

THE *KAPPA* LEGEND

A Comparative Ethnological Study on the Japanese Water-Spirit
Kappa and Its Habit of Trying to Lure Horses into the Water

BY

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Translated by Yoshida Kenichi (吉田健一) from a revised version of the *Kappa Komahiki Kô* (河童駒引考) specially prepared by the author

FOREWORD

This essay, the subject of which has so little to do with war and its turmoils, was written nevertheless during the last stages of World War II. It was originally begun as the author's contribution to a collection of studies in folklore which was to be published in 1944 to commemorate the 70th birthday of Mr. Yanagita Kunio, the foremost scholar and pioneer in the field of folklore in Japan, but as work on the essay progressed, it became apparent that the nature of the questions discussed in it made it too long for inclusion in the collection of studies if the questions were to be treated at all adequately.

The author left for North China in 1944, and in the comparatively peaceful atmosphere of Peking and Chang-chia-k'ou (Kalgan) where air-raids were unknown, he was able to continue work on the essay more or less undisturbed. About that time, an agreement was reached between the author and Dr. M. Eder, the editor of *Folklore Studies*, published by the Catholic University of Peking, for an English translation of the essay to appear in that journal.

The war ended, and after being repatriated with the greater number of Japanese residents in China, the author was able somehow to give the essay its present form during the difficult days which followed in Japan after the war. The Japanese text was published by Chikuma Shobō Ltd. in 1948 under the title, *Kappa Komahiki Kō* ("Kappa luring horses into the water"). In 1949, Dr. Eder left Peking and came over to Japan. It was then decided that he should continue to edit and publish *Folklore Studies* in Tokyo, and arrangements were once more made for an English translation of this essay to appear in its pages. The author abbreviated, or suppressed altogether, passages in the original Japanese text which were thought to have little importance to foreign readers, in addition to making some necessary corrections, and entrusted the work of translation to Mr. Yoshida Kenichi. Mr. Yoshida not being a specialist in the subject, frequent meetings were held between the two to determine the manner of translating technical terms and phrases, for which part of the work the responsibility must rest with the author.

The essay having been written during the troubled days preceding and following the end of the war, much of the material employed in it could only be obtained from indirect sources, with the exception of that pertaining to Eastern Asia. Should the author be able at some later date to make use of some of the great European and American libraries, he hopes to add a considerable amount of relevant material to that already given here.

A summary of the aim and content of the present essay is given in the concluding chapter. The questions discussed and the method of study em-

ployed may seem a little remote from the problems which now hold the attention of the anthropological world, but the author believes that there will be some readers, at least, who will understand why he carried on the self-appointed task of writing the essay during the most difficult days of the war which proved to be fatal to the Japanese.

In conclusion, the author wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Yoshida for undertaking the translation of the essay, to Dr. Eder for providing the opportunity to have the translation published, and to Hôsei University for contributing its research fund to defray a part of the expenses of translation.

Tokyo, Sept. 1950

ISHIDA EIICHIRO

CHINESE DYNASTIES

| | | |
|------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Yin | 殷 | ? 1788-1122 B.C. |
| Chou | 周 | 1122- 249 " |
| | Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 | 770- 403 " |
| | Chan-kuo 戰國 | 403- 221 " |
| Ch'in | 秦 | 248- 207 " |
| Ch'ien Han | 前漢 (Former Han) | 206- 24 A.D. |
| Hou Han | 後漢 (Later Han) | 25- 220 " |
| San-kuo | 三國 (Three Kingdoms) | |
| | Wei 魏 | 220- 264 " |
| | Wu 吳 | 229- 280 " |
| | Shu 蜀 | 220- 260 " |
| Chin | 晉 | |
| | Western Chin 西晉 | 265- 316 " |
| | Eastern Chin 東晉 | 317- 420 " |
| Pei Wei | 北魏 (Northern Wei) | 386- 436 " |
| Sung | 宋 (Liu-Sung 劉宋) | 420- 479 " |
| Ch'i | 齊 | 479- 502 " |
| Liang | 梁 | 502- 557 " |
| Ch'ên | 陳 | 557- 589 " |
| Sui | 隋 | 581- 618 " |
| T'ang | 唐 | 618- 907 " |
| Wu-tai | 五代 | 907- 960 " |
| Sung | 宋 | 960-1279 " |
| Liao | 遼 | 916-1125 " |
| Chin | 金 | 1115-1234 " |
| Yüan | 元 | 1280-1368 " |
| Ming | 明 | 1368-1644 " |
| Ch'ing | 清 | 1644-1911 " |

THE *KAPPA* LEGEND

CHAPTER I

Horses and Water-gods

The Japanese have all heard of the *kappa*. Legends about this little monster, something half way between a child and a monkey, which lives in rivers and ponds and plays tricks on people, are to be found everywhere in Japan, from Okinawa in the south to Hokkaido in the north, and there are very few Japanese who do not have memories of having been frightened in childhood by stories about the *kappa* and its doings. The tricks played on men by this monster usually follows a set pattern, among which, trying to lure horses into the water is so common, that examples of this legend both ancient and modern, collected by Mr. Yanagita Kunio in his paper *Kappa Komahiki* (" *Kappa* luring horses into the water ") alone, cover the provinces of Iwashiro, Rikuchû, Echigo, Musashi, Sagami, Suruga, Mikawa, Kai, Shinano, Hida, Mino, Noto, Yamashiro, Izumo, Harima, Nagato, Awa, Tosa, Hizen and, in fact, nearly the whole of Japan. In most of these stories, the *kappa* is described as failing in the attempt to draw the horse into the water, and being made to apologize in one way or another, sometimes formally in writing. Mr. Yanagita pays particular attention to the important part played by horses in these *kappa* legends, and it is this that gave him the idea of writing his *Kappa Komahiki*. A point to be noticed in connection with these legends is that, in many of them, the horses are grazing in pastures near a piece of water when the *kappa* appears and tries to lure them into it. For instance, in Tsugu village, in Ôtsu district (*gun*), Nagato province, it used to be a yearly custom to let the horses of the lord of the clan out to pasture by the dykes round Sugitani pond,¹⁾ and in many of the legends from other parts of Japan, the horses are also either tethered or grazing free by a river or marsh when the *kappa* appears. The question arises then, why such places near the water were chosen for pasturing horses. In his next paper, *Batei-seki* (" Horse-shoe Stones "), Mr. Yanagita goes into this exhaustively, giving numerous examples from legends concerning such historically famous horses as Ikezuki, Surusumi and Tayûguro. For instance, a dragon was said to inhabit a pond on Mt. Nakui in Mutsu province, and one night, a horse

The Japanese Islands

Kappa luring horses into the water

Pastures by the water-side

Fine horses sired by dragons

1) Yanagita, 1912, p. 30 (ed. 1942, p. 38).

went up the mountain by moonlight and drank the water of the pond, changing thereby immediately into an extremely fine horse, and so was named Ikezuki ("Moon on the Pond")²⁾. Also, a dragon was said to live in Ryûgaike ("Dragon Pond") near the village of Kiyokawa in Higashi-Tagawa district in the province of Uzen, and when Sakai Tadazane was lord of these parts, the dragon covered a mare which was grazing by the pond, and the mare conceived, and bore a dapple colt which grew into such a fine horse, that the owner of the mare, a farmer of Narizawa village called Chôemon, presented the horse to the lord³⁾. It would seem to be beyond doubt that these legends have some connection with the popular belief that fine horses are the offspring of dragons, or of water-gods of one sort or another, and so Mr. Yanagita writes on this point: "These facts, particularly when we remember that there are many fine horses named Ikezuki that are supposed to have been born near ponds, clearly show that the fact of many pastures throughout the land being found near the sea, ever since the time of the compilation of the *Engi-shiki*, was not merely due to considerations of economy in that such places required the minimum of mud-walls and fences. If it had not been for some well-established experience, or theory, that one obtained fine horses by so doing, it is inconceivable that islands and capes should be so much sought after as pasture land."⁴⁾ He says further: "These considerations must show that it is extremely difficult to establish the relationship between the custom of bathing horses in rivers and marshes, known as *uma-arai*, the ceremony of tethering horses and cattle near a piece of water on certain days in the year, called Nogai or Nakoshi, and the superstition that water-gods may be lured into covering mares, and making them conceive. Any of these facts may be the origin of the others, any of them may be a transformation of any of the others, and it is not possible to reason about them from the standpoint merely of a plausible evolution."⁵⁾ From this idea of choosing land near the water for the site of a pasture, so that mares might conceive from dragons, it is surely only one step to the other idea that divine horses appear out of the water. In each of the three provinces of Uzen, Ugo, and Iwashiro, there is a village which is said to be the birthplace of the famous horse Ikezuki. But whereas in the case of Ishisone hamlet, a part of Nishigô village in the district of Minami-Murayama, Uzen province, the legend is that the site of the village was once a great marsh inhabited by a *dragon-serpent*, and that Ikezuki was sired by this monster,⁶⁾ in Shimo-Kurokawa hamlet, a part of Nichigô village, Okazaki district, Ugo province, it is said that once a *dragon-horse* appeared out of an old pond in the village and neighed, and a mare belonging to a farmer called Yohei heard it, and conceived, and bore Ikezuki,⁷⁾ while in the village

Fine horses appear
out of the water

2) *ibid.*, p. 160 (p. 206).

3) *ibid.*, p. 174 (p. 223).

4) *ibid.*, p. 174 (p. 224).

5) *ibid.*, p. 189 (p. 242).

6) *ibid.*, p. 161 (p. 207).

