

# Ancestral Ritual in Nabup-ri, Cheju Island

## - Death Day Rituals and Holiday Rituals in the Yi Family -

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### I. Introduction

*Ch'usŏk*, the, is the most important holiday of the year in Korea. *Ch'usŏk* is a harvest festival, and is usually translated into English as the "Harvest Moon Festival." *Ch'usŏk* is celebrated on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the eighth month on the traditional lunar calendar, which usually falls sometime in September. At *Ch'usŏk* time, people from all over Korea travel to their hometowns to be with their families and relatives. The national transportation system is strained to the limit during *Ch'usŏk*. The mass exodus from urban areas to the countryside during the *Ch'usŏk* holiday makes it the busiest time of the year for the transportation system, much like Thanksgiving in the United States. Reservations for air, rail, or bus tickets must be made well in advance. In recent years, there has been a rapid decline in the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture in Korea, but despite the agricultural origins of *Ch'usŏk*, it is still the most popular holiday of the year. The character of *Ch'usŏk* has changed with the times in Korea. While it was formerly primarily a harvest festival in nature, it has recently become a time for the younger generations to return from Seoul and other big cities to their natal villages where they can once again visit their relatives and renew childhood friendships. Although feasting and merriment are an important aspect of *Ch'usŏk*, ancestral rituals are perhaps of paramount importance.

During *Ch'usŏk* of 1995, the author was visiting Cheju Island, which lies approximately one hundred km. off the southern coast of Korea, a short plane flight from major cities on the peninsula, or a six to seven hour journey by ship from the southwestern port of Mokp'o. The author and his fellow researchers were extremely fortunate to have been invited to observe the *Ch'usŏk* celebration of the Yi family in Nabup-ri. By coincidence, an ancestor of this family had died on *Ch'usŏk* the previous year. That meant that in addition to the *Ch'usŏk* ancestral rituals themselves, the first annual death day rites also had to be performed. Ancestral rituals are generally considered private family matters, and non-kin or non-family members are rarely invited to either death day or *Ch'usŏk* ancestral rituals. However, despite extremely short notice and lack of any prior acquaintance, permission was generously granted to observe both ceremonies. The following is an account of observations of the *kijesa* death day rituals, and the *Ch'usŏk* ancestral rituals which took place the following day, at the Yi household in a village of Nabup Ri.

### II. Annual Holidays and Ancestral Ritual

Annual holidays were celebrated traditionally according to the Chinese lunar calendar. The Chinese lunar calendar has been in use in Korea since the late seventh century (Osgood, 1971: 266). The Western calendar was officially adopted in the 1880's, but some holidays and other annual events, including *Ch'usŏk*, are still observed according to the lunar calendar. Lunar New Years has even been restored in recent years as a national holiday. There are twelve months on the lunar calendar, which are in turn divided

into twenty-four two-week periods, which begin on either the new moon or the full moon. Associated with each of these two-week periods are holidays called *myongjul*. Itoh provides a brief explanation of each of these *myongjul* (Itoh, 1997: 146). Many of these holidays have disappeared, or are celebrated only in a few districts. Four of the above are called the great holidays (*k'unmyongjul*), and of those four, three are still important in most parts of the country: New Years Day, Tano, and *Ch'usŏk*. Kim has delineated three general geographic areas in which both *Tano* and *Ch'usŏk* are considered to be equally important, or in which one or the other is given primary emphasis (Itoh, 1997: 147-148).

Confucian-style ancestral rituals are performed on these holidays. These Confucian rituals offer the follower an elaborate set of rites of passage during life at adulthood, marriage and one's sixtieth birthday, but also at death, and later, ancestorhood. These rituals are not indigenous Korean customs, but were imported from China, initially by the ruling yangban class. By the end of the Koguryo era these Neo-Confucian rituals began to spread rapidly among the common people as a kind of grassroots movement. Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucian classic, *Chuja Karye* (朱子家礼 - "The Book of Family Ritual"), and others like *Sarye P'yŏllam* (四礼便覽 - "The Four Rituals Almanac") are popularly used as reference guides to the proper conduct of rituals. The "four" rituals referred to are all rites of passage, ceremonies which mark passages to adulthood, marriage, death, and ancestorhood. Of these four, the coming-of-age ceremonies have all but disappeared, and marriage ceremonies have undergone significant change. But mortuary and ancestral rituals have changed very little (Asakura, 1989: 121). Knowledge of traditional Confucian ritual and ritual procedure is highly respected, and is a source of great prestige. At least one person within any given lineage segment can be expected to study and become knowledgeable about the rituals commonly offered at mourning ceremonies, death day rites, holiday rites, lineage rites, and other rites of passage. Typically, but not necessarily, this person would be a *chongson* - a first son/household head of the stem household of a lineage segment. The position of *chongson* in itself carries great prestige within a kin group, but the degree of prestige accorded is to a great extent contingent upon the knowledge of ritual and ritual procedure acquired by the *chongson*, as well as upon his leadership qualities evident in the performance of rituals. The *chongson* must be able to write Chinese characters in order to make the ancestral tablets, and must be able to read them in order to recite the ritual chants (Che, 1980: 15-16).

