at the Shrine, the government official should register the names of the damsels on cards, later sealing them closely and let the priest pray and choose one from among them, in order to prevent him from handling many. Should this rule be disobeyed, the offender shall be punished according to the degree of his crime. The chief priest at the Munakata Shrine, in the Province of Chikuzen shall be subject to this also.

Oct. 11, the 17th year of *Yenryaku*.”

The writer would consider these historical materials as proving the abuse of this custom under the mask of worshipping Buddhas or Shinto gods. The above shows that the priest at the Munakata Shrine in Chikuzen was also known to commit the same irregularity.

<sup>(71)</sup> 類聚三代格卷一, 法學博士田口卯吉撰國史大系第十二卷所載, 三六四—三六五頁。

太政官符。

禁出雲國造託神事多娶百姓女子爲妾。夏右被右大臣(神主)宣稱, 奉 勅今聞承前國造兼帶神主, 新任之日即棄嫡妻, 仍多娶百姓女子 號爲神宮采女, 使娶爲妾, 其知限極, 此是妄託神事, 遂扇淫風, 神道益世豈其然乎。自今以後不得更然, 若娶妾供神事不得已者, 宜令國司注名密封卜定一女不得多點。如違此制, 事科處。筑前國宗像神主此。延曆十七年十月十一日。

Finally, the writer will present his humble view on the custom as his conclusion, and also seek for its origin.

The writer is convinced that the practice originated from the sense of horror and wonder at hymen-bleeding. This also accounts for the fact that shamans, Buddhist priests, Taoist priests, or akhunds—that is, those who had religious magical power were invited to perform the ceremony, because the people feared not only hymen-bleeding which is simply a physiological phenomenon, but also the first bleeding of the virgin, which was believed to contain an evil spirit doing all kinds of mischief. Mr. WESTERMARCK, though briefly, has already suggested this point.<sup>(72)</sup>

As an instance to endorse the writer's view, here will be reprinted the sense of wonder and horror at hymen-bleeding recorded in the Veda, a tradition of ancient India.

According to the Veda, <sup>(73)</sup> the blood flowing in the first intercourse of man and woman has in it a venomous poison, a root of all evils. Again, among the Canelos tribe in India, it is a custom that bride and bridegroom never have commerce on the night of their wedding; and it is said that if this is violated, the man dies on the spot. The reason is that an evil spirit named Supai, arising out of the first blood of the first night, loves the bride, demands to have her for itself, is jealous of the bridegroom and curses him. This spirit Supai is so fearful that even if the bridegroom escapes immediate death, the curse on him often lasts until his wife has two children.

This habit of refraining from commerce on the first night of marriage may be justly said to harken back to the uncivilized days when religious functionaries with some supernatural power for warding off demons were entreated and solicited to remove evil from the common people. In other words,

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<sup>(72)</sup> WESTERMARCK, Edward, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>(73)</sup> WEBER, *Vedische Hochzeitssprüche ein Indische Studien*, Berlin, 1861, V, pp. 189, 190, 211 sq.

this must be the trace of the ceremony that much respected shamans, Buddhist priests, Brahmans, Taoist priests, or akhunds performed at the request of the people. If this view is admissible, the description as to the act of "taking the blood of the damsel and putting it into wine and then sprinkling it upon the bridegroom's forehead,"—that is, the description as to sprinkling the first blood upon not only herself, but also her parents, relatives, and neighbours may become clearer when we take the act as meaning a kind of reconciliation or redemption with the evil spirit lurking in the blood. This sprinkling may be supposed to propitiate the demon which lurks in the first bleeding of the hymen. If this view is favoured, the point which the taboo theory, as I have hinted, does not solve, may be understood very naturally. If one should believe what CHOU TA-KUAN reports, it is even said that they lick it with their lips. These things cannot be interpreted apart from bleeding. The present writer would like to place most emphasis upon the view that the sprinkling of the blood was for propitiating the demon which lurked in the blood and did all sorts of mischief. The writer cannot help thinking that a faith was prevalent among the parents, relatives, and neighbours of the damsel, that an ordinary person would be molested by a demon or an evil spirit which came upon her, taking occasion of the hymen-bleeding, whereas a shaman, a Buddhist priest, a Brahman, a Taoist priest, or an akhund, endowed with some magical power was able to propitiate the evil spirit, remove his mischief and render it harmless so that the damsel might be given away in marriage in peace. I believe that the origin of this custom must be traced to this faith.

As stated previously, Buddhism in Cambodia was one in which were blended southern Buddhism and much of Brahminism and an element of Tantrism, which may be proved by many documents. Of all extant Buddhist arts constituting the pride of the kingdom, the engraved Gaṇeṣa or Huan-hsi-t'ien has been commented upon already.

A study of the instance of Hsi-hsia which Wang ch'i reports shows that

Hsi-hsia at the time of Yüan was of the Tangut tribe and devotees of Lamaism according to the history of the Yüan dynasty and other documents.

