Article

The Haunted Maiden Deities on Jeju Island

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The Review of Korean Studies Volume 24 Number 1 (June 2021): 265-284
doi: 10.25024/review.2021.24.1.265

Introduction

> It is not a question here of how we must turn, limit or curtail the phenomenon so that it can still be explained, if need be, by principles which we once agreed not to exceed, but it is a question rather of the direction in which we must expand our ideas to come to terms with the phenomenon.
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> -Schelling 1857-

Ghost phenomena vividly illustrate, as Freud (1950, 65) describes it, the fundamental ambivalence of all emotions. The eerie uncanniness of ghosts causes a spooky panic which chills us; a horrific dread creates a cold sweat. Aversion and fascination along with antagonism and attraction are tightly intertwined. The emotions connected with ghost phenomena are very ambiguous and complex. Attempts to discriminate between positive emotions and negative emotions are futile.

The complexity puzzles our mind and the mystery assaults our logic. A Protestant joke caricatures our rational dilemma; if a ghost is in heaven it will not want to come out, and if it is in hell, it will not be able to get out (Miller 1989, 123). After the Reformation, the existence of Purgatory, the place where a soul was purified before entering heaven, was refuted and thus the "between" realm was suppressed (ibid. 126). The modern black/white and either/or cosmos eliminated the "between," and in this reformed cosmos ghosts lost their home.

However, in modern times "home-less" ghosts find new homes in virtual spaces—movie theaters or haunted houses in amusement parks. Naturally, virtual spaces make them virtual characters. Surprisingly, unlike the Christian religious doctrine of purgatory, ghosts have not completely vanished. They come back to haunt us from "no"-where. Folk experiences and beliefs involving ghosts challenge our rational mind. The debate of what is real or unreal is futile. As Schilling notes above, our ideas need to be expanded to include all phenomena and our perceptions need to be open to new experiences.

* This work was supported by the Healing and Counseling Graduate University.

The people of Jeju Island, Korea, reveal a particular characteristic of openness to these other-worldly phenomena. Their lives are permeated with invisible entities. Life on Jeju Island, as Levi-Bruhl depicts, includes the "symbiosis of the living and the dead" (Davies 1997, 147). First, there is an ontological space for ghosts in Jeju cosmology in which the existence of a ghost is tangible. Second, ghosts are living beings with their own will. In Jeju belief, ghosts appear for their own reasons and thus, the experience of ghosts is spontaneous and acausal. The Jeju inhabitants fear ghosts because they acknowledge their power. Third, historical ghosts often times have been deified and are still worshipped as goddesses, for example, the six village maiden deities.

The focus of this paper is Jeju inhabitants' experiences and understandings of ghost phenomena, specifically concentrating on the myths of six village maiden goddesses. My final thoughts will focus on a search for depth psychological explanations of Jeju's cultural manifestations. My purpose is not to "psychologize" Jeju people's distinctive understandings but to shed light on Jeju's mysterious experiences to find meaning through theoretical reflections.

The Myths of the Jeju Haunted Maiden Deities

There are 270 *dang*s on Jeju Island and six of them enshrine haunted maiden deities as the guardian deities of their villages. They were seemingly historical figures who were deified after undergoing undeserved suffering in their lives and/or unacceptable deaths. The followings are recapitulations of these myths:

> Bollaenang halmang dang
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> While a fifteen-year-old maiden, whose family name is Park, is gathering seaweed on a beach, a Japanese fishing boat approaches the shore to fetch drinking water from a village communal well. The Japanese fishermen, seemingly pirates, try to rape the maiden Park. Her efforts to run away from them are futile. She is raped, and dies. Her restless soul returns to the village and causes diseases among the villagers. After the villagers select a specific date in consultation with a *simbang* to carry out a *gut* for the young maiden, the illnesses are cured. (Koh 1982, 10-13; Hyeon 1986, 603; see Mun 2020, 120)