Ritual manuals give authoritative advice on proper ritual procedure. Many informants insist that since everyone in Korea consults the same books for ritual advice, the rituals are performed in exactly the same manner throughout the country. However, in reality there is quite a bit of regional, local and idiosyncratic variation. Traditional ritual and etiquette books describe five basic types of recommended rituals, but of these five, only three are widely celebrated at present: *kije* (death day rituals), *ch'arye* (holiday rituals), and *myoje* (lineage [lit. tomb] rituals). Death day rituals begin after the funeral and mourning period is over, and are as a general rule offered annually for four generations after death in accordance with Korean patrilineal descent customs. Ritual manuals classify holiday rituals as one type of *sadangje* (mortuary shrine ritual), and prescribe them for at least eight different annual holidays. However, they are now seldom performed on holidays other than New Years and *Ch'usŏk*. Lineage (tomb) rituals are performed at graveside for all ancestors of the fifth generation and above. These rites take place typically in October on the lunar calendar (Asakura, 1989: 121).

*Chesa* is the Korean word for "ritual," but this term has several shades of meaning. In the broadest sense of the term, it includes a wide variety of rituals, but in its most common usage, it denotes Confucian

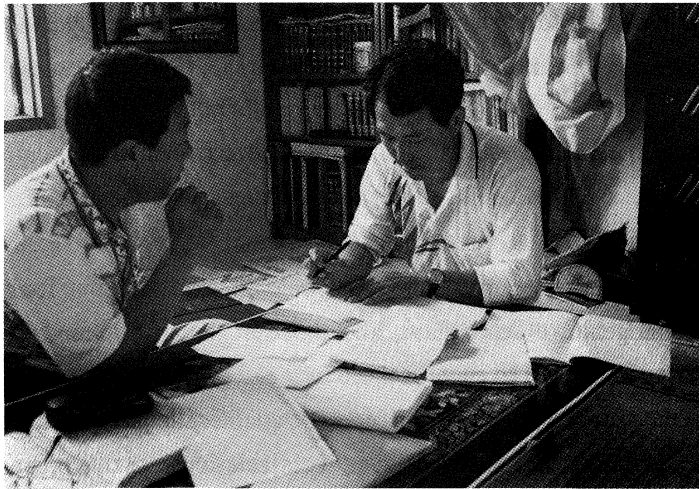
style ancestral rituals. Most often, it specifically denotes death day rituals in contrast to other types of ancestral rituals. In the broadest sense of the term it includes shamanistic *kut* rituals, but it is usually used in contrast to *kut* to specifically denote non-shamanistic, Confucian style ancestral rituals. It is in this sense that the term is used in this paper.

### III. Becoming an Ancestor

Korean ancestors can be divided into two basic categories, ancestors belonging to the first four ascending generations of the oldest living primogeniture descendant, and those in the fifth ascending generation and above. Different types of rituals are offered to each of these two categories of ancestors. These categories of ancestors are comprised of those ancestors which meet specific qualifications. Ancestor-descendant relationships are modeled after the prevailing, strongly Confucian social relationships of Korean society, following the principles of primogeniture and descent through males. Links through females are not considered valid. Women attain ancestral status by virtue of their marriages to male ancestors. Female ancestors are always memorialized together with their husbands. Female ancestors receive ritual offerings together with their husbands at death day rituals. Females also receive their own death day rituals, at which their husbands also receive offerings. Thus, women finally attain a measure of equality as ancestors which they never had while they were alive (Che, 1980: 8). In life, women are marginal members of their husbands' patrilineal kin groups. As a general rule, ancestor rituals in Korea are performed exclusively by males. Women work hard to prepare and serve the offering foods, as well as in cleaning up afterwards, but the rituals are presided over and performed by the male descendants of the ancestors. Such a system is problematic not only for women, but also for anyone who dies without a male heir.

