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AINU FOOD

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I. Preface

For five years, from 1963 to 1967, the Board of Education of Hokkaido had conducted an investigation of Ainu folk-lore. As a member, I also carried on an investigation about "Ainu Food", "Ainu Agriculture" and "Ainu Wild Plants Collection". Of these, Iwould like to introduce the "Ainu Food" from the results of my investigation. Twenty old Ainu people, who are all bosses in their villages answered many of my questions. We can find much data on Ainu Food, but it does not seem to cover everything about it. So I tried to make an investigation as extensive as possible, but I can can not help admitting the imperfection because of the limitation of time and the number of the Ainu people whom I could contact.

I thank the Ainu people who helped me with my investigation and the Board of Education of Hokkaido which gave me a chance to study wholeheartedly.

II. Kinds of Food

The Ainu used both animals and vegetables as their food. The animal food consisted of beasts, birds, fish and shellfish. The vegetable food consisted of wild plants and food plants.

1. Animal Food

Deer and brown bears were the chief food supplies. Besides them, little animals such as hare, fox and racoon-dog were eaten. At the same time the Ainu people ate sea animals such as whale, sea-bear and harbor-seal. Birds were not, to the Ainu, a main food but Japanese pheasants, wild ducks and cranes were often caught for food. As well as these birds, jays and sparrows were caught and eaten.

Among the fish, salmon and trout were main sources of food. In addition, daces, lamprey, blakiston's trout, char, young sea trout, bullhead, flat fish, herring, sardines, surf smelt, smelt became their foodstuffs. Among the shellfish, fresh-water mussel, corbicula, lockington, scallops were eaten.

2. Vegetable Food

Wild plants were collected to serve as food. They were not only berries and nuts but edible leaves, stalks, and roots. Edible seaweeds also were collected.

Berries such as the fruit of *Actinida arguta*, wild grapes, wild strawberries, sweet brier, the fruit of Amoor cork tree, mulberries, the fruit of *Lonicera caerulea*, the fruit of *Malus baccata*, nuts such as walnuts, acorn, chestnuts, hog-peanuts and the grain of bamboo were collected.

Among edible leaves and stalks, a kind of wild garlic and *Anemone*

flaccida were used as food. Besides these wild plants, coltsfoot, fern, flowering fern, bracken, mugwort, chive, spikenard, skunk cabbage, mistletoe and chervil were gathered as food.

Of the edible roots, heartleaf lily was most important, and was necessary for the life of the Ainu. *Corydalis ambique*, *Codonopsis lanceolta*, *Adenophora thunbergiana*, Dogtooth violet, black lily, *Metaphlexis japonica*, Indian turnip, *Gastrodia elata*, False Solomon's-seal were gathered as well as heartleaf lily.

Seaweeds such as tangle, *Underia pinnatifida*, Irish Moss were used for food. Besides these plants water caltrops and mushrooms were the important sources of food for the Ainu.

The food plants (crops, beans and vegetables) were not among their food supplies until the introduction of agriculture. After the rudest farm of agriculture was introduced to the Ainu, they began to do farming. Water oats and millet were the most important grain. Hog-millet, barley and buckwheat were also raised. Among the beans, soybeans, red beans were grown. Vegetables such as turnips and potatoes were representative. Raddish, cucumbers, pumpkin were raised by the Ainu.

III. Acquisition and Storage of Food

1. Acquisition of Food

Deer and bear, the most important of the animal food, were hunted both in spring and in autumn. They were shot with hand bows and springbows. Trout was caught from May to September and salmon from September to December. A fish-spear called *marek*, a basket trap called *urai*, and a weir called *teshi* were employed to catch salmon and trout.

The seasons for collecting wild plants were from spring to autumn. In spring, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants such as wild garlic, *Anemone faccida*, coltsfoot, fern, flowering fern, bracken, mugwort and the like. Besides these plants, they also gathered Dogtooth violet, *Adenophora thunbergiana*, False Solomon's-seal. In summer, berries as wild strawberries, sweet brier, the fruit of *Lonicera carulea* and edible roots of heartleaf lily, *Corydalis ambique* and black lily were picked. At the same time seaweed was collected mainly in this season. In autumn, certain kinds of berries and nuts, *Actinida arguta*, wild grapes, the fruit of Amoor cork Tree, walnuts, acorn, chestnuts, as well as water caltrops and mushrooms were gathered.