Hyeonssi ilwol dang

The name of a maiden's father is Hyeon and her mother's name is Koh. The Hyeon family belong to the noble class. When she reaches the age of three, the maiden Hyeon falls severely ill, and again, at the age of seven, a similar illness occurs. Following a *simbang*'s advice, when she takes part in shamanic rituals, her illness disappears. [Meanwhile both her parents die.] Her brother, the only remaining family member, allows her to become a *simbang* in order to save her life [from the severe illness]. Soon the maiden Hyeon is asked to perform guts but is unable to do so because she has neither *simbang*'s tools nor ritual clothes. Feeling pity for his sister, the brother promises to purchase them if he can earn some money from a trip to Seoul, which he undertakes to offer Jeju products to the king as tribute. Soon after departing from the harbor the brother's boat is overturned by a raging wind as the maiden Hyeon is watching from a cliff. With unbearable sorrow she jumps off the cliff and commits suicide. The deceased returns to the village. Her ghost wanders through the village ringing a bronze bell to inform the villagers of her presence but nobody in the village pays attention. When she starts to make a child ill, the parent organizes a healing gut for the child. During the gut, the main *simbang*, as a medium for the ghost, explains that the illness is a token of Hyeon's revenge for the villagers neglecting her, and that Hyeon's restless soul wants to be a village deity. Following Hyeon's wish, the villagers deify her as the village guardian deity. After this, the child recovers its health. (Koh 1982, 13-17)

Tosan yeoderae dang

The snake deity from Naju Yongsan settles in Tosan where she becomes a village guardian deity…Since nobody worships her, the goddess summons a Japanese ship to come to the shore. At that time three young maidens of the village come to the lake to wash their clothes. The Japanese men try to rape them. One of the maidens is raped and dies. The restless soul returns to the village and gives diseases to various people. When the villagers hold a *gut*, the haunted maiden asks the villagers to soothe her mortification. Because the maiden is appeased by the villagers through the gut, everybody suffering from illness recovers his/her health. The maiden becomes the guardian deity of the village and also becomes part of the totem of the O clan. (Koh 1982, 24-25; Hyeon and Hyeon 1995, 12-27; see Mun 1993, 151-52)

Hogeunri maeul yeodeule dang

O from Hogeunri is designated as an official in Jeongui village. A maiden Lee from Jocheon escapes from her hometown to avoid her fate to be a *simbang*. While she is wandering from one village to another, she meets O in Jeongui village. They promise to live together until one of them dies. But as time passes, O returns to his hometown, Hogeunri without informing her about his departure. After a long period of wandering, Lee finally reaches O's house but O's family treats her harshly. Eventually she is abandoned. Not long after O's death, Lee dies too. The O family buries Lee's body near the village shrine expressing their wish for her to be a village deity. In this way the dead Lee is honored by the villagers. (Koh 1982, 28-32)

Ganeurak dang

A maiden, O, is beauty itself. Many suitors always follow her and she falls in love with one of them. Her beloved belongs to the noble class. As their love turns out to be unacceptable because of their class difference, she commits suicide. Her restless soul comes back to the village, and is deified as a village guardian deity. (Koh 1982, 32-34)

Marado cheonyeo dang

While Marado was still an uninhabited island, a young maiden, Ho, visits the Island as a nanny, with her landlord, Lee, and his family from Hadoli. Because of a typhoon the family and Ho are stuck on the Island. When there seems to be no way to leave the Island, the ship owner has a dream in which an old man bestows on him the solution to the situation. The old man says that a human sacrifice is necessary for their safe departure. After long discussions, the family agrees to leave the nanny, Ho, on the Island. They ask Ho to find a diaper forgotten in a bush. When she brings the diaper back, the boat has already left. Not long after, Ho dies from starvation. A few years later her bones are discovered by fishermen. Her resentful soul is worshipped as a village deity in Marado. (Koh 1982, 35-39)

Unbearable Life and Unacceptable Death

The six-maiden myths recapitulated in this paper share commonalities—the maidens are all more or less the ages of puberty, all are females, all faced difficult life-threatening situations, and they all died unnatural deaths although the causes of the maiden's deaths are not clearly addressed. For some, starvation and neglect resulted in their deaths or forced the young maidens to end their lives. Others die from the brutality of rape. They all underwent hardship, died young, and returned again as "invisibles."

Despair pushed each maiden into an inescapable corner of violence and neglect beyond her personal issues. People on Jeju, especially women, could easily identify themselves with the maiden in each myth. The pains suffered by the maidens constellate the communal hardship in the history of Jeju Island.