The first stage of ancestorhood is the mourning period, which begins at death. The second stage is the first four generations after death, and the third is the fifth generation after death and beyond. The first stage involves the greatest number of rituals, with decreasing frequency in stages two and three respectively (Janelli&Janelli, 1982: 84). Despite the great emphasis on ancestor ritual in Korea, and the reliance on Neo-Confucian guidebooks and ritual manuals, the Confucian writings actually have very little to say about the afterlife. Rather, their stated purposes for ancestral rituals is to reinforce proper social relationships among the living. Nonetheless, "Korean villagers also have folk beliefs that provide quite different reasons for offering ancestor rituals and reveal a far more active image of ancestors" (Janelli&Janelli, 1982: 85), (Dix 1979: 69-71). Ancestors are thought to protect and give assistance to their living kin, but ancestors can also often be malevolent, withholding their protection or actually doing harm to their descendants.

There are three major types of Confucian ancestral ritual, *kije* (death day rites), *ch'arye* (holiday rites), and *myoje* (grave/lineage rituals). Of the *ch'arye* (holiday rituals) which are conducted annually on major seasonal holidays, especially important are those at which the first fruits of the harvest for that year or season are offered to the ancestors. In general, in the past they were performed on the morning of New Years Day, *Hansik* (the 105<sup>th</sup> day after the first day of winter), *Tano* (May 5), and *Ch'usŏk* (Aug 15). On each occasion a special offering is made unique to that particular holiday. Recently, *Hansik* and *Tano* celebrations have been disappearing, leaving New Years Day and *Ch'usŏk* as the primary holidays for ancestral rituals. At primogeniture households offerings are made at the family altar to all ancestors eligible for death day rites in the four ascending generations. After the *ch'arye* rituals are performed at New Years



\* Photo 1:



Photo 2:



Photo 3:

and *Ch'usŏk*, groups of people can be seen in processions to the graves of their ancestors for rituals called *songmyo* or *myoje*.

#### IV. Discussion

In Nabup village, in accordance with the national trend, celebrations of Tano and Hansik completely disappeared seven years ago. Now, holiday rituals take place only at New Years and *Ch'usŏk*. Celebrations according to the Chinese calendar and the Western calendar have fluctuated, with the Western calendar supplanting the Chinese calendar during the Japanese colonial period, restoration of the Chinese calendar in the immediate postwar period, and a switch back to the Western calendar again in recent years.

The death day ritual observed by the author took place at the household of the Mayor of Nabup-ri. The death of the father of the Mayor occurred one year prior, coincidentally on *Ch'usŏk*. Therefore, the death day ritual of this ancestor takes place on the evening before *Ch'usŏk*. Observation of the rituals began on 1995/09/08, which is the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month on the Chinese calendar. Careful planning is required for a successful ritual performance (Photo 1). While the men organize and plan the performance of the ritual, the women are busy preparing the food and drink offerings.

In the Yi household, the first ritual performed was called the *munjonche*. It began at 12:05 AM, technically now the 15<sup>th</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> month (Sept. 9). This

