

CHAPTER II:

EVIDENCE OF PARTICULAR SYMBOLS STABILITY IN EURASIAN PEOPLES' MYTHOLOGIES

The case of the “Temple of 18 Deities” cult is the bright example which shows that the process of changes in religious culture can be both gradual and sudden. Weller (1994, 1999) focuses in suddenness of the changes. Indeed, from the first glance it seems that the boom of the temple cult suddenly appeared from nowhere and the same suddenly was gone in nowhere nowadays. But from the other hand the analysis of the temple origin mythology and symbols, which are represented both in the cult and in the temple origin myths, shows that the opportunities for such sudden changes were created gradually during the long period of religious culture development when fazes of change and conservation were taking turns endlessly in Taiwan society. Moreover those opportunities traces into more remote times of gradual development of numerous religious cultures which were brought in Taiwan by multitude of migration waves not only from mainland but also from Pacific islands. And even more, the case of the “Temple of 18 Deities” cult gives us the example of many stable religious elements which were conserved from the period of Eurasian cultural unity and bring us to the Neolith and even Paleolithic epoch, when Taiwan Island was not separated from the Asian mainland.

After rough analyses of those stable religious elements it is reasonable to suppose that the “Temple of 18 Deities” cult is a mixture of many different cults and mythology symbols. In transformed form the same symbols remained inside various cultures all over Eurasia and Oceania. To find those common symbols traces I addressed to mythologies and fairy tales of different peoples all over Eurasia and Oceania. Studying the traces of the 18 deities’ cult symbols in mythologies of Eurasian peoples I found that many mythologies have the similar set of common symbols. If the similarity of individual symbols in different cultures not necessary means connections between those symbols and cultures, the similarity in the set of symbols suggests the high probability of such connections.

Here I show the set of those symbols, common both for 18 deities' cult of Taiwan and for mythologies of several peoples in Eurasia.

[Dog] One of the most stable elements in the “Temple of 18 Deities” cult is the symbol of a dog. Analyzing the origin of that symbol I found numerous traces of the former dog worshiping cult in mythology, fairy tales, and superstitions of many different peoples all over Eurasia.

[Otherworld] The dog symbol in mythologies of many various peoples all over Eurasia is connected to another stable religious element – an idea of the life after death and underworld. Despite the location of underworld differs in different cultural traditions (in some mythologies it is located under ground, in others under the water) the dog's image is equally close connected with it.

[Dog's Self-Sacrifice] The dog sacrificing motif of the 18 Deities myth reminds funereal rituals with dog killing to serve as spirit-guardians, which were probably wide spread all over Eurasia in Neolithic, Bronze and early Iron ages.

[Boat] The 18 Deities cult three symbols - dog, underworld and water - combination probably originates from the epoch of the first transportation revolution – and is connected with invention of a boat. People had developed a means of traveling on water even before they had domesticated the horse.

[Shipwreck] It is a historical fact that Taiwan indigenous people used to rob and kill shipwreck crews. The parallel between shipwreck records in Taiwan and the Trobrianders shipwreck mythology suggests that the myth of Taiwanese 18 deities' cult is connected also to the shipwreck mythology of sea nomadic peoples, who passed by and settled in Taiwan shores.

[18] Later new waves of Chinese immigrants during the Qing dynasty brought their variations of believe which build a more complicated combination of religious symbols. To the Qing dynasty period belongs the 18 deities' image, which corresponds to the images of Buddhist 18 level hell and 18 Arhats.

Of course every individual mythology doesn't demonstrate the full set. Every mythology has lack of several symbols; but the whole set could be reconstructed by comparison of those sets. I demonstrate it in a chart. To see the sets of common symbols more distinctly I divided them in four groups:

A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld (Itself)]

[Powerful Dead = Gods + Ghosts]

[Ghosts; Evil Spirit; Flying Witches]

[Flying + Shamanism]

[Grave]

[Cult of the Head]

[Cutting off the Enemy's Head]

B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

[Dog: Spirit-Guardian]

[Dog: Sacrificial Animal]

[Dog: Fortuneteller]

[Dog's Clan]

[Dog and Pig Clans' Dispute Motif]

C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Waters]

[Canoe = Ship]

[Boat in Funeral]

[Magic Canoe = Magic Ship + Flying Canoe = Flying Ship]

[Dangers on Waters and Ashore]

[Magic of Mist]

[Shipwreck]

[Drowned]

D. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Boar (a Pig):

[Hunted Animals + Otherworld]

[Pig (Boar) + Otherworld]

[Boar's Tusk]

[Magic Pig's Skin]

[Pig's Clan]

According to the picture I have got in my chart it seems that above-mentioned four groups of stable symbols represent the whole set of common Eurasian symbols which corresponds to 18 deities' cult symbolism of my study. Now I will describe in details the individual sets of common Eurasian symbols one after another. I will do it in the order of their geographical location from the main west point in Ireland to the main East point in New Guinea.

2.01. THE SET OF COMMON SYMBOLS IN CELTIC MYTHOLOGY

Describing the megalithic monument of Stonehenge Haviland (1975) adduces a good example of the series of cultural change in prehistory of the British Isles. Studying of Celtic mythology gives us many data, which appears as a kaleidoscope of different beliefs and illustrates the numerous cultural changes of Celtic and pre-Celtic prehistory. These data have multitude similarities with mythological symbols which bring us to so distant from the British Isles places like Russia, China, Taiwan, and New Guinea. Such similarities give us examples of cultural stability of basic religious symbols, which have

traces in Paleolithic and Neolithic epochs. Celtic mythology gives me abundant material to analyze Eurasian traces of the 18 deities' cult.

As Macculloch describes (Macculloch 1946, 7-8), in all lands wither the Celts came as conquerors there was an existing population. They imposed their language upon them, but just as many words of the aboriginal vernacular must have been taken over by conquerors, or their own tongue modified by Celtic, so must it have been with their mythology. Celtic and pre-Celtic peoples alike had many myths, and these were bound to intermingle, with the result that the Celtic legends, which are known nowadays, must contain remnants of the pre-Celtic aboriginal mythology. That mythology is now fragmentary, and it would be difficult to say which fragments are of Celtic and which of non-Celtic origin. In the continent the influences of Roman civilization and religion were fatal to Celtic mythology, which was oral. The Roman gods took the place of Celtic gods; the people became romanized and forgot their old beliefs. Despite the old traditions survived among the folk, as folk-lore or fairy superstition, their meaning is already uncertain. Even Christian influence was less destructive for Celtic myths than was Roman civilization. That is a reason why mythology of island Celts got its written form and survived. As Macculloch says (*ibid.*: 18-20) in Ireland myth was transmuted into pseudo-history, where gods were regarded as kings and chiefs, heroes, saints, or fairies, and were brought into a genealogical scheme.

2.01-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld] According to Macculloch (1946, 14-15) Irish mythology tells nothing about the world of the dead, but has image of a god's land or Elysium, to which the living were sometimes invited by immortals. The Elysium was placed in distant islands, in the hollow hills, or under the waters. According to Plutarch around Britain there were many desert islands, named after gods and heroes. Plutarch's informer, Demetrius, visited one such of island, inhabited by a people whom the Britons regarded as sacred, and while he was there, a storm arose with fiery bolts falling. This the people explained as the passing away of one of the mighty, for when a great soul died, the atmosphere was affected. The motif with the sacred distant islands, inhabited by immortals reminds me the similar

motifs in New Guinea Trobrianders' shipwreck mythology, which is described by Malinowsky (1922). It looks that such kind of beliefs could be common for sea nomadic people, and probably has not the same origin, but reflects similarity in the way of life and environmental peculiarities. Very often in mythologies of different peoples all over the world the sacred lands are situated in distant places, which are dangerous and difficult to be reached: deep jungle, high mountains, deserts and far away islands; it depends of environmental peculiarities. According to Shkunayev (2000) the otherworld of Celtic tradition was placed in the ocean. In the west were situated islands of bliss, where the time stopped (telling about Britain Plutarch mentioned the island, where Kronos was imprisoned); there is abundance and eternal youth. These islands were called as the Great Land, the Land of Life, and the Land of Women. The last name is interesting, because with the same name Taiwan was called by ancient Chinese. In the north part of ocean was placed the land of oblivion and death, which corresponds to ideas of many Siberian peoples.

[Powerful Dead = Gods + Ghosts] The image similar to Chinese powerful dead we can find in the story about early inhabitants of Ireland, the *Tuatha De Danann*. The story says that after the *Tuatha De Danann* were defeated, they retired to subterranean palaces, “emerging now and then to help or to harm mortals (Macculloch 1946, 46)”. The deceased *Tuatha De Danann* behave exactly in the same manner as the Taiwanese 18 Deities, who also are connected with underworld and actually represent powerful ghosts of Chinese religious tradition.

[Grave; the Cult of the Head; Otherworld; + *Crossing the Waters*] In the British Celts mythology there is an interesting story describing the burial ritual, which is very similar to Austronesian-speaking peoples' tradition. In that story an ancient hero Bran, a son of Llyr, before his death bade his people to cut off his head and bury it at London, looking toward France (Macculloch 1946, 101). After that his buried head protected the land from invasion. Macculloch affirms (*ibid*: 104) that the myth reflects the real custom. It was believed among ancient Celts, bodies and heads of warriors had a great power and that was a reason to exhibit or bury them in the direction whence danger was expected.

Macculloch suggests (*ibid*: 104-105) that the Bran's image is the Brythonic equivalent of Gaulish god of the underworld, Cernunnos. He says also that the story of Bran's wading to Ireland, when his men following in ships, represents his crossing the waters to Hades to reign there as lord of the dead. It was believed that the Elysium, Celtic otherworld, was situated in distant islands, in the hollow hills, or under the waters. In such context the Ireland could be understood by Brythons as a country of the dead. There are some English fairy tales describing three heads in the well, which could fulfill wishes. A well in many peoples mythology is a way to underworld. The three heads image also is similar to image of Cernunnos, Gaulish god of the underworld, who often was depicted as three heads (*ibid*: 104). An article in Wikipedia (Urnfield culture) mentions the Kyffhäuser caves site of the Urnfield archaeological culture (c. 1300 BC - 750 BC) in Thuringia which supposed belong to Proto-Celts (Mallory 1992, 106) and contains headless skeletons and split human and animal bones that have been interpreted as sacrifices. Probably the site is an archaeological evidence of ancient head cult, which traces we observed in Celtic mythology.

2.01-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

[Dog: Archaeological Evidence] The dog is the oldest domestic animal. How and when dogs became domesticated is disputed. McGourty (2002) says that some genetic evidence indicates that the domestication of dogs began in the late Upper Paleolithic, between 17,000 and 14,000 years ago. Trubshaw (1994) gives detailed picture of the dog cults among Eurasian peoples. Mythology and archaeological evidence brings examples of a very specific role for dogs in the Neolithic and Bronze Age cults, when they served as the 'psycopomps', the guides to the otherworld, and the guardians of the boundaries between the worlds.

[Dog: Spirit-Guardian] British archaeologists found two dogs at the Flag Fen Neolithic/Bronze age complex near Peterborough (England). As Trubshaw informs (1994) the both dogs have been ritually killed "to serve as spirit-guardians, at a site which was undoubtedly a major focus for funereal rituals over many centuries." At another Bronze Age site of Caldicot in Gwent (Wales) a dog was buried in a manner which suggests its

role as ritual guardian. According to Trubshaw (*ibid.*) dog's cult was common among hunting peoples. Hunted animals often were understood as messengers of the otherworld powers. Such in the Irish and Welsh literature there is a correlation between hunter/hunted and the divine world. Dogs were used in the hunting and this may have been the origin of their symbolic link with death. Trubshaw (*ibid.*) pays attention also on the fact that during the Bronze Age Europe only few of the population were buried and assumes that dog's cult could originate from the *excarnation* rituals. The *excarnation* is the burial practice of removing the flesh of the dead, leaving only the bones. Excarnation may be carried out by leaving a body exposed for animals to scavenge, like the Tibetan sky burial, Comanche platform burials, and traditional Zoroastrian funerals.

[Dog: Fortuneteller] Among many cultures there is a belief that the 'essence' of the food is absorbed by the eater. The ninth century British author Cormac comments on a custom known as *Imbas Forosnai* which dates back to before the Anglo-Saxon times. This rite involved foretelling the future by chewing on the flesh of pigs, dogs or cats. By the eating dog flesh a fortuneteller could get dog's ability act as psychopomp. And opposite, a dog eating a corpse would be considered to be taking in not only its flesh but also the soul. Corradi Musi (1997, 14-16) found connections between the metamorphosis of shaman into an animal and totemism. She informs that the secret language of shaman could be acquired by eating the flesh of the animals, which is considered to be the seat of the souls of the dead.

[Black Dog in Britain and in Taiwan] Black dog is a very popular image in British folklore. In British legends the black dog is a *nocturnal spectre*, and its appearance was regarded as *a portent of death*. It is often associated with electrical storms, and also with crossroads and places of execution. Its Welsh form is confined to the sea-coast parishes, and on the Norfolk coast the creature is supposed to be amphibious, coming out of the sea by night.

After analyzing the main features of the British folklore dog images and comparison with the main motifs of the "Temple of 18 Deities" in Taiwan, surprisingly I found many common symbols. I show it in the following table:

Table 1: British Folklore and the Temple of 18 Deities Dog Symbols' Comparison

In British Folklore	In the Temple of 18 Deities
night;	night time worship;
coming out of the sea; amphibious; sea-coast parishes; dog appears in harbor;	dog appears from the boat; sea-coast parishes; the temple is situated between two harbors: Keelung (基隆) and Damshui (淡水);
a story is believed to have been encouraged by smugglers who wanted to discourage nocturnal movements by people who might witness the movement of contraband;	there is a custom-house near to temple;
phantom whose appearance presages storms;	storm in the story of the temple origin;
a portent of death; a foreteller of someone's death;	horrible story about close to death illness because of disrespect to the temple; 17 corpses in the boat;
black color of the dog; Black Dog of Death;	black color of the dog; black dog has deal with death;
dog sinks into the ground; guardian of the underworld;	dog jumps into the grave; guardian of the dead corpses;
benevolent;	guardian of the dead corpses;
protector; a protector and guide of lone travelers;	guardian of the travelers' dead corpses;
spirit of a chimney sweep executed for murder; gibbet; appearing before executions; phantom of someone who was hanged for falsely accusing	drowned corpses of 17 travelers;
revenge upon murderers.	smugglers, gangsters, gamblers, prostitutes among worshipers;

[Dog's Clan] The fact that many characters of Celtic mythology have names connected with a dog symbol could testify existence of dog's clans in ancient Celtic and Proto-Celtic societies. The names with the part "cú" which means "hound" very often appear in Irish Annals and mythological cycles. For example I found such as Cú Choigeríche with the meaning "hound of the border"; Cú Mara with meaning "hound of the sea"; Cú Ulad with meaning "hound of the Ulstermen".

Describing the mythological cycle about Cú Chulainn, Macculloch (1946) mentioned that one of the characters, Lugaid, was called *Mac na Tri Con*, which means "Son of the Three Dogs". Explaining this detail Macculloch says (*ibid*: 156) that Lugaid's mother, a wife of Cú Roí, had loved at the same time two other men with the names Cú Chulainn and Conall. The word *cú* in those names means "dog"; and *con* of Conall is the genitive of *cú*. The name Cú Chulainn means "Culann's Hound". Cú Chulainn is the main character of the huge mythological cycle. And it looks like his character is connected with the ancient Celtic dog cult. Cú Chulainn was originally named Sétanta, but received his better-known name after he killed Culann's fierce guard-dog in self-defense, and offered to take its place to guard Culann's house. The druid Cathbad announces that his name henceforth will be *Cú Chulainn* – "Culann's Hound". Macculloch, citing Baudis, suggests that the name Cú Chulainn could be given him in some ceremonial way at puberty and the mythical story is a later explanation of the name origin (*ibid*: 142). It is said that Cú Chulainn died because he was forced to break the taboo against eating dog meat, the flesh of his namesake. Macculloch tells that "on his way three crones, cooking dog's flesh with poisons and spells, called him" (*ibid*: 156).

[Cutting off the Enemy's Head] In this way he was spiritually weakened for the fight ahead of him and as a result Lugaid cut off his head. The episode has parallel with many Austronesian speaking peoples' tradition of cutting off the enemies' heads. And it is not wide known that the similar tradition existed among certain Indo-European languages speaking peoples, such as the Celts and Scythians of ancient Europe. The cutting heads off events are very often repeated in the Cú Chulainn mythological cycle.

[Dog + Boar] In the famous tale about Mac Dathó's boar (*ibid*: 145) it is said that Mac Dathó', a king of the Leinster, one of the provinces in Ireland, had a hound, which used to defend all the Leinstermen. If only one dog could defend the whole country it is clear for me that it should be a deity. Actually the myth, which is named *Mac Dathó's Boar*, is not about the boar, but about the hound with the name Ailbe, which was famous all over Ireland. Because of that the powerful and dangerous neighbors came to Mac Dathó with the purpose to buy that dog. They promised the price of six thousand milk-cows, a chariot and two the best horses and its equivalent at the end of the year in addition to this. I don't believe that it could be a price just for an unusual animal. I suppose the neighboring tribes wished to buy a right to replace a powerful religious cult center to their territories. That is a reason why the competition for the best parts of the gigantic boar on the ceremonial feast coursed a bloody battle between Mac Dathó's dangerous guests. The boar's flesh was used as an instrument, which helped Mac Dathó to win his dangerous buyers, who actually forced him to sell the hound. In this sense a dog and a pig appear here as the parts of the single cult. It is important detail also that later Mac Dathó's used his hound in the battle field to predict the result of the fight between his dangerous guests.