The difficulties that the Jeju society has faced include the incessant invasions of Japanese pirates, extreme poverty, geographical hardship, and overburdening tributes, together with dangerous sea routes to deliver the tributes to the court. Historical records reveal Japanese pirates' continuous atrocities—killing the inhabitants, destruction of houses and poultry, stealing, and illegal fishing (Kim 1987, 196-98). Added to the problem, Jeju's geographic remoteness from the mainland prevented defense of the Island by the Korean government. Both Bollaenang halmang dang and Tosan yeoderae dang are raped and died at the hands of Japanese intruders.

In addition to these hardships, the spiritual crisis of becoming a *simbang* is a significant one which seems to be more pronounced in Jeju. *Simbang* is a threshold figure between the human world and the world of the dead. Traditionally, two avenues exist for becoming a *simbang*: one is from a "fatal calling," namely, a divine sickness; and the other is family inheritance.

The admiration and honor shown towards a *simbang* in ritual space turn in the opposite direction in ordinary life where the *simbang* is marginalized. Traditionally, the shaman belonged to the lowest class in Korea. When a person becomes a shaman, the entire clan falls into the lowest social status. The shaman's children often have difficulty finding spouses (Hwang 1996, 85-101). The rank of a *simbang* on Jeju is higher than that of a shaman in mainland Korea (Hyeon 1986, 9), but it is still considered a lower class. Calling a person *simbang* as a direct designation is considered condescending on Jeju. Personal shame and resistance toward the unknown world aggravate the burden. In the myths, two maidens, Hyeon in Hyeonssi ilwol dang and the maiden Lee Hogeunri maeul yeoderae dang, suffer the fate of becoming a *simbang*. In the maiden Hyeon's case, becoming a *simbang* was already unbearable and her brother's death on his way to Seoul to carry tribute to the king added to her miseries.

The collective primary suffering of poverty on Jeju seems to be revealed and compacted in the myth of Hyeonssi ilwol dang. Extreme poverty reached the stage where even affording a *simbang*'s necessities—ritual clothes and tools—was impossible. Collecting the Island's products to fulfill the oppressive

tribute demanded by corrupted government officials aggravated Jeju's poverty. The journey to deliver the tribute was along a life-jeopardizing route which added more difficulties. Navigating the dangerous ship route through dense fog, abundant rocks, narrow channels, and turbulent currents was a matter of life and death (Kim 1987, 96-100). The myth seems to be an icon of Jeju destitution, which illustrates a vicious cycle of hardship that was embedded in Jeju life. Death seems to have been the only choice to escape this cycle.

In the myths of Ganerurak dang and Hogeunri maeul yeodeule dang, the barrier of the class gap makes the maiden's love unacceptable. The unfulfilled love and sexual violation endured by the Jeju maidens exist in societies all over the world. However, these cases contradict our expectations because Jeju Island is reportedly the province that is least influenced by the Confucian hierarchical system in Korea. Kim Hangwon (1998, 234) in his research on Jeju identities, concludes that equality is the major guiding principle in Jeju society. Apparently, Jeju is not completely free from hierarchy.

The Marado myth addresses another interesting issue: the possibility of human sacrifice to break a deadlock. The sacrificial victim is a young maiden, a virgin. To sacrifice a young virgin to avoid danger or misfortune was practiced on Maldive Islands (Frazer 1940, 146) and the Nile in Egypt (ibid. 370). Whether the myth remains the vestige of the virgin sacrifice ritual or not, is not developed in this paper.

All six myths converge into a common position: the maidens are haunted and deified. Although similar thematic deities have been purposely selected for this paper, one cannot overlook the fact that young male haunted deities are rarely found among Jeju village deities. A similar tendency appears in mainland Korea as well. Kim Jeongmi (1997, 1) mentions that "the haunted maiden are observable more than frequently in Korea." Some questions arise: Is a female more likely to be haunted? Why are only maidens deified? Is this only a local phenomenon or a general one? What socio-historical influences generate this phenomenon?

