

COMMON SYMBOLS IN EURASIA-PACIFIC UNCONSCIOUS CULTURAL HERITAGE: A CASE STUDY OF THE TAIWANESE 18 DEITIES' CULT

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ABSTRACT

The case study of the "Temple of 18 Deities" demonstrates a row of stable Eurasian-Pacific religious symbols which were preserved in the Taiwanese religious cult. In the article, the author claims that the traces of those long-lived elements could be found in many other religions and cultures all over Eurasia-Pacific area, from Ireland to China, Taiwan and Oceania. In the paper, the "Temple of 18 Deities" origin mythology is analysed, the author's fieldwork described, a set of stable symbols in the cult of 18 deities' revealed, and researches devoted to Taiwanese and Chinese popular religion genesis overviewed. In the end, the traces of those symbols in mythologies of other cultures in Eurasia-Pacific cultural area are illustrated, main symbols common meanings analysed, and their origins and stages of transformation reconstructed. In the article on example of the 18 deities' cult in northern Taiwan, the author observes how ideas, beliefs, and values were created and transmitted in religious cultures during the periods of cultural changes. The author suggests that invisible Eurasian-Pacific common cultural heritage is hidden under umbrellas of different variants of popular religions and superstitions in different cultural traditions all over Eurasia-Pacific, and the case of the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult is an example of such heritage inside Chinese popular religion and folk Buddhism. The author also supposes that the important part of the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult traces back to the period of the Austronesian speaking peoples' dispersal in the Asia-Pacific

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area, where the ideas and artifacts were widely exchanged along the first trade routes, while the sea nomadic peoples were main actors of the exchange process.

Keywords: Eurasia-Pacific, popular religion in Taiwan, symbols, sea nomads collective unconsciousness, connecting legends, Austronesian speaking peoples

INTRODUCTION

In this article on the 18 deities' cult in northern Taiwan, I observe how ideas, beliefs, and values were created and transmitted in religious cultures during the periods of cultural changes. My paradigmatic case study of the "Temple of 18 Deities" demonstrates a row of stable Eurasian-Pacific religious symbols which were preserved in the Taiwanese cult. I study the question of stability and change in Taiwan religious culture and introduce some elements, which remained stable in Taiwan popular religion from Paleolithic and Neolithic epochs. The traces of these long-lived elements could be found in many other religions and cultures all over Eurasia-Pacific area, from Ireland to China, Taiwan and Oceania. The case study is based on the non-dualism theory application. I support holistic approach which allows understanding popular religion as phenomenon contributing to both cultural unity and cultural diversity. In the paper, I analyse the "Temple of 18 Deities" origin mythology, describe my fieldwork, reveal a set of stable symbols in the cult of 18 deities, and overview researches devoted to Taiwanese and Chinese popular religion genesis. In the end, I show the traces of these symbols in mythologies of other cultures in Eurasia-Pacific cultural area, analyse main symbols common meanings, and try to reconstruct their origins and stages of transformation and also give a general reconstruction of the stages in 18 deities' cult development.

It is widely believed that fast development of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore in the 20th century could be explained in terms of the traditional Asian cultural norms, which supposed to be one of the main factors to ease the adaptation of backward economies to the fast globalising world. It was often suggested (e.g. Aikman 1986: 5) that such features of traditional philosophy of Confucianism as "the close family ties, sense of social discipline and respect for hard work" were the engine of economy growth in those countries. However, the philosophy of Confucianism is not the only Asian tradition. Cultural norms of Taoism and Chinese popular religion played significant role in economic and social activities among Chinese and in Chinese Diasporas all over Asia-Pacific for centuries. Cultural norms of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam also had long

periods of successful influences on the processes of regional integration, social and economic development. Moreover, the historical evidence shows the periodical turns of economic activity and stagnation in the Asia-Pacific region which I suppose are not directly connected with traditional cultural norms. *Why the same beliefs, religions and traditional cultural norms sometimes could be motors and sometimes hamper the social and economic development?* I believe that the findings in such far away (from the first glance) study as cultural anthropology and even its more specific subfields such as anthropology of religion, folklore, and mythology could be an important contribution into understanding of the surprising phenomenon.

I suppose that the periodic phases of economic activity and stagnation in the Asia-Pacific region do not much depend on traditional and cultural norms but mostly on phenomenon such as cultural change. It seems that periodic environmental (climate) changes, technical and transportation revolutions are the main motors for transformations in social structures which in turn determine the mechanisms and levels of cross-cultural activity—integration or isolation. It is important to notice here that, besides the cultural diversity, in Asia-Pacific region, there is the opposite phenomenon of cultural similarity of Austronesian speaking peoples, in spite of the fact that nowadays they confess different beliefs, and are separated by various nation-states. Nowadays, some of them are Christians (Taiwan, Philippines, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, most of the Pacific Islands, New Zealand, and Madagascar); others are Muslims (Indonesia, Malaysia, southern Thailand, the southern Philippine Islands and Brunei); some are Hinduists (Bali) and many others still follow their original beliefs, which include ancestors worship, animism and shamanism. Cultural similarity, which those peoples share, could be explained in terms of former cultural unity or regular long time contacts among them in the past.

Wide beliefs diversity among the Austronesian speaking peoples could be explained by their ability to adapt easily to outside influences. I guess, the main reason for easy adaptation to outside influences is to get profit of integration through exchange of goods and world views. And it is reasonable to suppose that nowadays, Austronesian speaking peoples share the same cultural (not ethnic) ancestry from the unity of peoples who were once integrated by sea nomads and whose life greatly depended on the sea. The reconstruction of ancient Asia-Pacific sea nomads' cultural traditions is interesting and useful task because it can help to discover mechanisms of easy cultural integration in the region, which took place in the past and probably could be exploited nowadays to relief international and inter-religious tensions in the region.