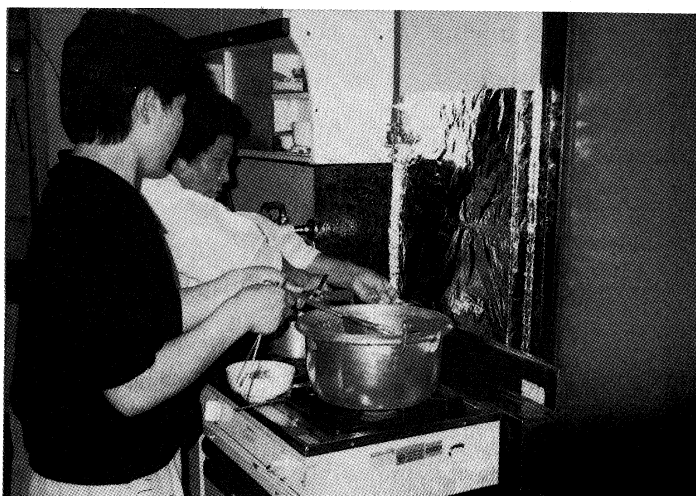


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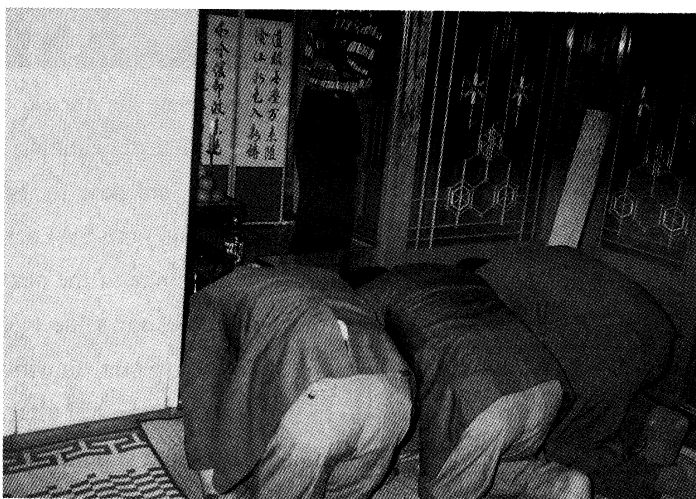


Photo 5:



Photo 6:

falls within the prescribed *ne-no-koku* hour (11:00PM - 1:00AM). Food offerings were given and bowing rituals were performed at the main entrance of the house. The food was offered to the god of the entranceway. This offering is necessary to facilitate the unimpeded arrival of the ancestors. At the Yi household, this ritual was performed by the second eldest son of the head of household (Photo 2). This ritual was performed facing the house entrance, which is on the west side of the house. The door of the house is opened, and an offering tray is placed on the floor facing the entrance. If the entranceway side of the offering tray is considered the front, an incense burner and a container of liquor is placed behind the tray. Both food and drink offerings are made. On the offering tray, in the front right (SE) corner is a large plate stacked with confections. In the front center is a bowl of rice. On the front right (NE) is a dish with red meat, fish and tofu, all on the same plate. Pickles are in the center. Deep-fried vegetables are placed on the back left (NW), candy and snack food in the back center, and in the back right corner (SW) is a bowl of fruit of all colors (Photo 3).

When the munjonche ritual is completed, the offerings are removed to the kitchen where the women of the house are waiting. Some of the food on this offering tray is replaced, and the same food is then offered to the god of the hearth (*chowanshin*) by the wife of the head of household (Photo 4). As a general rule, women are not



Photo 7:

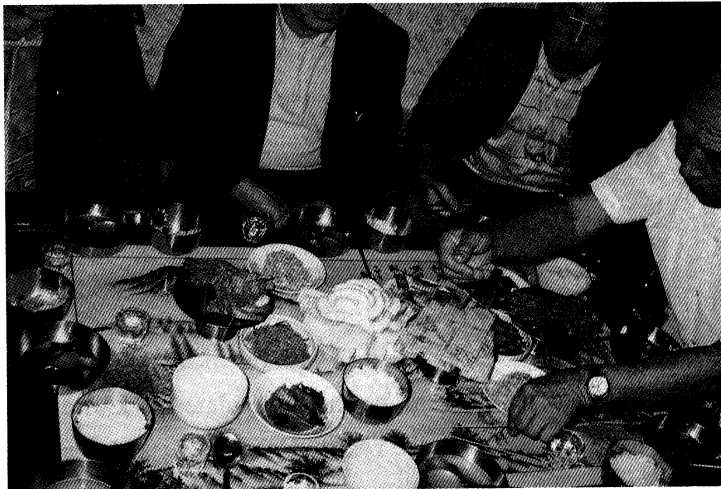


Photo 8:

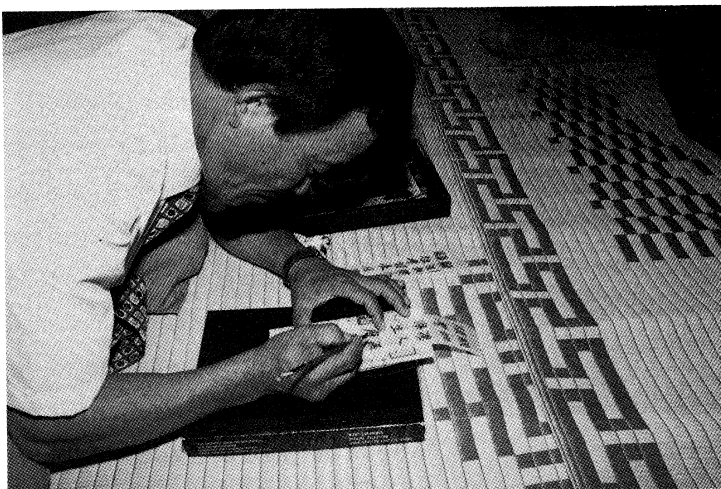


Photo 9:

permitted to take part in ancestral ritual, and although this is true for the Yi household, it is worth noting that women are involved with preparation of the ancestral ritual offerings. In addition, they use the same offering foods on the same occasion to make offerings to the hearth god.