Patriarchy and Haunted Maidens

In terms of the gender of haunted deities in Korea, a newspaper article addresses interesting points. First, numerous haunting goddesses exist in Korea. Second, it seems that there is a connection between this phenomenon and the patriarchal

social system. The article argues that the frequent manifestations of these haunted goddesses have resulted from the suppression of women in a patriarchal society (Kim 2001, B19). This sociological explanation touches a crucial point, but multiple implications for this complex image are required to be completely persuasive. Do all patriarchal societies have haunted maiden deities?

In relation to the connection between a patriarchal society and the existence of haunted goddesses, another question arises because Jeju Island has been studied as "neither dominant [society] in terms of sex" (Cho 1979, xi) or as an "equal society" (Kim 1992, 469) by previous researchers. As I have already briefly mentioned in this paper, Jeju is considered an equal society according to both emic and scholarly point of views. Thus, is Jeju, which is considered an egalitarian society, not free from patriarchy? This remaining question requires further study.

Why do young maidens become haunted? Before delving into this issue, it is important to remember that female figures in myths and fairytales do not always represent living females. It is not necessary for Jeju haunted maidens to be historical figures. In the same vein, the myths are not necessarily bound in the world literally real or factual. They are culturally imagined and spontaneously formed from beyond our consciousness. Marie Louise von Franz (1993, 4) notes that "feminine figures in fairytales [and myths] are neither the pattern of the anima nor of the real woman, but of both, because sometimes it is one, and sometimes another." In the same vein but more specifically in focus with the main issue of this paper, Aniela Jaffée lucidates's (1963, 96) *Apparitions and Precognition* is notable: "It is not an actual woman who is seen as a ghost, but an impersonal phantom, a deity." In Jeju, the maidens are called a *halmang* (goddess) and are transpersonal rather than personal. As to why they are haunted, Aniela Jaffé insightfully (ibid.) points out: "As a matter of fact it is the female principle which was outraged and wounded with the victim, an archetypal figure which by far exceeds the time-bound existence [of] the woman who suffered the crime."

The female principle presented and preserved in the image of the prehistoric goddess shows the full cycle—life giving, death wielding, and continuous renewing—which is the essential function of the Great Goddess (Gimbutas 1989, 316). As history evolved, a major shift occurred. Only the life-giving function of the Great Goddess was emphasized. The full cycle was broken. Thereafter, the split-off figures were suppressed and assigned to the

underworld. The patriarchal world, as Erick Neumann (1991, 212) points out, strives to deny the Goddess' dark and underworld lineage, and it does everything to conceal its own descent from the Dark Mother. In this world the Goddess image becomes schizophrenic—she is either good or bad, beautiful or ugly, black or white, and nurturing mother or wicked witch. In this split world the Great Goddess is robbed, ravished, and succumbed to death.

Why is the maiden specifically demonized instead of the crone? As Carl Kerenyi states, the maiden symbolizes the "budlike capacity to unfold and yet, to contain the whole compact world in itself" (Jung and Kerényi 1993, 137). The maiden, an un-blossomed flower, is a pregnant whole in which the eerie death/underworld connection is integrated. To break this enigmatic bonding generates tremendous energy, which triggers our imagination and stirs our psyche.

The Dead and Jeju Cosmos

In the Jeju belief system, the dead are powerful and constantly influence the living. This belief derives from Jeju people's actual experiences rather than from faith or religious doctrines. Jeju inhabitants palpably sense the dead, and consequently that sensitivity and following actions are embedded in their lives. To comprehend the way they live with the dead, one needs to understand the Jeju Comos.

The Jeju creation myth described how the primordial chaos was separated into two worlds, namely the human world and the nether world. Each world has its own order and laws. When a person dies, the soul leaves the body and is divided into three souls. One goes to the king of the other world; another stays in the tomb and "keeps the bones"; the third one stays on the altar of the house for three years and then flies above the clouds (*Jejudo* 1993, 819; also see Yoo 2018, 219-34). The soul never dies but transforms into something else. As G. Van Der Leeuw (1986, 212) states, "Death is not a fact nor event, but merely a condition different from life.