7) *ibid.*, p. 161 (p. 207).

of Yachi, Kawanuma district, in the province of Iwashiro, the reigning spirit of Kamado pond within the precincts of the village shrine of Haguro is said to have been a *yellow horse* and that it became the father of Ikezuki.⁸⁾ There is also a legend that in Tsui on the eastern coast of the district of Suki in Oki island, the white horse Ikezuki appeared out of the waters of the Male Pond and the Female Pond there, and crossed the sea to the province of Izumo.⁹⁾ In Jōdani, a stream in Hakusan in the province of Kaga, it is said that a villager named Ishihei once saw a small horse with very long manes and tail spring into the stream at dawn,¹⁰⁾ and there is also a legend that Tayū-zaki (Cape Tayū), forming a part of the village of Futomi in Awa province, was so named on account of a rock-cave there, out of which appeared Tayūguro, the favourite horse of Yoshitsune,¹¹⁾ while marks left on rocks by the water-side, supposed to have been made by the hoofs of such legendary horses, are to be found all over the country.

The legend of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water, and the idea of setting up pastures by the waterside so that dragons or water-gods might breed with mares, and the superstition that famous horses have appeared either out of the water, or some place near the water, may all be considered to have some connection with each other, and to form a part of a common folklore, and it is quite possible to suppose that they all spring from some common origin. It is the purpose of the present writer to investigate further in this direction the questions raised by Mr. Yanagita in his *Santō Mindan-shū* ("Folk-tales of Mountains and Islands") which contains the above-mentioned two articles.

The first thing that rises to one's mind in this connection is the legend concerning dragon-horses (*lung-ma* 龍馬), which is found among the Chinese. The belief that water-gods or water-spirits appear in the form of dragons, is common to China and all countries of Eastern Asia, and ever since the days of remote antiquity when Fu-hsi (伏羲), who is said to have had the body of a serpent with a human head, reigned over China, during whose reign a dragon-horse bearing a chart (*t'u* 圖) appeared out of the Huangho (Yellow River) and the diviners' symbols of the eight *kua* (八卦) were formed after the patterns on the chart,¹²⁾ the horse and the dragon have always been closely associated as manifestations of the water-spirit. Among the ancient records giving evidence of this combination, we may cite the *Shan-hai-ching*, in which the god of Min-shan (岷山) is described as having "the body of a horse with a dragon's head," etc. But later writings also give detailed accounts of the dragon-horse, as in the *Shang-shu-chung-hou* in which we read that "Yao caused a precious stone to be thrown into the river, and a dragon-horse ap-

China and its borders

Dragon-horses

8) *ibid.*, p. 161 (p. 207).

9) *ibid.*, p. 167 (p. 214)

10) *ibid.*, p. 158 (p. 203).

11) *ibid.*, p. 163 (p. 209).

12) *Shang-shu-chung-hou*, *Wo-ho-chi* (握河紀).

peared holding a *chia* (甲 carapace) in its mouth. The colour of its body was red with green markings. It went to the altar and released the *chia-t'u* (甲圖) from its mouth."¹³⁾ Again, Sung Jou-chih who lived under the Liang dynasty says in his *Jui-ying-t'u* that "the dragon-horse loves the virtuous government, and is a spirit of the rivers. It is 8 *ch'ih* (尺) and 5 *ts'un* (寸) high (*ch'ih*=approx. 1 ft., *ts'un*=approx. 1 inch) and has a long neck, the whole body being covered with scales. It has wings above the bones, with hair that hangs down growing by the side of the wings. It has nine kinds of cries, and it steps out on the water without sinking. It appears when a good king reigns over the country."¹⁴⁾ Thus, its colour, size, shape and even its cries are given in these records, and we may surmise from them that the dragon-horse was a kind of a fabulous beast that combined the qualities of a dragon and a horse. It is also recorded that a dragon-horse which appeared in March of the 5th year of the Wu-tê (武德) era during the reign of Kao-tsu of the T'ang dynasty, in the river Hsi-shui (西水) in Ching-ku-hsien (景谷縣) to the west of the present Chao-hua-hsien (昭化縣) in Ssüch'uan province, "was 8 or 9 *ch'ih* high, and had the form of a dragon, the body being covered with scales as though sheathed in armour. Moreover, it was striped in five colours, and while it had the body of a dragon, its head was that of a horse, white, with two horns. It held something in its mouth 3 or 4 *ch'ih* long, and it rose above the waves, walked about, and after taking over a hundred strides, disappeared into the water."¹⁵⁾ According to a report made to the Emperor during the T'ien-pao (天寶) era by Huang-fu Wei-ming (皇甫惟明), Governor of Lung-yu (隴右, Kansu), as recorded in the *T'ang-shu*, a dragon-horse borne by a mare belonging to one K'u-ti Hsiao-i (庫狄孝義), an inhabitant of Lung-chih-hsien (龍支縣, to the south of the present Lo-tu-hsien 樂都縣 in the eastern part of Ch'inghai province), ninety-nine days after its birth, had its body covered with scales, being quite hairless. "I [says the report] was examining it, when a cloud of good augury in five colours descended on it from afar, and remained even after a considerable time had elapsed."¹⁶⁾ There are also many legends of dragons turning into horses, and horses into dragons. For instance, an incident that occurred early in the 4th century is recorded in the *Chin-shu* as follows: "During the T'ai-an (太安) era, children sang, 'Five horses running about loose crossed the river, and one of them turned into a dragon,' and soon afterwards, the middle part of the Empire fell into great disorder, many great ruling families being destroyed."¹⁷⁾ From this one may conjecture that the idea of horses turning into dragons and vice versa

Dragons turn into horses, and horses into dragons

13) *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 893 (cit. *Shang-shu-chung-hou*).

14) *T'ien-chung-chi*, 55.

15) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 435.

16) *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 895; *T'ien-chung-chi*, 55.

17) *Chin-shu*, 28, *Wu-hsing-chih* (五行志).

was already prevalent enough at the time to be used in such every day metaphors. According to the local tradition, a dragon is said to have once appeared out of the water of Lung-t'an (龍潭 "Dragon Abyss"), a pond twenty *li* to the east of T'ung-chiang-hsien (通江縣), in the Chia-ling-tao (嘉陵道) section of Ssüch'uan province, and turning into a horse, pranced about, leaving marks of its hoofs on a stone which are still supposed to be visible today.¹⁸⁾ Again, two dragons were supposed to live in Chin-lung-chih (金龍池 "Golden Dragon Pond") in Ma-i-hsien (馬邑縣), to the northeast of Shuo-hsien (朔縣) in North Shansi, and these, ever since the of reign the Pei Wei dynasty, transformed themselves from time to time into two horses, one black and the other yellow, appearing when the sky was overcast, and mares meeting them bore colts afterwards that grew into remarkably fine horses.¹⁹⁾ The Lung-ma-t'an (龍馬潭 "Dragon-horse Deep"), 20 *li* to Lu-chou (瀘州) in the northeast of Ssüch'uan, is supposed to be the same into which a horse plunged and became a dragon, this horse being the one on which Wang Ch'ang-yü (王昌遇) of the T'ang dynasty was sent home by Lo-p'o-hsien (落魄仙), who had taught him Taoist magic. The horse carried Wang back to his home in an instant, after which the horse leaped into the abyss.²⁰⁾ Contrary to this, a dragon once appeared out of the Pai-ma-ch'üan (白馬泉 "White Horse Spring"), a 100 *li* to the north of Ya-chou (雅州) in the eastern part of Sik'ang province near the Ssüch'uan border, and transformed itself into a white horse.²¹⁾ In the time of Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, a strange horse was captured in the Yellow River and sent to the Emperor from Ling-ch'ang-chün (靈昌郡, to the southwest of the present district Hua-hsien 滑縣 in Honan Province), and this beast had a body covered with dragon's scales, a tail like that of a serpent, hair with the thickness of a man's fist, manes that were not of hair, but of flesh. When rebellion broke out, and the Emperor fled west to Hsien-yang (咸陽), the horse went westwards also and entered the river Wei-shui (渭水), changed itself into a dragon and swam away, no one knows where.²²⁾ Also during the T'ang dynasty, a horse from the barbarous regions bought by one Hsü Hsi-yen (許栖岩), having been told to do so by a Taoist fortune-teller, turned out to be a dragon from a cave in which dwelled the Taoist sage T'ai-i-yüan-chün (太乙元君), and when the horse was taken as far as the Kuo-hsien (虢縣, 50 *li* to the east of the present Pao-ch'i-hsien 寶雞縣 in Shensi province), and let loose near the Wei River, it entered the river and became a dragon again, and went away.²³⁾

18) *Ta-ming I-t'ung-chih*, 68, Pao-ning-fu (保寧府); *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, 297, Pao-ning-fu, 1.

19) *Ta-ming I-t'ung-chih*, 21, Ta-t'ung-fu (大同府).

20) *ibid.*, 72, Lu-chou, Shan-ch'uan (山川) and Hsien-chih (仙釋).

21) *ibid.*, 72, Ya-chou.

22) *Liu-wên*, 19.

23) *Tu-hsing Lieh-hsien-ch'üan-chuan*, 6.