To discover such traditions and effective integration mechanisms, we need to address Carl Jung's concept of *collective unconscious*. According to Jung, collective unconscious is a part of the unconscious mind, shared by a society, and is the product of ancestral experience. It is concentrated in traditions, beliefs and moral norms. The sea nomads' cultural heritage seems to be hidden in many Asian-Pacific cultures' collective unconscious. The study of mythologies, beliefs, rituals and cults, in combination with particular objects of material culture and archaeological artifacts in Asia-Pacific region, could help to analyse the collective unconscious of peoples (not only the Austronesian speaking) populating Asia-Pacific and find a set of common cultural patterns, which can help to reconstruct the ideology of initial integration phase in the region. Besides all above mentioned, I would like to pay attention to the emergence of the new concept of *Eurasia-Pacific*. Goody (1996) suggests that similarities in inheritance patterns indicate that the term 'Eurasia' is more valid than either 'Europe' or 'Asia'. In continuing of this reasoning, Blundell (2010) suggests connecting two concepts of 'Asia-Pacific' and 'Eurasia' in the new one of '*Eurasia-Pacific*'. I suppose that unification of these two separated concepts in indivisible one gives opportunity to observe the phenomenon of sociocultural change and stability in its dynamic variations on the vast and continuous geographical and historical arena of cross-cultural interactions.

In this article, I suggest that subliminal Eurasia-Pacific common cultural heritage is hidden under umbrellas of different variants of popular religions and superstitions in different cultural traditions all over Eurasia-Pacific, and the case of the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult is an example of such heritage inside Chinese popular religion and folk Buddhism. I also suppose that the important part of the Taiwanese 18 deities' cult traces back to the period of the Austronesian speaking peoples' dispersal in the Asia-Pacific area, where the ideas and artifacts were widely exchanged along the first trade routes, while the sea nomadic peoples were main actors of the exchange process.

ANALYSES OF THE 18 DEITIES' CULT ORIGIN MYTHOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

The first impulse to start my study of the Temple of 18 Deities (十八王公廟) in northern Taiwan was an intriguing list of several unique details in the temple characteristic:

Uniqueness: First of all, it was a case of a dog worshiping temple. Dog worship is a rare phenomenon not only in Taiwan, but also all over the world. The second phenomenon is the night time worshiping practice. The third detail was the mysterious fact that among worshipers in the temple were prostitutes, gangsters, smugglers and gamblers. Another unique feature of the temple was the practice to sacrifice cigarettes with the shocking name "Long Life" side by side with traditional Chinese incense sticks. It was also interesting that the location of the temple is close to the nuclear power plant. Not less intriguing were horrible gossips suggesting the fact of vindictive character of the dog-god, which could bring deathly illness for the person who showed disrespect for the temple. And lastly, the temple origin mythology was notable for variety and contradiction.

Legends: In my disposal, there were four variants of the myth, describing the temple origin. Here I cite only one, most detailed version, translated by Jensen, A. (2008):

17 people and a dog were on a boat during the Qing dynasty. There was a sudden storm and all 17 died when the boat was destroyed. The bodies were washed up to the shore but the dog survived. The dog then died, or killed himself because of sadness. The people in the village buried the bodies and the dog in the same place.

Study of Legends as Informative Symbols

First of all, I assumed that there should be connections between those unique features of the cult and the stories of the temple origin. To find the connections, I decided to focus on the cult main symbols, which could help to solve the temple puzzles. My first step to find such symbols was to analyse the texts of those legends. I supposed that the most often repeated symbols which are represented in all four versions of the legend should be the most stable ones. In the beginning, I underlined all symbols, which looked to be informative for the analysis. In the next step, I calculated the most often repeated symbols. Then I classified the symbols according to

the degree of their presence in the legend versions. During the process of that classifying, I found that some of symbols represent variants or reinterpretations of the main symbols. As a result, I obtained four categories of the symbols and their variations, which I placed in four lists.

The first is a list of six symbols represented in all four versions of the legend: (1) "crossing the waters"; (2) "boat or ship"; (3) "dog"; (4) "shipwreck"; (5) "dog's survival"; and (6) "drowned corpses." The second list is constrained by one symbol and two symbols variations, which are represented in three versions: (7) "number of people on the boat: 17"; "dog's self-sacrifice" [reinterpretation of (5)]; "immigrants' shipwreck" [reinterpretation of (4)]. The third list includes two symbols and four symbols variations represented in two versions of the legend: (8) "burial"; "dog's burial" [reinterpretation of (5)]; and "dog's burial with people together" [reinterpretation of (5)]; and (9) "grave"; "time of accident (Qing dynasty)" [reinterpretation of (4)]; "Chinese nationality of the people on the boat" [reinterpretation of (4)]. And the last one is the list of three unique informative symbols variations, which appear only in one of the versions of the legend and concretise the departure and destination points of the wrecked boat as well as a social status of the crew: "from Fuzhou to Putuo Shan" [reinterpretation of (4)]; "from Tangshan (China) to Taiwan" [reinterpretation of (4)]; and "rich Chinese" [reinterpretation of (4)].

Stages of the Legends Development

Ter Haar suggests (Ter Haar 1990: 352) that, "to understand the initial rise of a cult, it is necessary to attempt to separate its historical origin, and the earliest extant myths, from later elaborations." I suppose that the degree of the symbols presence in the legend versions could mean the historical stages of the myth development. The first list of six symbols ("crossing the waters"; "boat or ship"; "dog"; "shipwreck"; "dog's survival"; and "drowned corpses") probably represents the earliest stage. The second list could mean the fact of the first cultural change, which added to the mythology one new symbol of "17 people on the boat" and two reinterpretations of earlier symbols of "shipwreck" and "dog's survival." The third list, which adds two new connected symbols of "burial" and "grave"; and two new variants of both "shipwreck" and "dog's survival" symbols, could mean a new stage of cultural change. The richness of the third list could mean that the cultural change was caused by long-time and powerful influence. The last list, which contains only reinterpretations of other symbols, could represent latest and less influential elaborations. It is interesting to note also that calculation and classification showed high changeability of only two stable symbols:

"shipwreck" and "dog's survival." But what could it mean? For the further research, the fieldwork was a necessary stage.

Fieldwork

I visited the temple in 2008 two times, both times with my classmates: May Tso and Aaron Jensen. At the field work stage, I started from the assumption that the most stable cult symbols should be represented both in the temple origin mythology and in the temple itself as the subjects of the cult. Such symbols probably could be the oldest ones.