The Ainu did small scale farming. The autumn was the harvest season. The crops, beans and vegetables were generally harvested. These jobs were done during the period between the middle part of September and the

beginning of November.

2. Storage of Food

The Ainu not only cooked the food they got from hunting, fishing, collecting and farming for daily needs but also stored a major portion for winter and possible famine. They used various devices to store their food. In case of the deer and bear meat, they tore it into pieces, boiled it in a pot and dried it outdoors in the sun. Sometimes meat was dried in the sun without boiling, though this was not common. Drying the meat after having boiled it was the regular manner of preparation before storage. The meat which had been dried in the sun the Ainu again dried on a board placed above the fireplace. They then hung it from the ceiling and smoked it. Next they piled the smoked meat in the storehouse and thus kept it. This kind of storage made it possible to leave the meat for many years and prevented the smoked meat from going bad. It also kept flies and other insects away.

In case of fish such as salmon and trout, the Ainu first removed the insides, cut off the head and split it in half. First they dried the fish in the sun. Then they dried it again on a board placed high above the fire. They, then, hung the dried meat from the ceiling and smoked it. After this, they stored it away in the storehouse. However trout is a greasy fish, and spoils easily. For that reason, the Ainu devised a special way for the long storage of trout. They first of all broiled the trout and dried it on a board. In case of little fishes, if they did not skewered them and dried them in the sun, they first broiled and then dried them on a board.

Many of the wild plants were taken in as fresh material for food. However, the Ainu also gathered them to last through the winter. Walnuts, acorn, chestnuts, and such were picked up and dried on a mat. They were stored away either in the storehouse or on a board in a basket called *saranip*. *Allium Victorialis*, a kind of wild garlic was cut into pieces and dried in the sun on a mat made of coarse grass or rushes. Dried *Allium Victorialis* was then preserved in a house in a basket called *saranip*. The stalks of *Anemone flaccida* were tied together and dried by hanging them at the eaves. However coltsfoot, mugwort, flowring fern, and bracken were first boiled and then dried. The root of *Corydalis ambigua* were parboiled and tied up in a circular shape. The bulbs of lily were pounded and made into starch. It was dried for storage and kept in a basket called *saranip* or in a *shintoko*, lacquered ware. What remained from the bulbs was made into dumplings. They were dried and stored in the house. In case of seaweeds the Ainu ate some of them in soup and the rest were dried for storage.

Grains were well dried in the sun and without threshing them were

put in a straw bag for storage. Hog millet was likely to fall out, so the Ainu first threshed it and kept it in the unhulled form in *shintoko*. The beans were dried on a mat and kept in storehouse. But soybeans and red beans were exceptions. They were shelled and kept in *shintoko*. In the case of turnips and potatoes, the Ainu made a hole near their house and kept them in it so that these vegetables would not freeze during winter.

IV. Preparation of Food

1. Cooking Methods

How was the food cooked and what kinds of dishes did the Ainu make out of the various food they had gathered and stored away? First of all, I will discuss their method of cooking. It was customary for the Ainu to eat the meat of bear and deer and other kinds of animals as stew. On special occasion, as they went hunting in the mountains and ate bear and deer meat immediately they broiled them on skewers. In some cases they ate the meat of deer raw though that was very rare. However they never ate the meat of bear raw. It was very popular among the Ainu to eat pounded or mashed internal organs such as lung, liver and heart. They also drank the blood of bear with relish. In the case of the stored meat, it was generally boiled and then cooked as stew. Bird meat was also ordinarily cooked as stew, but sometimes hazel-hen was broiled. Trout, salmon and other fish were generally cooked by broiling the skewered fish, if they were fresh. If they were not fresh they made stew as they did with the meat. However, they often had the uncooked head and milt of salmon. There was frozen salmon called *ruibe*. Salmon roe was stuffed into an air-bladder and smoked. Dried salmon roe was eaten along with grain stew. People, moreover, made powder out of the burned bones of salmon and boiled it with the beans. When they ate shellfish, they generally boiled them. As soon as they caught shellfish, they boiled and ate it. They seasoned them such spices as wild garlic and chive-garlic. At other times they ate shellfish with salt.