In connection with these legends, passages in the *Hsi-yu-chi* which may be regarded as a mine of Chinese folklore from the earliest times, are of even greater interest. According to the story given in this book, Hsüan-chuang (玄奘), on his way to India to obtain the sacred Buddhist *sutras*, comes to the river Ying-ch'ou-chien (鷹愁澗) in Mt. Shê-p'an (蛇盤山), when a dragon appears out of the water, eats up Hsüan-chuang's mount.²⁴⁾ This is no ordinary dragon, but a son of the dragon-king of the Western Seas, that had been sentenced to be suspended in the air for having burnt one of the precious pearls in his father's palace. However, Kuan-yin, or Avalokitesvara-Bodhisattva, took pity on his plight, and freed him from his position, and after saying to him, "Change yourself into a white horse and follow the one who is going west to bring back the sacred writings, by which you shall gain merit," had sent him into the river.²⁵⁾ So, when Kuan-yin arrives from the Southern Seas before Mt. Shê-p'an, at the instance of Sun Wu-k'ung (孫悟空) and Chin-t'ou Chieh-ti (金頭揭諦), and waves a willow branch over the dragon's body, the dragon is immediately changed into a dragon-horse,²⁶⁾ and for over ten years, faithfully shares all the hardships of the journey with the rest of Hsüan-chuang's little group on their way to India, serving as Hsüan-chuang's mount, and proving himself to be of great use to them in time of need. For instance, when Hsüan-chuang is turned into a tiger by a demon in the kingdom of Pao-tsang (寶藏), and shut up in an iron cage, the white dragon-horse turns himself into a dragon again and fights the demon, but finding himself out-matched by the enemy, plunges into the river Yü-shui (御水), hides there for a while, and becoming a white horse once more, returns to the stable. Chu Pa-chieh (豬八戒) sees the horse covered with sweat and wounded in the thigh, and wonders at it, when the horse speaks to him in human language, and acquaints him with all that has happened to the priest.²⁷⁾ So, when Hsüan-chuang finally reaches India and obtains the *sutras*, Buddha rewards the white horse by appointing him Heavenly Dragon, and when Chin-t'ou Chieh-ti, by Buddha's command, leads the horse to a pond at the back of Mt. Lin (靈山), called Hua-lung-ch'ih (化龍池), the hair instantly falls off from the horse's body, the skin is cast, and in the place of the horse appears a golden dragon.²⁸⁾ Such instances of physical relationship between horses and dragons are to be found even as far as Annam, where, according to the legend connected with the White Horse Shrine in Hanoi, in Tonkin, the spirit within a dragon's body is once said to have come out of the temple in the form of a white horse,²⁹⁾ while Dang Cao, an Annamese hero who was killed in leading a rebellion against the Chinese, is supposed to have been given a golden collar to wear

24) *Hsi-yu-chi*, 15.

25) *ibid.*, 8.

26) *ibid.*, 15.

27) *ibid.*, 30.

28) *ibid.*, 100.

29) Matsumoto, p. 1016.

as a charm, by a spirit half-dragon and half-horse.³⁰⁾

Examples of the relationship between dragons and horses are by no means confined to those that have already been given. The emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty says in his Ode on the Celestial Horse, supposed to be written when a horse appeared out of the river Wu-wa (渥洼) in the 3rd year of the Yüan-shou (元狩) era (120 B.C.), "Now who is there for me to consort with. The dragons are my friends."³¹⁾ In another of his compositions, the Ode to the Celestial Horse from the Western Borders, said to be written when General Li Kuang-li defeated the king of Ta-yüan (Fergana) and cut off his head, and returned with horses of the breed which sweat blood in the spring of the 4th year of the T'ai-ch'ü (太初) era (101 B.C.), there occur the words: "The coming of the celestial horse is brought about by the dragons,"³²⁾ and Shih-ku (師古), in his commentary on the first Ode, says, "It is here meant, that there is now no one to consort with, unless it be the dragons," and Ying-shao (應劭), in his commentary on the second, says, "Celestial horses are kin to the divine dragons, so that the coming of the celestial horse foretells the advent of the dragon." In the reign of the emperor Hsüan-ti, Fêng Fêng-shih (馮奉世) also went to Ta-yüan, where he obtained a fine horse shaped like a dragon and returned.³³⁾ At the same time, we find the following passage in a book under the Ming dynasty: "The dragon by its nature is most lustful. When it copulates with cows, the cows bear giraffes, when with sows, the sows bear elephants, and when with mares, the mares bear dragon-horses."³⁴⁾ The idea of dragon-horses being the product of dragons or water-gods copulating with mares is also of considerable antiquity, further evidence of which may be found in the numerous records of the superstition which made men pasture mares by the waterside so that they may bear excellent horses. In *Pieh-kuo-tung-ming-chi*, said to be written by Kuo Hsien (郭憲) of the Later Han dynasty, we read: "In the country of Hsiu-mi were found many divine horses. Mules and asses are 100 *ch'ih* high, pure white in colour, able to go about on the water, and having wings, often fly over the sea. Whenever they cover the mares of the inhabitants, the mares bear divine asses." The lake Tien-ch'ih (滇池), to the south of the present Hui-li-hsien (會理縣) in Ssüch'uan province, has a circumference of about 300 *li*, and while at its

Dragons and celestial horses

Pasturing mares by the waterside so that they may bear fine horses

30) Langlet, p. 176.

31) *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 22, *Li-lo-chih*.

32) *ibid.*, 6, *Wu-ti-chi*; 22, *Li-lo-chih*.

33) "Fêng-shih at last reached Ta-yüan in the west. [The king of] Ta-yüan, having heard that the king of Sha-ch'è (莎車, Yarkand) had paid an extraordinary respect to him, presented him with a fine steed like a dragon [Shih-ku (師古) says that by this, a horse having a shape resembling that of a dragon is meant] to take back with him. The Emperor was very pleased when Fêng-shih offered him the horse."—*Ch'ien Han-shu* 79, *Fêng Fêng-shih-chuan* (馮奉世傳).

34) *Wu-tsa-tsu*, 9.

source it is deep and wide, it narrows and becomes shallow towards the end, so that its source has the appearance of being its end, and its end its source, which is the reason why it has been named Tien-ch'ih ("inverted lake"). According to the popular belief, divine horses lived in the lake, and mares that were covered by them bore fine steeds that could travel 500 *li* a day.³⁵⁾ At the foot of Mt. Lung-ch'üan (龍泉 "Dragon Spring") to the northwest of Chien-yang-hsien (簡陽縣) in Ssüch'uan province, is a lake called Ch'iu-shui (秋水), also known as Ch'ing-ch'ih (青池) or Lung-ch'ih (龍池 "Dragon Pond"). In times of drought, the inhabitants offered prayers by this lake, which were always answered by rain, and when mares were pastured beside it, many of them became mothers of fine horses.³⁶⁾ Concerning Ma-ming-hsi (馬鳴溪) in the country of Shu (蜀, Ssüch'uan), we read: "Once an inhabitant named Chêng (鄭) pastured his horses near the river, and one of his mares bore a dragon-horse which had hoofs that were as sharp as claws, red manes and red hair. The beast stood 7 *ch'ih* high, and shaking its manes, would give long cries, leaping about on the water, which is the reason why the river was named Ma-ming-hsi ("the dell where the horse cried")."³⁷⁾ Two dragons living in Chin-lung-ch'ih (金龍池 "Golden Dragon Pond") in Ma-i-hsien (馬邑縣) in North Shansi, have already been mentioned, which, ever since the time of the Pei Wei dynasty, occasionally took the form of two horses, one black and the other yellow. These appeared when the sky was overcast, and "mares that met them bore colts afterwards that turned out to be divine horses, some of which had horns like antlers"³⁸⁾. In the reign of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, Li-i (李邕), the governor of Lin-tzū (臨淄) in Shantung province, sought dragon-horses in the part of the country comprised in the territory of the old kingdoms of Ch'i (齊) and Lu (魯), following the advice of an old man he happened to meet, and in the summer of the 29th year of the K'ai-yüan (開元) era (A.D. 741), in the 5th month, he finally found one belonging to Ma Hui-ên (馬會恩), an inhabitant of Pei-hai-chün (北海郡, in the present I-tu-hsien 益都縣 in Shantung), and presented it to the Emperor. This beast had manes that were of flesh, the breast of a giraffe, and its cries were not like those of a horse. It could travel 300 *li* a day. Ma Hui-ên had at first only one mare, but he had always let her bathe in the River Tzū, until one day she conceived, and bore the dragon-horse. For this reason, we read, the horse was named Lung-tzū (龍子 "Dragon Child").³⁹⁾ The regions round Ch'inghai (Kukunor) have been known from ancient times for the fine horses bred there.

35) *Hua-yang-kuo-chih*, *Nan-chung-chih* (南中志); *Shui-ching-chu*, 36, Wên-shui (溫水).

36) *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, 78, Chien-nan-hsi-tao (劍南西道), 7, Mao-chou (茂州).

37) *P'in-i-shêng ma-chi*, pt. 2.

38) *Ta-ming I-i'ung-chih*, 21 Ta-t'ung-fu.

39) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 435; *T'ien-chung-chi*, 55; cf. *T'ang-shu* 36, *Wu-hsing-chih*.

We read in the *Sui-shu*: "Ch'inghai has a circumference of over 1,000 *li*, and there is a small mountain in the middle of it. It is the custom in those parts to graze mares by the water in winter, and it is said that they conceive and bear horses sired by dragons. T'u-ku-hun (吐谷渾) once obtained a Persian mare and let her loose into the lake, and she bore afterwards a dapple. This horse could travel 1,000 *li* a day with ease, and for this reason was known in its days as Dapple of Ch'inghai (青海驄)."⁴⁰⁾ Yang-lung-k'êng (養龍坑), to the north of Kuei-yang-hsien (貴陽縣) in Kueichou province, is a part of a river which is extremely deep, and supernatural beings are said to live in it. According to the popular belief:

"At the beginning of spring, the barbarians who dwell in the region drive willow stakes into the ground, and after caressing their mares, tether them to the stakes. Thereupon the sky becomes overcast, indefinite forms appear which coil round the mares and cover them, and after this, the mares always bear horses sired by dragons."

