

Misrepresenting the Ainu

—The Emergence of a False Myth and its Multiple Replications—

アイヌの誤った伝え方
—偽りの神話の出現とその多重複製—

Timothy M. Blankley
ティモシー・M・ブランクリー

To use Wallace's words, "it is impossible to avoid a suspicion that they are fully the equals of their masters, when we see the refinement and beauty of their best representatives."
(Poskett, 2019)

Over the course of history, the Ainu have been misrepresented by influential authors. The Ainu have several creation myths that have been documented by Batchelor (1901) and Munro (1996). Another myth, a late 18th century *Ainu-e* painting by Murakami Shimanajo (Murakami, 1799) published in *Curious Sights of Ezo (Ezoshima Kikan)* depicts a legend that a child was born from the union of a princess and dog and this child became the ancestor of the Ainu. Batchelor (1901) who knew of this myth was to dismiss it and his reasons will be expanded on below. Unfortunately for the Ainu, much of the early European interest in



AINO GIRL, URAP.

them relied on Japanese translators as informants and visitors informed their opinions accordingly. During the historical period the Japanese typically saw the Ainu as a dying race, treated them as such, and represented them in a poor light. This reached its zenith in the Meiji period. Even the most recent encyclopedic work published by the Smithsonian in (1999) cites the Murakami (1799) myth as do other influential nineteenth century authors cited in this paper. This paper will present multiple examples of published works that in this author's view completely

misrepresent the Ainu. The creations myths understood by the Ainu themselves will be also summarized for comparison. Finally, the paper will argue that the Ainu have suffered unduly as a result of these misrepresentations.

Romyn Hitchcock's (1892) "Aino Girl, Urap" (above) is one of dozens of images the photographer captured on the United States Eclipse Expedition to Japan (late 1880s). It appears in the published work, *Ainos of Yezo* (Hitchcock, 1892). Hitchcock shot photographic plates of artifacts, trade goods, burial sites, portraits, hunting tools, clothing etc. as well as collected what he could for the museum. Though a distinguished curator, he echoed the scientific view typical of the time: that the Ainu were living remnants of the stone age. Hitchcock goes on to call the tattooing of women barbaric; not recognizing the symbolism and meaning of the practice which was embedded in myth. The ash used in making the tattoo came from the goddess of the hearth, the principle Ainu deity, *Fuchi*, and the tattooing was an instruction from the goddess in the creation of the world, one of many Ainu myths recorded in Batchelor (1901). What Hitchcock (1892) also didn't understand was that tattooing for Ainu women was a rites-of-passage. As this myth in *Harukor* (Honda 2000) explains:

One day, a lightning deity and a wolf deity came to a nearby kotan to find a bride. They had nice figures and handsome faces; furthermore, they were of good families in the kotan, and had been educated accordingly. So the gods were quite satisfied.

Sadly, they both failed on one point. And that was that they were *tekehontomta charohontomta* (arms half-done, lips half-done); that is, the tattoos around their lips and on their arms were only half complete. The lightning and wolf gods were quite disappointed and went away, saying, 'There's just no way they'd be fit as brides'.

This is not the only myth on tattooing but it suffices to show that the Ainu were completing an important cultural/religious ritual.

Traveler, artist and self-proclaimed anthropologist, Savage Landor (1893) wrote the following about the Ainu after his months-long trek around the island. Here are two brief passages:

The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low. They have not sunk for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good. (p.291)

Batchelor (1901) will contradict this. Prior to the Ainu enlightenment they were wild and dangerous. The Japanese often fought with them throughout Japan as the Ainu were as far

south as Satsuma in Kyushu island. The Japanese fought many battles in order to subdue them. The Ainu were strong and formidable. The Ainu also reported how it was they came to be enlightened.

The Ainu were formerly cannibals. Not only did they eat the flesh of bears, deer, and other animals in its raw condition, but they used to kill and devour their own relations also. They even ate them without first cooking the flesh. But when the divine *Aioina* descended from heaven he taught the people to make fish-spears, bows and arrows, pots, pans and such like useful articles. He also commanded them to cook every kind of fish and all kinds of flesh before eating it. He furthermore warned them against the habit of devouring one another.' (Batchelor, 1901, p.2).