[Dog and Pig Clans' Dispute Motif] Some Celtic plots depict the struggle between a giant wild pig and Manannan's hounds, where the pig drowned the following hounds in the lake. But Manannán mac Lir is the Celtic god of the sea. He has the strong connections to water, the Otherworld islands of the dead, to weather and the mists between the worlds. Very often he is seen as a psychopomp. So, it seems to me very strange that a wild pig could drown his hounds. And why drown? But from the other hand the plot reminds me the Trobrianders myth of the dog and the pig clans' dispute about the priority of their rank in society (I will tell about it later in the part devoted to Trobrianders' mythology). Probably, such Celtic stories keep traces back to the similar struggle for power in ancient Celtic society. Macculloch points (*ibid*: 126) another aspect of the stories about fabulous swine. He says it is possible that a wild pig represents there "some hurtful power dangerous to vegetation"; and so a demoniac beings.

[Reconstruction 1] If so, then such meaning should appear among agricultural population, and in this case those stories could have traces back to the several cultural changes, which could take place in prehistory times:

1. Paleolithic hunting cult of a *wild boar* as an item of game, similar to Siberian bear cult;
2. First period of dispute with the *dog* cult of inventive culture of hunters, who succeeded to domesticate a *dog* and used it to hunt;
3. Early Neolithic *Pig-Breeders'* cult and second dispute with the *dog* cult, when a *pig* was also domesticated and became more productive meat source;
4. Neolithic agricultural invaders struggle with local aboriginal and indigenous population—both hunters and *pig*-breeders; third dispute between *Pig* and *dog* cults—now with the *dog's* watching function cult, when *pigs* became a threat for agricultural harvest.

With passing of time the traces to all these stages could mix together in different variations of legends and fairy tales, which in result reached us in very confused plots; where only the main stable symbols stayed untouched.

2.01-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Canoe = Ship + Otherworld] One of the ways to reach the otherworld is traveling on boats. Noodén (1992), citing Ford (1977), says that waters, such as wells, springs, and rivers, were understood by Celts as the magical places that border with the otherworld.

[Dangers on Waters and Ashore] In Trobrianders' mythology the supreme power against any dangers on waters and ashore lies in the magic of mist. The similar magic of mist motif is mentioned by Macculloch (1946 - 38, 43) in his study of ancient Celtic mythology.

[Magic of Mist] Citing the *Book of Invasions*, Macculloch informs (*ibid.*: 42-43) that when the last invaders, the *Milesians*, arrived in Ireland, which was ruled by three Kings of the *Tuatha De Danann*, the three Kings fighting with those invaders used a magic mist. It was said by the way that the *Milesians* were descendants of a Scythian noble expelled from Egypt, who came first to Spain. His descendant, farther or grandfather of Mile built

a tower there and from the tower saw the coast of Ireland. With ninety followers he sailed to Ireland, but was killed there by three Kings of the *Tuatha De Danann*. After that the chiefs of the *Milesians* started invasion, so the *Tuatha De Danann* made a magic mist, and the Ireland appeared like a hog's back—hence the island name of that times, Muic-Inis, means “Pig Island.” The episode with mist reminds the magic tradition of Trobrianders' in New Guinea who have developed shipwreck mythology, and the magic mist is very important element there.

[Shipwreck; Drowned] The development of the *Milesians* and the *Tuatha De Danann* struggle story gives us more common with Trobrianders' shipwreck mythology motifs. The story also describes the storm and shipwreck! After the first negotiations with the *Tuatha De Danann* the *Milesians* returned to their ships, “but no sooner had they gained the desired distance than the Druids and poets of the gods raised a storm (*ibid*: 44).” The storm was recognized as a Druidic one. The *Milesians* answered with an archaic animistic rune, and the storm ceased. The similar tradition of speaking a magic spell against the storm there is in Trobrianders' shipwreck mythology. The *Milesians* landed and started the arms struggle with the *Tuatha De Danann*; but in that moment the storm burst forth again wrecking the ships, and drawing many.

2.01-D. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Boar (a Pig):

[Hunted Animals + Otherworld] Another way to reach the otherworld was connected with hunted animals. Very often an animal guide to the otherworld was represented by unusual hunted animal, which was noteworthy in appearance and get the attention of the hunter by their supernatural shape, color, speed, and power (we can compare it with Trobrianders' *tauva'u* image that appears in the shape of unusual colored animal). Very often such animal has white color: white deer in stories about King Arthur; Pryderi and Manawydan pursue a “gleaming white boar” (Ford 1977, 80) which leads them and their dogs to a magical trap. It is interesting, that exactly the same plot of hunting a white deer exists in Thao's (Taiwan) mythology, so far away from Ireland!

[Pig] Pigs as well as dogs were sacral animals in Celtic Bronze Age culture. In Celtic mythology a pig was a very important magical symbol, which also was connected with

the concept of underworld. In mythology of many peoples a pig (the same as a dog) was used in funeral ceremonies as the 'psycopomp', the guide to the Otherworld. We should take to consideration that hunted animals in general were understood as messengers of the Otherworld powers (Trubshaw 1994). Saunders (1995, 84) mentions that druids called themselves "boars" to identify themselves with knowledge of the forest secrets. Celtic peoples regarded the boar as a sacred and prophetic beast with magical protective functions in religion. Citing MacCulloch (1911, 356) Noodén (1992) says that besides to representing fertility and wealth, boars symbolize courage and strong warriors for they are strong, dangerous, and very hard to kill. According to Wickersham (2000, Vol.1, 44) in Celtic mythology the boar symbolizes war, and its image was carved on helmets.

[Pig and Dog Clan's Dispute Motif] Macculloch retells (*ibid*: 23-40) one of the Irish Celts myths which describes a story of three brothers (Brian, Iuchar, and Iucharba) who changed themselves into hounds to fight an enemy magician, Cian, who striking himself with a Druidic wand, became a pig. Brothers succeeded to kill Cian. Then they buried his body seven times, but earth rejected it. Because of that Cian's son knew about this deed, and he forced killers to bring many magical treasures for him. This motif reminds the Dog and Pig clans' dispute of Trobrianders' mythology (I will tell about it in the part devoted to Trobrianders' mythology). The act of transformation into animals from the other hand is a very popular image of shamanism all over Eurasia; the struggle between shamans changing their shapes is a common part for many shamanic cults. More over, three brothers image reminds tripartite social organization of early Indo-Europeans, which was studied by Dumézil (Mallory 1992, 130-135). The traces to the similar tripartite social structure I found in Trobrianders' mythology. I describe this also in the Trobrianders' mythology part.

[Magic Pig's Skin + Boat] Three brothers crossed the sea in canoe and succeeded in obtaining the treasures. But finally the murders were perished by inhabitants of a hill, where was prohibited to shout, because they refused to give them the magic pig's skin which healed all wounds. This myth, by the way, is very similar to the Greek story about Argonauts, who crossed the sea to get the magic Golden Fleece, sheep's skin.

2.02. THE SET OF COMMON SYMBOLS IN GERMANIC MYTHOLOGY

2.02-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld] Germanic mythology has a very complicated image of otherworld. In Norse mythology there are at least three places with different names and functions (*Asgard*, *Valhalla* and *Hel*) which could be understood as the otherworld. Wickersham (2000, Vol.3, 93) mentions the rainbow bridge which connects the earthly level of the universe, Midgard, with the upper heavenly level, contained *Asgard*, *Vanaheim*, *Alfheim*, and *Valhalla*.

Asgard is a capital city of the *Aesir* gods, a mythic country of ancestors. *Valhalla* is an enormous hall located in *Asgard* and ruled over by the god Odin. According to Dumezil (1973, 29) *Valhalla* is “entered after crossing a large and noisy river” and clearing the “old gate whose lock only a few men know how to open”. The similar motif with the gate, which the special creatures, *Culsu*, only could open, I found in Etruscan mythology (Jannot 2005, 63-64). *Culsu* means a person in charge of a door. He guides a soul of the dead in its way to the Afterworld. *Valhalla* is a hall of the chosen dead. Chosen by Odin, only great warriors, “the nobles, knightly and charming types of the heroes” (Dumezil 1973, 29), that die in combat travel to *Valhalla* upon death. *Valhalla* is a resting place for them and is not underground.

How about *Hel*? According to Wickersham (2000, Vol.2, 111), *Hel* was the name of the Norse goddess of the dead and also the name of the world of the dead. *Hel*, daughter of the trickster god *Loki*, was sent by Odin to *Niflheim*, the underworld, and became the queen of all who died from old age or sickness. Wickersham mentions, by the way, that the English word for the underworld “hell” comes from the same Norse word. Wickersham says also that the underworld “*Niflheim*” received the name “*Hel*” after *Loki*’s daughter’s name. According to Lindemans (1997) *Niflheim* (“house of mists”) is the far northern region of icy fogs and mists, darkness and cold. It is situated on the lowest level of the universe. *Niflheim* lays underneath the third root of world tree, on the same level with *Nastrond*, the Shore of Corpses, where the serpent eats corpses.

[Grave + Runestones + Hermas] *Runestones* of Germanic peoples are generally memorials to deceased men. The early runestones appeared in the 4th and 5th century in Scandinavia and were usually placed next to graves. The main purpose of a *runestone* was to mark territory, to explain inheritance, to bring glory to dead kinsmen and to tell of important events. *Runestones* are connected with graves and cult of Odin in the same manner as *hermas* of ancient Greece are combined with the cult of Hermes who is very similar to Odin in terms of shamanic cults' traces. The image of Odin, who recognize himself as the noble or "half the dead" (Dumezil 1977, 7) is connected with the otherworld and traces to shamanism. Eliade & Couliano (1991, 110) mention that in ancient Rome Odin was identified with Mercury (Hermes). The name Hermes, the Greek phallic god of boundaries, derived from the Greek word *herma* (ἑρμα), with the meaning of a cairn, a pile of stones or a rectangular pillar, which in ancient times was placed on graves. Later a pile of stones started to serve as a wayside marker; each traveler added a stone to the pile. In the 6th century BCE in Athens the cairns were replaced with a square or rectangular pillar of stone or bronze topped by a bust of Hermes with a beard and an erect phallus. In the more primitive form *hermas* were represented by a standing stone or wooden pillar with a carved phallus (Burkert, 1985).

[Odin; Hermes + Shamanism] As a crosser of boundaries, Hermes Psychopompos ("conductor of the soul") was a psychopomp, who brought dead souls to the Underworld. Being the patron of boundaries he became a god of the travelers, who cross them, a god of commerce and of thievery also. Hermes helped travelers have a safe and easy journey; so many Greeks would sacrifice to Hermes before any trip. Hermes was the god of thieves because he was very cunning and a thief himself. His function of a psychopomp could be seen in his obligation to deliver messages from Olympus to the mortal world. As the Siberian shamans he flied between the mortal and immortal world. As a crosser of boundaries Hermes was seen to be manifest in any kind of interchange, transfer, and the transition to the afterlife, all of which involve some form of crossing in some sense. This explains his connection with transitions in one's fortune by the interchanges of goods, words and information involved in trade, interpretation, oration and writing. I would like to say that he could be also a god of cultural exchange and cultural change; so a god of this my study as well.

I think the cult of Hermes has nomadic origin. Shamanism with its famous séances of crossing borders between worlds of live and dead also seems to be a nomadic ideology. Hermes is also known as a god of shepherds and cowherds, one of nomadic culture types. Hermes's cult complex of functions brings light for understanding the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult function. Under light of ancient Greek Hermes's cult I see the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult development as a transformation of original hunters' dog cult through several intermediate stages into modern cult of smugglers, gamblers, thieves, and prostitutes.

Meletinsky & Gurevich (2000 Vol. 1, 290) suggest that Germanic Loki's and Odin's images' origin could be found in shamanic believes. Those images, according to Meletinsky & Gurevich, could be a later transformation of black and white shamanism functions. Loki, a father of the goddess of dead, could be interpreted as a black shaman and Odin, a host of a heavenly hall of the chosen dead, could be understood as a white one. According to Dumézil (1973, 7) one of the most important gods of Germanic tradition, Odin, was connected with the otherworld and recognized himself as "half the dead". It is said also that when Odin changed his appearance by magic, his body was left lie as if he was asleep or dead (*ibid*: 28), very similar to shamanic practice. Corradi Musi (1997) describing the presence of shaman metamorphosis in European mythology as an example notes shamanic character of Odin in Germanic mythology.

[Cutting off the Enemy's Head + the Cult of the Head] Dumézil cites also the text of Ynglingasaga (*ibid*: 9-10) where I found an interesting fragment, which corresponds to another shamanic, the Finno-Ugric cult of the head. In the fragment, which describes the war between the Aesir group of gods (Odin, Frigg, Thor, Baldr, Tyr and others) and the Vanir group of gods (Njord, Freyr, Freyja), the Vanir killed one of the Aesir's warriors, Mimir, a very wise man. Vanir beheaded him and sent the head to the Aesir. Odin who was a god of the Aesir group took the head and "embalmed it with herbs so that it would not rot, and spoke charms over it, giving it magic power so that it would answer him and tell him many occult things." According to Wickersham (2000, Vol.3, 59) Odin kept the Mimir's head alive in a shrine near the base of the world tree. During his life the giant Mimir was a guardian of the well of knowledge located at the base of the world tree. After his death the well of knowledge sprang from the spot where Mimir's head was kept.

Mimir's head allowed to Odin to drink the well waters to get wisdom only after Odin left one of his eyes in the well (*ibid*: Vol.3, 59-60). After that when Odin wished to learn secrets from other worlds Mimir's head could give him answers (Dumezil 1973, 28).

2.02-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

According to Saunders (1995, 72) Valkyries of Norse mythology ride wolves across the sky. Probably this image represents the scavengers' behavior of wolves in the battlefields, because the Valkyries are known as fierce creatures who took part in battles and "devoured bodies of the dead on battlefields" (Wickersham 2000 Vol.4, 87).

[Dog, Wolf + Boar] Dumezil (1973, 28) mentions that Odin could make his warriors act in battle like mad dogs or wolves. They went to battle without coats and neither fire nor iron affected them. Such behavior was called berserker rage. Eliade & Couliano (1991, 112) find parallels between such noble warriors, berserker, and shamans, saying that "the death of warrior was the equivalent of a supreme ecstatic experience" of shamans. Corradi Musi (1997) reminds images of berserker ("the warriors with the bear skin") and *ulfhedhnar* ("men with the wolf skin") when describes parallelism among totemic symbols in ancient Germans culture and shamanism. Describing Valhalla Dumezil cites the following fragment:

Five hundred doors and four tens,

I think there are at Valhalla;

Eight hundred warriors

Go out of each door,

When they go to fight the *wolf*. (*ibid*: 30)

Unfortunately Dumezil doesn't say anything about the "wolf" symbol meaning, which is very important for my study. In stanzas 8 to 10 of *Grímnismál* the "wolf" image is mentioned again. It is said that a wolf hangs in front of Valhalla's west doors. In chapter 38 of *Gylfaginning*, chapter 2 of the *Prose Edda* it is said that a huge amount of heroes are already in Valhalla, "but yet this amount will seem to be too few when the wolf comes." It is said also that to feed all those warriors in *Valhalla* a huge boar is cooked

every day and is again whole every night. This image of endless boar meat is similar to the Celtic tradition. Wickersham (*ibid*: Vol.4, 87) says that the warriors of *Valhalla* enjoyed a glorious afterlife and awaited a time of a great destruction of a final battle against the forces of evil. It seems that the image of “wolf” which should come represents those forces of evil. The wolf which hangs in front of *Valhalla*’s west doors very probably is *Fenrir*, a child of the trickster god *Loki*. Gods of *Asgard* throw out *Loki*’s other children—*Jormungand*, a giant serpent, and *Hel*, the goddess of the dead, but they were frightened to leave the wolf *Fenrir* in his own (*ibid*: Vol.2, 57). They decided to chain him in *Asgard* instead and later when he grew incredibly large they took him to an isolated island. But according to mythology, *Fenrir* will be released before the time of a great destruction and will swallow Odin in the last battle. So, it looks that my assumption is right and the image of a giant wolf *Fenrir* is a symbol of destruction and death of the world. Eliade & Couliano (1991, 110) also underline the destructive function of the wolf *Fenrir*. Saunders (1995, 72) also mentions the “cosmic wolf” *Fenrir* who in the last cosmic battle devours Odin. From the other hand, Odin which represents positive power also has wolves and ravens among his animal helpers, which connect him with the world of dead. It is said in *Prose Edda* that Odin has his own two wolves *Geri* and *Freki*. He gives them his food because in *Valhalla* Odin doesn’t need to eat, he only drinks mead. *Geri* is translated as “Greedy”; *Freki* is “Ravenous.” This fact gives me an idea that “wolf” symbol expresses only connection with the afterworld, but has not meaning of “evil” or “good”. Wickersham (*ibid*: Vol.3, 100) also says that Odin was often accompanied by wolves and ravens, flesh eaters that liked battlefields. Odin’s ravens with the names “Thought” and “Memory” traveled around the world and the underworld telling their master what they had seen.

2.02-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Boat + Indo-Europeans] Dumezil in his study of the ancient Northmen religion (*ibid*: 76) says the Indo-Europeans before their dispersion had a common word for “boat” (Sanskrit *nauh*, Latin *navis*, etc.). The same is said by Mallory (1992, 119-120). It means that the early Indo-Europeans already were people close connected with water routes.

[**Magic Canoe = Magic Ship + Boar**] Describing Odin's magic Dumezil (*ibid*: 28) mentions that he had a ship called *Skithblathir* which could be folded together like a cloth and on which he sailed over great seas. Describing Freyr, the Northmen god of agriculture, weather, and a phallic fertility Dumezil (*ibid*: 77) again mentions the magic boat. But in this time the boat which could be fold into god's pocket and which could go faster than others belongs to Freyr. In Wikipedia (*Skíðblaðnir*) also I found that the ship with the same name belonged to *Freyr*, the Vanir group's god. About *Freyr* it is said there (Wikipedia: *Freyr*) that "he rides the shining dwarf-made boar" and "possesses the ship *Skíðblaðnir* which always has a favorable breeze and can be folded together and carried in a pouch when it is not being used." The ship could travel over both land and sea and was big enough to hold all gods of the *Aesir* group. Wickersham (2000, Vol.2, 74) also mentions the magic ship as the possession of *Freyr* and says that the ship "could travel in any direction regardless of which way the wind was blowing." The similar symbol there is in Greek legend about Argonauts. The legend says that a band of heroes sailed on a magic ship, the Argo, with a purpose to get the Golden Fleece. According to Wickersham (*ibid*: Vol.1, 57) the ship "was made from the wood of a sacred oak and had the ability to think, to speak, and even to prophesy."