A white horse which came from these regions towards the end of the Yüan Dynasty, was 9 *ch'ih* high, over a *chang* (10 *ch'ih*) in length, and riding it was like riding on a cloud. This was later presented to the Emperor, and was given the name of Fei-yüeh-fêng (飛越峯 "Leaper of Peaks").⁴¹⁾ A similar legend to this is found in Shantung, a region far removed from Kueichou, during the reign of the Ming Dynasty:

"In the winter of the 18th year of the Yung-lo (永樂) era (A.D. 1420) of the Ming dynasty in the 10th month, Ts'ui Yu-liang (崔友諒), an inhabitant of Chu-ch'êng-hsien (諸城縣) in Shantung, presented a dragon-horse to the Emperor. It was bluish in colour, and had manes that were of flesh and stood up. Its body was covered with curious markings which mingled with each other, and seemed like a dragon's scales. It had red manes, a tail that was not of hair but of flesh, a breast which was like that of a giraffe and that of a phoenix at the same time, a great deal of fat about its body, and altogether, a very curious appearance. On questioning the inhabitants of the district, it was found that the sea about there was so deep as to be quite unfathomable, and that a supernatural being sometimes appeared there, whose long form could be dimly discerned in the mist. There was a mare which always grazed by this sea, and one evening, the wind suddenly rose, rain came, and the mare conceived and bore this beast."⁴²⁾

But it seems that supernatural beings that became fathers of fine horses did not always live in the water. For example, a celestial horse lived on a high mountain in the eastern part of Hui-wu-hsien (會無縣, now Hui-

40) *Sui-shu*, 83, *Hsi-yü-chuan* (西域傳), T'u-ku-hun *Pei-shih*, 96, *T'u-ku-hun-chuan*; *T'ang-shu*, 198, *Hsi-jung-chuan*, T'u-ku-hun.

41) *T'ien-chung-chi*, 55.

42) *P'in-i-shên Ma-chi*, pt 1.

li-hsien 會理縣 in Ssüch'uan province) at the source of the Chün-ma-ho (駿馬河 "River of Fleet Steeds"). The horse could travel 1,000 *li* a day, and its hoof-prints are supposed to remain to this day. The inhabitants of the region grazed their mares at the foot of the mountain, and the mares bore fine horses, which the inhabitants called the progeny of the celestial horse.⁴³⁾ There is also the breed of horses which sweat blood, that were raised in the kingdom of Ta-yüan (Fergana). We read in the *Han-shu* that "they are descended from the celestial horse," and there is a commentary to the work according to which, "it is said that there is a high mountain in Ta-yüan, on which lives a horse, that may not be captured. This being so, a five-coloured mare is placed at the foot of the mountain, and then the horse and the mare come together and the mare foals. All the horses so born sweat blood, for which reason, they are called the progeny of the celestial horse."⁴⁴⁾ There is also a passage in the *Sui-shu* to the effect that a divine horse lives in a cave on the southern face of the mountain P'o-li-shan (頗梨山), in the kingdom of Tokhara. Every year, the inhabitants graze their mares by the side of the cave, and the mares become mothers of noble horses, all of which are said to sweat blood.⁴⁵⁾ There is a legend similar to this which is still preserved among the Mongols today. It seems that in ancient times, the divine horse Bosafabo, a red chestnut stallion *with a white star on his forehead*, lived in Donran cave. Everyone, from the king to the common people, brought mares to the cave where he lived, so that they might have foals sired by Bosafabo, and even today, many fine horses are supposed by the Mongols to be descended from him.⁴⁶⁾ Again, just as in Japan a horse grazing in

43) *Hua-yang-kuo-chih*, *Shu-chih* (蜀志); *Shui-ching-chu*, 36, Jo-shui (若水).

44) *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 96, pt. 1, *Hsi-yü-chuan*, Mêng K'ang's commentary.

45) *Sui-shu*, 83, *Hsi-yü-chuan*, T'u-huo-lo; *T'ang-shu*, 221, pt. 2, *Hsi-yü-chuan*; cf. note 353.

46) Larson, p. 159. Marco Polo says that the country of Badascian (Badakshan) produces a breed of fine horses with remarkably hard hoofs, which can travel with great speed over mountains that no other horse could possibly traverse, and that until not long before his time, there were many horses in that country of the strain of Alexander's horse Bucephalus, all of which had a *horn or a particular mark on the forehead* like their famous ancestor, but that they were now extinct.—Moule and Pelliot, vol. 1, pp. 137-138, ch. 47; Yule and Cordier, vol. 1, p. 158, bk. 1, ch. 24, p. 162, note 4. The name *Bosafabo* also, which is clearly not of Mongolian origin, may quite possibly be derived from Bucephalus, which gradually took on that form in the course of ages during which the legend of the Macedonian horse was handed down from generation to generation among the nomadic tribes of Inner Asia. On the other hand, we read in the *Hsi-ho-chiu-shih* (西河舊事) concerning a supernatural stallion living on the top of a high mountain in Ta-yüan, which became the ancestor of a famous breed of horses through mares which the people brought to the mountain to be covered by the stallion, that "The Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, hearing that there lived a celestial horse in Ta-yüan-kuo, sent Li Kuang-li (李廣利) to invade the country. The horse being captured, it was found to have a *horn* on the forehead, which caused much wonder. It was then that the Emperor composed the Ode on the Celestial Horse."—*T'ien-chung-chi*, 55. If we compare this with the legend of Bucephalus in Marco Polo, we begin to see the possibility of a strong desire to improve the breed of horses by cross-breeding with the superb Western horses underlying all these legends of modern Mongols, those about Tokhara and T'u-ku-hun of the Sui and the T'ang dynasties, and about Ta-yüan of the time of the Han dynasty.

Sumiyano plain at the foot of Mt. Nakui in Mutsu province, is said to have climbed the mountain by moonlight, and having drunk the water of the pond on the summit in which a dragon lived, became pregnant and bore the steed Ikezuki,⁴⁷⁾ or just as a mare belonging to the wealthy Damburi of Azukizawa in Kazuno-gun in Rikuchû province, drank the water of the pond on Mt. Ryûba ("Dragon-horse") and is supposed to have been changed into a dragon-horse,⁴⁸⁾ so in China, in the time of the Sung dynasty, a white mare once drank the water of the spring Ch'ü-ch'an-ch'üan (屈產泉), 4 *li* to the southeast of Shih-lou-hsien (石樓縣) in the western part of Shansi, and bore a dragon-horse,⁴⁹⁾ while the water of Lung-ma-ch'üan (龍馬泉 "Spring of a Dragon-horse") in Hsi-ho-hsien (西和縣) in Kansu is said to have this property that, "every spring, mares drink there at night, and become pregnant and bear foals, which at first have no hair, and have to be wrapped in felt. After a few months, hair begins to grow, and in less than three years, the horses grow to be identical with those of Ta-yüan.⁵⁰⁾ Although actual intercourse between mares and dragons, or divine horses, is not recorded, we read in the *Shu-i-chi* of Jên Fang of the Liang dynasty:

"King Mu (穆天子) grazes his eight horses in Lung-ch'üan (龍川) in the island of the Eastern Sea. Grass grows on the island, of a particular kind called *lung-ch'u* (龍芻 "dragon-fodder"). When a horse eats of it, it becomes capable of travelling 1,000 *li* a day, and it is written in an ancient record that a tuft of this *lung-ch'u* grass once turned into a dragon-horse."⁵¹⁾

This, and other passages like: "Where Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty used to graze his horses in the midst of a lake, the grass even to this day retains the appearance of having been bitten. So this place in the midst of the lake is today called Ma-tsê (馬澤 "Moor of Horses"),"⁵²⁾ would seem to be further evidence of the idea of pasturing horses by the waterside, so that mares might bear fine horses.

Once mares are supposed to bear noble horses through intercourse with Divine horses in
the water

47) Yanagita, 1912, p. 160 (ed. 1942, p. 206).

48) *ibid.*, p. 173 (p. 222).

49) *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, 48, Ho-tung-tao (河東道) 9, Hsi-chou (隰州). We read in this work that, "A passage in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* says that Hsien Kung (獻公), with the *ch'êng* 乘 (chariots) of Ch'ü-ch'an (屈產) passed through Yü (虞) and invaded Kuo (虢). Ch'ü-ch'an is thought to produce a breed of fine horses," and some people are of the opinion that Ch'ü-ch'an is the country of Ch'ü-chih (屈支) or Kuei-tzü (龜茲), a country known for its breed of fine horses. In a corresponding passage in the *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, an explanation of the Lung-ch'üan (龍泉 "Dragon-spring") in Shih-lou-hsien (石樓縣) is given as follows: "Lung-ch'üan is a spring at the foot of the mountain Tung-shan (東山), 10 *li* to the southeast of the *hsien*. Many fine horses are bred among those pastured by this spring, whence its name of Lung-ch'üan."

50) *Ta-ming I-t'ung-chih*, 35, Kung-ch'ang-fu (鞏昌府).

51) *Shu-i-chi*, pt. 1.