The death day ritual itself can now begin. The ancestor receiving the offerings at this death day ritual is the father of the current head of household. He is memorialized together with his wife. The two young men who presided over the ritual were the second and third sons of the son of the head of household. These are called *chegwan*, and in this instance are the grandsons of the ancestor receiving the rituals. The men of the most senior generation are the first to greet the ancestors. These men are the first, second and third sons of the ancestor. They greet the ancestor

individually in order of seniority, and they also face and bow to the ancestor as a group (Photo 5). They are followed by the men of the next generation. Photo 6 shows the two *chegwan* doing a *sebae* bowing ritual in front of the ancestral altar. The method of bowing is defined in detail, and performed meticulously, with heads and elbows touching the floor (Photo 6).

The ancestor, and his wife, are represented by a mortuary tablet which is placed in its own shrine. The shrine is placed on the far side of the offering table (Photo 7).

Although actual tea is not used in the ritual, a "tea" made from rice pot scrapings is used. The two leaders of the ritual, the two grandsons, replace the rice-tea on the offering table, and then go outside the house and throw it up on the

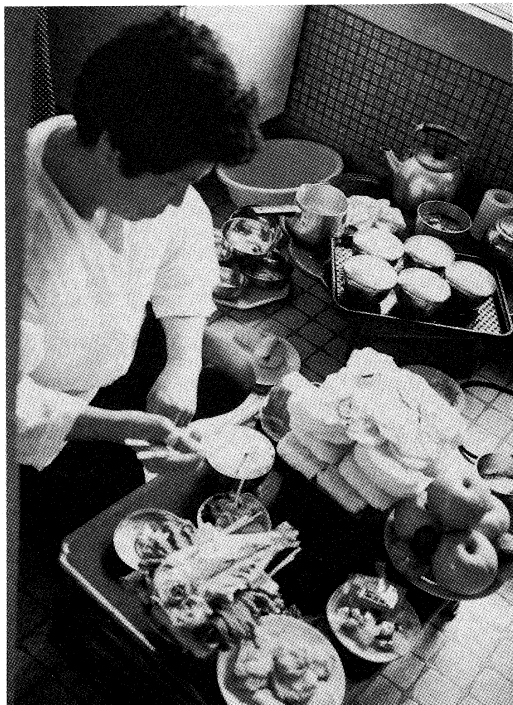


Photo 10:



Photo 11:



Photo 12:

roof. Next, they light the incense, which guides the ancestors to the ancestral shrine. They then begin the actual food and drink offerings. It should be noted that the variety of food offered was not nearly as extensive as that mentioned by other writers as being typical of Korea as a whole (see Asakura 1989: 132-133). Soups are conspicuously few or absent. Moreover, the rules of arrangement are completely different. Foods which might be expected to be placed on opposite sides of the altar are mixed together on the same plate. For example, both fish and red meat are placed on the same plate on the west side of the altar. And different colored fruits are placed together in the same bowl.

After the offerings are complete, and the ancestors are given the opportunity to partake, the participants begin to take turns individually doing bowing rituals. The

order is predetermined, and is generally in accordance with the rules of genealogical distance. At this death day ritual, the author was able to ascertain the presence of participants with four different surnames, indicating that direct descent from the propitiated ancestor was not a prerequisite for participation. The genealogical relationship of only one of these could be determined at that time. This man's relationship to the ancestor was that the ancestor was the grandfather of his wife.

After all of the bowing rituals were finished, and that portion of the ceremonies was completed, the offering dishes were taken back to the kitchen, where the women of the house have been patiently waiting. The women then rearrange the foods for serving at the final stage of the death day ritual, feasting on the



Photo 13:

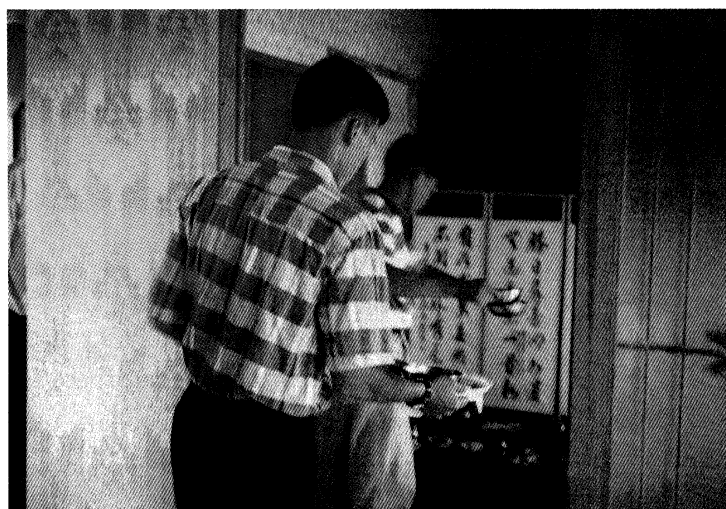


Photo 14:



Photo 15:

offering foods (Photo 8). That concluded the evening's ancestral ritual.

The following morning was the 1995/09/09 *Ch'usŏk*, August 15<sup>th</sup> on the lunar calendar. Our party arrived at 10:00 am. When we arrived, the Mayor was at working writing the names of the ancestors on the paper ancestral tablets (Photo 9). The other close male relatives were busy preparing the ancestral shrines and altars. The women were in the kitchen preparing *chesapab* - the foods to be offered for the *Ch'usŏk Ch'arye* rituals (Photo 10). At this occasion, they were preparing food for three generations of ancestors, two portions for each generation, as each is a married couple. Women's duties also include starting the charcoal used in the incense burners (Photo 11). While the ancestral tablets and food are being prepared, the *chegwan* are busy preparing the offering table. Incense and liquor offerings are placed on the floor facing the altar (Photo 12).

At 10:15 am, the rituals began under the direction of Mayor's second son. Again, first of all the *munjonche* ritual is performed at the entrance to the house (Photo 13). In the same manner as at the death day ritual, incense, liquor, and food offerings are made. Notice that the food is arranged in exactly the same way. After the entranceway ritual is completed, the tray of food is taken back to the kitchen. There, in the



Photo 16:

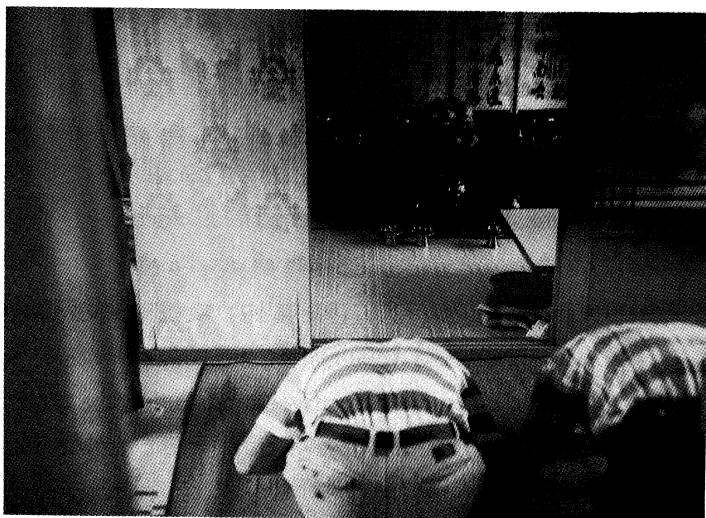


Photo 17:



Photo 18:

same way as the previous evening, the women use the food from this tray to make an offering to the hearth god (*chowanshin*). This ritual is again performed by the wife of the head of household.

At 10:50 am the head of household and the *chegwan* proceeds with the final preparations of the ancestral altar. The paper ancestral tablets are attached to the folding screens which line the wall in the room containing the ancestral altar. The *chegwan* continue to carry offering dishes in from the kitchen and arrange them on the altar (Photo 14). The entire arrangement from left to right can be seen in Photo 15 (left side) and 16 (right side). Again, an examination of this arrangement reveals very different underlying rules from what has been described as the typical for most of Korea. The informants also insisted that their arrangement of offerings and ritual procedures were the typical way of doing things all over the country. It must be so, since everyone uses the same ritual manuals and etiquette books. But this arrangement violates many of the rules and principles described by other authors. The mixing of white and red fruits violates the "red-east, white-west" rule. Both red meat and fish are stacked together on the same plate and placed on the west side, violating the "red meat-west, fish-east" principle.