Among the food materials the Ainu collected, fruit such as *Actinidia arguta*, wild grapes were eaten soon after they had gathered them. Dried nuts such as walnuts, acorn, chestnuts and fruit of Amoor Cork Tree were boiled and eaten. They were also cooked along with other materials. Edible stalks and leaves were customarily made into stew together with meat and fish. Dried wild garlic was cooked with beans and potatoes. Most of the edible roots were made into stew of *ratashikep*. However the roots of *Corydalis ambigua*, False Solomon's-seal were cooked along with grain. The Ainu got starch out of the roots of heartleaf lily. They mixed the starch with grain. They made dumpling from the starch and put them in

stew. What remained from heartleaf lily, they made into dumplings and dried them. They used them as ingredients for other dishes. Generally seaweed was made into stew. Tangle, by the way, was often cooked in a different way. They made powder out of the burned tangle and cooked it together with the stew.

Among food plants, grains used as ordinary food were made into stew. On festival days, they were made into boiled grain and used for dumplings and for cakes. Beans were often used along with boiled grain or grain stew as well as main materials of *ratashikep* which the Ainu used for snacks. In many cases, vegetables such as turnips and potatoes were used for soup and snacks between meals.

2. Seasoning

The main seasonings which the Ainu used for cooking were animal oil, fish oil and salt. Besides these, they would use sea water and diatomaceous earth called *chietoi*. However they did not used Japanese seasonings such as bean paste and soy sauce.

Animal oil was of a higher quality than that of fish oil. In order to make the oil, the Ainu boiled the meat with bones, skimmed off the oil which came out of the meat and put it in the bowels of bear for storage. The dried meat generally was not oily, as compared with raw meat. When the Ainu cooked stew with dried meat, they made it a rule to add some oil to make it more tasty. Especially when *ratashikep* was cooked, oil was the necessary seasoning for the cooking of wild plants and vegetables.

Fish oil was used as well as animal oil. Sardine oil was the most common oil used. In order to make sardine oil, the people boiled the sardines and ladled off the oil which came to the surface. Later on, they bought the oil and used it for seasoning. There was no difference between the use of fish oil and the use of animal oil. As a matter of course people living near the sea used much more fish oil than animal oil.

It is said that formerly people used sea water to give flavor to food and also that they made salt by boiling down sea water. After the Meiji era, the Ainu no longer used sea water as seasoning, but they bought salt for seasoning. In those days because salt was, to the Ainu, something valuable, they treated it like medicine. When they used salt, they put just a little salt into stew.

Of diatomaceous earth, it is said that the Ainu who had lived in Shaghalien used this to give a flavor to all the food they ate. Also it is said that they ate only diatomaceous earth when there was a famine. However the Ainu living in Hokkaido today either have not the slightest idea as to what this earth was or never heard of it.

Other seasonings were salmon roe, mustard, and the sap of maple-tree.

3. Ainu Dishes

There were various kinds of Ainu dishes. They were roughly divided into basic dishes of fish or meat stew and corn stew, supplemental and substantial dishes of broiled meat and cooked vegetables, and festival days dishes of cooked grain, dumplings and sake.

The most important and main dish was a fish or meat stew mixed with vegetables. It was the main course of the meal, and corn or vegetable stew was only supplementary. The stew was cooked in a simple way. The typical stew of the Ainu was made with both vegetables and meat or fish and was seasoned slightly with salt. In order to give the soup more flavor, they added powdered tangle just before it was served. Stew was generally called *ohau* in the Ainu language. Meat stew was called *kamuohau* and fish stew was called *chiepohau*. There was, besides these, stew made from vegetables and wild plants boiled with bones called *poneohau*. Fish or meat stew mixed with vegetables and wild plants had a different taste depending upon the ingredients. These stew were called *pukusaohau* made of wild garlic, *pukusakinaohau* made of *Anemone flaccida*, *ataneohau* made of turnip.

Corn stew was only supplemental food for the Ainu. Corn was boiled with plenty of water. The name of the stew depended on the corn that was used. In order to give a better taste to the stew, the Aiun put salmon roe in it. They also added the bark of cherry trees, and leaves and stalks of *Eschscholtzia Patrini*. They had, also a general stew, a porridge of grain and vegetables. As the ingredients of the porridge were starch made from heartleaf lily, fruit of water caltrops and beans. It was a general rule not to add oil to corn stew. However when they made porridge, they usually added oil before serving it. Moreover, there was a stew called *kousayo*. It was a stew made from powdered millet, with a little oil in it. This stew reminded us of an old stew made from the powder of millet in old Japan. Besides these, there were *torepsayo* made by boiling sliced dry lily-bulb cakes, *pukusasayo* boiled in water together with the root of garlic, and *pekanpesayo* made from the fruit of water caltrop. These shows us that the Ainu made stew out of these collected wild plants even when they did not grow corn.