Savage Landor (1893) says elsewhere:

We must think of the Ainu more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. It is the same with the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. They are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible.

The Ainu Past

Kazuyoshi Ohtsuka (1999) states that the perception of the Ainu as hunters and gatherers is inaccurate and over looks a once more sophisticated trading culture for the past. Indeed the *Matsumae-han* (The Japanese clan who began to control trade during Edo after the battle of Sekigahara) relied on the Ainu-China trade for high quality silks. The Chinese run trading posts in the Amur river basin provided opportunities for many of the indigenous Northern Peoples to trade. Murakami (1799) painted an ocean going ship called an *Itamomachip* which shows such an ocean going vessel.

Angelis and fellow Jesuit Diogo Carvalho visited Ezo in 1620 (Abe, 2005) and reported a strong Ainu who were at the time still at liberty to trade. They mention large numbers of Ainu seafaring boats as well as trade with other islands and the Japanese in furs, eagle feathers (used in Japanese archery), silks, and lacquer-ware, etc. (Kikuchi, 2012)

Harrison (1954) documents the extent of the sea-trade while the Hakodate City Museum of Northern Peoples' collection of trade goods from the neighboring regions support this.

Evidently, when Savage Landor visited Hokkaido 30 years into Meiji rule, Ainu sea trade had long been extinguished by the strict policies that gave the Matsumae ruling class a complete monopoly over sea trade. The Matsumae clan closed this trade down incrementally. In the early days they adopted a formalized trading system which recognized chiefdoms (alien at first to the Ainu but established under Qing Chinese rules of trade). Eventually with the rise of Japanese merchants in Ezo: fisheries and mines emerged and the Ainu were recruited, often enforced, to work for their masters.

Once denied the right to trade, the Ainu were forced to rely on a more subsistence mode of existence, hence the nineteenth century image of hunter-gatherers. It is very doubtful Savage Landor was aware of any of this prior trade. When reading Savage Landor, he marvels at the skill of the Ainu fishing in the rivers—and he himself is helped to safety after breaking his leg, carried down a mountain and brought along the coast in an Ainu boat to safety.

In conclusion the celebrated artist's biases are clearly shown in his writings. While his paintings offer a remarkable visual history, he was unable to see through the repressive narrative that denigrated them. Savage Landor's renown and extensive travels (Korea, Tibet to mention two) would have meant he was widely read and thought of as an author of credentials, famous to this day.

The Ainu at the time when Isabella Bird (1881) visited Hokkaido were in fact suffering under the hands of the colonial rulers but apparently she failed to recognize this. Economic stress, loss of rights to hunt, forced into agriculture, loss of community (as men were forced into commercial hunting and fishing), had taken its toll on the Ainu at large. Notwithstanding, the Ainu fell victim to diseases that wreaked havoc on their communities. Walker (1999) estimates that there was a 40% drop in population between 1807 and 1854. Ainu villages were also reduced in size and number by smallpox. In addition, many Ainu had contracted syphilis, a disease which makes a person infertile. In her famous work *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) Bird states as fact that the Ainu consider themselves descended from dogs. The following extracts demonstrate Bird's attitude and those around her.

I asked Mr. Von S. to speak to Ito in Japanese about the importance of being kind and courteous to the Ainos whose hospitality I shall receive; and Ito is very indignant at this. "Treat Ainos politely!" he says; "they're just dogs, not men;" and since he has regaled me with all the scandal concerning them which he has been able to rake together in the

village.

LETTER XXXV

Several “patients,” mostly children, were brought in during the afternoon. Ito was much disgusted by my interest in these people, who, he repeated, “are just dogs,” referring to their legendary origin, of which they are not ashamed.

XXXVI

They have no history, their traditions are scarcely worthy the name, they claim descent from a dog, their houses and persons swarm with vermin, they are sunk in the grossest ignorance, they have no letters or any numbers above a thousand, they are clothed in the bark of trees and the untanned skins of beasts, they worship the bear, the sun, moon, fire, water, and I know not what, they are uncivilizable and altogether irreclaimable savages, yet they are attractive, and in some ways fascinating, and I hope I shall never forget the music of their low, sweet voices, the soft light of their mild, brown eyes, and the wonderful sweetness of their smile.