52) *ibid.*, pt. 2.

divine beings in the water, it is quite natural that the divine beings themselves should next come to be thought of, not only as dragons in the shape of serpents, but as having the form of water-horses. The divine horses of Tien-ch'ih, already mentioned, embody the same idea as the yellow horse of Kamado Pond in Yachi village in the province of Iwashiro, which became the father of Ikezuki. Four divine horses of Tien-ch'ih are supposed to have appeared together, first during the reign of Emperor Chang of the Han dynasty,⁵³⁾ and then again much later, during the Yüan-ho (元和) era of the T'ang dynasty,⁵⁴⁾ at both times when the province of I-chou (益州) was being ruled by a particularly beneficent governor. In the 14th year of the T'ai-yüan (太元) era of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 389) also, two such horses, one white and the other black, are supposed to have appeared over the water of the lake, as though engaged in play.⁵⁵⁾ The idea of these divine horses coming out of the water is in itself an ancient one. The passage in the *Hsiao-ching-wei yüan-shên-ch'i* which says, "When virtue reaches the mountains, . . . divine horses shall appear out of the lake,"⁵⁶⁾ expresses the same idea as that of the dragon-horse emerging with a chart out of the river, and we also read in the records of the time that in the summer of the 2nd year of the Yüan-shou (元狩) era (121 B.C.), during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, a horse appeared out of the water of the river Yü-wo-shui (余吾水, to the north of Shu-fang-chün 朔方郡 in Ordos in Inner Mongolia), and again in the autumn of the 4th year of the Yüan-ting (元鼎) era (113 B.C.), out of the river Wu-wa-shui (渥洼水, said to be a tributary of the river Tang-ho 黨河 in An-hsihsien 安西縣 in Kansu).⁵⁷⁾ A pond on the mountain Shên-ma-shan (神馬山 "Mt. Divine Horse," the present Mt. Nan-po-chung 南嶓冢山) in Kansu has been known from old to be the abode of dragon-horses, and once a horse was captured there with a head 3 *ch'ih* long.⁵⁸⁾ In the time of

53) "During the reign of the emperor Chang-ti of the Han dynasty, Wang Fu (王阜) of Shu-chün (蜀郡) was made governor of I-chou (益州). He ruled over the people so well that four celestial horses appeared out of the river Tien-ch'ih."—*T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 435. A passage in the *Hua-yang-kuo-chih* which also says that, "Four celestial horses appeared out of the river Tien-ch'ih," is quoted in the *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 897, and again, as in the following note, in the *P'in-i-shêng Ma-chih*.

54) "It says in the *Hua-yang-kuo-chih* that, four celestial horses appeared out of the river Tien-ch'ih. It says in the *Nan-man-chuan* (南蠻傳) also, that during the Yüan-ho (元和) era under the T'ang dynasty, Wang Tsao (王造) became governor of I-chou, and he ruled so well that four celestial horses appeared out of the river Tien-ch'ih."—*P'in-i-shêng Ma-chih*, pt. 1.

55) *Shui-ching-chu*, 36, Wên-shui.

56) *Hsiao-ching-wei yüan-shên-ch'i*, pt. 2; *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 893.

57) *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 6, *Wu-ti-pên-chi* (武帝本紀). But in the *Li-lo-chih* (禮樂志) of the same work, the above Ode is described as having been "composed when a horse was produced from the water of Wu-wa in the 3rd year of the Yüan-shu (元狩) era." Cf. Izushi, p. 225, note 39.

58) "The Ma-ch'ih-shui (馬池水) flows by the foot of Mount Po-chung and joins the River Hsi-han-shui (西漢水) further south. It says in the *K'ai-shan-tu* (*Tun-chia-k'ai-shan-tu*) that there is a pool in the Mount Shên-ma ("Divine Horse") in Lung-hsi (Kansu) which is supposed to produce dragon-horses, for which reason it is called also Lung-yüan-shui (龍淵水 "Dragon Pool River"). A horse was captured here in ancient times whose skull measured 3 *ch'ih* in length."—*Ta-ming I-t'ung-chih*, 35, Kung-ch'ang-fu.

the Han dynasty, a tributary of the river Mien-shui (沔水, the present river Han-shui), which flows through Hupei province, constantly produced several hundreds of horses, and the hole out of which they appeared was named for that reason Ma-hsüeh (馬穴 "Horse-hole"). When Lu Hsün (陸遜) of the kingdom of Wu, during the period of the Three Kingdoms, attacked Hsiang-yang (襄陽), he too is said to have captured ten horses there.⁵⁹⁾ At the beginning of the Chia-p'ing (嘉平) era, during the reign of the king Ch'i-wang of Wei, a strange horse is said to have appeared out of the Pai-ma-ho (白馬河 "River of White Horse"), to the south of Yao-yang-hsien (饒陽縣) in Hopei province, and passing by the royal pasture at night, emitted cries to which all the horses neighed in response. When its footprints were examined the next day, they were seen to be as large as a *hu* (斛, a ten *shih* measure), and after going for a few *li*, were seen to return to the river.⁶⁰⁾ Among other ancient records, the name *t'ao-tu* (騫駝) is mentioned in the following passage in the *Shan-hai-ching*: "In the Northern Seas lives a beast which is shaped like a horse, and this beast is called *t'ao-tu*. There is another beast, which is called *chiao* (駮). This is shaped like a white horse, it has great teeth with which it eats tigers and leopards. There is another white beast, shaped like a horse. This is called *k'ung-k'ung* (蛩蛩) . . ." ⁶¹⁾ This *t'ao-tu*, too, later came to be regarded as a supernatural beast which appeared when an enlightened ruler governed the country, as we may see from such descriptions as: "The *t'ao-tu* is a mystic beast, which appears when an enlightened king is on the throne. It sometimes averts disasters, and comes when virtue fills the land," ⁶²⁾ and the name was also applied to all fine horses in general. Such legends as King Mu staying at Ch'ü-lo (曲洛) when he visited Huang-tsê (黃澤 "Yellow Moor"), and making the court musicians sing: "In the Yellow Pond, sand flows from the horses' mouths. In the Yellow Moor, jewels flow from the horses' mouths," ⁶³⁾ would also seem to derive from the idea of divine horses appearing out of the water.

Legends about water-gods, or the messengers of water-gods, appearing mounted on horses, particularly white horses, must also be considered to have some connection with this idea. The "chief of fishes," who is a species of water-gods, has a human form, goes on horseback with numerous fishes in his train, and has the power to cause floods. A man saw the god by the side of a river towards the end of the Han dynasty, and the god was mounted on a horse, his body, shaped like that of a great carp, was covered with scales, and only his hands and feet, ears and nose were like those of human beings.

59) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 435.

60) *Sou-shên-chi*, 6.

61) *Shan-hai-ching*, 8, *Hai-wai-pei-ching* (海外北經).

62) *Jui-ying-t'u*.

63) *Mu-t'ien-tzû-chuan*, 5.

After the man had been looking for some time, the god entered the river.⁶⁴⁾ In the *Shên-i-ching* we read:

“There is one in the Western Seas who rides a white horse with red manes, wearing a white garment and a black crown, and followed by twelve boys. The horse goes over the waters of the Western Seas as swift as the wind, and men call its rider the messenger of the river-prince. Sometimes he comes on land, water following wherever the horse goes, so that the countries he visits are inundated with rain. At nightfall, he returns to the river.”⁶⁵⁾

Horses and floods

The coming of this white horse with red manes is also supposed to be connected with the presence of enlightened rulers, and the appointment of wise men to important government posts.⁶⁶⁾ But the point to be noticed about this passage is the inundation by rain wherever the horse goes. In the 6th month of the 23rd year of the Yüan-chia (元嘉) era (A.D. 446), under the (Liu-)Sung dynasty, in P'ing-tu-hsien (平都縣), An-ch'êng, (安城), to the southeast of the present An-fu-hsien (安福縣) in Kiangsi province, a son of the family Yin (尹) aged thirteen was at home by himself, when a young man riding a white horse, with an umbrella spread over him, and followed by a man in a yellow garment, came from the east and entered the house. The boy looked at the young man's dress and saw that it had no stitches, the horse was dappled in five colours which resembled the scales of a fish, although the skin was covered with hair, and after a while, when it seemed about to rain, the party left the house and went west, gradually rising into the air and walking on it. The next day, the rivers flooded, the mountain valleys seethed, hills were covered with water, and a great *chiao*-dragon (dragon of the species which inhabit the earth, as opposed to the *lung*-dragons which inhabit the heavens) over 30 *ch'ih* long appeared, and was seen to cover the house of the family Yin, as though sheltering it.⁶⁷⁾ In the summer of the 1st year of the T'ien-chüan (天眷) era (A.D. 1138), during the reign of Emperor Hsi-tsung of the Chin dynasty, a dragon appeared out of the river Ya-shui (野水) in Hsi-chou (熙州), and remained three days, sometimes playing with a little child. A boy mounted on a white horse, and wearing a red dress and a band studded with precious stones, also appeared. A toad went before the horse, and the party vanished after about 3 hours. The people of the district flocked to see these sights. In the 7th month, the rivers flooded, and many houses were destroyed.⁶⁸⁾ There was also a horse in Ê-mei-hsien (峨眉縣) in Ssuch'uan province which was so swift that it seemed to fly. The inhabitants of the village where the horse lived, caught it and wounded

64) *Chung-hua-ku-chin-chu*, pt. 2, Shui-chü (水居).

65) *Shên-i-ching*, *Hsi-huang-ching* (西荒經).

66) *Jui-ying-t'u*.

67) *Sou-shên-hou-chi*, 10; *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 930.