The magic ship *Skithblathir* reminds also the *Flying Canoe* of Trobrianders, and *Flying Ship* of Russian fairy tales. The fact that *Freyr* was the god of fertility and prosperity and had such kind of magic ship gives an idea that he could be a god of sea nomads, which could have the social institute similar to Trobrianders' '*Kula*'. Freyr's father image supports this idea and suggests that the similar cult could exist among population before Freyr believers. The father of Freyr, Njord, was the Norse god of sea, seafaring, wind, fishing, wealth, and crop fertility. He brought good fortune at sea and in the hunt (Lindemans 1997). Njord was very wealthy and prosperous, and could grant wealth in land and valuables to those who request his aid.

2.03-D. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Boar (a Pig):

[Pig (Boar) + Otherworld] Saunders (1995, 84) reminds a Norse myth which mentions the monster boar Saerhrimnir. The boar was regularly reborn to be hunted again by the souls of dead warriors in Valhalla.

[Boar's Tusk] According to Saunders (1995, 84) Nordic warriors wearied helmets with boars tusks. By the way I noticed the similar helmets in Mycenaean Greece. In the Ethnography Museum of Academia Sinica I saw two 'headgears' of Amis chiefs. One 'headgear' has two boar tusks, another one has six tasks. Later the male and female hats, decorated with boar tusks I saw in Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taiwan. The hats belonged to Paiwan and Rukai peoples.



Photo 17: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines:
Rukai Man's Hat Decorated with Boar Tusks. Source: Author, 2009.

2.03 THE SET OF COMMON SYMBOLS IN SLAVIC MYTHOLOGY

From a perspective of a Slavic peasant, Christianity was not seen as the replacement of old Slavic religion, but just an addition to it. Christianity offered a hope of blissful

afterlife in the next world, but for survival in this world, for yearly harvest and protection of cattle, the old religious system with its fertility rites, its protective deities, was taken to be necessary. This was a problem the Church never solved; at best, it could offer a Christian saint to replace the former Slavic deity of a certain cult, but the cult itself persisted, as did the mythological view of the world. Slavic mythological folk songs, tales and festivals long ago lost their original sacred character, as well as their original meaning, and were downgraded to a level of superstition or a meaningless tradition. This led scholars to analyze the structure of folklore itself, and to devise methodologies through which they could reconstruct the lost mythology from this structure. Taking all said above into consideration I will try address to the Slavic mythology traces, which seems to have connection with the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult.

2.03-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld] In Slavic mythology three levels of the universe were located on the tree. Its crown represented the sky, the realm of heavenly deities, whilst the trunk was the realm of mortals; in opposition the roots of the tree represented the underworld, the realm of the dead. The world of the dead in Slavic mythology was quite a lovely place, a green and wet world of grassy plains and eternal spring.

[Powerful Dead = Gods + Ghosts] The most of the Slavs worshipped the departed. The Slavs had an ancestor cult and looked upon their forefathers as guardians of the family and dwelling. In the belief of pagan Slavs the fate of man depended on his male and female ancestors. Among early Russian deities were mention *Rod* and *Rozhanice*, which represented forefathers and foremothers respectively. The ancient Slavs worshiped those deities and offered them bread, cheese, and honey (Machal 1946, 249). In purpose to avoid the anger of ancestors most Slavs celebrate festivals in commemoration of them. In Byelorussia such festivals were celebrated usually four times annually and were called *dziady*. The word *dziady* could be translated as 'grannies' and represented deceased ancestors, both male and female (*ibid*: 233-239).

According to Weller (1999), who studied the ghost worshipping tradition in Taiwan the ghosts are the dead spirits which were not incorporated as ancestors or other kind of

communities' gods. They represent the improper dead who "died with no children to worship them, or violently, or far from home where no one knew them (*ibid*: 343)." Weller's conception helps to understand a plot of the Russian fairy tale with the name "Ivan the Solder" (Fairy Tales 1989, 143-144) which probably describes the case of similar ghost worshipping ritual. In the tale a main character, Ivan the Solder, an outsider in the foreign community found two unburied bogatyr's (strong brave warriors) dead corpses on a garbage dump, the place which could be understood as an excarnation burial practice place. The reason why they stayed unburied there is explained as unwilling of local people to spend money for their funeral ritual. It could mean that as those bogatyr's were foreigners and did not belong to the community, they stayed unburied on a garbage dump. Ivan the Solder, who also did not belong to the community, spent a lot of money to bury dead corpses and then received a mystical power from the thankful spirits of bogatyr's. As Weller (1999, 343) suggests in Chinese and Taiwanese popular religion ghosts represent everyone else's ancestors and kin. According to Weller's conception (*ibid*: 343-344) some of such ghosts turn into gods if they show themselves to be powerful. In such cases to receive their support or to protect community from their harmful influence their "unidentified bones were buried in a small ghost shrine at the battlefield where they died, on the shore where they washed up, or by the road where they were accidentally disinterred. In such cases the shrines receive annual worship and may also receive an occasional stick of incense from someone like a gambler or prostitute, whom most gods would not help in their line of work." The 17 drown corpses in the Temple of 18 Deities myth of origin examples a subject of one among such cults.

The Russian fairy tale about Ivan the Solder also confirms and illustrates this idea: two bogatyr's after they killed each other in the battle were placed by community members on the "*gnoyishche*". It is interesting that the Russian tale even keeps the special word for that place. The same word is used in the Russian translation of the Old Testament book of Job and is understood as a garbage dump, and this is the way how the place is described in English Bible translation. But the Russian word "*gnoyishche*" is produced from the word "*gnoy*" which means "pus", "decay", and "rotting" and can be translated in English as a "place for anything rotting or decaying". That gives me an idea that probably the original meaning of the word "*gnoyishche*" could represent the name for former

excarnation burial practice place, but that meaning was forgotten because the practice of excarnation disappeared in Slavonic or Proto-Slavonic society long time ago.

[Ghosts; Flying Witches] In Slavic mythology there are several very like images, which represent the ghosts of young women or children who have died unbaptized, or have been drowned or suffocated, or have met an unnatural death anyway (Machal 1946, 252-260). They can be called in different way, such as *Navky*, *Rusalky* or *Vily*, can have difference in the places of their living, sometimes in the way of behavior; but all of them seems to me be very closed by their function to the Trobrianders' flying witches and to Chinese ghosts. Chinese ghosts represent the improper dead who died with no children to worship them. The ancient Slavs also had an ancestors worshipping tradition. In this context *Navky* and *Rusalky*, who also represent dead without anyone to worship them, are much closed to Chinese belief in ghosts. *Vily* of the Southern Slavs was believed may often been seen dancing in the night near the graves of those who had violent death. Similar to the ghost festivals of Taiwan tradition, among Slavs there were celebrated festivals for the *Rusalky* and the *Vily*, which are meant to recall the memory of the souls of the deceased (*ibid*: 257).

[Grave + Cairns] Originally the pagan Slavs cremated their dead, but later they practiced burial as well. If the chieftain had died, his favorite animals were killed and cremated with him and one of his wives also was burned. The ashes were collected in an urn and placed in a cairn, a pile of stones (*ibid*: 233). The similar cairns can be found all over the world in mountainous regions, desert and tundra areas as well as on coasts. Buddhist stupas, which contain the ashes of saints probably started out from the similar cairns. As I mentioned already before, the similar origin have Greek *hermas* and Germanic *runestones*. Probably the trace to cairns is represented by very popular image of Russian fairy tales, which is called as "white bitter stone". According to Russian fairy tales plots this stone is placed on the crossroad and is a symbol of fatal choice.

2.03-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

[Dog: a Game + Death Threat] In Russian fairy tales dog's image appears very often. For example in the tale *Koshchey the Deathless* (Russian Fairy Tales 1973, 485-494) a

dog is mentioned three times, and its functions varied from a hunting animal (a game) (*ibid*: 489) to a deathly threat (*ibid*: 490, 492).

[Dog: Spirit-Guardian] In the tale *Tsar's Dog* the main character was transformed into a dog by his wife-witch (Fairy Tales 1989, 351). Later the dog's functions in the tale developed from the cattle guardian (herdsman's helper) (*ibid*: 352) to the rich merchant's guardian dog (*ibid*: 353) and then into the tsar's newborn baby's guardian (*ibid*: 355). Being a guardian dog the character saved his masters from dangerous thieves-spirits, which appears in the form of ravens, which in Russian tradition are connected with death. Staying in dog's form the character receives from the tsar the title of a duke. The plot of this Russian tale reminds me the similar story of Chinese tradition, which describes the dog called Pan Hu (The Man who Sold a Ghost 1977, 28-29). In that Chinese story a dog saves the country from enemies and receives the princess's hand.

[Dog: Sacrificial Animal] Very often in Russians fairy tales a dog is a sacrificial animal. In two tales, *Magic Mirror* and *Wonderful Chicken* dogs are killed instead kids, which were supposed to be killed according to orders of their wicked relatives (Fairy Tales 1989, 108; 154). In the tale *Unknowleger* a dog is used to test the deathly magic threat for the main character (*ibid*: 177). In the story *Two Hunters* a dog was killed by the main character as a price for his life, which he should pay to evil spirits, represented by 12-headed serpents (*ibid*: 121).

[Dog: Spirit-Guardian + Flying Witches + Plague] In the Slavic mythology there is an image of the fields and harvest guardian deity, which has several features connecting it with the Trobrianders' flying witches and a dog. This female deity calls *Poludnica* (Midday Spirit). She as the Trobrianders' flying witches floats in violent gusts of wind with a sickle or a whip in her hand. As it is described by Machal (Machal 1946, 267-269), whomsoever she touches will die a sudden death; sometimes during a storm she appears in houses; with this image are associated various unusual natural phenomena, such as mirages. As for me, all these characteristics remind me the phenomenon of a ball lightning. Very important for my study is the connection of this flying dangerous deity with a dog. Machal says (*ibid*: 268) that when *Poludnica* leaves the fields or the forests,

“she is accompanied by seven great black dogs”. At least three common images connect this Slavic deity with the 18 deities’ cult of Taiwan: function of a guardian, a black dog, and a storm. With the Trobrianders’ flying witches *Poludnica* has more common symbols: malevolence, a storm, a sudden death, a dog and ability to fly. The image of *Poludnica* is similar also to the ancient Greek image of Artemis, the goddess of forests and hills. The oldest representations of Artemis in Greek archaic art portray her as a winged goddess. Callimachus (300-240 BC) in his hymn to Artemis tells that Artemis asked her father, Zeus, to grant her several wishes: to be a virgin forever; to have as many names as her brother Phoebus (Apollo); a bow and some arrows; let her be Light Bringer and wear a loose tunic for hunting wild game; give her “sixty dancing girls, daughters of Ocean”, sea nymphs, and twenty wood nymphs to take care of her boots and tend her swift hounds; give her all the mountains in the world and any old town. Zeus granted her daughter all these things with thirty cities and made her be the guardian of harbors and roads.

In that way several common attributes make Artemis’s image close both to the Trobrianders’ flying witches; Slavic *Poludnica*; and also Slavic *Rusalky*, *Navky* and *Vily*, which are similar to the Greek sea and wood nymphs. Among those common attributes are such as: dogs (swift hounds), hunting, ability to fly (a winged goddess), function of a guardian (guardian of harbors and roads), water (sea nymphs, guardian of harbors), trees (wood nymphs). Such close similarity gives a reason to suppose the common origin of all these female images. Thus Burkert supposes (Burkert 1985, p. 154, 172) that Artemis’s cult has Paleolithic origin and was widespread among hunters’ societies. I think that so much widespread geography of the similar images (from all Eurasia to the New Guinea) supports the Burkert’s assumption.

There is also very interesting connection between images of Artemis and Apollo, her twin brother. The connection is in the Artemis wish to have a bow and some arrows as her brother Phoebus (Apollo); to be Light Bringer (Apollo is known as a god of the sun); nymphs as companions (Apollo was attributed the epithet *Musagetes* as the leader of the muses, and *Nymphagetes* as “nymph-leader”); her swift hounds (animals sacred to Apollo included wolves); her guardian of harbors and roads function (Apollo was the protector of roads and homes; and also a supervisor over cities and colonies). It is wide known that

a bow and arrows in the hands of Apollo were malevolent instruments. Both Apollo and Artemis used poisoned arrows to kill people. More over, Apollo shot arrows infected with the plague. Apollo was a god who could bring different diseases and deadly plague among them; but he had the ability to cure as well. Those functions make his image very close to Chinese image of “Royal Lord(s)”, which refers to a wide range of spirits, including plague-spreading deities; and also to the Trobrianders evil spirit, a *tauva’u*, who causes all epidemic diseases and to flying witches as well.

Even Apollo name origin according to some studies characterizes him as a god of plagues. De Grummond (2006) and Mackenzie (2005) suggest that the name Apollo and his cult were developed from the Hurrian and Hittite divinity, *Aplu*, who was widely evoked during the “plague years”. *Aplu*, it is supposed, comes from the Akkadian *Aplu Enlil*, which means “the son of Enlil”, a title that was given to the Babylonian plague god *Nergal*, who was linked to *Shamash*, Babylonian god of the sun. The Late Bronze Age (from 1700–1200 BCE) Hittite and Hurrian *Aplu* was a god of plagues and resembles the mouse god. Here as in the similar situation with Chinese “Royal Lord(s)” we have a malevolent deity transformation into a guardian god who cure or protect from epidemic diseases. To the Greek and Etruscan culture Apollo’s image came later, during the Iron Age (i.e. from c.1100 BCE to c. 800 BCE) from Anatolia. His common with Artemis protecting function is represented by his obligation to be a patron of herds and flocks. It is interesting also which animals were believed to be sacred to Apollo; they included wolves, dolphins, roe deer, swans, cicadas (symbolizing music), hawks, ravens, crows, snakes, mice and griffins, mythical eagle-lion hybrids of Eastern origin. As I see, all these animal images are connected with otherworld - some of them are killers: wolves, hawks, snake; others are scavengers: ravens, crows, griffins. Others are protectors from death: dolphins; and some are connected to heaven and far away unknown worlds: swans, cicadas; others were deadly disease bringers: mice; or hunting victims: roe deer.

Taking in consideration all above mentioned it seems that Apollo’s original image was malevolent and connected with underworld. And Artemis’s image as well. We can identify Apollo with “Royal Lord(s)” and the Trobrianders evil spirit of *tauva’u*; Artemis

could be identified with the similar female images as the Trobrianders flying witches, Slavic *Rusalkas* and other Greek mythical images – sirens.

[Dog's Clan + Dog and Pig Clans' Dispute Motif] Among the Russian fairy tales there is a cycle about Ivan Dog's Son. The name of the main character reminds the character of the Celtic mythology, Cú Chulainn, and Pan Hu of Chinese tradition (The Man who Sold a Ghost 1977, 28-29). Some of the tales about Ivan Dog's Son depict his struggle with a witch, who transformed into giant pig. The plot is very similar to the Celtic variant and suggests connection with the Trobrianders myth of the dog and the pig clans' dispute about the priority of their rank in society. By the way in the Russian cycle about Ivan Dog's Son there are traces of Indo-Europeans tripartite social structure, which could be seen in images of three brothers: Ivan Tsar's Son, Ivan Maid's Son, and Ivan Dog's Son. The name connected with a dog's symbol suggests that in early Russian society the Dog's clan also could exist.

2.03-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Waters] The *Smorodina River*, which separates the land of the living from the land of the dead, is a very popular symbol of Russian fairy tales. The *Kalinov Bridge*, which connects the banks of *Smorodina River*, is another popular symbol. Very often the *Kalinov Bridge* is a place of deathly struggle between main character and *Zmey* (multi-headed serpent), who is a guardian of *Kalinov Bridge* and a cause of many people's death.

[Boat in Funeral] Boat was often used in a pagan Russian chieftain's funeral. The corpse was placed in the boat; also into the boat were put bread, fruits and flesh of killed animals, such as dogs, horses, cows, cocks. Slaves and one of chieftain's wives who agreed to be burned together with her dead husband also were led to the boat. After that the boat was burned. Wives chose the death in the flames because they wished to enter paradise together with their husbands. The similar cremation rituals were common among most of the Slavs (Machal 1946, 234).

[Magic Canoe = Magic Ship + Flying Ship] The flying ship is a popular symbol of Russian fairy tales, which probably has traces in shamanic practice to fly between the

world of the living and world of the dead. This image could be connected with forgotten shamanic rituals of traveling to otherworld by means of magic boat.

[Dangers on Waters and Ashore] The Trobrianders' flying witches destroy shipwrecked mariners and drown people. *Navky* and *Rusalky* entangle the fishermen's nets; by breaking the dikes they flood the fields and wreck the bridges; very similar to flying witches they may cause fatal storms (Machal 1946, 255). The approaching flying witches scream, their voices are heard in the wind (Malinowsky 1922, 256); the *Rusalky* sing and their beautiful voices lure swimmers to deep places, where they drown (Machal 1946, 255). All these Slavic mythological images are connected with water and as the Trobrianders' flying witches they like to perch on trees. Besides *Navky*, *Rusalky* and *Vily* Slavs have other similar female images, which are connected with the sea. They called as *Vodni Panny* ("Water-Nymphs"). They also like to sit on trees or high rocks and lure young men by wonderful singing.