As a substitute for fish or meat stew, which was their staple food, they broiled fish or meat on skewers. They placed the raw fish or meat on skewers near the fire and broiled them. Fish was broiled either uncooked or cut into slices if it was thick. Meat was cut into slices and broiled. These, as I have mentioned above, took the place of a stew called *ohau*.

Boiled wild plants and vegetables called *ratashikep* served as a substitute

for corn stew and as snacks between meals. The ingredients of *ratashikep* were wild plants, vegetables such as hog-peanut, root of *Corydalis ambigua*, fruit of *Phellodeudron amurense*, potatoes, turnips and beans. In all cases, more than two ingredients were used to make *ratashikep*. Usually the Ainu gave flavor to *ratashikep* by using oil.

Beside *ratashikep* there were raw dishes such as *fuibe*, *chitatap* and *ruibe* used as substitutes. *Fuibe* is chipped or mashed internal organs of bears and deer. *Chitatap* is pounded or mashed salmon head, and *ruibe* is frozen sliced of salmon.

On special days like festivals the Ainu cooked boiled water oats and millet as special meals. In addition to plain boiled corn, they had boiled corn combined with beans such as hog-peanut and trapa-nut. This was made on special occasions such as the bear festival and wedding receptions. Dishes made on these occasions were not, as I have mentioned, every day meals. They were equal to Japanese "sekihan" rice boiled together with red beans. Especially on the bear festival, the Ainu made *sukep*. It was a cake made out of cooked millet and hog-millet. They were baked until they became brown and served in *cubes*. *Shito*, cakes made from millet, was also a special food for the beaf festival and other events. The Ainu first made dumplings from the wet powder of millet and boiled them. Besides *sukep* and *shito*, sake made of water oats and millet were also necessary on festival days.

V. Kitchen Utensils

1. Knives

As kitchen utensils to make the dishes mentioned above, knives called *makiri* were widely used among the Ainu. *Makiri* is a short knife with a blade about 15 cm long. The Ainu acquired the blade from Japanese either through some kind of exchange or buying. They themselves made and designed the handle and the sheath. Until the Meiji era the *makiri* only was used for cooking. However, gradually, they began to use Japanese style knives. And yet in some districts many people still used *makiri* up to the beginning of the Showa era.

When cutting a big piece of meat with bone, a big knife called *tashiro* was used. It was used only by men. In Ainu society the man cut the meat while the woman cooked it. As with the *makiri*, so with the handle and the sheath of the *tashiro* was of their own making. The blade of the *tashiro* was about 30 cm long. Later on instead of the *tashiro*, the *nata*, a kind of pointless knife, come to be used to cut bones and other hard things.

2. Cooking Board

The Ainu used a cooking board called *itatani*. It was a rude cooking board. When it was not used, it was hung on the wall with a wooden hook and the rope made of bark. Various kinds of trees except fragile wood and wood with a bad odor were used for the *itatani*. Almost all the materials such as meat, fish, wild plants and vegetables were cut on this board. It was very important especially when the Ainu cut bones or made *chitatap*. *Nima* was used as a stand for the *itatani*. It was a bowl 30 cm in breadth, 60 cm in length and 5 cm in depth. It was used to put the sliced meat and fish in. There was bark-made bowl called *iyara*. It was used to bring the meat near the pot, as well as the *itatani*. A big *manaita* with four legs attached to it was a board on which the food was cut. The board was of 30 cm in breadth and 60 cm in length. When they cut a big piece meat or fish they used the *manaita* rather than the *itatani*. This might be the phenomenon of a transition stage. But the relationship between *manaita* and *itatani* is not yet proved.

3. Pots

Pots were widely used not only to boil meat and fish, but also to cook stew and *ratashikep*. In Ainu language, pot was called *su*. It was the same kind of iron pot as used by the Japanese for stew. Pots were about the size of 1 sho (0.5 gallon) or 2 sho (1 gallon). A big pot holding 5 sho was called *porosu*, the little pot holding 1 sho was called *ponsu*.