Location: Another assumption was that the cult development and its mythology should be connected with the environment. My assumption is based on Steward's concept (Steward 1955) that the environment is the chief determining factor of culture. During my field trip observation, first of all, I paid attention to the temple specific location on coastal fishing area between two ports Keelung (基隆) and Damshui (淡水). The Temple of 18 Deities is situated in the most Northern part of Taiwan between Shi Men (石門) and Cao Li (草里), closer to Shi Men (石門). An interesting detail is that in that area, close to Jin Shan (金山), is situated a huge custom-house—the fact which signifies that the area has smuggling tradition.

Dogs' statues and grave image: When you approach the temple, a few old women will sell you a set of ritual objects and then bring you to the two huge bronze statues of the dog, which are situated on both sides of the grave, where according to the legend, 17 drowned people and the dog were buried together. The women insist you to touch the dog's statue and fasten near it one of the ritual objects they just sold. In front of the grave, there is a long rectangular incense burner with the inscription, *Eighteen Deities*. In front of the rectangular incense burner is a special tray, designed in a way that worshipers could place cigarettes sacrifice. On the tray, we found "Long Life" cigarettes, and following the tradition, we burned and placed our own "Long Life" cigarettes there, which Aaron bought before our fieldtrip.



Figure 1: The 18 Deities Temple—the grave image, the incense burner and the tray for cigarettes sacrifice. Source: Author, 2008 (Igor Sitnikov 2008)

Two levels of the grave worshiping: To our surprise, after an initial interview, the daughter of the temple keeper brought us to a chamber downstairs, informing that the real grave is situated there exactly underneath the upper one, which is the latter image of the original grave. According to her story, during the nuclear plant construction, the real grave should be buried by the highway bridge fundamental. So, a decision was made to move the whole temple on the top of the bridge base, with the special underground chamber constructed to give the worshipers an opportunity to address to the original grave. So nowadays, in the temple, there are two cult objects with the same meaning and function—the real grave underground and its symbolic image on the ground surface (see Figure 2). Such combination gives an idea that the 'original' grave could also be just a symbol, which could replace something else by the influence of any other powerful events in the past, now forgotten. On the underground level, I paid attention to the wooden image of the boat, which seemed to be also a cult object. On the deck of the boat and its masts were numerous visiting cards and lighters with addresses of night and karaoke clubs—the places of prostitution activities—the proof that prostitutes are among the main worshipers in this temple.

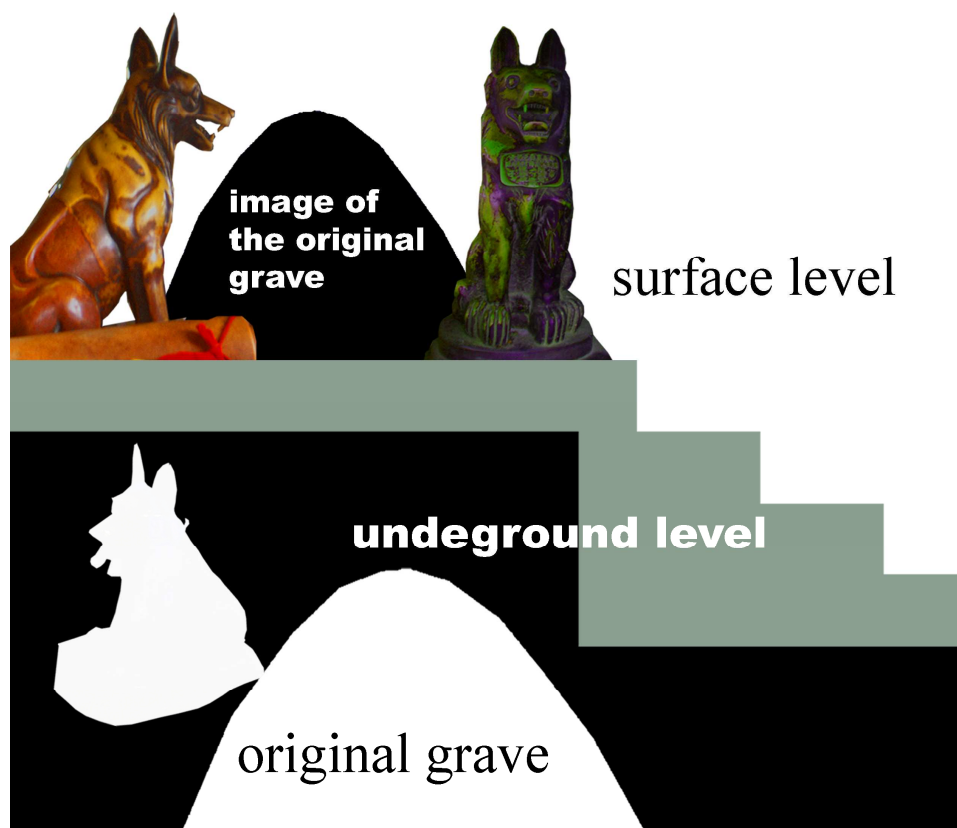


Figure 2: The 18 Deities Temple—Two levels of the grave worshipping. Source: Author, 2009 (Igor Sitnikor 2009)

Historical Legends

From the interview with the daughter of the temple's keeper, it became clear that besides temple foundation mythology, there are also oral historical stories which inform that the temple was founded by the local fishermen, members of the Lian (練) family, who were Hakka immigrants from the earlier times and had their village on the shore. The time of Lian family's arrival in Taiwan is unknown. But according to the interview (Tso 2008) with the temple keeper, Mr. Lian, it seems to be that the family had the temple for ancestors worshipping in the village before the boat with dead corpses was washed ashore. All the people in this village were Hakka Chinese immigrants, including Lian family relatives. And they got used to worshipping all the ancestors together every time before going out to fishing. But only one group of Lian family buried the 17 drown corpses with a dog and started to include their tomb worshipping ritual in their annual Hakka sweeping tomb ceremony. After the incident, they began to notice that while other fishermen's boat returned empty, they still came back with

harvest. That made them starting to believe that it's the tomb that was bringing them harvest of fish. Only that group of people was first to believe being protected by the tomb. Gradually, all the village people came to worship that tomb for good luck and safety. Later on, they built a little temple out of the tomb when their economy became better.