XXXVII

Their supposed ignorance Bird talks about is complete conjecture. It wasn't until approximately a decade later that the very respectful John Batchelor started documenting Ainu folklore and religion. Batchelor's published work number many hundreds of pages. *The Ainu and Their Folklore* (1901), is later supplemented by the very thorough work carried out in the 1930s by Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult* (1996). Munro's work showing a complex social structure, culture, religious beliefs, folklore and mythology, clan affiliations, ethical norms, shamanism, an egalitarian view of their own people and a tradition of reciting epic poetry. The tradition of reciting epic poetry continues to this day (Imaishi & Kitahara). The author of the well known historical work *The Conquest of Ainu Lands* (2001) writes elsewhere in his book *The Lost Wolves of Japan*: they “believed that their people were born from the union of a wolflike canine and a goddess.” Walker's (2001) claim is unreferenced. Walker goes on to say the Ainu sacrificed wolves (*iomante*); to the contrary killing wolves, although consider *kamui* (gods) were protected from hunting and in all of my research have never come across an account other than bears and owls being ‘sent off’. Batchelor says in the opening pages of *The Ainu and Their Folklore* (1901, p.6).

It has been remarked by some travelers that the Ainu consider themselves to have had a dog as their ancestor. But this is pure fiction, for I am well assured by the people

themselves that they think nothing of the kind. Nor do dogs in any way figure among them as totem animals, as they certainly would do, did they consider themselves to be their descendants.

A further point is that there is no elaboration of such a myth. If it were based in fact at all, dogs would be celebrated accordingly in *yukar*, the Ainu epic poetry that elaborates myths of gods; the bear, the orca, the owl, just to name a few.

How the Bear Clan Came About

In the 1930s Munro (1996, p.142) identified at least 8 clans related to animals. This came about through the discovery of clan markers, or otherwise sacred girdles, worn only by women. The girdles were associated with deities, which include bear deity, wolf deity and other animal deities.

Not all clans were of equal status. There is a myth of a young woman caught weaving a girdle (Munro, 1996 #2 p.143) resulting in her clan becoming lower in status to that of the *Isepo*, or the hare, as it was a taboo to expose the girdles for others to see. In another myth the goddess *A-e-oina Kamui* taught the skill and directions on making the girdle. Elsewhere, Munro writes in a letter to Seligman “the two girdles collected are labeled ‘attributed to *Kamui Fuchi*’. However as all women are associated to *Kamui Fuchi* it remained unclear to Seligman (1996) whether the girdle had dual or even multiple associations. Apparently though they did: they were clan markers and related by myth to the descent systems.

Seligman states (Munro 1996, p.144) the relationship here is as follows: “Munro was told that *Kamui Fuchi* instructed *A-e-oina Kamui*, who in turn taught the Ainu how to make *upshorokut*”.

A woman’s girdle, being associated with her clan, determined who she could and couldn’t marry. In confirming the right to marry, a girl’s mother would investigate the clan of her proposed husband. A woman could not marry a man whose mother was of the same clan. This indicates matrilineally even though a married woman went to live with her husband. Batchelor (1901) covers similar territory in the following account:

In very ancient times there lived two people who were husband and wife. The husband one day fell ill, and soon after died, leaving no children, so that the poor wife was left quite alone. Now it happened to have been decreed that the woman was at some future time to bear a son. When the people saw that the time for the child to be born

was nigh at hand, some said, "Surely this woman has married again." Others said, "Not so, but her deceased husband has risen from among the dead." But the woman herself said that it was all a miracle, and the following is an account of the matter:

One evening there was a sudden appearance in the hut in which I was sitting. He who came to me had the external form of a man, and was dressed in black clothing. On turning in my direction he said "O, woman, I have a word to say to you, so please pay attention. I am the god who possesses the mountains (i.e., a bear), and not a human being at all, though I have now appeared to you in the bodily form of a man. The reason of my coming is this. Your husband is dead, and you are left in a very lonesome condition. I have seen this, and am come to inform you that you will bear a child. He will be my gift to you. When he is born you will no longer be lonely, and when he is grown up he will be very great, rich, and eloquent." After saying this he left me.' By and by this woman bore a son, who in time really became a mighty hunter as well as a great, rich, and eloquent man. He also became the father of many children. Thus it happens that many of the Ainu who dwell among the mountains are to this day said to be descended from a bear. *Kamui sanikiri*—i.e., 'descendants of the bear.' Such people are very proud, and say, 'As for me, I am a child of the god of the mountains; I am descended from the divine one who rules in the mountains.' These people are very proud indeed. (p. 10)

A distinction should be noted that when the bear appeared to the woman, he was in the form of a man. The relationship with the bear is also more complex than the above folktale. Kitagawa (1961) explains one of the important creation myths explaining how *Kimun Kamui's* (bear god of high status) became known to the Ainu. This one focuses on how the Ainu learned the *iomante* bear ceremony.

In the beginning, the founder of the earth, Okikurumi, didn't recognize the bear god Kimun Kamui's great status as he was disguised. As a teacher of the Ainu, Okikurumi had to go through an ordeal with the bear in order to gain this sacred knowledge from the other god. It is from this meeting, and through Okikurumi that the Ainu learned "the way of *iomante*." Members of the Ainu community would have grown up listening to the oral recitation of such myths around the hearth in the form of *yukar*, or rhythmic oral recitations; some epic in length. Such knowledge has always been difficult for outsiders to ascertain as sacred religious ceremonies were held indoors and in private.

In 1961, Kitagawa observed one of the last *iomante* ceremonies to take place in Piratori, Hokkaido. His essay, "Ainu Bear Festival, Iomante," also draws on previous research particularly Hallowell (1928), Batchelor (1901), and Greey (1884).

The summary of the myth is as follows. The great Kamui Okikurumi (the founder of the human race) held a feast for other gods and failed to invite the bear god Kimun Kamui. The bear god came anyway and waited outside the door where the feast was held. After his departure, Okikurumi sensed the bear god's great spirit (*ramat*) and went in search of him in the mountains. When they finally met, Kimun Kamui stabbed the great god's knee with a reed and caused him great pain. Then he instructed the god to teach the Ainu about the bear's god status and how to treat the bear ceremonially. In return for this favor, Kimun Kamui healed the great Okikurumi's injury. Here we have the Kimun Kamui himself teaching the Ainu how to carry out the *Iomante* ceremony correctly.

One of the aspects of the *iomante* Kitagawa (1961) discusses it '*maratto-ne*,' to be a visitor and guest. The bear cub that is raised by the Ainu and treated as a great god is in disguise, a god in animal form, or theriomorphic. Just as Okikurumi didn't recognize the bear god initially and had to instruct the Ainu in this regard, the disguise has to be eventually removed. All *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon are in disguise—and a bear—can only return to heaven when its disguise is removed. Thus emancipated, the god can return to heaven. *Iomante* essentially removes the disguise.

It should be noted though that not all bears were considered to be gods in animal form. A bear, most notably a human killer, was considered evil (*wen*) and great effort was made to kill it and bury it with its head severed (Batchelor, 1901: 478). The head remains intact in *iomante*.

In Ainu mythology and folklore we see a clear self-awareness at a cultural level that involves a complex set of beliefs and a historical development as reported above by Batchelor (p.2) The Ainu recognize barbarism and had overcome it and acknowledged their enlightenment through forming cultural beliefs based on didactic myths.

It is said that the island of Yezo was made by two deities, a male and a female, who were the deputies of the Creator. The female had the west coast allotted to her as her portion of work, and to the male deity was assigned the south and eastern parts (Batchelor, 1901, p.38)

The creation itself was divided between the god and goddess. Elsewhere Batchelor (1901)

says that the differences in East and West Hokkaido, mountainous versus flat, also reflect this difference.

The Ainu tell this folklore about enlightenment in the context of them becoming the Ainu which Aioina taught them to be. One such myth involves cannibalism. There is no material evidence to suggest this was the case. The cannibalism for instance may have been a 'worse fear scenario' to the Ainu. It may have been used in the folktale as a warning to others that eating human flesh is a terrible thing to do. However, this may not be the case. Kubodera's *Ainujojishi: Shin'yo, seiden nokenkyo*, pp.527-29 in Philippi (1979, p.209) has a *yukar* citing cannibalism.