The "difference" between the living and the dead is repeatedly emphasized on Jeju Island. The discernment between both is significant and the demarcation is critical. The dead must depart the human world and find a niche in the world of the dead where a different conditioned life continues. Otherwise, the soul will cause trouble to mortals. Thus, the sending of a dead soul plays a significant part

in Jeju's funeral rituals. The ritual of farewell to the dead is a meaningful duty for the living. This ritual, *gwiyang puli*, allows the soul to return to the family to speak unfinished words and express its emotions as it departs from the family. The ritual soothes the emotions of the dead as the death messenger is called to lead the dead to the other world (Hyeon 1986, 860). The dead who are not ritually pacified and guided to the other world become "another corporeality" who become ghosts (Van Der Leeuw 1986, 128).

The dead have potency and also have their own will. The following taboos are examples of Jeju people's precautions toward the dead: "When a ghost greets a person, the person will have trouble" (Jin, n.d. 214); "When *gwiyang puli* is not carried out, the dead will stay in the house" (ibid. 230); and "When a person makes a metal sound at night, ghosts will appear" (ibid. 218). Metals, especially bronze goods are considered to be the primary tools to call the deities. A Korean *mudang* (shaman), Kim Geumhwa mentions, "In order to invoke the deity the metal bell is an essential tool. To possess the deity into a *mudang*'s body is called opening the metal. When *mudang* is raising and ringing the metal bells above her head, deities enter into her through the metal bells" (ibid. 227). In Jeju belief, night is more dangerous because it is time for the dead to be active.

Another taboo clarifies the power order between the living and the dead: "Men have a pupil in the eye but ghosts have two pupils and thus, the living are able to see only this world but ghosts can see both this world and the world beyond" (Jin, n.d. 214-15). The domain of ghosts is broader than that of the living. In the power order, the dead are superior and thus, are frightening because they have power over the living.

There is a common expression on Jeju Island: Ghosts are hungry when nobody feeds them (Mun 1993, 85). The "life" of ghosts is dependent on the living. Edgar Herzog (1983, 91) in the book, *Psyche and Death,* explains the deeper meaning of offering food to the ghosts: "the custom of providing food for the dead is a last, lingering relic of an older sacred meal through which the living proclaimed and confirmed their fellowship with the dead." In the sharing of this food, the living unites with the dead. This communion affirms the codependency between them, and also allows the dead to continue "life" in the dead community.

Ghosts or Goddesses

The term, "ghost," is defined as the deceased who dwells in the "beyond." However, there often occurs an interchangeability between a ghost and a deity on Jeju Island. Mun Mubyeong (1993, 150) describes that if the roots of a "ghost" are narrated, the ghost will be delighted. This means to narrate the myth, which literally signifies "unwinding the root" of a deity in a *gut* (Koh 2001, 135). The participants of the *gut* are both the living and invisible beings; the *gut* is a communal festival of all lives (the living and the dead) on Jeju.

The same use of the word ghost is illustrated in a book written by Jeju ethnologist, Hyeon Yongjun. A village deity is described as "ghost" (Hyeon 1992, 130). A taboo also addresses the same idea: "When a person is on his/her way to worship the ghost in a village shrine, the person should keep his/her eyes straight ahead" (Jin, n.d. 214). Even if the two words—ghost and deity—are used interchangeably, it is important to point out that not every dead person becomes deified.

During the *gut,* after calling the primary deities to the ritual space *jabsin*, minor spirits or secondary deities are invoked (Mun 1993, 85). There exists rank among the "invisibles"—ghosts/deities and minor spirits. The rank seems to be dependent on their potency. A common expression on Jeju, "*himi sen dang*," which literally means "*dang* that possesses prevailing power," confirms that the concept of ranks of power exists among deities. Hyeon Yongjun mentions that in the polytheistic Jeju—all 18,000 deities, but particularly designated deities are more or less 100—each deity has a specific purpose. The deities are classified vertically or hierarchically but each deity is independent and has his/her own autonomy (Hyeon 1992, 20-21). The folk utterances explicitly reveal the classification of the deities and their class dependent on their power, which is judged by the influence that the "invisible" have on the living.