[Ghost of a Drowned; Evil Spirit; Shipwreck + Drowned] Female water-nymphs image is connected with the male water spirit, which is called *Vodyanoy* or *Vodyanik* ("Water-Man"). *Vodyanoy* has water-nymphs as his wives. He has also one hundred and eleven beautiful daughters who torture the drowned. It is believed that he could marry also drowned or unhappy girls, which actually are the same as *Navky* or *Rusalky*. It means that there is no big difference between *Navky*, *Rusalky* or water-nymphs. It was believed also that the floods were a result of *Vodyanoy*'s wedding parties, when he used to be drunk. In connection with that it is interesting his other name—*Topielec*, which means "Drowner" and underlines his negative aspect (Machal 1946, 270-272). *Vodyanoy* is usually a malevolent mythological character. He drowns swimmers who have angered him. *Vodyanoy* lives in deep pools, often by a mill, and is said to be the spirit of unclean male dead; it means those who have committed suicide, and those who die without last rites. Usually tales define him as a naked old man, bloated and hairy, covered in slime, covered in scales, or as an old peasant. Sometimes he has the ability to transform into a fish. The spirit was particularly capricious. When he was in good mood he could drive fish into the fisherman's net and guides ship to safe place in stormy weather. But in the bad mood he lures sailors to dangerous coasts and wrecks their ships and boats. Such his

unstable character was a reason try to make good relationships with him by sacrificing. In some places villagers sacrificed to him a horse, smeared with honey (*ibid*: 270-272). The only people who were safe from *Vodyanoy* anger were millers and fishermen. Millers were viewed to be so close to *Vodyanoy* that they often became seen as sorcerers. Often millers sacrificed a black pig that *Vodyanoy* may not tear down their dams. The Ukrainians in order to prevent the *Vodyanoy* from destroying their dams buried a horse's head in it. A miller to succeed should bury some living animals in the foundations of his mill, such as a cow or sheep; sometimes it could be even a living man.

2.04. THE SET OF COMMON SYMBOLS IN URALIC MYTHOLOGY

Shamanism is wide spread among Uralic languages speaking peoples. The mythology of the Finnic (Finno-Lappic) peoples of Northern Europe share many aspects among themselves as well as with broader mythology and Shamanism in Siberia and with Indo-European Baltic and Germanic mythologies as well.

2.04-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld, Water] Eliade (1989, 89) notes that among Vasyugan Khanty shaman's protective spirits there is a "spirit of the head", which defends him during his ecstatic journeys to the underworld. Corradi Musi informs (1997, 8-9) that Zyryans (The Zyryan Komis) used to throw their dead into the water as an offering to Kul, the god of death. That tradition is very similar to Malaysian and Indonesian practice of exposing the dead in boats and throwing them into the sea (Eliade 1989, 355).

[Ghosts; Evil Spirit; Flying Witches] Katz (2003, 167) adds that from the 10 century throughout south China boat expulsion rites varied from site to site: some communities burned their boats, while others floated them away. He says also that similar boat expulsion rites were found throughout Asia in places such as Korea and Tibet, as well as parts of Southeast Asia (Katz 1994a). This tradition probably has traces in the plot of a Khanty (Siberia) myth "Holy Legend about the Desirable Knight—Merchant of the Low World, Merchant of the Upper World" (Myths, Legends, Tales of Khanty and Mansi

1990 #30, 105-125), which describes a floating caravan of boats on the Ob river with diseases-spreading deities on them. The caravan brought epidemic diseases and mass death to many cities on the Ob banks and belonged to the underworld, which believed to be situated on the North Lower Ob and was a kingdom of the Lord of Diseases and Death.

[Cult of the Head] Corradi Musi (1997, 52) informs that according to archaeological evidence from the excavations carried out in the Slav area it emerges that in the areas which were reached by the Finno-Ugric peoples, the heads were buried in a separate chamber. She explains the phenomenon in terms of shamanic funeral customs, which were connected with the cult of the head. According to shamanic concept the head is a seat of the immortal soul. The cult of the head with shamanic traces has left in the Celts and Scythians cultures. Corradi Musi (*ibid*: 96) explains such burial phenomenon in terms of the Finno-Ugric belief that the soul which does not die resides in the skull. She says that in shamanism the head often acquires an oracular function. She cites as examples heads of ancestral shamans of the Yukaghir, the dead North American Indian shamans and the bears of the Ob-Ugrians. Corradi Musi (*ibid*: 96) cites also many examples of the Finno-Ugric tradition to bury the dead in the way to facilitate the decomposition of the corpse. According to her findings the reason for this tradition is the fear that the dead may return to disturb the living “when the body has not yet putrefied and the dead person may act like a vampire”. She mentions the Magyar custom of burying the dead simply by wrapping them in a sheet and the Eastern Cheremis tradition to put the dead without coffins “in a shallow grave, lining it with leaves and planks, leaving a space where the head would go”.

Corradi Musi (*ibid*: 97) notes parallels between the cult of the head and the widespread “second burial” tradition, which existence was noticed by the archaeological excavations in the district of Perm in the area of the river Kama (Russian Federation), where almost all the tombs had been reopened. The same tradition was testified in North East Estonia, among the Erza Mordvinians, the Cheremis, and even certain Germanic tribes. Reburying the bones is a part of ancestral cult and represents belief that life rises from the bones which corresponds to the cult of the head.

2.04-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

[Dog, Wolf, Death] Corradi Musi mentions (1997, 15-16) that Voguls (Mansi) believed that the wolf is a transformation of the wicked shaman. She says that lycanthropy, the transformation of a human being into a wolf, was widespread belief among the peoples of the Urals, the ancient Germans and is well known idea in nowadays Italy, Estonia and Finland. In Lithuania the so-called “werewolves” were regarded as the defenders of the harvest against evil forces. Corradi Musi suggests that this former image of “werewolves” as defenders was transformed into the terrible man-wolf by the influence of Christianity. Corradi Musi informs (*ibid*: 42) that according Mordvinians belief the spirits of the woods mainly manifest themselves as cats, dogs, wolves and horses. She says also that among many peoples the wolf and the dog were considered as demons of death. Among Ugrian people of Siberia was the custom of burying a dog and the skin of a favorite reindeer with a dead man.

2.04-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Boat in Funeral] Corradi Musi (1997, 96-97) informs also that many Ob-Ugrians place the dead body in a boat and then bury it, that symbolize the soul travel to the original ocean, where it will reborn in the form of a bird. She mentions that the connection between the boat and the dead has very long tradition and the practice of burying the dead in boats could be found both in the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European cultures.

2.05. THE SET OF COMMON SYMBOLS IN CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

In purpose to find mythological traces of the symbols which I study in this work I addressed to the collections of Chinese fairy tales. The first book is *The Man who Sold a Ghost*, the collection from the 3-6 centuries which was published in Hong Kong (1958). The second one is the famous *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* (1908) by Pu Songling (蒲松齡), which first time was published in 1679.

2.05-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld] In Chinese mythology there is the idea of *Diyu* (地獄; “earth prison”). Incorporating ideas from Taoism and Buddhism as well as Chinese popular religion, *Diyu* is a purgatory place which serves not only to punish but also to renew spirits ready for their next incarnation. It is interesting that the Chinese term of the underworld includes the character 獄 (prison) which has two signs of ‘dog’ meaning.

[Levels of Otherworld] In Chinese tradition there is the idea of 18 levels of underworld, which corresponds to 18 deities of the Taiwanese cult of this study. The exact number of levels in Chinese hell differs, some speak of three to four levels, other as many as ten. In Taoist and Buddhist mythology, hell is made up of ten courts, each ruled by one of the 10 Yama Kings (閻王) and 18 levels in which wrongdoers are punished. In some literatures, there are references to 18 types or subtypes of hells for each type of punishment. The concept of “18 levels of hell” started in the Tang Dynasty. The Buddhist text *Jian Di Yu Jing* (閻地獄經) mentioned 134 worlds of hell, which were simplified to 18 levels. Some other peoples of Eurasia also believe in several levels of otherworld. The Siberian Tatars know seven or nine underground levels; the Samoyeds say about six submarine regions.

[Levels of Otherworld + 10 kings] Teiser’s study (Teiser 1993) describes the origin and the social functions of the popular Chinese religion system of the 10 kings (十王) which dominated the dark regions of Chinese version of purgatory. According to Teiser (*ibid*: 125) the 10 level hell and 10 kings system were “widespread, both sociologically and geographically, beginning in the tenth century.” He mentions (*ibid*: 118) that an early-sixth-century Chinese encyclopedia described other Buddhist concepts of hell structure, which include among others 18 hells system (others are: 64 hells, 30 hells, and the more orthodox belief in 8 hells). It means that origin of the 18 hells tradition starts in the period before 6 century. Teiser (*ibid*: 130) explains the reasons of transition of the hells system in China by social, economic, and political changes. Teiser argues that the 10 kings’ cult was originate within the organized religions of Buddhism and Taoism, but is connected with the local Chinese cult of ancestors.

[Ghosts + Royal Lords] Katz affirms (Katz 2003, 100) that the cults of deities currently worshiped as Royal Lords in Taiwan appeared among the Han Chinese as early as the Han dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.). Then the cults have grown in popularity during the Song dynasty. Katz distinguishes three types of those deities. The first type is a group of plague spirits under the control of the Jade Emperor. However Katz says (*ibid*: 101) that their cult did not achieve great popularity in Taiwan. They are known as the Five Commissioners of Epidemics (Wuwen Shizhe) and belong to the heaven Ministry of Epidemics (Wenbu). The second type has more recent origin, from the Song dynasty. Their cult was connected with Taoist plague-expulsion rituals. However they have been worshiped as temple deities only in Fujian and Taiwan (*ibid*: 101). They are known as the Twelve Year-Controlling Kings of Epidemics (Shi'er Zhinian Wenwang) and also belong to the heaven Ministry of Epidemics. The third group is most interesting for me, because it has similarities with the 18 deities' cult of my study. The third type of Royal Lords includes all kinds of vengeful ghosts with the title "king" (*wang* 王) who were seen as being able to control epidemics. (Compare with the title of 18 deities: 十八王公) These deities included historical figures like generals and unknown souls as well. Very often such spirits have only surnames. Many of them became transformed to gods from ghosts. But nowadays most worshipers do not view them as vengeful ghosts but as martial heroes or benevolent officials (*ibid*: 101).

[Ghosts + Mazu] Ter Haar (1990, 349) in his study devoted to the spread of temple cults in Fujian makes the conclusion that many popular cults, which spread in Fujian and from Fujian to Taiwan developed from "vengeful hungry ghosts - feared and worshiped for this very reason". He studied eight cults, which were selected on the basis of their popularity in Fujian and Taiwan areas in mid-Qing dynasty period. Among them Ter Haar distinguishes five deities which are still very popular on Taiwan: Mazu (媽祖 or 天上聖母), Kuo Shengwang (郭忠王), Wu Chenjen (吳真人) = Paosheng Tati (保生大帝) = Dadao Gong (大道公), Qingshui Zushi (清水祖師), and Qien Yuankuang (陳元光).



Photo 18: General Fan 范將軍: Fude Miao 福德廟.
Taipei, Zhinan Rd., Sec.1. Source: Author, 2009.

Ter Haar pays attention (*ibid*: 353) that all these gods originated on a local level and worship of them started at either their grave, or where their remains were found. Another common feature of these gods is the fact that they revealed themselves in a dream to someone living nearby. He suggests that those originally hungry ghosts' "divine character was a product of post-facto rationalization in the form of later myths (*ibid*: 354)". Ter Haar has an interesting idea that the spread of such cults over a large area "causes it to be influenced by the mythology of other gods (*ibid*: 352)". I suppose that it is probably the case of combination of plague deities, a dog deity and Buddhist 18 Arhats in one cult of the Temple of 18 Deities of my study. Ter Haar (*ibid*: 370) explains Mazu cult origin from the belief in "vengeful hungry ghosts" in terms that she was a shaman; she never married and died in young age without descendants. He also mentions that the worship of Mazu was incorporated into Taoism. Before this she was a dangerous god (*ibid*: 372). The spread of her cult was slow and started about the 11 century. From the late Ming dynasty Mazu became the patron-saint of the Fujian merchants. She was adopted by Chinese migrants from Fujian to the Philippines and other regions in Southeast Asia and to the Ryukyu and Kyushu islands of Japan. (*ibid*: 373-375)



Photo 19: Mazu: Mucha Sheng Mu Gong 木柵聖母宮.
Taipei, Zhinan Rd., Sec.1, Alley 51, 17. Source: Author, 2009.

[Powerful Dead = Gods + Ghosts; Chinese Ghost Festival Origin] Gregory and Ebrey (1993, 22-23) describe the origin of the popular Chinese ghost festival. They mention the central myth on which the festival was founded. It is the Buddhist legend about the journey of Mahamaudgalyayana (Mu-lien) to the netherworld to save his mother. Gregory and Ebrey (1993, 22-23) also mention Teiser's study (Teiser 1993) where he showed how this festival "also resonated with a larger symbolic field characteristic of medieval Chinese popular religion as a whole..." According to Teiser "The more popular elaboration of the Mu-lien myth in the transformation texts emphasized the centrality of filial devotion, and the ghost festival enabled Buddhists to incorporate the strong Chinese sentiments of filial piety within the structure of a popular festival (Gregory and Ebrey 1993, 22-23)."

[Cutting off the Enemy's Head + the Cult of the Head] In Chinese mythology there are numerous traces of the former cult of the head and headhunting tradition. For example in the story *The Sword-Maker* is described that a king has offered a thousand gold pieces for the head of his enemy. A stranger found the king's enemy and promised him to kill the king, but to do that he need bring to the king his head. The man agreed, cut

his own head and presented it to the stranger. The stranger brought the head to the king. Then the stranger pronounced an interesting formula: “This is the head of a brave man; you should boil it in a seething cauldron”. When the king approached to the cauldron to watch, the stranger cut off the king’s head into the boiling water. Then he cut off his own head, which fell into the cauldron too, and all three heads melted and intermingled. After that the flesh and the soup were divided into three portions and buried in a place called the Grave of the Three Kings. In conclusion it is said that the grave is in the county Yichun (宜春) north of Junan. (The Man who Sold a Ghost 1958, 22-23) The story reminds the Celtic myth about three heads in the well and the tradition of several headhunting people to preserve the heads. Yichun (宜春) is a mountainous city in the Chinese province of Jiangxi (west from Fujian). During the Spring and Autumn Period, the northern part of modern Jiangxi formed the western frontier of the state of Wu. And it is likely that peoples collectively known as the Yue inhabited the region.

In the story *Catching the Old Fox* there is an episode when a ghost trying to frighten the main character brings to him a dead man’s head. But in response the brave man uses the head as a pillow (The Man who Sold a Ghost 1958, 48). The story reminds the motif of the Ulster Cycle of Irish mythology about Conall Cernach, who never passed a day without killing a Connaughtman or slept without Connachtman’s head under his knee (Macculloch. 1946, 145).

The story *The Dog Called Pan Hu* (The Man who Sold a Ghost 1958, 28) is a combination of several motifs, which are similar to Celtic myths and Russian fairy tales about characters connected with a dog. The name of the dog – Pan Hu, reminds the Miens (Yaos) ancestry dog spirit with the same name. It is said in the story that the dog Panhu appeared from the worm, which was found in the ear of an old woman, who served in a king’s palace. Russian fairy tales describe that Ivan the Dog’s Son was born after his dog mother ate the bones of the magic fish, which should bring fertility to a queen. Pan Hu in Chinese story brings to the king a head of the enemy chieftain and marries a princess. Their descendants became a people called the Man barbarians. They made clothes of the bark of trees and dyed them with seeds. The same as it is known about the Miens (Yaos).

2.05-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

The stories of the “Temple of 18 Deities” depict only 17 people on the boat and one dog, which altogether transformed later in the image of 18 deities. How and why it could happen? And how the dog’s image was turned into anthropomorphic one? The number of 17 deities and dog’s image correspond to the Taoist tradition and cults of some indigenous, non-Han groups in South mainland China. For example, Mien (or Yao) people have cult of 17 deities, 18 wickedness days’ tradition and the dog ancestry mythology of origin. They also have a boat and a bridge symbols in their religious cult, which corresponds to the Chinese Buddhist 18 Lohans’ function to reach “the other shore” – the otherworld.

[Miens Ancestry Dog Spirit] Origins of the Miens (Yaos) can be traced back 2000 years ago starting in Northern China. Originally the Miens (Yaos) were pagans and worshipped both plenty of gods, and their ancestors. Their belief in Panhu, the ancestry dog spirit, revealed a vestige of totemism. Many Miens (Yaos) think it is taboo to eat dog meat. If they do eat it, they do the cooking outside the house. In the Han dynasty period (206 B.C.-A.D.220), they wore cloths made from tree bark and dyed it with grass seeds. Miens culture reminds the traditions of some indigenous peoples of Taiwan, who also worn bark cloths and had the dog’s cult. Very probably the dog’s image in the Temple of 18 Deities is a relict of some local ethnic groups’ ancient and almost forgotten tradition.

Weller mentions the religion exchanges between Han Chinese and aborigines groups in mainland China frontier territories. Citing his earlier work Weller (1994, 347-48) informs that in parts of central Kwansi during 19 century Hakka immigrants worshiped important Yao people’s deities and drew on Yao traditions of healing. This information supports my assumption that the 18 deities’ cult from Shi Men (石門) could have traces in Yao 17 and 18 deities’ cult variations. Moreover Yao’s mythology describes the origin of their people from “Panhu,” the ancestry dog spirit. Image of Panhu in Yao cult also supports my hypotheses of deep connection between “Temple of 18 Deities” cult and Yao cult, which is combination of Taoism with a vestige of totemism. Another important support of my hypotheses is the fact that the Taiwanese “Temple of 18 Deities” cult belongs to Hakka

immigrants' community. My classmate May Tso informed me about that referring to her interview of the temple keeper Mr. Lian (練): "All the people in this village were Hakka Chinese immigrants..."

2.05-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Canoe = Ship] Katz (2003, 167) informs that from the 10 century throughout south China boat expulsion rites varied from site to site: some communities burned their boats, while others floated them away. He says also that similar boat expulsion rites were found throughout Asia in places such as Korea and Tibet, as well as parts of Southeast Asia (Katz 1994a).

[Drowned] The ancient Chinese are known to have made sacrifices of young men and women to river deities, and to have buried slaves alive with their owners upon death as part of a funeral service. This was especially prevalent during the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. During the Warring States period, Ximen Bao of Wei demonstrated to the villagers that sacrifice to river deities was actually a ploy by crooked priests to pocket money. In Chinese lore, Ximen Bao is regarded as a folk hero who pointed out the absurdity of human sacrifice.