68) *Madenokôji MS.* (cites *Ts'un-hsin-lu* 存心錄).

it in the leg, and threw it into a pond, when one evening, it thundered and rain came down in great quantities, causing a gap to open in a mountain, after which the thunderstorm ceased.⁶⁹⁾ In Japan, too, it used to be a custom, when praying for rain, to cut off a horse's head and throw it into a deep part of a river, or to present black horses to various shrines. There is also an ancient legend connected with the river Uma-kawa ("Horse River") in the district of Asai in Ōmi province, according to which a white horse was said to appear in time of flood and cause havoc among the people who passed by.⁷⁰⁾ All these stories seem to show that there is some connection between horses and water-gods, floods, wind and rain, and the ritual of praying for rain, and it is the present writer's purpose to treat of this question again in the following chapter on oxen and water-gods.

As we may see from such examples as a divine horse living in a cave on the south face of Mt. Po-li in the kingdom of Tokhara in Central Asia, and Yoshitsune's favourite steed, Usuzumi, or Tayûguro, appearing out of a cave at Tayûzaki, in the village of Futomi in Awa province,⁷¹⁾ it is not uncommon for fabulous horses to go in and out of underground caves, as well as through water. There is a stone cave 30 *li* to the north of the ancient I-ling-hsien (夷陵縣), now I-ch'ang-hsien (宜昌縣) in Hupei province. This cave is called Pai-ma-ch'uan (白馬穿 "White Horse Cave"), and about this cave we read in the *Shui-ching-chu*:

"Once a white horse appeared out of the cave and began to graze. A man pursued the horse into the cave, and going underground, found himself on coming out of it in Han-chung (漢中). A man in Han-chung once lost a horse, and going after it, came out of the mouth of this cave. The two places are several thousands of *li* apart."⁷²⁾

There is a legend similar to this in Japan. An ox is once said to have entered a large cave in Mt. Shiranuka, near the village of Higashi-dôri in the district of Shimokita in Mutsu province, and having vanished for a while, appeared in the village of Yokohama in Kamikita district, at a great distance from the first village, for which reason the place where the ox appeared is called Ushinozawa ("Ox Swamp").⁷³⁾ This particular form of superstition, known in Japan as *ushi-kukuri* ("ox-burrowing-underground"), is also to be found in the Malay peninsula,⁷⁴⁾ while there is a story in the *Konjaku-monogatari-shû*, in the section of stories about India, which tells how an ox once entered a stone cave and reached the abode of celestial beings.⁷⁵⁾ In

69) *T'a-ming I-t'ung-chih*, 72, Chia-ting-chou (嘉定州).

70) *Ōmi Yochishiryaku*, 85, Asai-gun 2, Nakano-mura, pt. 2, p. 269.

71) Yanagita, 1912, p. 163 (ed. 1942, p. 209).

72) *Shui-ching-chu*, 34, Chiang-shui (江水); cf. *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 435.

73) Yanagita, 1912, p. 55 (ed. 1942, p. 209).

74) Skeat, p. 250.

75) *Konjaku-monogatari-shû*, *Tenjiku-Shintan-no-bu*, 5, no. 31; *Uji-shûi-monogatari*, 13.

this connection, it should be remembered that, according to the old Chinese conception of the universe, these underground caves were themselves, as the fact of their being called *ti-mo* (地脉 “veins in the earth”) shows, considered as being in communication with the world of water underneath, for according to this Chinese conception, the earth is thought to be a large mass floating on the ocean, like an iceberg, as we may see from such words as Fu-chou (浮州 “floating continent”) and Fu-shan (浮山 “floating mountain”), and where the earth has crumbled in places, we have lakes, as well as what were known as *hai-yen* (海眼 “eyes of the sea”), or wells and so forth that led finally to the ocean.⁷⁶⁾ This idea of underground water communicating with the sea is also to be found everywhere in Japan, and Mr. Yanagita and Mr. Orikuchi have both pointed out the transition of the supposed seat of water-gods to rock caves. In the island of Iki, there is a legend about a beautiful woman from the water world who married one of the inhabitants, and who one day threw herself into a well in the grounds of the house where she lived, and so returned to the sea. The ceremony of *mizu-tori* (“drawing water”), annually performed at the Nigatsudô temple in Nara, is supposed to bring up the water of a pond in far-off Wakasa province, and traces of this form of superstition are to be found in all parts of Japan.⁷⁷⁾ Where water welled up from rocks in the depths of a valley, the spring was said to lead to Ryûgû, or Dragon Palace, beneath the sea and there seems to have been a tendency to regard such springs as something more mystic than water flowing along the surface of the earths, and to imagine them as being in communication with the seat of water divinities.⁷⁸⁾ The widespread saying in Japan that, water filling the foot-print of a horse is enough to serve as a home for innumerable *kappa*, is surely best understood when we connect it with this ancient belief concerning underground water.⁷⁹⁾

Returning to the question of divine horses in the water, materials for the study of the subject are to be found in places as far away as Central Asia and Indo-China. Among the remains of Buddhist art at Min-ui (“Thousand Buddhas”) near Kizil to the west of Kucha in Sinkiang province, paintings on the walls of a cave show sea-horses with wings and double tails, and the lower half of their bodies shaped like serpents, leaping out of the water de-

Water-horses of
Central Asia

76) “The Chinese have a peculiar idea concerning the earth. We read in Kuo P’o’s (郭璞) commentary on the *Shan-hai-ching* that, ‘The lake Tung-t’ing is a hole in the earth in Paling, Ch’ang-sha. There is at the present time Mount P’ao (包山) in the midst of the lake T’ai-hu (太湖) to the south of Wu-hsien (吳縣), at the foot of which is Tung-t’ing-hsüeh (洞庭穴 “Hole of Tung-t’ing”). It is said that, going beneath the water there, there is no point on earth which one may not reach. These subterranean passages are called *ti-mo* (“earth veins”).’”—Huang Chih-kang, pp. 140–141.

77) Orikuchi, 1930, pp. 1012–1015.

78) Yanagita, 1942, p. 70.

79) Orikuchi, 1930, p. 1010.

picted in blue (Fig. 4).⁸⁰⁾ Their forms and the manner of their representation, found in the Buddhist art of Central Asia and far away from the seas, clearly show them to be the Greek *hippocampi*. The *hippocampi* will be dealt with later in this book. Hsüan-chuang (玄奘), who passed through southern Sinkiang in the 7th century, has recorded among his writings a legend concerning a white water-horse which was then told among the people of that section of the country now called Khotan. According to his *Ta-t'ang hsi-yü-chi*, there was a large river to the southeast of the capital of the kingdom of Ch'ü-sa-tan-na (瞿薩旦那), the water of which was enough to irrigate the fields of the whole kingdom. Once the river suddenly ceased flowing at a certain point in its course, and on the king's questioning a monk as to the reason of this, the monk answered that it had been caused by a dragon. The king then offered prayers to the dragon of the river, when a woman appeared out of the water and bowed and said to the king, "My husband died prematurely, and I have no one to serve as my master, which is the reason why the river has ceased to flow, so causing distress to the farmers. If I may have your minister of state for my husband, the river will begin to flow again as before." So the king's minister put on a white dress, mounted a white horse and went into the river, and found that he did not sink though he was on the water. In midstream, he raised his whip and drew a line in the water, and the water parted, and he descended into the river-bed from there. After a while, the white horse reappeared, carrying a drum of candana-wood and a casket containing a letter. The letter said, "Hang this drum on the southeastern side of the citadel, and when enemies approach to attack the city, the drum will sound by itself." The river then began to flow again, greatly to the benefit of the inhabitants of the country.⁸¹⁾ There is also a legend about a Zoroastrian temple that stood in the middle of the River Oxus (Amu Daria). The god of this temple had arrived in those parts from Persia by means of his supernatural powers, and having shown many other signs of those powers, had had this temple erected to him. There was no image placed inside, the temple faced west, and the people worshipped facing east. There was also a bronze horse, which was supposed to have descended from heaven, and this horse, though its front legs were bent down in a kneeling position, still stood high enough in the air to face the god, while its hind legs, which were not bent, were buried deep in the ground. They stretched downward to a distance of several hundred *ch'ih*, and though many had tried digging round them from ancient times, no one had been able to reach the hoofs. There was also a golden-coloured horse which lived in the River Oxus, and this horse appeared out of the river once every year, and neighed in unison with the bronze horse, after which it promptly vanished into the water. Later, the

80) Grünwedel, S. 107, Fig. 237 b; S. 108, Fig. 238 b.

81) *Ta-t'ang hsi-yü-chi*, 12.