The power of the "invisible" is dominant over that of living on Jeju, as I have already mentioned. The power of deities can be inferred through the deities who were once historical figures or were believed to have been historical figures like the haunted maidens. There are two categories of deities: one is a hero/heroine who had already possessed god-like power in one's lifetime which continues after one's death. The other depends on the circumstance under which they died as in the case of the haunted maiden deities whose excessive emotional crisis dominates the "will" of the dead and becomes invisible. In the

same vein, the more painful their death is, the stronger their divine power is (Kim 2001, B19).

The "will" of the dead plays a role of great importance. The divine power signifies the potential for both destruction and benefit. The deities are whole, both good and evil, or positive and negative. Good or harm depends on human behaviors. When a believer serves the deity faithfully, a boon is bestowed on the believer. There is a propitiatory saying on the Island: "the deity repays the believers for their fruitful service." It also means that the deity will pay back for the believer's poor service, meaning punishment (Mun 1993). There exists no dualistic concept of a deity—either almighty goodness or pure evil on Jeju. The deities stand beyond human moral judgement. Therefore, the primary concern of Jeju inhabitants is to avoid triggering the rage of these powerful beings and to learn how to live in harmony with these invisible beings.

Depth Psychological Meanings of Ghosts

Jeju inhabitants live in a "twilight zone" in which they constantly touch the "invisible" (Jaffé 1963, 203). Therefore, encountering and interacting with the "invisible" are accepted as natural phenomena. For them, these experiences are neither para-normal nor extra-sensory, and they accept these phenomena as they are. After exploring Jeju's cultural understanding on this issue, I will speculate on the meaning of these phenomena through a depth psychological lens.

C. G. Jung understands these phenomena as expressions of the "objective inner psyche," which originated in the unconscious. To Jeju's people, as well as "without- writing" people (Levi-Strauss 1995, 15), the unconscious is the land of the dream, the dead, ancestors, and spirits (Jung 1983, par. 754). For them, this world of the "invisible" coexists with the physical world behind a "thin veil." Modern physicist David Bohm addresses this world as "infinite reservoir—a vast sea—of energy" (Von Franz 1986, 153). According to these psychological explanations, spirits/ghosts appear to be psychic phenomena definitely originating in and arising from the unconscious as per Jung's premise.

C. G. Jung (1983, par. 582) states that "the psyche is not an individual unity but a divisible and more or less divided whole." His psychological perspective views spirits as "unconscious autonomous complexes which appear as projections…" (ibid. par. 585). There are two kinds of complexes: (1) split-off portions of consciousness that result from repression; and (2) autonomous psychical entities which have never been in consciousness. For the former, Jung retains the term "complex," and defines the latter as "archetype" (Charet 1993, 291). This later case such as "demons and gods of the primitives [are the] norm, whereas the psychic wholeness comprehended in the unity of consciousness is an ideal goal that has never yet [been] reached" (Jung 1983, par. 366). According to this thought, the haunted maiden deities on Jeju are personified unconscious materials, and thus they are potential carriers of these unconscious contents.

The appearance of the ghosts signifies "heightened unconscious performance" (Jung 1981, par. 137). The manifestations of unconscious materials are often related to the intensity of emotions. During a period of profound political, social, or religious change, the changes require adaptation of a new attitude. This external transition involves uncertainty and confusion, which often allows unconscious to manifest in the outer world (Jung 1983, par. 594).

The psychological explanation of spirits as exteriorization of unconscious seems to conflict with the spiritist's explanation which defines spirits as "self-existing beings" (Jaffé 1963, 76). In his earlier writing, Jung followed the former explanation that ghosts were manifested of the unconscious, but later he left this question open ended saying: "I doubt whether an exclusively psychological approach can do justice to the phenomena in question" (Jung 1983, par. 600n15). Drawing any definitive conclusions about the appearances of ghosts still seems to be far away.

Conclusive Remarks

The definitive significance of ghost phenomena is that it adds another dimension of life since it expands our material worldview into the spiritual worldview. However, Jeju Island is one place where the two worlds were never separated. There, ghosts/deities are living entities who have their own autonomies in the Jeju Island cosmos. Life on Jeju requires harmonious orchestration between physical beings and spiritual beings or between the visible world and the invisible world. James Hillman (1983, 46) states the goal of archetypal psychology is "the ability to live life in the company of ghosts,

familiars, ancestors, guides—the populace of *metaxy*…" This does not seem to be a goal for the Jeju islanders because the "invisible" have never been excluded from their psyche.