Dating of the Legends Origin

As previously mentioned, to understand the stages of the temple's cult development, it is necessary to date the legends and symbols origin. Of course, it is impossible to date them exactly, but it seems we could organise them in order from the newest to the oldest ones and place them according to the main stages of Taiwanese and Chinese history. Only one approximate date, which we have in our disposal and which we can make a fulcrum, is the Qing dynasty period. According to one of the versions of the temple origin legends, it is during this period the boat with dead corpses and a dog arrived at the north Taiwan shore. As Mr. Lian mentioned, "It was not very common (rather rare) to bring a dog on a boat at that time (Tso 2008)." So, he supposed that the event had dealt with the immigration of the whole village people from mainland to Taiwan.

As it is known from the history (Chuang 1989), in the early stage of Chinese immigration, everyone of the same surname in Taiwan took part in collecting money to construct ancestral halls. If this phenomenon is to apply to the case of Lian family (fishers who became founders of the cult of 18 deities), it is not necessary that all the people of the village with the same surname were of the same descent line, and the village origin probably traces back to the early immigration period, between 1662 and 1683 during Koxinga and his son's rule in Taiwan. It may also be even earlier—after 1641—when the Dutch encouraged the immigration and settlement of Damshui area by Han Chinese. As Chuang (1989: 226) informs, "Like the surname associations of overseas Chinese society, immigrants are formed as a kind of colonial lineage organisation in order to adapt to the particular environment of a location." It means that Lian family village's cult, in its earliest period could be already a complicated combination of various beliefs, which have been brought by individual Hakka immigrants and adapted to the Taiwanese indigenous cults of Ketagalan ethnic group.

As it is known from Taiwan history, between 1683 and around 1760, the Qing government limited immigration to Taiwan. However, an illegal immigration from unsafe Fujian province continued. The immigrants mostly were men, who did not want to return to Fujian. Very often, they married local indigenous girls, resulting in the idiom "mainland grandfathers no

mainland grandmothers" (有唐山公無唐山媽). Such restriction was relaxed after the 1760s and in 1811, there were more than two million Chinese immigrants in Taiwan. So, most probably the reinterpretation of the symbol (4) "shipwreck" which mentions "*17 rich people from Fuzhou taking a boat to Putuo Shan* (the important Buddhist pilgrimage site in mainland China)" in one of the legend variants that originates in the period of the mass migration from the mainland China. I guess that the latest version of the temple origin legend was created in the period between 1760 and 1811 with a purpose to adapt the local (already very mixed) cult to the new political and ideological reality of Qing dynasty official religion and that was a reason to mention Buddhist pilgrimage site as a point of destination.

Fieldwork Results

Fieldwork proved the main part of initial information. The temple indeed was a dog worshiping temple, but the worshiping of the dog is only a part of a very complicated cult, which seems to be an eclectic mixture of different cults. Night time worshiping practice is also only a part of the cult—it is not a necessary practice. The nightclub visit cards on the wooden boat model deck proved the fact that prostitutes and pimps are among the worshipers in the temple. The temple location in the fishers' village and existence of a huge custom-house in the nearby area confirm that among the worshipers, there could be fishers and smugglers. The traditional Chinese incense sticks are in use here like in other Taiwanese temples. They are not replaced by cigarettes; the cigarettes sacrifice practice is just a special ritual added to the traditional way of worshiping. After fieldwork and second analysis of the symbols in the temple foundation mythology and in the temple itself, I supposed that the 18 deities' cult is a mixture of many different cults, which were piled on each other. Those cults were transformed into the mixture of local superstitions, but some symbols stayed unchangeable and later were combined to form the modern cult of 18 deities.

Stable symbols of the cult: The further analyses of the most often repeated symbols which are represented both in legends of the temple origin and in the temple itself as subjects of the cult brought about another list of the main six symbols: *underworld* ("crossing the waters"); *dog*; *grave*; *boat*; *shipwreck*; and *18 or 17 deities* ("drowned corpses"); which according to my assumption, represent a set of the most stable symbols in the cult. To understand the nature of those symbols stability, we need to address the subject of Taiwanese and Chinese popular religion genesis and to mythologies of the peoples populating the vast Eurasian-Pacific area.

TAIWANESE POPULAR RELIGION CHANGES AND THE 18 DEITIES' CULT

Gregory and Ebrey (1993b: 12) underline that the four Chinese religious traditions: the popular religion, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, were always in constant interaction and the high traditions of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism developed out of the popular tradition. Describing the period of early Taiwan immigration, Jones determines (2003: 15) the island as the place with the dominance of "locative" religions. According to Davis (1992: 30–32) "locative" refers to religions that serve to integrate hometown, kinship, and occupation groups and draw members on the basis of their social and familial relationships. "Adventitious," on the other hand, refers to religions with members who join them voluntarily by undergoing a period of training and initiation after accepting certain set of doctrines. These religions transcend ethnic and clan identifications to include all humanity. Among them are Buddhism and Taoism. According to Jones, early Taiwan was a frontier province and was "not attractive as a destination for eminent Buddhist and Taoist figures." Another explanation is that, in that period, immigrants came from rural areas that were dominated by a single surname and in which the extended clan was the main form of social organisation with ancestral temple served as their primary symbolic focus and source of local unity and political authority.

Weller (1999) emphasises the Chinese origin of Taiwan religion and says that early Chinese immigrants brought tablets commemorating their ancestors with them. The next stage was to build Earth God temples (土地公, *Tu Di Gong*) in settlers' villages. Weller suggests (ibid: 348) that building a new Earth God temple is generally a declaration of independence by a new social community and most often, these cults were associated with the subethnic groups. In China, every village had a shrine to the Earth God. It seems that the Earth God's cult is the main instrument of homogenisation, used by Chinese in new colonised areas. Among popular cults, the Earth God temples are the first in numbers in Taiwan. The Earth God temples, very often, are accompanied by old trees and unusual stones, which suggest that the cult adapted and replaced former local cults in those places.