Ting Pu-ling of
Annam

King of the Saracens tried to destroy the temple, but fire came and burnt the soldiers, and so the king was forced to abandon the attempt.⁸²⁾ The legend concerning the hero Ting Pu-ling (丁部領), who conquered the twelve monarchs of Annam in the middle of the 10th century, has also much to do with beasts whose supernatural powers are traditionally connected with water, such as beavers, horses and dragons. Ting Pu-ling's mother had borne him after having intercourse with a giant otter by the side of a river. Sometime afterwards, the otter was caught by others and stewed, and its bones thrown away, but the woman secretly gathered them together and placed them above the oven in her house, and used to tell her son that his father was there. The child grew up to be most agile in his movements, and a great swimmer and diver, and called himself Ting Pu-ling. One day, a Chinese astrologer came from the north to Annam, and following a vein in the earth proper to dragons, arrived at the place where Ting Pu-ling lived. He consulted the heavens, and saw a crimson light which rose from the river, reaching up to the constellation of the Celestial Horse like a roll of silk. He knew from this sign that some divine being lived in the water, and sought good swimmers to search the bottom of the river. There was a spot in the river which had always been held sacred, and which no one dared to approach. Ting Pu-ling undertook to carry out the search, and reached the bottom of the river at that spot, where he found by groping something shaped like a horse standing on the river-bed. He returned to the surface, and reported his find to the astrologer, who told him to go down once more and place a bundle of grass in the horse's mouth. He did so, and on his coming up and telling him that it was done, the astrologer said, "It is as I thought. There is a hole," and promising to reward Ting Pu-ling richly later on, went away, nor did he come back for a long time. In the meantime, Ting Pu-ling who was naturally sagacious took down the bones above the oven and wrapped them with grass, and going down into the water, pushed them into the horse's mouth. The horse instantly ate them, and after this, people flocked to him and made him their leader. He was defeated in a battle with one of his uncles, and in his flight, became caught in a bog. His uncle approached to kill him, but saw two yellow dragons suddenly make their appearance as though to defend him, and so losing courage, the uncle fled in his turn. This served to increase the hero's prestige, and his army swelled in proportion. After a few years, the Chinese astrologer came back with his own father's bones, to put into the mouth of the horse in the river, so that he might gain honour and riches, but confronted with Ting Pu-ling's fame, and hearing what he had done to obtain it, the astrologer was filled with rage and spite, and told Ting Pu-ling that, if he should go into the water and place a sword on the horse's neck, he would come to conquer the whole kingdom. Ting Pu-ling

82) *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, 10, I-wu (異物).

believed this, and dived down and placed a sword on the horse's neck and returned. After this, he won every battle, assumed the title of the Ever Victorious King, and finally conquering all Annam, made himself emperor. But after a reign of 12 years, he was assassinated by his court servant Tu Shih (杜爽), and this was believed to be due to the horse's curse, incurred through placing a sword on its neck as the astrologer had deceitfully told him to do.⁸³⁾ This legend forms the subject of an article by Mr. Matsumoto Nobuhiro, entitled, *An Annamese variant of the legend of No-tal-ch'i*. It should be noticed that, whereas in the Annamese legend, the bones of the otter are put into the mouth of a horse under the water, in the Korean legend of No-tal-ch'i (老獺稚), the otter, the father of No-tal-ch'i, who was the father of the Chinese Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Ch'ing dynasty, has his bones hung by No-tal-ch'i on the left horn of a stone shaped like a crouching dragon at the bottom of a deep pool.⁸⁴⁾ We may see here an example of the horse motif taking the place of that of the dragon in folklore.

The material already cited, mainly from Chinese sources, clearly indicates a remarkable affinity between Chinese and Japanese folklore in regard to the idea of pasturing mares by the waterside to obtain fine horses, and in the matter of legends concerning divine horses which live in the water. If we turn back once more to the legend of the *kappa* trying to draw horses into the water, it is true that the *kappa* itself is a water-monster, the conception of which has developed along lines peculiar to Japan, but tales of supernatural beings in the water making similar attempts on horses, are to be found in China also. For instance, in the *Wu-yüeh-ch'un-ch'iu* attributed to Chao Hua (趙驩) of the Han dynasty, we read, "Tzū-hsü (子胥) says, Chiao Ch'iu-su (椒丘訴) was a superior man from Tung-hai. He went on an embassy for the King of Ch'i (齊) to the kingdom of Wu (吳), and crossed a ford in the River Huai. His horse was about to drink the water of the river, but the official in charge of the place said, 'There is a god in the water who, whenever he sees a horse, comes out to cause harm to it. So you must not let your horse drink here.' Su said, 'In the presence of a brave man, what god would dare to do such a thing,' and commanded his servant to let the horse drink. The water-god appeared, as the official said he would, seized the horse, and the horse vanished into the water. Chiao Ch'iu was filled with rage, stripped and, with his sword drawn, entered the water, sought out the water-god and a combat ensued between them. It went on for several days, after which Chiao Ch'iu came out, having been wounded in one eye. He then continued his journey to Wu, where he attended the funeral of one of his friends."⁸⁵⁾

The same story is given in the *Han-shih-wai-chuan*, where the water-

River-gods seek to draw horses into the water

83) Matsumoto, pp. 1012-1013 (cites *Kung-yü-chieh-chi* 公餘捷記, 5).

84) Imanishi, pp. 728, 731.

85) *Wu-yüeh ch'un-ch'iu*, 2, *Ho-lü-nei-chuan* (閩閩內傳), 4.

god is described as a *chiao*-dragon, and we read, “(the hero) killed three *chiao*-dragons and one *lung*-dragon, and came out of the water. Thunder and lightning followed him for ten days and ten nights, and blinded his left eye.”⁸⁶⁾ The story is also recorded in more or less the same form in the *Po-wu-chih*.⁸⁷⁾ The extraordinary legend that the Choryong-t’ae (釣龍台 “Dragon Fishing Terrace”) on the Paekma-kang (白馬江 “White Horse River”), the present Kùm-kang (錦江) in Puyō-hyōn (扶餘縣) in Korea, is the place where, during the expedition to Paekche (百濟) under Su Ting-fang (蘇定方) of the T’ang dynasty, a monster was seen to cause storms over the river, and to put an end to this, a dragon was fished up from it with a white horse for bait, is found in the *Tongkuk-yōchi-sūngnam*, written during the Li dynasty in Korea.⁸⁸⁾ The legend is of interest in that it shows the close relationship which exists between dragons and horses. During the reign of Emperor Ming of the Chin dynasty in China, a man was on his way to present a horse to the Emperor, when he dreamed that the god of the Huangho came to him and asked for the horse. He arrived at the capital, when it was found that both he and the Emperor had the same dream, and so the horse was thrown into the Huangho as a gift to the god.⁸⁹⁾ Here it is no longer a question of close association merely, but of actual sacrifice of horses to water-gods. King Mu of the Chou dynasty caused oxen, horses, pigs and sheep to be thrown into a river as a sacrifice to the river-god.⁹⁰⁾ The Second Emperor of the Ch’in dynasty, having dreamed of a white tiger killing the left one of the three horses that drew his chariot, was alarmed, and ordered astrologers to study the dream, when it was found that the river Ching-shui (涇水) was offended with the Emperor, and so prayers were offered to the River Ching at the palace Wang-i-kung (望夷宮), and four white horses were thrown into the river.⁹¹⁾ When Wang Tsun (王尊) was governor of Tung-chün (東郡) under the Han dynasty, the Huangho flooded, submerging the Chin dyke (金隄, in the northern part of Honan province), and those who dwelled along it, both young and old, ran about in fear of the dyke being pierced and the damage that this would occasion. Wang Tsun led the people in person in

Sacrifice of horses
to water-gods

86) *Han-shih-wai-chuan*, 10.

87) *Po-wu-chih*, 7, I-wen (異聞).

88) *Tongkuk-yōchi-sūngnam*, 18, p. 174; Yanagita, 1912, p. 92 (ed. 1942, p. 118).

89) “A man was on his way to present a horse to the Emperor Ming of the Chin dynasty, and had a dream in which the god of the Yellow River appeared and asked the man to give him the horse. On arriving at the Imperial Palace, the man found that the Emperor also had had the same dream, and so the horse was thrown into the Yellow River as an offering to the god. Ch’u Pao (褚褒), the Grand Tutor to the Heir-Apparent, wished to have the horse, too, but was told by the Emperor that it had already been offered to the river-god. After Ch’u’s death, soldiers saw him mounted on the horse.”—*I-yüan*; *T’ien-chung-chih*, 55.

90) *Mu-ñien-tzū-chuan*, 1.

91) *Shih-chi*, 6, *Ch’in-shih-huang pên-chi* (秦始皇本紀).

the fight against the water, sacrificed a white horse to the river-god and other water-gods, and slept on the Chin dyke, praying to the gods that he himself might be taken in return for the safety of the dyke being assured.⁹²⁾ In Huai-an-fu, Kiangsu Province, we read in the *Yüan-shih* that during the Chih-yüan (至元) era under the Yüan dynasty, when the Huangho pierced its dykes, T'ai Pu-hua (泰不華), at the command of the emperor, offered prayers to the river god, and sacrificed precious stones and white horses.⁹³⁾ We shall see later that the custom of sacrificing horses, particularly white horses, to water-gods and river-gods existed widely over the marginal portions of the old continent from ancient times, and a more recent example of this is reported to be found among the natives of Patagonia in South America.⁹⁴⁾ This custom might be regarded as a variation of the habit of sacrificing white horses to heaven, which was characteristic of the nomadic races that dwelled in the steppes of Inner Asia, and which took this new form when the horse made its appearance among the agricultural peoples. As Mr. Yanagita has pointed out, the legend of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water may also be regarded as having its remote origin in some ancient sacrificial custom. But such a change in the cultural history of mankind contains other questions which are not easily to be disposed of, and it is the present writer's purpose to postpone the solution of the problem until after more material from other parts of the world has been examined, and to proceed first to study the question of how it came about that there should exist such a close resemblance between the folklore of China and other countries along its borders, and that of Japan, in all that concerns horses and water-gods.

The first question that rises to one's mind is, whether the resemblance is due to the writings of the Chinese which were brought over to Japan. That such names as Ryû-ga-ike, Ryû-ga-zawa, Ryûme-ishi, and Rhyûme-ga-mine ("Dragon Pond," "Dragon Marsh," "Dragon-horse Stone," "Dragon-horse Mount") should be found all over the country in conjunction with the legends already mentioned, as well as the popular belief that fine horses are sired by dragons, would seem to confirm the idea to a certain extent. Words like *ryû* (dragon) and *ryû-me* (dragon-horse) were certainly imported from China (*ryû* < *lung*, *ryû-me* < *lung-ma*). But books such as those from which passages have been quoted above, were only read by the court nobles living in and round Kyôto, the capital, and it is doubtful whether they were read at all before the Ashikaga period (A.D. 1336-1573). It is hard to think that a group of ideas, having their origin in the reading of a limited class of people living round Kyôto, at a comparatively late period in the history of the country, should be so widely diffused as to be found in the identical form in the remotest

Importation of
Chinese books

92) *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 76, *Chao-Yin Han-Chang liang-wang-chuan* (趙尹韓張兩王傳).