The yukar begins like this:

A cannibal elder sister raised me, and we lived on. When she went hunting in the mountains, she would [come back] carrying on her back equal amounts of human flesh and deer flesh. She would cook the deer flesh for me, and she would cook the human flesh for herself. This was the way we lived on and on.

To this point it would seem that there would be no further need for discussion having clearly established that the Ainu do indeed have overlapping myths explain their creation, the enlightenment, the birth of the *iomante* ceremony (bear sending). However, the myth about a princess and a dog bearing children persists in contemporary literature. Astonishingly, the author of *Ainu-e, Instructional Resource for the Study of Japan's Other' People* restates the myth and its consequences.

Clearly a transformation myth, just one of several origin legends, this is the most well-known among the Japanese. Not understanding transformation mythology, and believing that the bestiality aspect was morally offensive, Japanese, especially children, taunted Ainu children calling them hairy dogs. (Dubreuil, 2004)

It is unclear reading Dubreuil (2004) whether or not she accepts that the myth is of Ainu origin or not, or if she repeats it to point out the negativity caused by its use. The fact remains that she omits the myths that *are* clearly of Ainu origin. She does understand the transformational function: a bear god appears as a man and all deities: owl, orca, bears are actually gods in disguise. The fact is that in the Murakami myth, the dog is not in disguise. In the article "Mythology and Animal Tales" (Ogihara, 1999), Murakami's painting of the princess and dog is presented as 'one of several Ainu origin myths'. That said, Ogihara (p. 275) quotes another Japanese author, Sarashina (1971a) 'the dog and the maiden produce

two children.’ In the caption it states, “Although this tale is one of several Ainu origin myths,”…; the others are not presented.

Dubreuil (1999) is one of two editors of this encyclopedic work published by the National Museum of Natural History Smithsonian Institution giving it a rather weighty backing. In conclusion, here we have author repeating author without careful analysis.

It is highly doubtful that Murakami Shimanojo would have had sufficient language skills or the means to study Ainu creation myths but rather would have relied on Ainu informants who spoke Japanese during these audiences. It would be no surprise that there were misunderstandings; even lack of regard for the informant. Conversely, perhaps an Ainu informant saying what he believed the artist wanted to hear. No conclusions can be drawn about where Murakami got the idea. After all, the word Ainu sounds close to the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog, and there is no way of knowing whether the myth was already in circulation and inspired the painting that way.

Ainu mythology is so complex that there is little doubt Murakami would not have been able to grasp it in the context he was working. He was an artist and his method of communication was visual art. Looking at other *Ainu-e* paintings we see not only schooled stylization and disfigurement but also exaggeration in portrayals of the Ainu. The title, *The Curious Sights of Ezo* aims to entertain a Japanese audience and promote the artist’s career. Murakami should have been aware the importance of *kamui*, (often animals), in Ainu belief, so this may have been a contributing factor in the confusion.

Conclusions

For much of history the Ainu have not been able to control what was written about them and they have been portrayed in disrespectful ways by famous authors historically and contemporarily. Munro and Batchelor, the two most distinguished researchers that have written book length works present very different evidence. The problem with the myth depicted by Murakami Shimanojo is that it cannot be substantiated elsewhere with reference to any Ainu source. Batchelor and Munro spent decades painstakingly collecting ethnographic data on the people they genuinely marveled at. Bird, Hitchcock, Savage Landor, presumably Murakami neither understood Ainu language and had only brief interactions with the Ainu mediated by the Japanese point of view. Walker’s comments are baffling and it is a shame that Dubreuil’s “Instructional Materials’ for Canadian Undergrads” is

misinformed.