There were other instruments of homogenisation into official Chinese culture. For example, Hansen (1993) describes how local indigenous deities in ancient China used to be converting into the new religion images to be worshiped instead. The author gives many examples of the legends, testifying the cult transformations which often were accompanied by 'hand-to-hand combat' with local gods (who sometimes accepted human sacrifices), and deconstruction of their temples or 'demonic shrines' during long period

before the Tang, during the Tang and Song dynasties (Hansen 1993: 76). Starting from 11th century, the practice of "...relabeling local gods proved to be a far more successful strategy than suppressing them...As a result, local gods assumed office in pantheons all over China by the end of the thirteenth century and retained them in the centuries to follow" (Hansen 1993: 101).

Hansen (1993) describes as well the phenomenon of wide adoption of foreign (namely Indian and Central Asian) gods in Tang and Song China. She emphasises the Indian and Central Asian culture influences on Chinese mass culture. Among such new popular cults, Hansen notes Pi-sha-men (毘沙門天 or 多聞天), originally Indian deity Vaisravana, the guardian of the north, who was very popular in the Khotan (Hetian 和田 or Yutian 于闐, an ancient Buddhist kingdom that was located on the branch of the Silk Road in present day Xinjiang) and was introduced in China by Buddhist monks. Chinese variant of the god Pi-sha-men "often held a stupa in his right hand, indicating his role as the guardian of the dharma..." (Hansen 1993: 100), and replaced unnamed deities of city gates, monastic guardians and wall-and-moat gods. These deities were much closer to the former gods of the hills, swamps and rivers; they were worshiped in such purposes like stopping the rain and were connected with the underworld. The belief in power of wall-and-moat gods was based on "yin forces and excessive rain is also caused by yin" (Hansen 1993: 92), so they could make the rain stop. In the Tang period, the mounts, swamps, and rivers gods were granted official titles. For example, in 747 the emperor promoted the rank lord (公) for the four rivers gods (Hansen 1993: 94). It explains why the 18 deities in Taiwanese temple (十八王公), which according to my assumption also belong to the yin forces of water and underworld have the same rank (公).

Spirits of the Dead and Ghosts

After the Earth God temples, the cults of Mazu and Royal Lords are the most popular cults in Taiwan, which, according to my assumption are connected with the popular cult of spirits of the dead and ghosts. Weller (1999: 341) emphasises that "most Taiwanese religious ritual involves spirits of the dead in one form or another." Katz (2003: 167) also presents field data on a number of cults in Taiwan indicating that the souls of those who die premature or through violent deaths, and prove powerful enough to resist attempts at exorcism, are considered to be vicious ghosts. Usually, ghosts were worshiped in small shrines, which were raised in the places where unidentified bodies were found, such as battlefields or shipwrecks.

Worshiping of such shrines was popular among people with the kinds of immoral requests such as gambling or prostitution (Weller 1999: 353). The cult of the 18 deities is an example of such kind of religious practice.

Mazu: Describing Mazu cult origin, Ter Haar informs that the cult started in the harbor of Pu-tian (莆田) in Ning-hai (寧海) city, nowadays Zhejiang province of China, close to Shanghai. According to Ter Haar, Mazu was a shaman and lived during the end of the Five Dynasties period (907–960). She died very young and local people started to worship her. This information suggests that her soul, according to Chinese popular beliefs, could be classified as a ghost, because she died prematurely, was not married, and had no children. Later, Mazu became known as a protector of local seafarers. It is believed that the goddess used a raft for transport instead of flying or swimming as water-gods. Ter Haar connects Mazu cult popularity with the fact that during the Song dynasty, most of the crews of sea-going boats came from Fujian. Ter Haar connects further spread of Mazu cult with Zheng He expeditions (鄭和) (1405–1433). Mazu was one of the protectors of Zheng He expeditions, which helped the cult to get the recognition by the central government (Ter Haar 1990: 356–376).

Royal Lords cult: The cult of Royal Lords reminds many features of the 18 deities' cult; especially interesting is the rite of floating and burning boats. The Royal Lords cult involves the performance of plague expulsion festivals, which include sending off a "plague boat"—small wooden boat—which represents the community's accumulated afflictions. I saw exactly such kind of wooden boat in the underground chamber of the Temple of 18 Deities during my fieldwork.

According to Katz (2003: 158), worshipers in southern China and Taiwan have used the title "Royal Lord(s)" to refer to a wide range of spirits, including plague-spreading deities. Such cults developed in south China in the 10th century. Most popular deity among them is Marshal Wen (Wen Yuanshuai), who is worshiped in southern Fujian and Taiwan as Lord Chi (Chi Wangye). Marshal Wen originally was a snake-demon who spread diseases by spitting out poisonous vapours. The connected Chinese images of plague-spreading deities and a boat remind to the plot of a Khanty (Syberia) myth "Holy Legend about the Desirable Knight—Merchant of the Low World, Merchant of the Upper World" (1990 no. 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 deaths 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.

Katz (2003: 167) informs that since the 10th century, throughout south China, boat expulsion rites varied from site to site; some communities burned their boats, while others floated them away. He also says that similar boat expulsion rites were found throughout Asia in places such as Korea and Tibet, as well as parts of Southeast Asia (Katz 2003a). In 18th century, the ritual changed—the tradition of floating wooden boats in Taiwan was replaced by burning of paper or bamboo boats. Katz (2003: 169) adduces the fragments from the earliest Taiwan gazetteers of 1717 and 1720, which gives such explanation of the changing of the ritual:

...The Royal Lords boat was originally made of wood and floated out to sea, but this posed a threat to other communities along the coast who would have had to perform offering rituals should the boat land on their shores. As a result, more recent plague boats were built using paper and bamboo, and were burned instead of floated away.

According to Katz (2003), in early 20th century, the Royal Lords boat had become an auspicious symbol and after that, people no longer fear the Royal Lords but are willing to erect temples for them. The transformation of the Royal Lords from malevolent plague deities to protective deities was very common for many cults throughout China. All this suggests that the wooden boat in the underground chamber of the Temple of 18 Deities somehow has remained since the 18th century. Nowadays, its former function as a mean to remove plague is used in symbolic way as a mean to remove moral plagues, which are brought about by prostitution or gambling practices.