2.06. THE SET OF EURASIAN SYMBOLS IN TAIWANESE 18 DEITIES CULT

2.06-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld] The Taiwanese 18 Deities cult is deeply connected with the concept of underworld. I guess both traditional concepts of Taiwan indigenous peoples and Chinese traditional concepts of Taoism, Buddhism and popular religion matched together in the cult. The Chinese Buddhism concept of "18 levels of hell" I described already in the section devoted to the set of common symbols in Chinese mythology (2.05).

[Powerful Dead = Gods + Ghosts] As I wrote already in the Chapter I the 18 deities could be identified as powerful "hungry ghosts" of Chinese tradition which transformed into gods in the period of cultural change of 1980s. The fact that 18 deities are honored

with burning cigarettes and are worshipped by smugglers, gangsters, prostitutes, and gamblers brings to light their ghostly nature.

[Ghosts; Evil Spirit] The horrible gossips about the vindictive character of the dog-god, which could bring deathly illness for the person who showed disrespect for the temple, suggest the origin of the cult from believes similar to the third type of Royal Lords of Katz's study (Katz 2003). As I described already in the Chapter I this type of deities includes all kinds of vengeful ghosts who were seen as being able to control epidemics. These deities included historical figures and unknown souls as well. Many of such kind of deities were transformed to gods from ghosts.

[Grave] It is clear that in the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult the tomb with 17 men and a dog in it is a subject of worship itself. The sign of that is in the fact that in the temple there is both an original preserved from destruction tomb on the underground floor and its image on the ground surface! A tomb as a subject of worship is connected to ghost worship tradition of Taiwan, and China. At the same time it should be taken to consideration that a tomb worship traditions could be found in other cultures all over the world, where they are connected with ancestors worshipping cults.

2.06-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

[Dog: Spirit-Guardian] The fourth version of legends about the temple origin describes the dog as a guardian of the dead spirits in the drifting ship. This function of the dog-deity in the Taiwanese cult corresponds to dog's function of the spirit-guardians in mythologies of many peoples all over Eurasia.

[Dog: Sacrificial Animal] In the three versions of legends about the temple origin there is the motif of dog's self-sacrifice with the following it's burying with the corpses of the drowned people. This motif corresponds to the dog sacrificing rituals of the Bronze Age Europe and Ugrian people of Siberia, which were described already in earlier sections.



Photo 20: The Formosan Mountain Dog from
My Neighborhood in Taipei, Muzha. Source: Author, 2009.

[Dog: Fortuneteller] + [Reconstruction 2] Here I try to reconstruct the development stages of the dog cult in the area of nowadays 18 Deities temple. Former local hunters' "dog" cult (with functions of guides and companions both in life and in the spirit-world) of the first waves of migrants to Taiwan could be transformed under influence of new waves of migrants during the Neolithic revolution that crossed the Taiwan Strait using first boats. In that time dog symbol could get magic functions of intercessors with the spirit-world which could be accompanied with dogs' meat eating in purpose of fortune telling. Possibility of such tradition is indicated by the ancient Chinese name of Taiwan as "the island where they bit dogs" and by evidence of dog's blood drinking with magic purposes among some Taiwan indigenous peoples. Probably later numerous waves of sea nomadic peoples developed those ideas to the level of using dogs in burial practices and even sacral sacrificing of these animals. This function is indicated by the part of the 18 Deities temple origin legend, which describes dog's self-sacrifice with following burying in the same grave with 17 unidentified corpses. The sea traders' peoples with "Kula" type of culture could add to the cult features of shipwreck mythology with "boat + dog" combination, where dog has a function of a spiritual guardian of the boat crew.

2.06-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Waters] All the legends of the 18 Deities temple origin describe the event connected with the travel on waters. The danger of such kind of travel is one among main motifs of the temple mythology.

[Canoe = Ship] The boat image is represented both in the temple origin stories and in the temple itself as a ritual object. It means the high importance of that image in the cult. Despite of early Chinese notions about Taiwan inhabitants as islanders who did not know boats, many other evidences say that among numerous different Taiwan peoples there were coastal fishers, and users of boats in island inner areas. From the other hand all the temple origin stories describe the crew of the boat as unidentified aliens. It could mean the local origin of those legends created by costal fishers who couldn't travel in the sea. And then the boat with 17 people and a dog probably belonged to the foreign seafarers. In this case the number of people on the boat could be connected with boat constructions and reflex reality which took place in the past. I suppose the numbers 17 and 18 in the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult could be reflection of a seagoing boat type. For verifying of this supposition it is necessary to study boat construction types. I plan to do it in my further studies. Now I have just general information.

[Archaeological Evidence] The oldest boats to be found by archaeological excavation are log boats from around 7,000-9,000 years ago (McGrail 2004). A 7,000 year-old seagoing boat made from reeds and tar has been found in Kuwait. McGrail says the boats were more capacious than carts, and suitable for both slow rivers and calm seas. That is a reason, why starting from about 4,000 BCE boats were already wide used in Sumer, ancient Egypt and in the Indian Ocean, where they played an important part in the commerce between the Indus Valley Civilization and Mesopotamia (*ibid*: 2004). In various Indus Valley sites has been discovered evidence of varying models of boats (*ibid*: 2004).

[Boat and Austronesian-Speaking Peoples] Barnes (2001, 136) citing Hornell (1946) informs that a similar method of boat construction was found in ancient Scandinavia, the Solomon Islands and Botel Tobago of Taiwan, as well as in Indonesian islands to the

west of New Guinea. More over, citing Davidson, Barnes says that the boats of Botel Tobago are “almost an exact counterpart of craft constructed by the Papuans in the Solomon Islands” (Davidson 1903, 586). Barnes (2001, 138) informs also that Leach (1937, 186) observed similarities not only in boats of Botel Tobago and Butanes, but noted that the Amis of Taiwan used the same methods of boat construction. Barnes (2001, 138) argues, however, that “the same basic methods were used in a continuous area which included Lanyu [Botel Tobago] and the whole of Maritime Southeast Asia.” Analyzing Botel Tobago boat building skills Barnes (2001, 144) concludes that these skills represent “a widespread tradition in which borrowing and innovation were always part of the picture, producing a great range of boats of varying sizes and specialized uses.” As proof of this point of view Barnes adduces discoveries of seven shipwrecks dated between the 13 and the 17 century ranging from Southeast Asia to Korea, including two on the southern Chinese coast. As Barnes says all these ships are “hybrids between what had previously been considered quite different Chinese and Southeast Asian traditions” (Barnes 2001, 144). Barnes adduces also the similar ideas of Bellwood (1995, 105) who supposes that early Austronesian-speaking peoples did learn a number of seafaring skills from the original Pleistocene colonists, who according to Bellwood’s point of view must have had some degree of seafaring capacity by at least 40,000 years ago. Without such skills those first colonists according to Bellwood could not settle the Wallacean islands (Philippines, Sulawesi, Lesser Sundas, Moluccas). Bellwood proves it also by the fact that rather little seafaring terminology is reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian. Supporting this idea Bellwood argues that

“While it would be unwise to deny Proto-Austronesians the knowledge of canoes, it is worth remembering that much of the early expansion of the Austronesian-speaking peoples was through Wallacea, especially the Philippines and Sulawesi with their manifold satellite islands. It is amongst the more watery topography of Late Pleistocene Wallacea, rather than land-bridged Sundaland, that one might expect pre-Austronesian maritime traditions to have flourished and to have been transmitted to latter arrivals”. (Bellwood 1995, 105)



Photo 21: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines:
A Boat from Botel Tobago. Source: Author, 2009.

[Boat in Funeral] The boat image in the 18 Deities Temple is not directly connected to the funeral rituals, which are wide spread among the Eurasian peoples' traditions. But I suppose the high level of similarities (in terms of connections to the idea of otherworld) between plague-expulsion rituals in the cults of Royal Lords and Malaysian and Indonesian funerary practices to load the dead on canoes and throwing them into the sea. The funeral practices of Slavonic peoples to place their chieftains on the boat and the Ob-Ugrians tradition to place the dead body in a boat and then bury it, which symbolizes the soul travel to the original ocean, seem to be very close to mentioned above also.

[Dangers on Waters and Ashore] In the early Chinese records there are descriptions of dangers, which sailors could meet on the shores of Taiwan. The record of 1349 from Yuan Dynasty period [1271-1368] mentions two places Liu Chiu (琉球) and Pi-she-ye (毗舍耶). Thompson (2002, 166) informs that at the time of this record the name Taiwan was not yet used, and both Liu Chiu, and Pi-she-ye have commonly been thought to refer

to parts of Formosa. Describing Liu Chiu inhabitants the ancient Chinese author says: “Should a person from another country offend them, they [kill him and] cutting off the raw flesh, eat it [or, cut the flesh off while he is still alive and eat it], and they take his head and hang it on a wooden pole (Thompson 2002, 169).” At the same time the author (Wang Ta-yuan, Brief Accounts of the Island Barbarians) mentions the trading which was in use with that place. Chinese used to sell pearls, agates, gold, beads, coarse dishware, and pottery from the present Zhejiang province; they used to buy gold nuggets, yellow beans, millet, sulfur, beeswax, and the hides of deer. The fact of dangerous trade between Chinese and Liu Chiu inhabitants reminds me the similar Trobrianders trade tradition, when following their specific Kula social institution Trobrianders visited far away islands and could trade with people of different cultures who spoke different languages, some among whom practiced headhunting. Kula institution resulted development of a special shipwreck mythology. Very important part of it is devoted to ashore dangers: “We do not go ashore. We are afraid of the *mulukwausi*. They follow us ashore (Malinowsky 1922, 257).” The ashore part of the Trobrianders mythology corresponds to indigenous Taiwanese tradition to rob and kill shipwrecked crews. For example in Spaniards documents could be found several records describing dangers of Taiwan shore.

[Shipwreck] As I found (for my surprise) during the studying of other symbols in the 18 Deities cult, the event of shipwreck by itself is also an important mythological symbol, which has deep traces into mythologies of many sea nomadic peoples all over the world. Among them are so distant from each other geographically and in time, as Celts, Germanics and Trobrianders.

Among the records of Dutch colonists in Taiwan there is one, which describes a conflict which took place in 1636 on the island with the name Lamay or Hsiao Liu Chiu Island (琉球嶼), not far away from nowadays Kaohsiung (高雄). The document informs that the shipwrecked crew was killed there (Formosa under the Dutch 2001, 14). Returning back to the early Chinese records we need to mention the second place, Pi-she-ye, which was described by Wang Ta-yuan (汪大渊) in 1349.

“The country has no chief. Nothing is produced in this land. [The warriors] frequently pack up their rations and row out in their small boats, crossing over to foreign lands. There they hide in the wild mountains and solitary valleys where there are no inhabitants. When they encounter a fisherman or a woodcutter they at once take him alive and then return. They sell [their captives] to another country, at two ounces of gold per head. The people of that country all imitating each other, this has become a habitually practiced business. Therefore when the people of the Eastern Sea hear the name P’i-she-yeh [毗舍耶], they are all terrified and flee”. (Thompson 2002, 29-30)

It seems to be a description of one specific area on Taiwan shore. Because it was impossible to travel in the small boats in the open sea, I guess by the foreign lands the author means other regions on Taiwan shore, which in that time were inhabited by many very different peoples with different cultural traditions, the same as New Guinea shore until 18-19 centuries. So, Pi-she-ye probably is not a name of the whole Taiwan territory, but of only one cultural area in it.

The support of this idea we can find in the Chinese record of 1603 (Ch’en Ti: An Account of the Eastern Barbarians [陳第：東番記]) from Ming Dynasty [1368-1644], where the author expresses his surprise that Eastern Barbarians “live in the midst of the ocean but do not fish”; they live on an island, but “cannot use boats, and greatly fear the sea” (Thompson 2002, 36-37). In early Qing dynasty period another Chinese author Yu Yung-ho (Observations on the Aborigines of Taiwan [郁永河：裨海紀遊] 1697) describes the journey of a Chinese merchant who crossed the mountains in purpose “to contact the local barbarians to the east of the mountains”. He describes people there as very similar to the local people of the western part of Taiwan. The most interesting part of this story is that the return journey to the west the merchant realized on the small boat. It means that at least Eastern and Western Taiwan inhabitants had boats which could travel around the island and the coastal sea-rout communication between western and eastern Taiwan aborigines was in use at that time. The reason why Ch’en Ti describes Taiwanese as people who don’t know boats and fishing is probably the fact that he visited a place on the shore, which was inhabited by peoples, who could belong to aboriginal

population, inhabited the island in times when Taiwan was a part of mainland. The first Taiwan inhabitants could do not know boats and populated Taiwan by dry land. Yu Yung-ho adduces another interesting story about group of people who were blown on Taiwan shores by storms and then stayed there forever, cultivating the soil. He says that it happened in the Southern Sung times when the Mongols invaded China (Thompson 2002, 49-50). This story gives me one more example of sporadic mainlanders' migration to Taiwan because of wars and invasions on the mainland. The same processes could take place in prehistory times also, forming extreme diversity of peoples, cultures and beliefs in Taiwan.

Many records about killing of shipwrecked crew on Taiwan shores could be found in European and American sources of 19th century. The most famous shipwreck event took place in 1867. It is known that after hours of rowing in the lifeboats and safely reaching ashore the shipwrecked crew of the American bark the *Rover* was murdered by members of an aboriginal village named Koalut [龜仔角] (Foreign Adventures... 2005, 3). After that event the American officials started negotiations with Qing authorities and an aboriginal leader. The purpose was to make the southern Taiwan area safer for mariners. One among means to solve the problem was an idea to build a lighthouse or a fort there. I think the main function of Taiwanese 18 deities' cult mythology was the similar—to protect shipwrecked crews in the northern Taiwan from the local practice of robbing and killing shipwrecked people. By the way, the cult of 18 Deities was developed among Hakka settlers. It is known also that Hakka people very successively adopted themselves to local circumstances in Taiwan and had deep trading and other relationships with Taiwan indigenous groups, living among them and being very friendly with them.

However after agreement between Americans and aborigines of the southern Taiwan in 1872 in the same area were murdered many people from the wrecked Ryukyu ship. In the same time there took place the similar cases of several Chinese and Bashi Islanders (Batanes Islands of the Philippines). The case of 10 Batanes islanders, who were traveled in a canoe, suggests that the tradition to rob shipwrecked crew traces back in very far away epoch, when modern ships still were not existed. By the way describing the case of the American bark the *Rover*, Pickering (1898) and LeGendre (1874) mention a special

religious ceremony holding by Koalut villagers in purpose to avoid an evil spirit which American punitive expedition left behind them to punish the Koaluts. Since the Americans had left, many unlucky events happened in Koalut village: the crops had been damaged by wild pigs, one of their men had been bitten by a water-snake, also the aborigines had had a quarrel amongst themselves, in which two men were killed. Aborigines thought that the reason for all those illnesses is an evil spirit Americans had left behind them (Foreign Adventures... 2005, 42, 98-99). Such superstition reminds the Trobrianders belief in flying witches.

Pickering (*ibid.*) in his records informs that further north from Takao [打狗; present day Kaohsiung] and Taiwanfoo [台灣府 present day Tainan] “the wild and lawless settlers cultivated wrecking as a profession” (*ibid.*: 31). Pickering mentions fishers using catamarans in Anping [安平] river (Aihe in present day Kaohsiung).⁴ On catamarans they used to go out in the sea for fishing and often could become victims of storms and professional wreckers along the west Taiwan shore. Wreckers used to kidnap fishers and sell them back to their families. This description corresponds to information of Wang Tayuan (汪大淵) from 1349 about Pi-she-ye [毗舍耶] inhabitants’ behavior. Putting these two records together we see the constancy of professional piracy practice on Taiwan shores from at least 1349 until 1872, it means 500 years. Actually this practice should have more long period tradition. Pickering (*ibid.*: 31-32) mentions also the cases of German vessels shipwrecks with the similar results and following Europeans answer of burning the villages of the wreckers. He informs also that the west Taiwan shore was really dangerous because of the south-west monsoon; many unlucky vessels were cast on the sand banks and shoals to the north of Taiwanfoo; and “in almost every case, directly the ship grounded, she was surrounded by hundreds of catamarans filled with jubilant wreckers, who swarmed over her as their lawful prey” (*ibid.*: 33).

LeGendre in his manuscript “Notes of Travel in Formosa” (1874) mentions both the danger and importance of Taiwan for international trade in west Pacific. LeGendre says by the way that “from time immemorial” Taiwan has been known for Japanese navigators,

⁴ I am not sure about trustworthiness of this information – confirmation or denials need special researches.

who have had relations of trade with the aborigines of Formosa. He observed that the bay of Kwaliang in south Taiwan was one of the most important highways in the China seas, and at the same time, one of the worst for storms (*ibid*: 145-147). Explaining the behavior of indigenous groups of south Taiwan, LeGendre (*ibid*.) informs the following: “the savages exterminated all strangers, merely because they had determined never to allow one to head upon their soil with impunity” (*ibid*: 98). Taylor (*ibid*.) adduces the Koaluts narrative tradition explaining the reason to kill shipwrecked crews. The story tells that once upon the time

“a large ship anchored in the bay and sent ashore a party who, attracted to the village by grunting of pigs and crowing of cocks, wantonly slew the old men and young children, fired the village, and carried off to their ships some females they captured and everything in the way of eatables they found. The Koaluts rebuilt their village on an elevated plateau some distance inland...” (*ibid*: 166-167)

Other tribes also have stories about foreign ships landing parties of men who captured people and carried them to their vessels. Those people never returned back. Because of those reasons many aboriginal villages were removed from the coast to be hidden in the mountains. Those events also led to the merciless slaughter of anyone who landed including shipwrecked crews (*ibid*: 166-167).

2.07. THE SET OF EURASIAN MYTHOLOGICAL SYMBOLS

IN TAIWAN INDIGINOUS SOCIETIES: WITH OTHER AUSTRONESIAN PARALLELS

2.07-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Otherworld] Describing Paiwans of Taiwan Taylor (1885) says that they believed in the otherworld. They place their heaven in the far north and think it is a beautiful hunting ground. They understood hell in the sense of a purgatory (Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999: 56; 69). Myers (1885) informed that Amis of Taiwan also believe in purgatory in the air. They place heaven in the far north and hell in the far south. Polynesian and Micronesian mythologies both have an idea about otherworld, which is separated into

two parts: underworld or underwater world and celestial (paradise) world (Polinskaya 2000). According to Eliade (1989, 340-341) the Batak, Negrito group of Palawan (Philippines), believe that the land of the dead has seven levels, which are situated in the sky. Batak language belongs to the Western Malayo-Polynesian group of Austronesian languages (Languages of the World, 14th Edition).