Ainu religion, transmitted orally through *yukar*, and myths, had didactic content through and through. Ainu rituals brought their myths to life. “It is through rituals that the ideas described in myths become realistic enough to convince people.” (Yamada, p.5). The goddess was involved with every aspect of Ainu life. “Kamui Fuchi punishes misconduct, ritual or ethical.” (Munro, 1996) The Ainu do not have temples or dedicated places of worship (Kitahara & Imaishi) but each *chise* (house) serves as a place of prayer. The goddess of the hearth is approached in prayer on every significant occasion. The deity of the fireplace ‘is believed to unify all deities that have descended from heaven to the human world (Kitahara & Imaishi). The myths show a clear line of descent, an enlightenment, the emergence of the bear god and the nature of the bear god who serves the Ainu people. Most, if not all, ritual practices would have been hidden from early travelers and Japanese visitors. It wasn’t until researchers such as Batchelor and Munro appeared, learned the language, established trust, and lived among the Ainu that accurate information could be collected.

References

- Abe, T. (2006). The Seventeenth Century Jesuit Missionary Reports on Hokkaido in Journal of Asian History, 39(2) 111–128. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41933412>
- Batchelor, John. (1901). *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore*. London: The Religious Tract Society.
- Bird, Isabella. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1881. Reprint by Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan, in 1973.
- Debreuil, C. (2004). Ainu-e - Instructional Resources for the Study of japan’s Other People. Education About Asia, Vol 9 Number 1. <https://www.asianstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/ainu-e-instructional-resources-for-the-study-of-japans-other-people.pdf>. Retrieved: Friday, November 24, 23
- Greedy, E. (1884). *The Bear Worshippers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto (Saghalin)*. Boston Lee and Shepard, Publishers New York.
- Hallowell, I. A. (1926). Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere. American Anthropologist New Series Vol 28, No1.
- Harrison, J. (1954). The Saghalien Trade: A Contribution to Ainu Studies. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 10 (3), 278–293. Retrieved May 27, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3629131>
- Honda, K. (2000). *Harukor: An Ainu Woman’s Tale*. University of California.
- Hitchcock, R. (1892). *The Ainos of Yezo, Japan*. Smithsonian Institution 1889–1890. United States National Museum. Washington Government Printing Office.
- Imaishi, M., & Kitahara, (n.d.) J. *Flowers and Inaw - Ainu Culture in the World*. Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies Booklet Vol 9. (Imaishi & Kitahara)
- Kikuchi, T. (2012). *The Ainu and Early Commerce in the Sea of Okhotsk*. Nippon.com. <https://www>.

nippon.com/en/features/c00103/

- Kitagawa, J. (1961). Ainu Bear Festival (Iyomante). *History of Religions*, 1(1), 95-151. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1061972> from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1061972>
- Munro, N. G. (1996). *Ainu Creed and Cult*. Routledge London and New York.
- Murakami Shimanojo (1799) published in *Curious Sights of Ezo* (Ezoshima Kikan)
- Ogihara S. "Mythology and Animal Tales." In *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, edited by Fitzhugh and Dubreuil, 274-7. Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in association with University of Washington Press, 1999b
- Ohtsuka K (1999) *Itaomachip: Reviving a Boat Building and Trading Tradition* In *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, edited by Fitzhugh and Dubreuil, 274-7. Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in association with University of Washington Press, 1999b.
- Philippi D. (1979) *Songs of Gods, Songs of Humans: The Epic Tradition of The Ainu*, Princeton University Press
- Poskett, J. (2019), *Materials of the Mind: Phrenology, Race, and the Global History of Science 1815-1920*.
- Savage Landor, A. H. (1893). *Alone with the Hairy Ainu. or, 3,800 Miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and a Cruise to the Kuril Islands*. Routledge London and New York.
- Walker, B. (2005). *The Lost Wolves of Japan*. University of Washington Press.
- Walker, B. (1999), "Foreign Contagions, Ainu Medical Culture and Conquest." In *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, edited by Fitzhugh and Dubreuil, 102-107. Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in association with University of Washington Press, 1999b.
- Walker, B. (2001). *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Takako, Y. (n.d.). *The World View of the Ainu*. https://www.academia.edu/1478933/The_World_View_of_the_Ainu Retrieved: Sunday, October 23, 2022
- Yamada (n.d.). *The World View of the Ainu - Nature and Cosmos Reading from Language*. Academia.edu. https://www.academia.edu/1478933/The_World_View_of_the_Ainu