At 11:05 am the two *chegwan* began the main ancestral ritual with



Photo 19:



Photo 20:



Photo 21:

a *sebae* bowing ritual (Photo 17). Next, the head of the stem household (*chongson*), his older brother and another older male relative stand facing the altar in anticipation of the liquor offering. The *chegwan* pours some liquor for the *chongson*'s older brother. Facing the ancestor, and offering the liquor twice, the elder brother partakes of the liquor. Next, the household head sits, is offered a cup of liquor, drinks it, and then performs two *sebae* bowing rituals (Photos 19 & 20). While he does this the two ritual leaders stand waiting to his left and right. In the same manner, all of the other male relatives present receive cups of liquor which they offer to the ancestors, drink, and then perform two *sebae* rituals. After the Mayor, his elder brother and the other male relative finish their individual *sebae*, they then kneel beside one another and perform two more *sebae* together (Photo 18). The ritual leader (son of the mayor) brings five bowls of soup and offers them. Three spoonfuls of soup are then poured over a bowl of rice, which is in turn offered. Then, in preparation for the next stage of ritual, the two ritual leaders gather

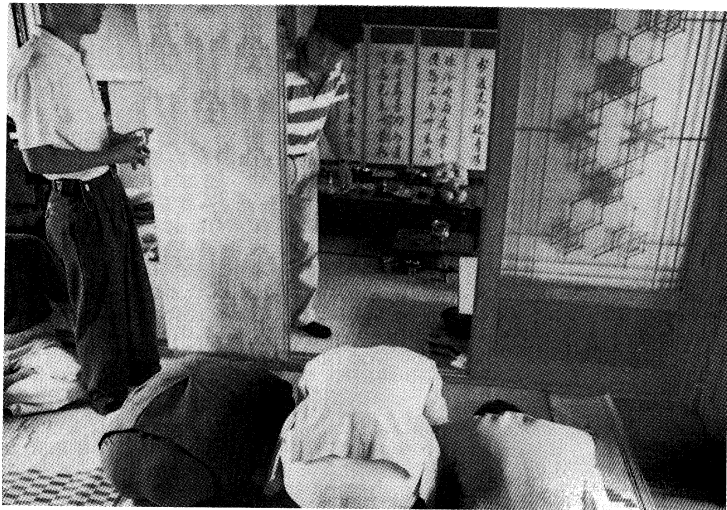


Photo 22:

small pieces of food from each of the offering dishes, put them all in one dish and offer it to the ancestors.

At 11:10 am the three representatives of the eldest generation, the mayor, his elder brother and one other unidentified male, along with the two ritual leaders perform yet another *sebae* bowing ritual (Photo 21). Then, one by one all of the other male relatives present perform another *sebae*. The *chegwan*

ritual leaders then go outside of the house to burn the mortuary tablets. The ashes are then thrown high up onto the roof of the house. Liquor and food offerings are also thrown up onto the roof (Photos 23 & 24).

“In Nabup, an entranceway ritual is held at ancestral memorialization occasions. It is the custom of many households to not offer “hot foods” at the entranceway ritual. At the entranceway ritual, bits of food which are collected from all the food offerings are mixed together and thrown up on the roof. Collected bits of food from all the offering dishes are also scattered on the pathway into the household compound. The *korumyon* ritual is performed for the various gods on the ritual holidays. The main ritual takes place after the *korumyon* ritual at the entranceway ceremony, which takes place near midnight, after which similar offerings are made to the hearth god. In households which the *tochebi* demon is propitiated, after the ritual

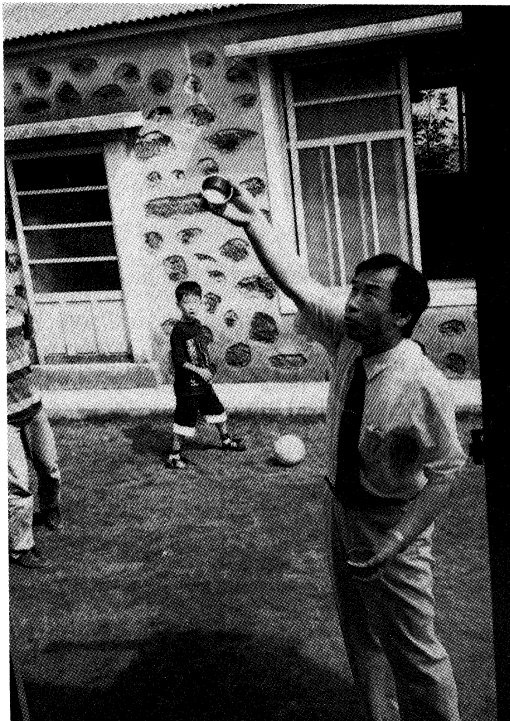


Photo 23:

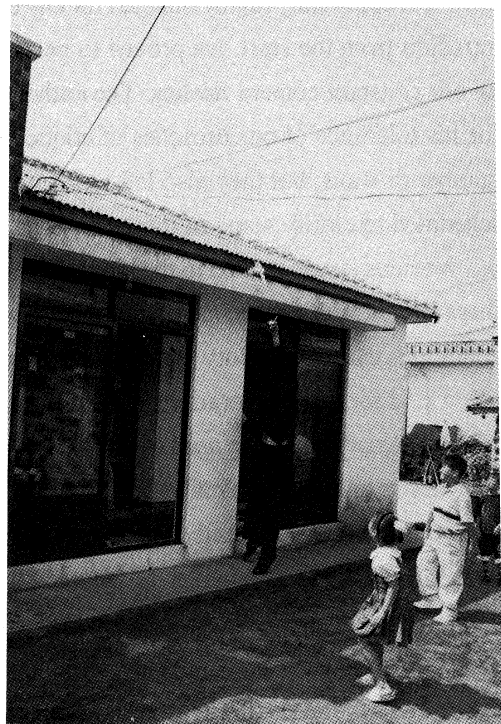


Photo 24:



Photo 25:

in finished, food offerings are made to the *kopan*.” (Kim: 131). One of the final stages in the *Ch’usŏk* holiday rites is this offering to the god of the gateway (Photo 25). Offerings are made at the corner of the gate, and tidbits of food are scattered along the path leading to the house compound.

This ritual completed, the *chegwan* returns into the house and begins to disassemble the altar. The offering dishes are taken back to the

kitchen to prepare for the final stage of the ritual. The offering foods are rearranged and prepared for serving. The final stage of the *Ch’arye* consists of ritual feasting. Men are served by the women in the guest rooms and normal dining areas, while the women crowd into the kitchen. Despite the cramped conditions in the kitchen, the women remain there to feast, coming out only to serve the men.

## V. Conclusions

It was a magnanimous gesture on the part of the Mayor of Nabup to allow our group of researchers to observe both his death day rites, and his *Ch’usŏk* holiday rites on extremely short notice. Ordinarily, such rituals are considered to be private affairs, attended only by persons with the proper kin relationships to the host. It is apparently highly unusual for any outsider to be permitted to attend. However, being an unplanned intrusion from the start, we proved to be somewhat of an annoyance to the ancestors, who were bothered by our constant camera flashes. The author would like to thank Mayor Yi for his gracious invitation, and for his tolerance of our breaches of etiquette. Our short visits to his home proved to be enlightening in a number of ways, but they also left many unanswered questions. Unfortunately, a return visit could not be scheduled to clarify some of these concerns.

Various issues related to the kin relationships of the participants require clarification. The *chegwan* for these rituals was the second son of the Mayor. This duty would be expected to fall on the first son. What conditions caused this duty to be taken over by the second son? Second, informants reported that the rites were being held for three generations of ancestors, not four. But there were ancestral tablets posted for only two couples. Another point in need of clarification is the specific kin relationships of the participants themselves. If descent is only through males, and only male descendants attend, one would expect that they all share the same surname. Yet the author noted at least four different surnames represented. One participant was the husband of the granddaughter of the ancestor being propitiated, a fairly distant affinal relationship, with descent relationship only through females. Takeda has written about the differences between Cheju Island and peninsular Korea in this regard. His discussions of customs of succession, differences in generational depth, and general flexibility in assignment of ritual responsibilities in Cheju Island undoubtedly has bearing on this case; in particular, his discussion of “divided ritual” practices in Cheju. (Takeda 1995: 179).

Another area in need of further clarification is in the types of offerings made, the principles and rules of their arrangement on the altar, and the procedures by which the rituals are carried out. The considerable discrepancy between what Asakura reports as typical in peninsular Korea, and this case in Nabup is striking. The types of foods offered are quite different, and the principles of arrangement are markedly different. This arrangement of offering dishes in Nabup violated most of the general principles mentioned by Asakura (Asakura 1989: 132-136).

While Nabup has followed national trends when it comes to certain types of change, for example, the disappearance of Tano and Hansik rituals, in other ways, despite insistence to the contrary by the informants, it is strikingly different in many respects from what is considered typical in peninsular Korea. More intensive and extensive follow-up research would make it possible to clarify many of these issues.

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# 韓国全羅南道および済州島と 沖縄の文化・社会の比較研究

平成8～10年度文部省科学研究費補助金  
国際学術研究(共同研究)研究成果報告書  
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