They cooked stew by hanging the pot on a wooden hook in the board high above the fire. There was no difference between a corn stew pot and a meat stew pot in appearance, but different pots were used for each of them. *Ohausu* is a pot used for a fish or meat stew. It measured about 2 sho. *Sayosu* is a corn stew pot measuring about 1 sho.

Even for cooking boiled corn, a corn stew pot was used, and an iron pot called *kama* was not used at all. When they made sake, they used the big pot that was used for cooking corn stew. The big pot was called *sakesu*. These pots were used up to the end of World War II. Today they are not used any more.

4. Spoons

A wooden spoon called *kasup* was used for stirring and ladling stew in the pot. It was carefully carved by the men. There was a difference in appearance and size. Generally *kasup* was larger than the spoon used today. The spoon was 10 cm across and its handle was 30 cm in length.

The meat or fish stew spoon *ohaukasup* was a little bigger than the corn stew spoon *sayokasup*. The angle of the handle of the meat or fish

stew spoon was sharp and at the end of it there was a ring. It was easy to tell which was which at a glance. *Kasup* was used widely up to the end of the Meiji era. There were a few kinds of size for use. Especially for making sake, large *kasup* was used. Besides *kasup* there was a wooden spoon called *pera*. It is similar to the rice spatula of today, but the *pera* was much larger. It was used only to ladle boiled corn or hard boiled stew made of the starch.

VI. Ainu Meals

1. Frequency

The Ainu usually took two meals a day, breakfast and supper. Lunch was not an ordianry meal of the day. When they were busy, they ate lunch, but when they were not, they did not eat it. When they worked late at night, they sometimes took a snack in addition to supper but was not ordinary. Hence the Ainu ate two meals a day as a rule. Early in the Taisho era, the Ainu people began to have three meals a day for the first time.

As regards meal time of the Ainu, breakfast time depended upon the kind of the work they were doing. When they went out hunting, they ate breakfast at dawn. Otherwise they usually ate breakfast at 9 or 10. They ate breakfast after they had done their work. Mealtime in the evening was about 4 or 5. When they had a night snack, they had it as soon as they had finished the work after supper.

They could ask for another helping as a matter of course but they did not take a second helping, because bowls in those days were much larger than that of today. In their meals the main course was meat or fish stew. They ate meat or fish stew first. Next they had corn stew to kill the taste of the meat or fish stew. Until the end of the Meiju era, the staple food of the Ainu was fish and meat. Cooked corn was mainly used as stew. But from the beginning of the Taisho era, corn replaced meat and fish as the staple food. The stew had become unsatisfactory, therefore little by little the Ainu began to eat boiled corn. At the same time they began to use much smaller bowls as today.

2. Place

All the meals were taken around the fireside. The frame projecting out from fireplace served as a tray. The tray called *ochike* or *ita* was used only for guests. For the daily meal, the tray was not used at all. The place of each member of the family was always fixed. The place in front of the fireplace was the seat of honor. Right of the seat of honor was called the right seat and left of the seat was called left seat. Opposite the

seat of honor was the foot of the table. The host and the hostess and the little children sat on the right and the other members of the family sat on the left. The seat of honor was used for the guest. If there were many guests and not enough seats for all, they used the foot of the table called *hijiriza*. While in Japan, the host of the family took the seat of honor. On the left sat the hostess. The guest usually sat on the right.

3. Table Manners

The Ainu table manners were different from the Japanese. When they began to eat, the hostess of the family urged them to eat. To her family she said "*ipeanron*" and to her guests "*ipeyan*" or "*poronnoipeyan*", which means help yourself and eat plenty. To the hostess of the family, the family said nothing. However the guest usually made a little speech to the host and bowed to dishes before starting to eat. The bear meat was especially very important and when the guests ate it, they put it up to their forehead as a sign of respect. After the meal, the guest or the old man of the family said "*hinna*", "*iyairaikere*", or "*abaku*", which means "thank you". After the meal the hostess of the family put away all the bowls which were used during the meal. She put them in a basket made of bark. They washed the bowls in the washing place located either indoors or outdoors. Though there were no special manners at meal time among the Ainu, they were forbidden to do the following:

1. drop food and make light of food
2. say unnecessary things or look around
3. quarrel, discuss and stand up

VII. Dining Utensils

1. Bowls

The Ainu always used wooden bowls called *itanki* for fish or meat stew as well as for corn-stew. These bowls were not of their own making but they got them in exchange for fur from the Japanese or as wages for their help in fishing. The bowls were wooden and lacquered. Most were red, some were black. Each had a capacity of 0.5 litre and each had a different use: one for fish or meat stew, *ohauitanki* and one for corn stew, *sayoi-tanki*. Their shape was the same but their capacity was different. The former was one half as big as the latter. These were used as the bowls until the end of the Mieji era, and in some areas until the Taisho era. For plates, *rusa* or *kirusa* were used. They were made out of reeds knitted by Ainu themselves, 30 cm or 50 cm square, and used to dish up the boiled meat or fish instead of the bowls which was too large for them to be put in.

2. Spoons and Chopsticks.

The Ainu used the chopsticks, 3 or 5 cm longer than the present one, which use the Japanese. Wooden chopsticks, made out of the twing of a willow, were most popular among the Ainu. For the guests, however, chopsticks made of rushes were used and it was said that this sort of chopsticks was the original, being used only on a formal occasion. After the Meiji era, chopsticks made by themselves were only for the old people and then, in the Taisho era, they went out of use. Besides chopsticks, the Ainu used wooden spoons, *parapasui*, made by themselves. They were mostly used by the children and the old. Not only the children and the old but the men also would use them when they ate gruel made from the starch of dried lily-bulb. *Pera* was also a wooden spoon for use only by six or seven year old girls, not for use by boys and the old. This spoon was longer, 16 cm in length.

3. Trays

Most of the trays came from the island of Honshu. But some of them were made by themselves. There were two types ; those without legs, *ochike*, and those with legs, *kemaushiochike*. Both were not used by members of the family, but ouly by the guests. *Kemaushiochike* was set up for the individual and *ochike* was used to serve dishes on a individual table. These were used until the Meiji era, and in some areas, until the Taisho era.

VIII. Drinks

1. Alcohol

The Ainu drank Japanese sake and their homemade sake called *tonoto* or *ashikoro*. Sake was made from water oats, millet, and rice. It was customary in early times to make sake from water oats. The way to make sake was as follow. 1) boil the ingredients in the large oven and make gruel 2) after cooling the gruel, put in the malt made from millet 3) keep it in the *sakekarashintoko*, a pot used for making sake, for a week. It was possible to make sake in two or three days in necessary for use. The Ainu made sake just only for festival days such as the Bear Festival, *kamuinomi* in spring and autumn, and for housewarmings.

2. Tea

In the place of tea, the Ainu had a soup made from nuts of Amoor Cork Tree, silver magnalia, or bark of Manchurian Bird Cherry, Thurber's magnolia, *Elscholtzia Patorini*, *Schizandra chinensis*, or root of *Angelica reflacta*, *Seseli Libanotis*. Either from fresh or dried plants, they extracted

soup by boiling them in the oven and ladled the soup off and drank it in a bowl. They had these drinks not only after a meal as a tea but also as a remedy for colds and as a medicine for a stomack-ache. With the advent of green tea at the end of the Meiji era, these drinks were used only as medicine. Even today, in not a few districts, however, they are found to be efficacious as a remedy for a cold or a stomack-ache.

3. Sap

In eary spring, March or April, sap was extracted from such trees as maple, birch and walnut. First the bark at the trunk of trees was tapped, then a spout was put into the bark. A small wooden bowl was filled with sap in two or three hours. The Ainu had this sap "as it is" or warmed to serve as a drink. The sap from trees was boiled down and was used as substitute for sugar in cooking. Some kind of edible herbs and vegetables, for instance, hog-peanut, root of *Corydalis* are boiled with the condensed sap and served as food for children. Sap was popular beverage among them in Meiji era and Taisho era. During the war, as sugar was scarce, this syrup was considered to be valuable. But now, only childlen extract the sap from the trees and drink it as a between-meals refreshment.

4. Equipment for Sake

We have already described in another chapter the oven and the wooden spoon for boiling and stirring the corn-stew used in making sake, so further description is not needed here.