[Powerful Dead = Gods + Ghosts] It looks like that in Taiwan Chinese immigrants' belief in ghosts matched to similar local indigenous ideas. Describing Paiwans Taylor (ibid.) says that they believed in ghosts, and "consider them as spirits condemned for a certain time to an intermediary state, and thus fitting mediums between this world and the other" (Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999, 69). Taylor (ibid.) informs also that the Caviangans, who lived beyond the northern borders of the Paiwans believe that the high mountains are inhabited by spirits of departed heroes. According to those believes the spirits lived in houses half dug and half built, and wearied only the skins of wild animals (Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999, 76). That image corresponds to the Amis (Taiwan) and many other peoples all over the world tradition to bury dead in animal skins; "houses half dug and half built" looks to be the image of the tombs. Myers (1885, 57) informed that ordinary Amis (in Taiwan) clothed their dead in ordinary garments, but the rich Amis sewed them up in buffalo skin.

[Grave] I was surprised to found in the collection of Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines the ancestors posts of the Tao people of Taiwan. The posts are erected under the roof of Tao homes. The large posts symbolize ancestral spirits. During the erection ceremony the household head kills a pig or goat and smears the blood onto the post. It is important that when the house is dismantled, the post can not be used for firewood or other purposes but must be allowed to decompose naturally. This tradition reminds me several far away parallels. The first is the common for many Taiwanese indigenous peoples' tradition to bury ancestors in the house. The second is the ancient Germanic runestones which were usually placed next to the ancestors' graves. And the third is the Finno-Ugric tradition to bury the dead in the way to facilitate the decomposition of the corpse. Now I can not clearly understand the connections among those traditions. But such kind of similarity inspires me to further and deeper researches in that direction.

Paiwan and Rukai people had a tradition to bury deceased under their houses; all members of one family were buried in a single grave (Chiang 2009).



Photo 22: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines:
Tao Ancestors Posts. Source: Author, 2009.

[Cutting off the Enemy's Head + the Cult of the Head] It is known that many indigenous peoples on Taiwan practiced headhunting. Headhunting was practiced also by many Austronesian speaking peoples in Philippines, Indonesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and New Guinea. Among the Austronesian speaking peoples headhunting tradition is connected with the belief that the skull contains a substance, which is called *mana*. Valeri in the study of Hawaiian religious culture resumes many scholars' researches of *mana* concept and makes the conclusion that *mana* is "an invisible substance that manifests itself in a variety of visible signifiers" (Valeri 1985, 99). Valeri describes *mana* as substance connected with gods and with persons or things that are closest to them, such as temples, images of the gods, ritual objects, omens, priests, and prayers (*ibid.*: 98). According to the Valeri's study "a man is able to transmit his *mana* to

another by spitting in his mouth or by breathing on his *manawa*, anterior fontanel” (*ibid*: 99). Describing the Atayals headhunting tradition Ho (2004, 858) mentions that one of the purposes of this tradition is strengthening of the village soul substance. It was believed that new added heads could increase the power of resistance of disease, encourage the fertility of the villagers and crops. The Austronesian speaking peoples’ belief that a human head is a container of *mana* is similar to the Finno-Ugric peoples’ cult of the head, which is based on the corresponding shamanic concept that the head is a seat of the immortal soul.

2.07-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

Weller in the study of the 18 Deities temple in Taiwan (Weller 1999, 347) supposes the aboriginal and early Chinese settlers’ cults interactions. He mentions an interesting example of a mixture between ideas of a Buddhist story about “black dog” mother and nearby flatland aborigines’ cult of the Black Dog in a part of central Taiwan, which frequently is associated with the black-magic tradition (Seaman 1981, 392-394). The “magical powers are said to derive from committing tabooed acts, such as throwing good cooked rice in the latrine, sucking menstrual blood, etc. (*ibid*: 393).

[Dogs, Raised by Chiefs: Hierarchical Social Organization] Micronesian mythology has an image of a magic dog which watches for keeping taboo (Polinskaya 2000). In Trobrianders shipwreck mythology the dog symbol is connected with the special type of social organization, which reminds the ‘tripartite’ social structure of early Indo-Europeans (I will say more about that in the section devoted to Trobrianders mythology). Studying Taiwan indigenous peoples’ cultures I found that Paiwan and Rukai societies unlike other indigenous groups in Taiwan also had a hierarchically ordered social structure. Pickering (1898) mentioned Amis of Taiwan to be servants and slaves in eighteen tribes union of 18 Paiwan tribes, leaded by Toketok. Taylor (1885) says that in contrast to others peoples in Taiwan Amis never been ‘head-hunters’. Some other sources (Myers 1885, Taylor 1888) mention the foreign origin of Ami people, who used to be considered as descendants of shipwrecked crew (Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999: 19, 54, 83).

Faure (2001, 8) citing Chinese description of Taiwan, written in 1724 by Huang Shujing, informs that Paiwan chiefs and their families had special status in society. Only chiefs' families raised dogs and chickens, which, they did not eat. Chiefs intermarried only among themselves and not with the commoners, who raised pigs and brought to chiefs families 20 per cent of the produce of millet and yam. Only chiefs could weave red and blue cloth bearing the human-head motif. Chan (2001, 128-129) says that the Paiwan and Rukai chieftains and nobles were "hereditary leaders whose genealogies can be traced back more than twenty generations". They were political and religious leaders. They had in possession agricultural land, rivers and hunting grounds, and the right to tax the commoners. The Paiwan and Rukai societies hierarchically ordered social structure looks like a concise variant of the 'tripartite social organization' of Indo-Europeans peoples (term, used by Littleton 1996, 184).

I don't agree with Littleton (1996, 184) that the highest hierarchy level in tripartite society mostly happened to be in case of conquering. The Amis case is not an only exception. The story about Amis origin reminds the famous motif of *Exodus* describing slaving of the Israelites in Egypt. It seems that the slavery and other kinds of subordinate position of one ethnic group to another used to be a common cultural phenomenon among vast variety of cultures all over the world under certain conditions. Migrating population on the territory of another powerful ethnic group also could become in slave or servant position.

[Glass Beads] One more important detail about Paiwans: only the families of the chieftains and nobles possessed glass beads. Chan (2001, 129-130) says that in 18th century the indigenous peoples of southern Taiwan exchanged their products for these multi-colored glass beads. The beads represented wealth and social status, had religious meaning, were passed on as inheritance, and used as marriage gifts. At the same time the ethnography has not information about bead-making skill among the Paiwan and Rukai. But their myths say that their ancestors brought these beads with them when they settled on Taiwan.



Photo 23: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines:
Paiwan Glass Beads. Source: Author, 2009.

The indigenous peoples exchanged products for the beads, the beads circulated among them, but were not sold (Chan (2001, 119). This tradition reminds the Trobrianders Kula social institution, which is connected with their developed shipwreck mythology. The Paiwans and Rukai strung glass beads together as necklaces in the same way as Trobrianders do with red spondylus discs. The particularly valued patterns had a special names, gender, and symbolic meanings. For example, Sun Beads were used to invoke relationship between the chieftain and the sun; Earth Beads symbolized financial success; Warrior Beads used to honor a heroic man; and so on (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines 2009). The similar to Paiwans and Rukais tradition to possess special valuables exists also among Atayal group of Taiwan indigenous people. In Atayal tradition such kind of valuables are represented by shell bead garments. The garments are composed of small beads made from thin slices of shells strung together. Such kind of clothing could be worn only by clan leaders or by successive headhunters during special celebrations. The shell bead garments were a symbol of social status and wealth. They used also as a monetary unit. Such garments could weigh as much as 6-7 kg and may number as many as 120,000 shell beads.

2.07-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Canoe = Ship] Describing Paiwans Taylor (1885) says that catamarans were their only kind of vessel, and the fishermen never go far from the shore (Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999, 75). Tsou villagers of Alishan were mentioned in the Taiwan prefecture gazetteer of the 1696 edition among earliest taxes payers. Alishan was an area not ventured into by the Han Chinese at that time. But every summer or autumn the natives came with deer meat, herbs and rattan in their canoes to trade (Faure 2001, 15). Thao of the Sun Moon Lake also used canoes. The hollowed-out wood canoe was an important element of their fishing and hunting culture. Canoes, some of which could hold as many as 50 persons, were either private or communal. Thao used canoes to carry people, for fishing and delivery of goods. Alishan is located on the upper reaches of the main rivers leading down to Tainan, so Faure (Faure 2001, 16) suggests that some mountain peoples could come down to the plains on these rivers to trade. He doubts however that the Tsou could do it directly, because in this case they should pass the territories of hostile Bunun and then of the lowland peoples. Faure supposes that the “traffic downstream would have consisted of a process of relay trading among different peoples”.

[Boat in Funeral] According to Eliade (1989, 355) the symbol of “boat of the dead” is very important in Malaysia and Indonesia funerary practices and is connected with shamanic ideas. According to Eliade (*ibid*: 355) in Malaysia and Indonesia there is practice of exposing the dead in boats and throwing them into the sea; Eliade explains this tradition in terms of recollections of ancestral migrations. The idea is that the boat would carry the soul to the ancestors’ original homeland. Eliade (*ibid*: 355) argues that this half-forgotten homeland during the time lost its historical meaning and transformed into the image of a mythical country. In such context the ocean that separates ancestors from descendants got the image of the Waters of Death. Eliade explains such phenomenon in terms of archaic mentality which usually transforms historical events into mythical ones. Eliade mentions the similar beliefs among the ancient Germans and the Japanese. Saying about Indonesian and Melanesian beliefs Eliade observes (*ibid*: 356) three main magico-religious practices which use a ritual boat:

1. expulsion of sickness and demons;
2. means of transport for shaman to travel through the air;
3. “boat of the spirits,” which carries the souls to the otherworld.

The ceremony of expulsion of demons of sickness in Malaysia and Indonesia takes place annually or on the occasion of epidemics (*ibid*: 356). Demons are caught and shut up in a box or directly in the boat; the boat is thrown into the sea. Sometimes the demons are represented by a number of wooden figures. The same tradition was in use by Han Chinese both in mainland and in Taiwan. Eliade (*ibid*: 358-360) mentions the similar symbolization in the Dyaks of Borneo deceased’s journey to the underworld in a boat. In this case the spirits of underworld meet the one just died soul using a boat and stopping it before the house of the deceased. From one to four years after the decease it is celebrated the great funeral festival. Women mourners invite the souls of the dead to take part in the festival. The mourners’ song describes the dead souls leaving the underworld boarding their boats in purpose to reach the feast. It is important to mention here the popular Taiwanese ghost month and ghost festival, when the souls of dead are invited to the rich feast.

[Magic Canoe = Magic Ship + Flying Canoe = Flying Ship] Eliade supposed (*ibid*: 356) that the idea of traveling the air in a boat is only an Indonesian application of the shamanic technique. But Malinowsky (1922) gives an example of Trobrianders (New Guinea) similar mythical motif of the “flying canoe”. I recall also a motif with a “flying ship” of Russian fairy tales, which also could be a reminiscence of forgotten shamanic rituals. Such symbolization connects a boat image with otherworld, the place of shaman’s destination.

[Dangers on Waters and Ashore] In Māori mythology there is an image of *taniwha* which are beings that live in deep rivers, dark caves, or in the sea, in dangerous places. At sea, *taniwha* often appears as a whale or a large shark. Sometimes, a person who had dealings with *taniwha* can turn into a *taniwha* after the death. Many *taniwha* arrived from Hawaiki as guardians of a particular ancestral canoe and took on a protective role over

the descendants of the crew of the canoe they had accompanied. *Taniwha* acted as guardians from enemies, communicating the information via a medium; sometimes the *taniwha* saved people from drowning. As well they served as guardians of taboo.

[Shipwreck] *Chen Wei-Chi* (2001) gives important information about the Han Chinese colonization of the Gemalan area in northern Taiwan. Gemalan is exactly the area of my interest: the Temple of 18 Deities is situated there. Gemalan is a Chinese place name, local people used to call the area as Kavalan. The Qing dynasty included Gemalan into its realm in 1810. In that time this north eastern coastal region was inhabited by three different groups of people: migrants from mainland who came there in 1795; the “cooked” savages who had migrated in from central Taiwan in 1804; and local “converted raw savages” (Chen 2001, 28-29). The information about last group conversion is most interesting. The Qing government distinguished between “raw” and “cooked” savages. The terms were used not only for Taiwan, but also for the Miao and Yao people in mainland south China and for the Li people on Hainan Island. The difference between these two groups referred to the level of those groups ‘conversion’ or assimilation by Chinese culture.

Qing records inform that at Gemalan the savages were settled in thirty-six villages. Two passages summaries the impressions of Chinese shipwreck victims in this area. Someone with the name Wan Zhengse was shipwrecked there in 1683. His impression from the first glance seems to be too much fantastic. He describes local people as cannibalistic beings, who had ugly snake-like heads and who could fly. According to his story Wan met with several hundred of these snake-headed creatures who flew at him. He informs also that his companions were caught by them and eaten. He explains that he survived only because he had some red arsenic on his body, which had the power to keep those creatures away. (*ibid*: 28-29) The story of Wan surprisingly exactly corresponds to the Trobrianders (New Guinea area) mythology of shipwrecks and the flying witches, which was studied by Malinowsky (1922). The fact that the shipwreck event was described by Wan in terms of ‘flying witches’ mythological symbolism gives me a reason to suppose that the mythology similar to the Trobrianders one existed in mainland China cost area and was common there still in the end of 17 century.

Another Qing passage describes the shipwreck (in 1722) of Zhu Wenbing, Chinese from Tainan City area. After three days drifting he landed at Gemalan. Gemalan inhabitants thought that he was a bandit and wanted to kill him. But another Chinese who lived in the natives village and had regularly traded with those people persuaded them do not kill him. Later the natives, who were described as people who ate raw pork and raw crabs, took him back in their canoes. (*ibid*: 30) In 1820 the Assistant Prefect Yao Ying, the most senior Han Chinese official at Ilan, wrote that the Kavalan (Gemalan) people ate raw meat and drank blood. After 1810 a Chinese Prefect, Yao Ying's predecessor, appointed Han people to be in charge at the Kavalan villages, also he set up interpreters and native chiefs there. Yao Ying described his predecessor's achievements as follows:

“He compiled registration records, and he taught the people the proper ways of humankind. [He made them] shave their heads and wear clothes, keep oxen and farm implements, and gradually they learnt the language of the Han people, appreciated the value of silver and copper cash, and cooked the food they ate. However, in matters connected with the five human relationships, in funerals and marriages, they follow their old ways”. (*ibid*: 31)

Those changes in the Kavalan people way of life had come about between the first migration of Han people into Gemalan in 1795 and region incorporation into the Qing state in 1810. When Governor General Fang Weidian went to Tanshui on a tour of inspection, natives from Gemalan came to see him and presented their own registration records (*ibid*: 32). It means that by that time the Kavalan people were converted into “cooked savages”, the Han people had been settled in the area only fifteen years. It is not a long time. For sure, in 1810 the Kavalan people still kept many of their own traditions. In conclusion, Chen (*ibid*: 38) suggests that the term “Kavalan” corresponds to Chinese “the thirty-six villages of raw savages behind the hills” and describes not a single cultural group, but the various groups of people who occupied the north-eastern coastal plain.

2.07-D. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Boar (a Pig):

[Hunted Animals] The Tsou hunters have the tradition of mountain wild boar jaw bones. They have also the special hunting ceremony, which includes offerings made to the

spirits of the hunting animals. The Tsou hunters enshrine the jaws of the wild boars in the sacred animal bone shrine. Before a hunt they visit the animal shrine and pray for a successful hunt. (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines 2009)

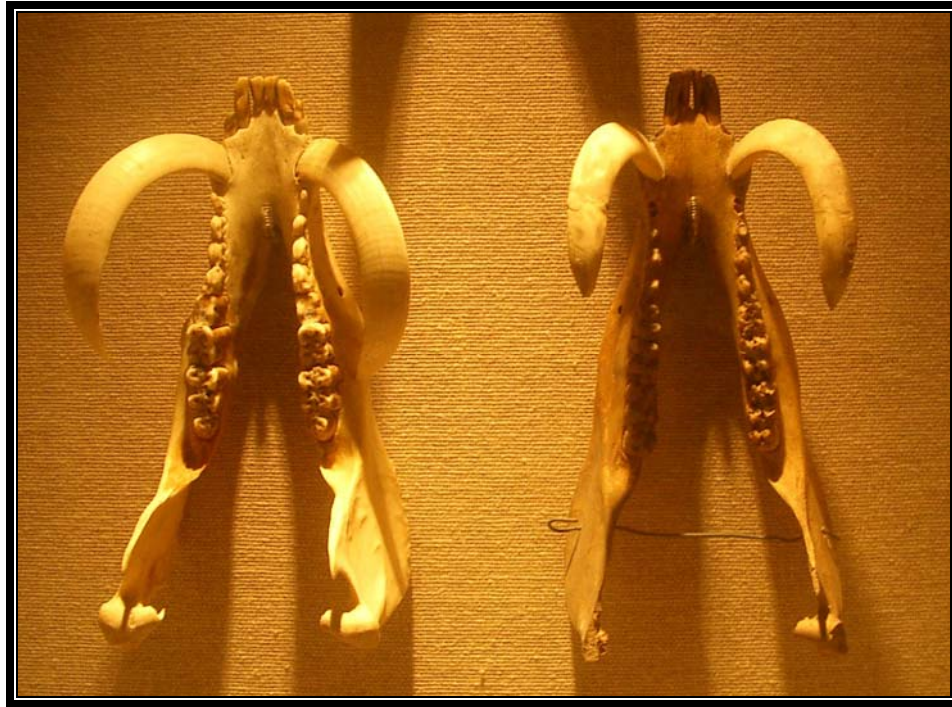


Photo 24: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines:
Tsou Wild Boar Jaw Bones. Source: Author, 2009.