It follows, therefore, that the priest in question was a Lamaist.

Tibet, on the other hand, had Bonpoism, a religion peculiar to the province, and its priests, a kind of shamans, used to officiate the ceremony. Yogism, a mixture of southern Buddhism and Tantrism when introduced into Tibet, was interfused with the native Bonpoism and resulted in the establishment of the theory of a divine revelation in the native soil. This skilfully finished theory was Lamaism; and it is supposed that the ceremony formerly officiated by Bonpo priests now came to be fulfilled by Lamaist priests.

The Buddhism introduced into Indo-China was, of course, as suggested before, southern Buddhism much influenced by Tantrism. This point has been asserted and proved beyond doubt.<sup>(74)</sup> And the solemn ceremony of defloration in its origin degenerated with the change of times and the degradation of priests themselves; and the original sincere belief on the part of the devotees that if they married after observing the ceremony performed by a Lamaist priest they would escape all calamities, also failed with the change of times, only leaving their inclination for self-satisfaction and their disrespect for the fundamental spirit of the custom which should have been observed in solemnity. Such degraded form won even a charm peculiar to religion and attracted the popular mind till it led down to religious prostitution and worship of objectionable shrines even to that degraded state which one reads in the *Kêng-shên-wai-shih* 庚申外史 and the *Yüan-shih*.

It is a well-known fact that among the principal idols in Lamaism there is one called Huan-hsi-t'ien, the image of a demon and a woman embracing each other. The reader will now see the reason why the writer, in discussing the ceremony of attaining womanhood in Hsi-hsia 西夏, referred as an aid

<sup>(74)</sup> Bijan, Raj Chatterji, *Indian Culture and Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 243.

to mutual elucidation to the custom in Cambodia in Indo-China.

In short, this custom is by no means what the western scholars call the right of the first night. It was perhaps a kind of ceremony observed on attaining womanhood. It is an affair quite similar to the ceremony of attaining manhood in our feudal days. It was perhaps like the circumcision of men in some Mohammedan countries. Therefore, on the night the ceremony was held, the parents of the damsel invited their relatives and neighbours to a banquet, entertained them amid the music, gave money and presents to the children who gathered and also spread tables for them. The rich donated money for the ceremony of the poor. All such things may be solved by my interpretation. On the part of the Buddhist priest, this was only a kind of duty. The damsel was qualified for marriage only by means of this ceremony which certified her womanhood. The ceremony was to be conducted in all solemnity and seriousness. It was not a matter to be despised, to be afraid of, nor an obscene objectionable affair. The custom surely originated from the sense of wonder and horror at the bleeding of the hymen and it must be interpreted as a ceremony conducted to remove such fear by a religious functionary, for instance, a Buddhist priest. The writer is fully conscious of the inadequacy of interpreting such a custom of a savage people in only one meaning. However, because the case of the Buddhist priest of the Yüan dynasty may be solved by this interpretation, the writer has thus presented his view.

When one has studied this view and the explanation of these historical materials, one will more clearly understand the above-cited passage from the *Travels of Marco Polo*,<sup>(75)</sup> which will be given here again.

“A scandalous custom, which could only proceed from the blindness of idolatry, prevails amongst the people of these parts, who are disinclined to marry young women so long as they are in their virgin state.”

<sup>(75)</sup> See note 4.

If my view to take it the ceremony of attaining womanhood as a preliminary to her future marriage, which the Buddhist priest the family revered conducted at its request—if my view is fortunately favoured by the public, CHOU TA-KUAN's comment, "Usually a man ravishes a damsel first and then marries her, and such act is considered neither shameful nor unusual" is quite unjust. For them this was quite a proper custom. Therefore, it was natural that such act should have been considered. neither shameful nor unusual by the people of Chên-la. Since CHOU who observed the custom criticised it from the Confucian or moralistic standpoint of a Chinese; of course, he failed to grasp the true spirit of the custom; he proved an incompetent critic. He was nothing but an ignoramus in the light of modern folklorism. A similar comment may be made upon Mr. CHANG SHÊNG. In spite of an objective report of a fact by MA HUAN with no subjectivity, CHANG SHÊNG hearing of this said, "Nothing could be so disgusting." Again, Mr. HSÛ PING-CH'ANG who, doubting the report by HSIEH PING, made bold to call it a fictitious composition and committed a similar fault—a failure as a result of attempting to judge a custom of another race and of another religion by his own moralistic religious view or his Confucian views. Unfortunately Mr. MÜLLER's view with no historic insight and with his conclusion based upon an unsolid ground has nothing to gratify me with. This is the reason why I said I could not favour any one of their opinions.

It is true that the various customs in connection with *Chên-tán* mentioned in the *Chên-la-fêng-t'u-chi* have a good many points to be examined and studied carefully. The present writer will not undertake the task, but leave it for some other men better qualified.