Tub, with a lid, made of *cryptomeria* board, had a capacity of 200 litres. Some were lacquered. This tub was used for fermenting the sake. Most of these tubs were acquired in exchange for the fur of bear and deer from the Japanese.

Crate, a large round basket was used to remove the sake lees by putting it on two bars over the tub.

Kemaushishintoko was a lacquered ware having four legs. At a banquent it was filled with sake and was placed at the side of the guest seat. It had a capacity of more than 20 litres. These were acquired from the Japanese in trades. During the Meiji era this was widely used for sake, but now used only for beans.

Sakepisaku was a ladle used to ladle sake from *kemaushishintoko.* The Ainu first made round wooden bowls, then put a handle on them about 60 cm in length.

Etonupp, echiushi was a sake-bottle having a slit, used to fill up a person's bowl. Most of them were lacquered.

Tsuki was a lacquered bowl for drinking sake, with 0.5 litre capacity.

This bowl was used for rice by the Japanese, but for sake by the Ainu. *Tsuki* was a bowl united with a saucer. On the special festivals, four bowls were placed on one tray to make one set. These bowls were also acquired in trade exchange.

Ikupasui was a long, 30 cm in length, wooden spoon. The Ainu had a custom of offering sake to God before the beginning of a banquet. They held the sake out on a spoon toward the altar. The spoon was used in pairs with *Tsuki*. *Ikupasui* was manufactured by the Ainu themselves.

IX. Dumplings

1. Millet cakes

Instead of the rice cakes eaten by the Japanese, the Ainu had cakes made of millet or starch from lily-bulb. Millet cake was called *shito* by the Ainu. After soaking the grains such as millet or hog-millet, they pounded them into flour. They kneaded and blended the flour with water in a wooden bowl, then made round cakes. They put these round cakes into boiling water, and ladle off the floating ones, cooled them, swished the water off and then dried them on the board placed over the fire. The dumplings were 7 or 8 cm in diameter, 1.5 cm in thickness. The larger and egg-shaped ones, 12 cm in diameter, were made on special festivals especially for guests. The Ainu ate dumplings with oil and salmon roe.

2. Lily-bulb cakes

There were two kinds of lily-bulb cakes, *Torepshito* and *Ontorepshito*.

Torepshito was made of starch from lily-bulb. They smashed the lily-bulb into fine pieces and mixed them with hot water, then made them into small round balls, 2 or 3 cm in diameter, and boiled them in the oven. The Ainu ate dumplings with oil, salmon roe or with corn stew.

Ontorepshito was made from the remainder of the starch from lily-bulb. It was large disk-shaped cake about 30 cm in diameter, and was for storage. They made a hole in a center and pass the thread through the hole and joined two cakes into one. They dried them in the open air being in ferment for one month. When they would eat these cakes, they cut them up fine with a knife, then removed the bitterness by dipping them in water. The Ainu made stew of these cakes or mixed them in corn stew as well as in other dishes.

3. Equipment

The mortar, the pestle, the bowl, the spoon all wooden and Ainu made, were used as tools to make dumplings. The Ainu used a mortar having a hollow in the middle. The pestle was used with one hand when they

threshed and ground the grain.

The wooden bowl was an equipment to mix flour with water. Among their different sizes, the oval one, 60 cm in length, 40 cm in width, 20 in depth was generally used to make dumplings and sometimes used as a pot for cutting *ontorepshito.*

The wooden spoon was the plain one 50 cm in length and was used to stir the stew to prevent scorching, or to scoop out the boiling dumplings or to cut both sides of the dumplings.

X. Smoking

1. Tabacco

Besides sake and dumplings, the Ainu had tabacco as their luxury. It was either got from the Japanese or cultivated by themselves. They picked up the leaves and dried and cut them into fine pieces and used for smoking. The leaves of wild grapes and mugwort were used for smoking as a substitution for tabacco.

2. Smoking Equipment

Nikisel, tanpakuoppu, piuchi, piuchishuma were used when they smoked. *Nikisel,* a tabacco pipe, was made of a curved part of the twig of such trees as *Hydrangea paniculata.* Its bowl was larger than the present one. It was about 40 cm in length. *Tanpakuppu,* a tabacco case, was made of carven wood of such trees as *Magnolia hypoleuca. Piuchi,* a steel, *piuchishuma,* a flint, was used to light the tabacco until the diffusion of matches at the end of the Meiji era.