[Pig's Sacrifice] Many Taiwan indigenous peoples use pigs in their traditional ceremonies. The Atayals have the tradition of pig sacrifices. For example, Ho (2004, 858) mentions the Atayal ceremony of butcher a pig in the case of drought. During this ritual the pig's blood is let to flow into a river. After that people jump into the river and splash the water with there hands imitating the rain.

[Boar's Tusk] The Bunun of Taiwan have the tradition of hunters competition in collecting of wild boar jaw bones (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines 2009). More over, I found interesting traces to the Trobrianders shipwreck mythology symbol of the curved, almost circular, boar's tusk used as ornament" (Malinowsky 1922, 262) in three ethnology museums in Taiwan: the Museum in the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica, the Ethnography Museum of the National Chengchi University, and

Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines. The collection of Museum in the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica surprised me with two ‘headgears’ of Amis chiefs, which were decorated with wild boar tusks. Unfortunately I didn’t make picture of them. In the Ethnography Museum of the National Chengchi University I paid attention to the Tsou origin object which is similar to the Bontoc’s one (Philippines): both of them reminds me the description from Trobrianders shipwreck mythology - *the Curved, Almost Circular, Boar’s Tusk*.



Photo 25: National Chengchi University, Ethnography Museum. ‘The Curved, Almost Circular, Boar’s Tusk’, Tsou (Taiwan). Source: Author, 2009.

Even more surprising for me was the collection of Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, where I found Paiwan and Rukai hats. There are shown both male and female hats equally decorated with wild boar tusks. It is especially interesting because in my comparison findings among European parallels I have in my disposal only warriors’ helmets with such kind of symbolic. I would like to remind here the Nordic warriors’

helmets with boar tusks, the warriors' helmets of Mycenaean Greece, and the boar images carved on the helmets of Celtic warriors.



Photo 26: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines:
Paiwan Male and Female Hats Decorated with Wild Boar Tusks. Source: Author, 2009.

2.08. THE SET OF EURASIAN SYMBOLS

IN TROBRIANDERS SHIPWRECK MYTHOLOGY

The parallel between shipwreck records in Taiwan and the Trobrianders shipwreck mythology suggests that the shipwreck symbol in the legends of Taiwanese 18 deities' cult has connections with the shipwreck mythology of sea nomadic peoples, who passed by and settled in Taiwan shores. Malinowsky (1922) also explains the shipwreck mythology origin as reflection of environment reality. Giving example of real shipwreck events among the Trobrianders he writes:

“Once the whole crew were eaten by cannibals, getting ashore in a hostile district of Fergusson Island, and one man only escaped, and ran along the shore, south-eastwards towards Dobu. Thus there is a certain amount of historical evidence for the saving power of the magic, and the mixture of fanciful and real elements makes our story a good example of what could be called standardized or universalized

myth—that is, a myth referring not to one historical event but to a type of occurrence, happening universally”. (*ibid*: 261)

2.08-A. Group of Symbols Directly Connected with Idea of Otherworld:

[Flying + Shamanism] One of the stories (Malinowsky 1922, 324) describes an old magician Kasabwaybwayreta who was too much successful in Kula practice. It makes his younger family members – sons and grandsons – be jealous and angry with him. In result his son left him in the faraway island alone. After spending long time in that faraway island Kasabwaybwayreta traveling on the belt of Orion (three central stars) reaches the *busa* tree. He charmed the tree and it arose up into the skies. He sat on that tree, later he charmed the tree to come down to the ground. The story is similar to many Siberian peoples’ myths describing the human transformation into shaman.

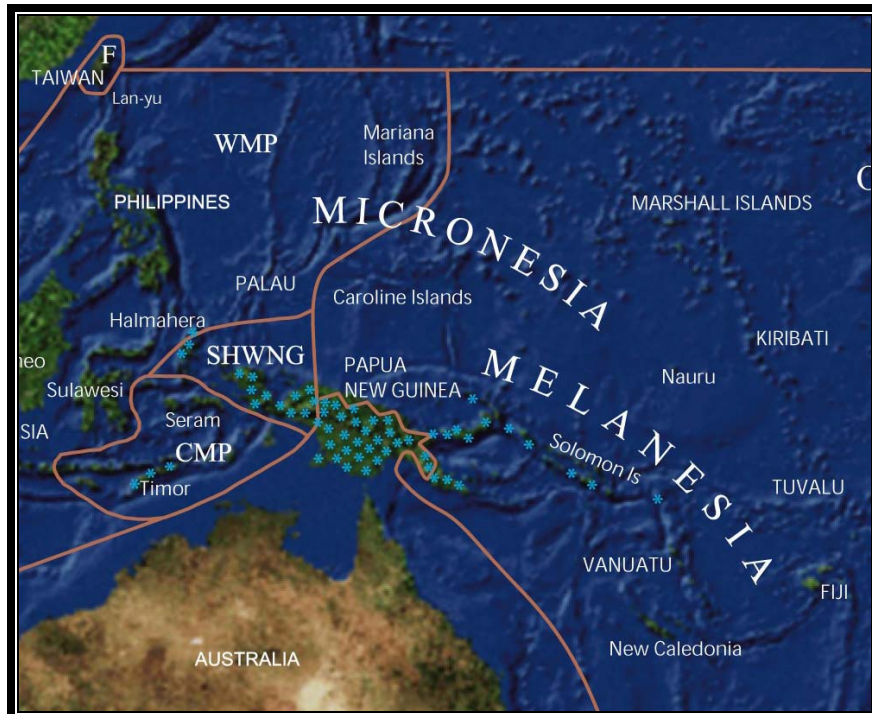
[Otherworld + Dogs] Kasabwaybwayreta went underground and remained there for a long time. At last the dogs came and dug him out.

[Evil Spirit + Epidemic Disease] He appeared again on the earth surface and became a *tauva’u*, evil spirit, who hits human beings. Trobrianders believe that the *tauva’u* cause all epidemic diseases. Invisible such kind of spirits “march through the villages and with their sword-clubs or sticks hitting their victims, who immediately sicken and die. (*ibid*: 77)” The *tauva’u* can assume the shape of man or animal: a snake, or crab, or lizard. People recognize such being for it will not run away and has a bright spot on its skin. It is a taboo to kill such a creature; it has to be treated as a chief instead. It is placed on a high platform and some valuables – a polished green stone blade or a pair of arm-shells - must be put before it as an offering. (*ibid*: 77) The story reminds also the southern China image of “Royal Lord(s)” which refers to a wide range of spirits, including plague-spreading deities. It is visible a parallel with Chinese tradition of the ghosts, the dead spirits of people who died with no children to worship them, or far from home where no one knew them. The dogs function in this story is revitalization of the abandoned powerful spirit.

[Ghosts; Evil Spirit; Flying Witches] According to Trobrianders believes all very rapid and violent diseases are brought by flying-witches. Invisible they pounce upon person and “remove and hide “the inside,” that is, the lungs, heart and guts, or the brains and tongue. (Malinowsky 1922, 76)” A victim will die very soon, if another witch will not find and restores the missing “inside.”

[Flying + Shamanism] The same myth, which describes the old magician Kasabwaybwayreta’s transformation into evil spirit of the *tauva’u* has a motif about flying canoe. The ability to use flying canoe made Kasabwaybwayreta successful in Kula. This motif also has very clear connections with shamanism.

[The Cult of the Head + Lapita culture] In 2003 a large cemetery on Efate Island (Southern Melanesia: Vanuatu) was discovered. All skeletons there were headless with the heads removed after burial and replaced with rings made from cone shell. The heads were reburied. One burial of an elderly man had three skulls lined up on his chest. (Stone 2006)



Map 2: Austronesian Languages Zones by Belwood, B., 2000.
Source: ECAI, Pacific Language Mapping.

Cemetery on Efate Island belongs to an ancient Pacific Ocean archaeological culture which is believed by many archaeologists to be the common ancestor of several cultures in Polynesia, Micronesia, and some areas of Melanesia. The classic Lapita pottery period was between 1350 and 750 BC in the Bismarck Archipelago. The pottery was typically decorated with a dentate (toothed) stamp. Other culture characteristics include domesticated pigs, dogs and chickens. Among root and tree crops most important were taro, yam, coconuts, bananas and breadfruit. These products were supplemented by fishing and mollusks gathering. Long distance trade of obsidian, adzes and favorable adze source rock and shells was practiced. A Southeast Asian origin of the Lapita culture is assumed by most scholars. Mostly it is supposed that the culture originated from the Austronesians of Taiwan or southern China about 5,000-6,000 years ago. Burial pottery similar to pottery of Taiwan, as well as detailed linguistic evidence (Blust 1999) seems to support this theory (Stone 2006). Other scholars like Allen (1984) located the origin of the Lapita culture in the Bismarck Archipelago that was first colonized in the period between 30,000 and 35,000 BC. Others see obsidian trade as the motor of the spread of Lapita-elements in the western areas.

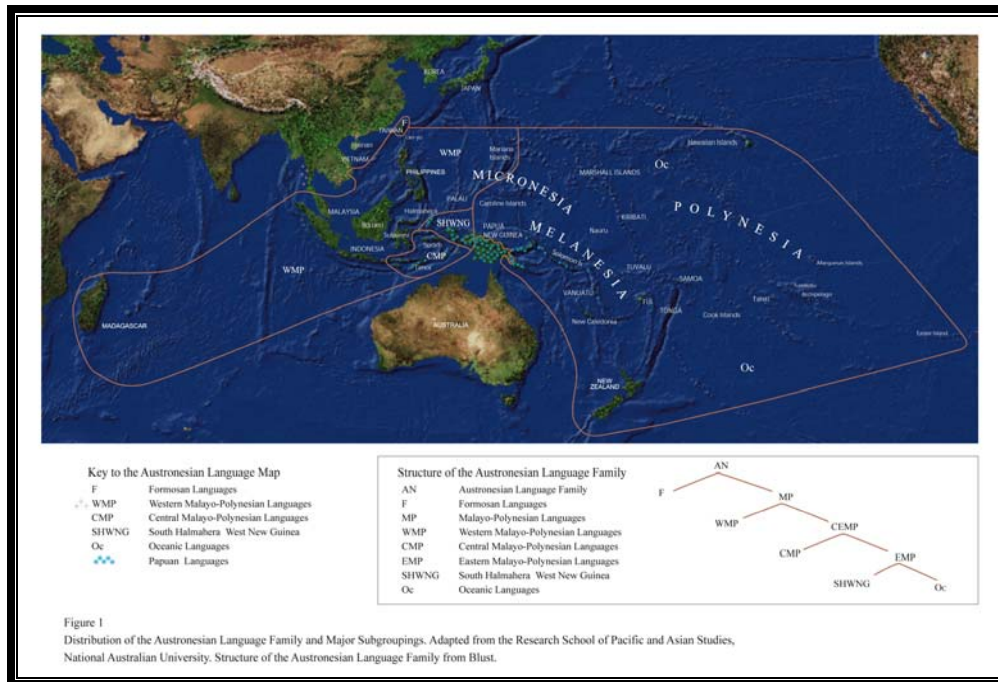
2.08-B. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog:

[Dog: the Third Sibling] In the myth about a *tauva'u* origin dogs' symbol is connected with emergence of evil spirit, a *tauva'u*, who causes all epidemic diseases. The linguistic data and the theories of Lapita culture origin and dispersing could help understand another important for this study Trobrianders' myth, which describes conflict among three siblings, one among whom was a dog. Malinowsky in his shipwreck mythology study mentions (*ibid*: 262) the story, where a dog is an important character. The story describes the beginning of time, when lived a family, which was consisted of a man, his sister and their youngest brother, a dog. One day the elder brother, the man, went by a small canoe to fish. The youngest brother, the dog, swam behind the canoe. The brothers fished together and caught a fish. Then the elder brother paddled back; the dog again swam behind. They returned home. "They died; came Modokei, he learned the *kayga'u*, the inside of Tokulubwaydoga (name of the dog). The name of their mother, the mother of Tokulubwaydoga, is Tobunaygu. (*ibid*: 263)"

[Dog: Fortuneteller] The words about “learning the inside of a dog” remind me the way of fortunetelling rituals on sacrificing animals’ insides, which was practiced by Etruscans, Romans and Babylonians. Probably in the past the practice of fortunetelling on dog’s insides also could take place in the Trobrianders society and the mythology keeps traces of it.

[Dog: Three Siblings and the Trobrianders’ Ranking System] By the way Malinowsky mentions (*ibid*: 71) that the Trobrianders’ have a unique feature of social structure which is entirely foreign to all the other Papuo-Melanesian tribes. This unique feature is the principle of rank attached to totemic divisions. From the other hand the principle of ranking was a common for the earliest Indo-European speaking societies (Littleton 1996). May be the Trobrianders inherited the ranking system from their far away ancestors, which brought this tradition from Eurasian continent long time ago.

[Language] One more detail: the Trobrianders language, Kilivila, belongs to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family. The common ancestor language which is reconstructed for this group is called Proto-Oceanic. According to the reconstruction Proto-Oceanic was probably spoken about 4200 years ago in the Bismarck Archipelago of Papua New Guinea. Archaeologists and linguists currently agree that the Proto-Oceanic-speaking community more or less coincides with the Lapita archeological culture (Diamond. 1997, 347-348). From the other hand the majority of the Papuan languages, which are spoken on the island of New Guinea, and a number of languages which are spoken in the Bismark Archipelago, Bougainville Island, and the Solomon Islands to the east, and in Halmahera, Timor, and the Alor archipelago to the west, belong to the Indo-Pacific language family proposed by Greenberg in 1971. According to Greenberg (1971) the Indo-Pacific language family consists of the non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea and neighboring islands, the languages of Tasmania, and the languages of the Andaman Islands. Later by the way, Greenberg (2000, 2002) proposed to join many language families of Europe and Asia into a single group called Eurasiatic, similar to Illich-Svitych’s earlier Nostratic proposal.



Map 3: Austronesian Languages Zones by Belwood, B., 2000.
Source: ECAI, Pacific Language Mapping.

[Dog's Clan: Magic of Fog + Ranking System] Describing Tribrianders' society Malinowski mentions (*ibid*: 55) that the Trobrianders were matrilineal, and a child belongs to the clan and village community of its mother. Analyzing the myth about three siblings Malinowsky emphasizes (*ibid*: 263) that "the point of the story lies in the fact that the dog was able to do the swimming, because he knew the *kayga'u* (magic of fog), otherwise the sharks, *mulukwausi*, or other evil things would have eaten him." The dog got it from his mother who was a *mulukwausi* by herself. Malinowsky pays attention to the sociological aspect of this myth. He says that the siblings' mother belonged to the Lukwasisiga (Crocodile/Snake/Opossum) clan, different from the dog's one, Lukuba (Dogs) clan. Dog was born into his mother Lukwasisiga family, but still belonged to Lukuba clan. Malinowsky mentions that the siblings' mother had no husband, and a reason for that is a fact that the Trobrianders don't know the physiological aspect of fatherhood. The dog in this story was only one who received the *kayga'u* (magic of fog) from the mother and Malinowsky understands the fact of jealousy as a reason, why the elder brother refused to take a dog on his boat to fish together.

[Dog and Pig Clans' Dispute Motif] The myth about three siblings displays also the totemic origin of the dog symbol. Trobrianders society is matrilineal and divided into four matriclans: Pigs (Malasi); Dogs (Lukuba); Crocodile/Snake/Opossum (Lukwasisiga); and Iguana (Lukulabuta). It is believed that all ancestors came into earth from underground. The iguana was the first, who emerged, so Iguana (Lukulabuta) is the oldest clan. The dog and the pig in the myth of clans' origin dispute with one another the priority of their rank in society. The dog claims he appeared on the earth earlier, immediately after iguana. But the pig won arguing that unlike the dog the pig does not eat unclean things. Therefore the Pigs (Malasi) clan is considered to be the clan of the highest rank (Malinowsky 1922, 319). Unfortunately, in Malinowsky's study I didn't find any information about the Crocodile/Snake/Opossum (Lukwasisiga) clan role. Lincoln (1992) says that the Dog clan originally had a highest rank, the second position belonged to the Pig clan, the third one to Iguana, and the Crocodile always was the lowest one. As I understood from Lincoln's discussion the position in the clans hierarchy changed several times in the Trobrianders society. Logically the original hierarchy should follow the order of totemic ancestors' appearance in the earth. So I suppose that clans' positions in hierarchy changed according to cultural changes which took place in Trobrianders society.

[Indo-Europeans and Tripartite Social Organization] But the fact that siblings belonged to different clans and that the dog was a youngest among siblings gives me the idea of unequal positions of the siblings in the family. Thinking about the sociological aspect of the story I recalled one very stable motif of Russian fairy tales. Many Russian fairy tales describe a conflict among three brothers. The elder brothers always have property and better position in the family. They are smart, that means they know and follow practical ways of life in society. The youngest brother always is a fool; he is described as a person who had not even elementary ideas about everyday activities, which people should know to support their life. But in the end of the stories, because of support of magic assistants, who very often are different animals, the fool gets the better result in his life than his elder brothers; he receives unusual wisdom, treasures and a beautiful wife. In one famous story by the way such kind of assistant is represented by a magic wolf. Sometimes the youngest brother by himself is a son of an animal mother; he can be called Dog's Son, Bear's Son, Cow's Son, Peasant's Son, or Soldier's Son. The

same names tradition I found among Irish mythology, which also belongs to Indo-European mythology branch. In the case of being a son of an animal, the character has already unusual power and wisdom, but elder brothers, who have higher social position don't want to accept his fair superiority. In Polynesian mythology also there is a multitude of stories describing the human children of animals. Animals-parents help to their children to fulfill unusual deed, which brings them to social recognition. Also in these myths there are many stories about social competition between brothers, where the youngest is turned out to be a fair superior. He wins not only because his physical power, but in the main due to magic knowledge and help of supernatural relatives. (Polinskaya 2000, 320-321)

I found an explanation of the three brothers' motif in Littleton's paper (Littleton 1996) devoted to the problems of comparative study of Indo-European mythology. Littleton says that according to Dumézil findings the earliest Indo-European speaking societies of India, Europe, and elsewhere, were characterized "by a hierarchically ordered, tripartite social organization, each stratum of which was collectively represented in myth and epic by appropriate set of gods and heroes (Littleton 1996, 184)." This tripartite social organization is very clear represented in classical Indian social organization, which was composed of four main castes: priests, warriors, cultivators, and Sudras, or those whose obligation was to serve all others. The first castes were defined as Arya, the name which seems originally means 'human beings'. So Sudras probably were not considered as 'people', but as animals. Littleton suggests (*ibid*: 150) that Sudras most probably included the conquered, indigenous population. If so, the origin of three siblings' motif in Russian fairy tales and in the Trobrianders' shipwreck mythology, very probably, traces back to such kind of social organization.