Spread of Cults and Trade / Migration / Patterns

Ter Haar (1990: 387) mentions that "the situation in Taiwan shows a very close link between the spread of deities from the mainland to Taiwan and trade/migration/patterns." Schipper (1990: 397–416) describes the *fen-hsiang* (分香) phenomenon in Chinese culture. *Fen-hsiang* is the name of the very important social institution in Chinese religion tradition. The origin of the institution is based on tradition to collect the incense ashes in the special burner, which is the main ritual object of any existing cult group. The new cult group traditionally should fill the new incense burner with the ashes provided by the senior cult. Schipper (ibid: 397–398) observed that "most, if not all, unofficial organisations in traditional China tended to define themselves as a cult groups." Among such groups Schipper names (ibid: 398)

guilds and merchant corporations, village and regional associations, professional corporations, local defense groups, and water distribution consortiums. Schipper also mentions (ibid: 410) that the *fen-hsiang* did not mean the wish to worship a common god, but the construction of supportive network of affiliated groups, which would provide shelter, food and political assistance for traveling throughout China.

Robert Weller and His Study of the "Eighteen Lords" Cult

After the temple origin legends analyses, fieldwork, and overview of Taiwanese and Chinese popular religion development, it is reasonable to address other scholars' researches about the cult of 18 deities. The temple was studied in detail by Robert Weller, who observed the temple at the time of its highest popularity. Weller published two works (Weller 1994, 1999) devoted to the temple phenomenon. He informs (Weller 1994: 125) that in 1970s, the "Eighteen Lords" temple (十八王公廟) was a simple roadside shrine for unidentified bones. The author defines the "Eighteen Lords" as ghosts. As he suggests, the fact that they are honoured with burning cigarettes brings to light their real nature.

According to Weller's observations, the temples to ghosts never grow to a large size, so he was surprised that the shrine developed into "one of the hottest and noisiest temples". He connects this phenomenon with the sudden burst of ghost worship in Taiwan in the 1980s. Weller (1994, 1999) focuses in suddenness of the changes in the "Eighteen Lords" cult when explaining the reasons for its fast development into the temple from a small, unknown shrine. The cult boomed in 1980s, in the period of unexpected burst of ghost worshipping in Taiwan. In that period, fast changes in social and economic life in Taiwan evoked the phenomenon of unbelievably high commercialisation of religious services. Weller explains (ibid: 126–127) the cult transformation by the reason of conflict between general Taiwanese superstitions and government needs.

In the early 1970s, the government's plan to construct a nuclear plant on the 18 deities' grave site met problems with local people and construction workers' superstition. The government was forced to preserve the grave and even to build the temple. Because of government officials' support and wild economic boom of 1980s in Taiwan, the ghosts' temple attained an unusual popularity. The main possible reason of such popularity was in its ability to satisfy the religious needs of gamblers, prostitutes, and gangsters, who could not receive support from the general gods—1980s in Taiwan was a boom time for such kind of black business. I agree with Weller, but I think that the ghosts' temple popularity in 1970–80s was only a subsequent section in the

long chain of cultural changes, which many times transformed the mixture of several local and imported cults used to meet each other at the northernmost tip of Taiwan during history and prehistory times.

Main Factors in Taiwan Religion Changes

Weller explains the complication and eclecticism of Taiwanese cults in terms of easy reinterpretation of people rituals in Taiwan in the absence of any higher theological authority (Weller 1999: 344). He says that this situation was typical of Chinese religion in general, but Taiwan's history of weak control from Peking followed by fifty years of Japanese occupation much more encouraged this behaviour. Jones (2003) focuses on changes in Taiwan religion under the influence of two main factors—political and social changes. Describing the specific Taiwanese religion activity transformations, he uses the term "political dislocation", which refers to the repeated changes in sovereignty.

Jones emphasises (Jones 2003: 12) Zheng Chengong's (Koxinga) fleet arriving in Taiwan in 1661 as the most important event which determined the religious landscape of the island. The fleet brought several thousand troops which occupied Damshui and Tainan and the event marked the first large-scale influx of Chinese settlers into Taiwan. The early immigrants had to organise themselves for mutual aid, protection, and political cooperation. People brought with them an image from the temple in their home region and installed it in their homes or in a temporary thatched hut, and later in a proper temple. There were two of the most common ways to organise themselves: by common regional provenance and by trade guild, although the groups are often organised by both. As the immigrants settled into such groups, "a few dominant temples became the foci of religious, political, and social life, often eclipsing Qing officials and state-sponsored temples in their influence" (Jones 2003: 15).

Another main factor which resulted changes in beliefs is "social change", which refers to modernisation, economic, and industrial development. Jones underlines (Jones 2003: 28–30) that railroad building during the Japanese rule, connecting all parts of Taiwan in a single transportation system, resulted in the situation where temples could grow beyond their local boundaries and "began serving an island wide clientele." Before that period, the geography of Taiwan prevented any temple from attaining greater attention than local patronage. Taiwan was naturally broken into several discrete geographic zones because of the rivers that cut across the western alluvial plain. In early colonial period, in and around urban areas, temples, which were not built as traditional, community-based

temples, started appearing. These temples were large, eclectic in the variety of gods and were not connected to the local communities. The Temple of 18 Deities repeated such practice in 1980s.

EURASIAN-PACIFIC MYTHOLOGICAL SYMBOLS IN THE 18 DEITIES' CULT

The case of the 18 deities' cult is the bright example that 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 nowadays. However, on 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 phases of change and conservation were taking turns endlessly in Taiwan society. Moreover, 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 the continent but also from Pacific islands. And even more, the case of the 18 deities' cult gives us the example of many stable religious elements which were conserved from the period of Eurasian or Eurasian-Pacific cultural unity and bring us to the Neolithic and even Paleolithic epoch, when Taiwan Island was not separated from the Eurasian mainland.

Stable Symbols Genesis

In continuing to date the temple stable symbols origin, I address to mythologies and fairy tales of the peoples populating the vast Eurasia-Pacific area. As I concluded in the end of the first topic, the set of those stable symbols consists of the following six symbols: *underworld*; *dog*; *grave*; *boat*; *shipwreck*; and *18 or 17 deities*. Here, I show the approximate dates of those main symbols origins; the dating is based on the mythologies comparison analyses.

Underworld (or otherworld): The underworld conception stability occurred everywhere spreading and its origin should be dated by Upper Paleolithic epoch (35,000 years ago).