On Jeju Island, the "invisible" are present and palpable in every moment of daily life. The continuous relationship is apparent, but extreme caution surrounds this relationship. In this paper, the same thematic deities, which are haunted maiden among the Jeju villlage deities, were selected for study. Theses enraged and ravished maiden goddesses are not historical females but culturally imagined ones. In psychological terms these maidens emerge from the unconscious beyond our individual conscious mind.

Little has been explored on this subject from a depth-psychological approach. Two psychological areas need to be reviewed. First, what does it mean for women on Jeju to recite these myths and worship the maiden goddesses? The haunted maiden myths explicitly reveal the maidens' unbearable harshness of life and intolerable suffering that eventually entailed their unnatural deaths. Since these sufferings represent the collective sorrows of Jeju (see Han 2018, 194), every woman identified with these maidens can see in their lives a mirror of herself. Reciting these myths teach the villagers that suffering is not wrong; failure is normal, and the one who lives through difficulties needs to be acknowledged. Worshipping these maidens as goddesses gives suffering meaning and value. Mircea Eliade's insight that shamanic practices first gave suffering religious value is true. Contemporary psychology recognizes that healing begins from deeply realizing that unacceptable and unbearable hardships are part of life. James Hillman (1976, 99) stresses, "*reverting* all pathologizing fantasies to mythic persons or plots…with which they have resonance makes for a culturally suitable means of carrying them in our consciousness, mirroring them." Worshipping these goddesses becomes a natural way to remember this fact of life. These goddesses, who play a role as "mental support" (Cha 2009, 598), comfort and protect Jeju women as village guardian deities.

Secondly, why did only young maidens become ghosts? Collectively the archetypal situation in which these young maidens constellate wounded femininity is in no way a detraction. The haunted young maiden goddesses give a glimpse of things beyond superficial appearances and reveal the inner significance of our psyches. As the myths depict, the haunted maiden goddesses want to be redeemed. However, there are two contrasting aspects of the myths. While the maidens were quite vulnerable as un-blossomed flowers at the beginning of their womanhood when they met violence and suffering, they became powerful spirits after death. This paradox challenges our instincts, stirs our imaginations, and counsels our psyches. Their haunting will not cease as long as the maiden deities are ignored and remain in our shadow.

Society at large is in dire need of the reemergence of the feminine in both individual and social terms. The haunted maiden goddesses epitomize our historical sacrifice of the feminine principle which has been denied and suppressed in the masculine domination of history. The myths give us a warning; the haunted maidens want only one thing. They must be remembered and their lives must be restored to their rightful places. For modern people the liberation of the feminine leads both to psychological maturity and to full evolutionary development. These maidens need to revive within our consciousness, not solely as the object of traditional worship or shamanism, but they are powerfully able to call into a question the oppressed and abandoned femininity. They sit in the liminal places of our interiors, which calls us forth.

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Abstract

Jeju Island reveals exemplary openness to ghost phenomena. In Jeju cosmology, there exists ontological space for ghosts in which the existence of ghosts is tangible. Life on Jeju is permeated with these invisible entities. They are living beings who have their own autonomy. In the Jeju belief system, they are powerful presences and constantly influence the living. Historically, some ghosts have been deified, and are still worshipped as goddesses. There are 270 village shrines called *dang* on Jeju Island and six of them enshrine haunted maiden deities. The maidens are called *halmang* who are guardian deities of the six villages. They were seemingly historical figures who were deified after undergoing unbearable harshness in their lives and suffering an unaccepted death. All six maiden myths share commonalities: all are females around the age of puberty, all suffered in their lives, and all died unnatural deaths. The six maidens haunted their villages and were constantly deified to appease their spirits. This paper focuses on Jeju islanders' experiences and understandings of ghost phenomena specifically concentrating on the myths of six village maiden goddesses. Finally, it will reflect on Jeju islanders' mysterious experiences to find meaning through theoretical considerations.

Keywords: haunted maiden, *halmang*, Jeju mythology, ghost, village guardian deity

Submission: 2020. 2. 3. Referee/Revision: 2020. 12. 3. Confirm: 2021. 4. 27.