[Reconstruction 3] The process of cultural changes in Trobrianders society looks to be similar to that of my previous reconstruction of the cultural changes' stages in Celtic society. So, the Trobrianders society cultural changes' stages could be reconstructed as following:

1. Paleolithic hunting totemic (aboriginal) clans of Crocodile, Snake, Opossum and Iguana where Iguana clan was the most powerful according to some unknown reasons; Probably Iguana represents the aboriginal population;
2. First period of dispute of aboriginal clans with the Dog cult of inventive culture of hunters (may be immigrants), who succeeded to domesticate a dog and used it to hunt;
3. Early Neolithic Pig-Breeders' cult and clan (may be the next wave of immigrants) and second dispute with the (indigenous) Dog cult and its clan, when a pig was also domesticated and became more productive meat source;
4. Neolithic agricultural invaders' (probably Austronesian speakers' with a New Dog cult) struggle with local indigenous (Crocodile, Snake, Opossum, Iguana, Old Dog and Pig clans with the Pig clan on the top of hierarchy) population—both hunters and pig-breeders; third dispute between Pig and New Dog cults—now with the dog's watching function cult, when pigs became a threat for agricultural harvest.

2.08-C. Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters:

[Waters] Trobrianders have Kula tradition, which is connected with dangerous traveling on waters. Kula tradition is also known as the Kula exchange or Kula ring. It is a ceremonial exchange system which involves thousands of individuals. Participants travel in long distance in order to exchange Kula valuables which consist of red shell-disc necklaces and white shell armbands. Kula valuables are non-use items traded purely for purposes of enhancing social status. Kula valuables never remain for long in the hands of the recipients; they must be passed on to other partners, thus constantly circling around the ring. Important chiefs can have hundreds of partners while less significant participants may have just several of them.

[Magic Canoe = Magic Ship + Flying Canoe = Flying Ship] In the Trobrianders waga (seagoing canoes) used in Kula approximately 15 men could travel comfortably. This number is very close to 17 people in the boat of Taiwanese 18 Deities cult. The mythologies of many peoples in the world have a symbol of magic boat. Trobrianders

have myth of the “flying canoe”. The similar motif of a “flying ship” there is in Russian fairy tales. The “flying canoe” image reminds also the Greek *Argo* and *Skithblathir* of ancient Germanics.

[Shipwreck: Dangers on Waters and Ashore] According to Trobrianders mythology there are the flying witches, the *yoyova* or *mulukwausi*, among the women in the villages. These witches have close connection with mythology of shipwreck. *Mulukwausi*’s main pursuits are to go at night to feed on corpses or to destroy shipwrecked mariners. This concept could be a good explanation of the dog’s protection function in the Taiwanese 18 Deities cult and the solution of this symbol origin. The witches can ‘hear’ that a man has died and can know the place of his death as well as the place, where a canoe is in danger. When they go out to their trip the witches leave their bodies behind, then they climb a tree and reciting some magic. In Malinowsky’s times it was believed that among the Trobrianders villages there is one where almost every woman is reputed to be a witch. It is interesting also that there is similarity between the *mulukwausi* and sirens of ancient Greek tradition: the approaching witches scream, their voices are heard in the wind (Malinowsky 1922, 256). More over the Chinese Wan Zhengse’s shipwreck story of 1683 describes his shipwreck event exactly in terms of thy Trobrianders flying witches mythology. (Chen 2001, 30)

[Drowned + Magic of Mist] In the Trobrianders mythology the dog symbol is very significant. The dog image is connected there with magic mist protecting function. The dog in the Trobrianders myth of three siblings was one who received the *kayga’u* (magic of fog) (Malinowsky 1922, 263). There are definite connection between *mulukwausi* and all kind of dangers which may be met in the sea, such as sharks, the depth, and many other things which are considered to be the cause of death of drowning men (*ibid*: 245). There is belief that during the shipwreck men do not meet any real danger except by being eaten by the *mulukwausi*. By means of proper magic these influences can be removed. The supreme power against any dangers lies in the magic of mist, “called *kayga’u*, which, side by side with Kula magic, and the magic of the canoes, is the third of the indispensable magical equipments of a sailor. (*ibid*: 245)” The similar magic of mist is mentioned by Macculloch (1946 - 38, 43) in his study of ancient Celtic mythology. The

general Trobrianders' idea of *kayga'u*, or magic of mist, is that the *mulukwausi* who follow the canoe with all her sharks, the depth and other dangers will be blinded by mist, which arises after speaking of some magic spells. In the main critical moment of the shipwreck a *toliwaga*, owner of a canoe, stands up, and slowly turning round towards all four winds, says loudly the followed spell:

“Foam, foam, breaking wave, wave! I shall enter into the breaking wave; I shall come out from behind it. I shall enter from behind into the wave, and I shall come out in its breaking foam! Mist, gathering mist, encircling mist, surround, surround me!” (Malinowsky 1922, 254)

In Macculloch's study of Celtic mythology (Macculloch 1946) I found the same tradition of speaking a magic animistic rune. In the Trobrianders magical tradition mist has the same protecting function as a dog in the Taiwanese 18 deities cult. It is important that in Trobrianders mythology different images could fulfill the same protecting function. For example in one myth there is an image of a big protecting fish, which comes to save shipwrecked men. Dumézil (1973, 76) mentions the Vedic goddess Nasatya whose main function was saving people from a shipwreck. He finds parallels with Greek Dioscuri, who were guardians of sailors. It is interesting that according to myths Dioscuri were excellent horsemen and hunters (nomadic behavior) who participated in the hunting of the Calydonian Boar and later joined the crew of Jason's ship, the *Argo*.

2.08-D. Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Boar (a Pig):

[Pig (Boar): Hunted Animals + Otherworld] The Trobrianders' story about the three siblings keeps probably the reminiscence of original, pig worshipping tradition, because pig's tusks represent a dog's character magical power. So, it could mean that dog's cult is a result of cultural change, and its participation in exarnation rituals is a next stage of cultural change after the first one - an Otherworld 'psycopomp' as a hunted animal - the same as a pig. We can observe a pig as a ritual sacrifice to ancestors in tradition of many peoples all over the world. It seems to me now, that a pig as a ritual symbol could be even more remote in time compare to a dog's symbol.

[Boar's Tusk] From my point of view, the siblings' names in the Trobrianders' story are also significant. The dog's name, Tokulubwaydoga, means Man-with-circular-tusks-in-his-head. His sister's name is Isenadoga, which means Woman-ornamented-with-doga. 'Doga' in their names means "the curved, almost circular, boar's tusk used as ornament" (Malinowsky 1922, 262). Giving these translations Malinowsky, however didn't find any "profit", which "can be deduced from this etymology... for the interpretation of this myth." From my point of view the parallels with Celtic mythology give suggestions that boar's tusk could represent the magical instrument of the magic power.

2.09. SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADE ROUTS

Many scholars believe that religious and mythological patterns could be spread in the vast territories along ancient trade routes. For example, Corradi Musi, who studies parallels between the Finno-Ugrian shamanism and European mediaeval magic, explains the phenomenon of cultural similarities due to ancient trade routs. She supposes that from the most distant past Western and Eastern Europe were much closer to each other than could be imagined. She suggests (Corradi Musi 1997) that cultural elements, myths and beliefs could be spread along the 'trade routes of Baltic amber'. This idea of Corradi Musi supports my supposition that the stable mythological elements which I found in "Temple of 18 Deities" cult and which have traces in mythologies all over Eurasia could be a product of regular trade contacts among peoples along prehistory trade routs web, which long time ago connected Eurasia by rivers and seashores, creating and supporting prehistory cultural unity from Scandinavia and British Islands in the West to Taiwan and Japan in the East; from Kamchatka in the North to New Guinea in the South.

[Magic Ship Image and Ancient Trade Routes] One of the most repeated mythological symbols which is connected with reality of seafaring and is spread all over Eurasia is the symbol of magic ship or boat. The magic ship Skithblathir of Germanic mythology reminds the Greek *Argo*, *Flying Ship* of Russian fairy tales, and the *Flying Canoe* of Trobrianders. The fact that the Norse god *Freyr* was the god of fertility and prosperity and had such kind of magic ship gives an idea that he could be a god of sea nomads, who could have the cultural phenomenon similar to Trobrianders' '*Kula*'. Freyr's father image

supports this idea and suggests that the similar cult could exist among population before Freyr believers. The father of Freyr, Njord, was the Norse god of sea, seafaring, wind, fishing, wealth, and crop fertility. He brought good fortune at sea and in the hunt (Lindemans 1997). Njord was very wealthy and prosperous, and could grant wealth in land and valuables to those who request his aid.



Map 4: Route of the Argonauts. Source: Wickersham 2000 Vol.1, 56.

In Wickersham's Encyclopedia of Myths the reconstruction of the Argonauts' route is shown on the map (Wickersham 2000 Vol.1, 56). As it is said in the article about Argonauts, some versions of the legend shows that returning home the Argonauts went to the Danube River, then they traveled along various rivers. Other variants say that they went north to the Baltic Sea; others inform that they followed the Rhine River to the Atlantic Ocean or that they reached the Adriatic Sea (*ibid*: Vol.1, 56). The map and variations of the back rout gives me an idea that in the Argonauts' myth there is information about prehistory Mediterranean variant of Trobrianders '*Kula*'. The Irish myth with the similar plot extends the borders of European prehistory '*Kula*' to the European North Atlantic areas. More over, this idea is supported by mythology of Irish Invasions. According to legends early Celtic colonists (the Milesians) reached Ireland from Spain. Archeology presents some proof (Macculloch 1946, 24) that there was a trade link between the two countries in prehistoric days.

[Pacific Area Mythological Symbols Similarity and Trade Expeditions] The closed similarity of believes and mythological symbols in the vast territory of Pacific area could be explained in terms of long time contacts among cultures. Worsley (1986, 49-50) suggests that the information and believes could be spread by traders, whalers, and also by native trade expeditions. Despite he doesn't believe in any direct contact between distant regions, he supposes that native trade expeditions could pass on news and information through the series of intermediaries. As example Worsley (*ibid*: 49-50) reminds the famous Massim islanders' great trading expeditions (Malinowsky 1922) and says that many similar trade routs existed along the New Guinea cost. Citing *McCarthy* (1939) and *Mead* (1938) he says that even more long distances could be covered over long periods of time, when objects and ideas have been diffused from northern New Guinea as far as southern Australia via such trade routs.



Map 6: Silk Road. Source: Wikipedia, Silk Road.

[Silk Road] Summarizing all mentioned above, I suppose that the long time existing network of trade routes connecting East, South, and Western Asia with the Mediterranean world could be the explanation of the similarity in sets of mythological symbols in Eurasia. Usually it is believed that the trade routes network, which is known as Silk Road, originates from the Han dynasty period (221–206 BCE). Usually by the Silk Road people

understand only land routs. From the other hand the sea routs connecting the Mediterranean world with Africa, India, Indonesia and China also are known from the Han dynasty period. I believe however that the network of trade routes connecting Eurasia originates in more remote times.

DISCUSSION

The case of the Temple of 18 Deities is the bright example which shows that the process of changes in religious culture can be both gradual and sudden. The 18 deities' cult suddenly and fast developed into the temple from a small unknown shrine due to unbelievable high commercialization of religious services in 1980s, in the period of unexpected burst of ghost worship in Taiwan which was connected with the period of fast changes in social and economic life in Taiwan. From the first glance it seems that the boom of Temple of 18 deities' cult suddenly appeared from nowhere. But the analysis of the temple origin mythology and its symbols shows that the opportunities for such sudden changes were created gradually during the long period of religious culture development when phases of change and conservation were taking turns endlessly in Taiwan societies. Those opportunities trace into more remote times of gradual development of numerous religious cultures which were brought in Taiwan by multitude of migration waves not only from mainland but also from Pacific islands. In this way the Temple of 18 Deities cult conserved many stable religious elements which were created in the period of Eurasian cultural unity and bring us to the Neolithic and even Paleolithic epoch, when Taiwan was not separated from the mainland.

One of the most stable elements in the Temple of 18 Deities cult is the symbol of a dog. Analyzing the origin of that symbol I found numerous traces of the former dog worshiping cult in mythology, fairy tales, and superstitions of many different peoples all over Eurasia. The geographical area of the former dog's worshiping cults distribution is spread all over Eurasia with the most western point in the British Isles and the most eastern point in Taiwan; as well as from shamanism in Alaska and Siberian Kamchatka in the north to New Guinea and Australia in the south.

The dog symbol in mythologies of many various peoples all over Eurasia is connected to another stable religious element – an idea of the life after death and underworld. Despite the location of underworld differs in different cultural traditions (in some mythologies it is located under ground, in others under the water) the dog's image is equally close

connected with it. Dog's image as a guardian of the underworld is very common for mythologies all over Eurasia. The underworld conception origin also should be dated by Paleolithic epoch, because it stability occurring everywhere spreading.

The dog is the oldest domestic animal; its traces were found already in the Paleolithic period. Dog's cult was common among hunting peoples. Dogs were used in the hunting and this may have been the origin of their symbolic link with death. Paleolithic hunting religious ideas should be common all over the world, because all the societies passed this faze of evolution in their history.

Early Neolithic sea nomadic hunters had dogs on their boats, which could serve them in many different ways. The dog sacrificing motif of the 18 deities myth reminds funereal rituals with dog killing to serve as spirit-guardians, which were probably wide spread all over Eurasia in Neolithic, Bronze and early Iron ages. Celtic religion rite involved foretelling the future by chewing on the flesh of dogs. It seems that during the Neolithic revolution former hunting dog's cult meaning was preserved, but transformed to serve for the *excarnation* rituals. The lack of known burials in the European Iron Age and the small fragments of bones found around their settlement sites have been explained by some archaeologists as an indicator of widespread excarnation. If excarnation was part of the death rites, then it may have been part of everyday life to see dogs gnawing on human corpses, reducing most of the bones to small fragments in the process.

The Han literati name for Taiwan as the "Island of Dogs" corresponds to such place names in Taiwan as Ta-kou-yu (打狗嶼), which can be translated as the "Islet, Where They Beat Dogs" and Ta-kou (打狗) for the former name of nowadays Kaohsiung. These place names could reflect the tradition of ritual dog sacrifices among plain aborigines in the period of earliest Chinese immigration. The special study of the Taiwan toponyms probably could give some more information to verify this hypothesis. Using dogs in funeral rituals tradition probably came from the early Neolithic sea nomadic hunters, whose descendants on Taiwan could practice similar rituals during long period before the first wave of Chinese immigration.

The 18 deities myth's dog on the boat image could be understood as the transformation of the Paleolithic dog's cult tradition. The possible reason why hunting Taiwanese aboriginal dog's cult survived from the Paleolithic epoch is its similarity to the first immigrants' waves of the sea nomadic hunters' cults. Probably in that phase the water image was added to the former combination of underworld and a dog. From the same period probably came the image of a boat as another symbolic link with the world after death.

The 18 deities cult's three symbols - dog, underworld and water - combination probably originates from the epoch of the first transportation revolution – and is connected with the invention of a boat. People had developed a means of traveling on water even before they had domesticated the horse. The origin of the boat is one of history's great mysteries. The oldest boats to be found by archaeological excavation are log boats from around 9,000-7,000 years ago. It is interesting that both Eskimo shamanism, British folklore describing the black dog, and Taiwanese 18 deities cult belong to peoples, whose main occupation was closely connected with a sea, and boats. Probably the three symbols combination was created by the first sea hunters' nomadic societies about 9,000 years ago.

It is a historical fact that Taiwan indigenous people used to rob and kill shipwreck crews. The parallel between shipwreck records in Taiwan and the Trobrianders' shipwreck mythology suggests that the myth of Taiwanese 18 deities' cult is connected also to the shipwreck mythology of sea nomadic peoples, who passed by and settled in Taiwan shores.

When Chinese immigration into the northern Taiwan became a permanent and strong phenomenon after Zheng Chengong's fleet arriving into Taiwan in 1661 and brought several thousand troops which occupied Tamshui and Tainan, the story should be transformed into its nowadays variant with the image of righteous dog. Zheng Chengong's fleet arriving was the next after Neolithic sea nomads' important event which determined the religious landscape of the island. The Chinese pioneers faced extremely difficult environment and organized mutual assistance groups based on both real and fictional blood relationships. First of all such groups should to restrict the tradition of shipwreck crews robbing.

According to the temple keeper Mr. Lian (練) the Temple of 18 Deities belongs to Hakka immigrants' community. And it is known that in southern China Hakka immigrants worshiped important Yao people's deities and drew on many Yao traditions. Yao's mythology describes the origin of their people from "Panhu," the ancestry dog spirit. Probably it was Hakka immigrants' idea to adopt the local dog worshiping cult into their ancestry tradition, which had already a similar image. Also they could use their lineage system to adopt into the new social environment. The reason to transform local cult into the new combination of the local and newcomers believes was social, and here we can see how religious believes can be used to serve new social needs. Later new waves of Chinese immigrants during the Qing dynasty brought their variations of believe which build a more complicated combination of religious symbols. To the Qing dynasty period belongs the 18 Deities image, which corresponds to the images of Buddhist 18 level hell and 18 Arhats.

I suppose that all those cults' transformations and conservations background gave a base to the ghost worshiping boom of 1980s.

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