Dog: A dog's image is another stable element in the 18 deities' cult. The geographical area of the former dog's worshiping cults distribution is

spread all over Eurasia. The origin of the dog's symbol should be dated by the time of dog domestication in the late Upper Paleolithic about 17,000–14,000 years ago.

Grave/tomb: A tomb symbol origin should be connected with first megalithic constructions, which are dated by Neolithic and Bronze Age about 11,000–6,000 years ago. It seems that during the Neolithic revolution, former hunting dog's cult meaning was preserved, but transformed to serve for the *excarnation*¹ rituals, which very probably were practiced on the megalithic sites. Excarnation rituals with practice of dogs' sacrifices accompanying them could be explanation of two symbols combination in the 18 deities' cult.

Boat: Probably a boat as religion symbol 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. The oldest boats to be found by archaeological excavation are log boats from around 9,000–7,000 years ago.

Shipwreck: The parallel between shipwreck records in Taiwan and the Trobrianders' (New Guinea) shipwreck mythology suggests that the myth of Taiwanese 18 deities' cult origin is connected with the shipwreck mythology of sea nomadic peoples, who passed by and settled in Taiwan shores. This symbol was created probably by first seafarers in the period starting from 6,000–5,000 years ago, when traveling in the sea was invented.

18 or 17 deities: In Chinese tradition, there is the idea of 18 levels of underworld, which corresponds to the 18 deities of the Taiwanese cult. 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 with a 'dog' meaning. The exact number of levels in Chinese hell differs, some speak of three to four levels, others say 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* (間地獄經) 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

¹ The excarnation is the burial practice of removing the flesh of the dead, leaving only the bones.

know seven or nine underground levels; the Samoyeds say about six submarine regions.

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-king system were "widespread, both sociologically and geographically, beginning in the tenth century." He mentions (ibid: 118) that an early-6th-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 in 8 hells). It means that the origin of the 18 hells tradition starts in the period before 6th 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-king's cult was originated within the organised religions of Buddhism and Taoism, but is connected with the local Chinese cult of ancestors. I also suppose that the Taiwanese cult has connections with Yao 17 and 18 deities' tradition. Another assumption is that the numbers 17 and 18 reflect a specific boat type.

Studying the traces of the 18 deities' cult symbols in mythologies of other peoples, I found that many mythologies include the similar sets of common symbols. If the similarity of individual symbols in different cultures does not necessary mean connections between them, the similarity in the set of symbols suggests the high probability of such connections. Here, I show the sets of those symbols, common for both the 18 deities' cult of Taiwan and for mythologies of several peoples in Eurasia and Pacific. Among them are Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Greek mythologies and folk tales; Uralic and Siberian shamanism; the Austronesian speaking peoples' beliefs and funeral rituals; and folk beliefs and traditions of other peoples in Asia-Pacific region. Of course, every individual mythology demonstrates the specific variants of the similar sets. In those variants, every mythology lacks several symbols or demonstrates different elaborations of the main symbols. However, the approximate models, which could demonstrate the phases of those common sets development and are shared by mythologies in Eurasia-Pacific region, could be reconstructed by comparison of those sets variants. I demonstrate it in a chart (see, Figure 3). In the chart, I show four groups of stable symbols, which represent the sets of common Eurasian-Pacific symbols and correspond to the 18 deities' cult symbolism.



Figure 3: Eurasia-Pacific stable religious symbols connections.

Source: Author, 2009 (Igor Sitnikov 2009)

Group of Symbols Directly Connected with the Idea of the Otherworld

The dog symbol in mythologies of many various peoples all over Eurasia is connected to an idea of the life after death and otherworld. Despite the location of otherworld differs in different cultural traditions (in some mythologies it is located underground, in others under the water) the dog's image is equally close connected with after death realm.

Cult of the head: Corradi Musi (1997: 52) informs that, according to archaeological evidence from the excavations carried out in the areas which were reached by the Finno-Ugric peoples, the heads were buried in a separate chamber. She explains this 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: 97) also cites many examples of the Finno-Ugric tradition to bury the dead in such a way to facilitate the decomposition of the corpse. Corradi Musi (ibid: 97) notes parallels between the cult of the head and the widespread "second burial" tradition. Reburying the bones is a part of ancestral cult and represents belief that life rises from the bones.

Cutting off the enemy's head: It is known that many indigenous peoples in Taiwan practiced headhunting. Headhunting was also practiced 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 describes *mana* as a substance connected with gods (Valeri 1985: 98). 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, and 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.

Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Dog

Dog's sacrifice and excarnation rituals: Analysing the origin of a dog symbol, I found numerous traces of the previous dog worshipping cult in mythologies, fairy tales, and superstitions of many different peoples all over Eurasia. Dog sacrificing motif of the 18 deities' myth reminds funeral rituals with dog killing to serve as spirit-guardians, which were probably widespread all over Eurasia in Neolithic, Bronze and early Iron ages. A dog is the oldest domestic animal. Trubshaw (1994) gives detailed picture of the dog cults among Eurasian peoples. Mythology and archaeological evidence bring examples of a very specific role of dogs in the Neolithic and Bronze Age cults, when they served as the 'psychopomps'—the guides to the otherworld, and the guardians of the boundaries between the worlds. British archaeologists found two dogs at the Neolithic/Bronze age complex near Peterborough (England). As Trubshaw (1994) informs, 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." Trubshaw (ibid.) also pays attention on the fact that during the Bronze Age in Europe, only few of the population were buried and assumes that dog's cult could originate from the *excarnation* rituals. Excarnation may be carried out by leaving a body exposed for animals to scavenge, like the Tibetan sky burial and traditional Zoroastrian funerals.

Group of Symbols Connected with the Crossing the Waters

The 18 deities' cult three symbols: dog, underworld and water—a combination that probably originates from the epoch of the first transportation revolution, and is connected with invention of a boat. Boat was often used in a pre-Christian Russian chieftain's funeral. The corpse was placed in the boat, together with bread, fruits and flesh of killed animals,

such as dogs, horses, cows and cocks, and were cremated. One of his wives was also burned. The ashes were collected in an urn and placed in a cairn—a pile of stones (Machal 1946: 233). Buddhist stupas, which contain the ashes of saints probably started out from the similar cairns. Greek *hermas* and Germanic *runestones* have the similar origin. Corradi Musi (1997: 96–97) informs that many Ob-Ugrians placed the dead body in a boat and then buried it, which symbolises the soul traveling to the original ocean. She mentions that the connection between the boat and the dead has a very long tradition, and the practice of burying the dead in boats could be found both in the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European cultures.

Group of Symbols Connected with the Symbol of a Boar

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

Boars: Boars, as well as dogs were sacral animals in Celtic Bronze Age culture. In Celtic mythology, a pig was a very important magical symbol, which was also 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 'psychopomp'—the guide to the otherworld. We should take into 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 (1946: 356), Noodén (1992) says that besides representing fertility and wealth, boars symbolise 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 symbolises war, and its image was carved on helmets.

Significance of Trade Routes

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 routes. She supposes that, since 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 the 18 deities' cult and which have traces in mythologies all over Eurasia-Pacific could be a product of regular cross-cultural exchange contacts among peoples along prehistory trade routes 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 and Chukotka in the North to New Guinea in the South.

DISCUSSION

The study of the popular religion transformations in China and Taiwan put me on to an idea that the previous local zoomorphic dog cult, which could exist in the area around nowadays "Temple of 18 Deities" before Chinese immigration, was incorporated into a mixture of superstitions which were brought in the area by different waves of Chinese immigrants. In the situation of the sudden burst of ghost worship in Taiwan in the 1980s, the period, which was connected with fast changes in social and economic life in Taiwan and evoked the phenomenon of high commercialisation of religious services, the mixture of superstitions existed before were combined to form the modern cult of 18 deities with purpose to serve religious needs of gamblers, prostitutes, and gangsters, as soon as 1980s in Taiwan was a boom time for black business. My study also brought me to the assumption that, some of the 18 deities' rituals and mythological symbols represent fragments of once indivisible religious and mythological system. I suppose that, long time existence of ancient exchange and trade routes web, probably from the time of seafaring canoe invention in 4000 BC–3000 BC, could be the explanation of cultural similarities in the vast Eurasia-Pacific area. To understand the common parts in mythological

symbols sets of Eurasia-Pacific area I divided them in four groups or models, which, as I suppose, demonstrate the similar phases of common stable symbols development in particular mythologies:

Model A represents the group of symbols directly connected with the idea of underworld or otherworld: (1) "otherworld" (itself)—underworld, underwater world, heaven; all of which represent the idea of the life after death; (2) "powerful dead"—gods and/or ghosts and evil spirits, as representatives of the otherworld population; (3) "flying witches," which are able to bring diseases or even death, and in this way force souls travel to otherworld; (4) the idea of "flying" as a way to reach otherworld, and shamanism, which allows flying as a mean of transportation between this and other worlds; (5) "grave" as a place, which represents a border between this world and otherworld; (6) "cult of the head," as a mean of communication with otherworld population – both ancestors, dead relatives, powerful friends, heroes or leaders, and conquered (killed) enemies as well; and (7) "cutting off an enemy's head," as a mean to increase winners' own power in the otherworld realm.

Model B represents the group of symbols connected with the symbol of a dog: (1) "dog as a game" and hunted animal—as soon as any game, it is connected with otherworld in terms of its death as a hunter's victim; (2) "dog as a helper and guardian," a guardian from starvation in here-world (guardian from premature death), as soon as it helps hunter and pastoralist in their hunting and herding activities to continue life in here-world: this new function is connected with a new role of a dog as domesticated animal; (3) "dog as sacrificial animal," as soon as it is connected to otherworld and could be a spirit-guardian which guards souls after death in their travel to otherworld in the similar way as it used to do in this world helping people in their surviving; it is important to add here that this stage of a dog's symbol development is connected also with another of its function, as an animal, which takes place in excarnation rituals—eating human remains dogs acts as boatmen, who takes souls across the banks of river, which separates this and otherworld realms; here the function of the dog's symbol is similar to the symbol of a boat; (4) "dog—fortuneteller," the function which developed from its function as a sacrificial-guardian animal, which could warn and in this way guard person from premature death; (5) "dog's clan," this symbol variation represents the stage of development, when before mentioned dog's symbol functions started to be exploited by more or less specialised individuals or groups with sacral functions in societies, such as shamans and totem groups; (6) "dog and pig clans' dispute motif," this motif represents the Neolithic stage, when pig was domesticated, became a main supply

resource which appeared to be more important for everyday survival compare to game.

Model C represents the group of symbols connected with the idea of crossing the waters: (1) "waters," as a risky place, place of danger, which is connected with otherworld (could bring death), also understood as a border between different realms, a border between this- and otherworld; (2) "canoe or ship," as a mean which can cross borders of different realms, so could be a guardian in the waters and a mediator between two different realms (both real and imagined, such as here and otherworld)—the same function with a dog's symbol; (3) "boat in funeral," as a mediator between here and otherworld, a mean of transportation in the trip to otherworld; (4) "magic canoe, magic ship, flying canoe or flying ship," as an instrument in shaman's practice to travel between this and otherworld—the same function with "flying" idea; (5) "dangers on waters and ashore," means unknown territories, which could bring death, so is understood as frontier between this and otherworld; (6) "magic of mist," as a mean to avoid hostile forces, usually it could be understood as one of shaman instruments, which he/she uses during the travel between this and other realm (otherworld); (7) "shipwreck," as a dangerous event, which is connected with death and travel to otherworld; (8) "drowned," a deadly result of risky travel cross the waters; in many mythologies spirits of drowned people become hostile ghosts.

Model D represents the group of symbols connected with the symbol of a boar (a pig): (1) a wild boar was a "hunted animal" and so was connected to otherworld as a game, very similar to a dog's symbol; "boar's tusk," as a symbol of a reward a hunter got after dangerous competition with the animal, which became a source of surviving, so in these terms its tusk is a symbol of protection from the death and otherworld realm, very similar to the "dead head" conception; (2) "magic pig's skin" has the same meaning with "boar's tusk," but belongs to the stage when wild boar was domesticated and became a pig as very supporting food recourse; (3) "pig's clan," the symbol variation represents the stage of development, when pig's symbol functions started to be exploited by more or less specialised individuals or groups with sacral functions in societies, such as shamans and totem groups, after the stage of pig domestication, when it became an important food resource.

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