93) *Yüan-shih*, 143, *T'ai Pu-hua-chuan* (泰不華傳); *Huai-an-fu-chih*, 1884, 40.

94) *GB*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 16.

parts of the Japanese Islands. It would seem more likely that, besides this limited intercourse between the intellectual classes, communication was kept up between the people of the two countries in a more general form, such as trading, and that this had the attendant effect of bringing about an intermingling of the two cultures. Or perhaps, the peculiar relationship between horses and water-gods might already have had its place in the popular beliefs of the Japanese people, as forming a part of a basic culture stratum common to the two countries, prior to our acquaintance with the Chinese civilization, and it is for this very reason that conceptions imported from China like that of the dragon-horse were easily assimilated by the Japanese, and gave birth to such place-names as have already been mentioned. To obtain the solution to this problem, we must now extend the field of our inquiry to zones beyond that of Chinese culture.

Western and north-
western parts of
China

The present writer, in quoting the material obtained from Chinese sources, has endeavoured to give, so far as it was possible, not only the period in which the works in question were composed, but also the localities where the legends given originated. The reader must have noticed that the group of ideas concerning horses and water-gods often occurs in such provinces as Kueichou, Ssüch'uan, Ch'inghai, Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, Suiyüan, Sinkiang, or the western parts and northwestern borders of China, and the area stretching still further west to Central Asia. The two rivers of Yü-wu and Wu-wa, out of which celestial horses made their appearance during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, are supposed to have been then located in Ordos and Kansu respectively,⁹⁵⁾ and today, by the side of the Yüeh-yach'üan (月芽泉 "Moon-bud-spring"), to the north of Tun-huang (敦煌), there even stands a stone monument bearing the characters Wu-wa-ch'ih (*ch'ih*=pond). T'u-ku-hun (吐谷渾) of the time of Sui and T'ang dynasties in China, where a mare was let loose into the lake Ch'inghai and bore the Dapple of Ch'inghai, is situated near the present Ch'inghai or Kuku-nor. Tien-ch'ih, out of which divine horses are said to have appeared from ancient times to cover the mares of the inhabitants, siring foals that grew into fine horses, has been shown to be either the present lake K'un-ming-hu in Yunnan, or a river in Huai-li-hsien in Ssüch'uan province.⁹⁶⁾ The kingdom of Ch'ü-sa-tan-na, about which Hsüan-chuang records the legend that a white horse bearing a drum of candana-wood once came out of a river there, is thought to be the present Khotan region in southern Sinkiang. This makes it all the more interesting that to the northeast of the place, in a cave near Kizil in the Tarim basin, there should be found depicted the Greek *hippocampi*, borne on the tide of hellenistic culture into such a remote part of the Asiatic continent. Again, the story of the horse which appeared out of the River

95) Cf. note 57.

96) Cf. *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'ü-tien*.

Oxus every year to neigh in unison with the bronze horse before the fire-god temple, takes place in Western Turkestan, while the kingdom of Tokhara in which was situated Mt. Po-li, where noble horse that sweated blood were sired by a divine horse living in a cave, is located on the northeastern border of Persia. In this connection it is of interest to find that in the regions of Kashmir, on the eastern border of the then kingdom of Tokhara, the *motif* of a water-horse covering a mare, and the mare bearing a magic horse in consequence, is preserved even today among the inhabitants in the following story:

Sea-stallion

Once, a *fakir* who had a wise parrot, was forced by his wife to go out and sell it. He came to the sea-shore, and there, letting loose the parrot and the mare he was riding, he lay down for the night. While the *fakir* slept, an animal that looked like a *zalgur* ("horse of the river") appeared out of the water, covered the mare, and returned to the sea. The parrot saw all this, but told no one. The *fakir* meanwhile arrived at the capital, and the king agreed to buy the parrot from him for 10,000 rupees. Before parting from his old master, the parrot makes the *fakir* promise to present to the king the first foal borne by the mare. After a while the parrot incurs the displeasure of the king's favourite mistress, and is about to be killed, but the parrot asks for a delay of six days, and flies to an island in the sea where he becomes the pet of a beautiful princess, whom he persuades the king to marry on his return. The king asks the parrot the way to the island, and the parrot causes the first foal borne by the *fakir's* mare to be sought for, mounted on which, the king arrives at the sea-shore. The horse then gallops over the water as easily as on land, and carries the king without mishap to the island, where the king marries the princess. On their way back, the king goes to sleep on a desert island against the advice of the parrot, as a result of which the king has both the princess and the horse taken away from him. But the parrot is equal to the occasion, and through his ingenuity, the king recovers the princess and the horse, and so all return safely to the capital.⁹⁷⁾

It is interesting to note that a *motif* very similar to this is found in the *Thousand Nights and One Night*, that vast repository of folklore of the Saracen civilization which extended its influence to the regions of Tokhara, a work comparable for its scope and richness with the Chinese novel, the *Hsi-yu-chi*. The story in question occurs in the 1st voyage of Sindbad, when, mistaking the back of a gigantic fish for an island, he lands on it and lights a fire, which causes him to be thrown off the back of the fish into the sea. He is then cast up on King Mihrjan's island, and while he stands wondering at a mare tethered by the sea-shore, a groom of the royal stables appears and takes Sindbad to an underground hiding-place, where he tells Sindbad the following story:

The Thousand
Nights and One
Night

97) Knowles, pp. 312-320.

“Every month, about new-moon tide we bring hither our best mares which have never been covered, and picket them on the sea-shore and hide ourselves in this place under the ground, so that none may espy us. Presently the stallions of the sea scent the mares and come up out of the water and seeing no one, leap the mares and do the will of them. When they have covered them, they try to drag them away with them, but cannot, by reason of the leg-ropes; so they cry out at them and butt at them and kick them, which we hearing, know that the stallions have dismounted; so we run out and shout at them, whereupon they are startled and return in fear to the sea. Then the mares conceive by them and bear colts and fillies worth a mint of money, nor is their like to be found on earth’s face.”

When the groom has proceeded so far with his story, the stallion appears out of the sea, and springing on the mare, covers her. Then, just as the groom had told Sindbad, the stallion tries to take the mare with him into the water, and being prevented from doing so by the leg-rope attached to the mare, begins butting and crying at her. Hearing the noise, the groom rushes out of the hiding-place, taking a sword and buckler with him, and striking the buckler with his sword, calls to his comrades, who also appear making great cries and brandishing their spears. This frightens the stallion, causing him to plunge into the sea, and disappear under the waves “like a buffalo.”⁹⁸⁾ Burton commenting on this story says that the myth of the “sea-stallion” may have “arisen from the Arab practice of picketing mare asses to be covered by the wild ass.”⁹⁹⁾ According to Colonel J. D. Watson of the Bombay Army, it seems that the wild ass, *Equus onager*, still breeds among the islands formed during the rainy season at the mouth of the River Kachch (or Cutch), on the west coast of India, and Colonel Watson suggests that Sindbad may have been cast up on one of those islands.¹⁰⁰⁾ It is a fact that the practice of picketing domesticated female animals to be covered by wild males so as to strengthen the breed, is not confined to asses, and prevails also among the nomadic races who keep reindeer in Northern Asia, like the Chukchi, Yakut and the Northern Tungus.¹⁰¹⁾ By the shores of Kuku-nor, famous from of old for the legend of keeping mares to bear foals sired by dragon-horses, great herds of wild asses, called by the natives *yeh-ma* (“wild horses”), are to be seen even today,¹⁰²⁾ while the district of Fergana or the kingdom of Ta-yüan where it

Wild males and
domesticated
females

98) Burton, vol. 6, pp. 8-9.

99) *ibid.*, p. 9, note 3.

100) *ibid.*, p. 9, note 3.

101) Koppers, 1932, S. 185 f.

102) Dr. W. Filchner who has made frequent trips to these regions says, in a recent record of his travels, that he saw great herds of these “wild horses” there (Filchner, 1938), and Dr. Anderson who, on a journey undertaken a little earlier, came as far as Ch’inghai (Kuku-nor) and there saw these animals for the first time, describes his experiences as follows:

“On July 28th (1923) we left our first camp at the Kuku-nor in order to begin our projected journey round the lake. In the morning we already had a glimpse of the principal

big game of the Kuku-nor area, the wild ass or *kiang*, called *yeh ma* by the Chinese. To call this animal a wild ass is somewhat misleading, for it is very much larger, reminding us rather of a wild mule. Neither is it really a wild horse, for its head is undeniably asinine."—Andersson, 1934, p. 228.

But perhaps both Filchner and Andersson overlooked a passage in the authoritative record of the travels of Prejevalsky, the zoologist who explored these regions during the second half of the last century. Prejevalsky says in his work that, "The most remarkable animal of the steppes of Kuku-nor is the wild ass or *kulan*, called *djang* by the Tangutans (*Equus kiang*), in size and external appearance closely resembling the mule," and proceeds to give a detailed description of the shape, colour, size, habits and the area of distribution of the animal.—Prejevalsky, vol. 2, p. 146 ff. Haslund also wrote in 1927 of the wild ass, *khulan*, he met while traversing the Khara Gobi on his way from Etsingol to Hami that, "In size and build they reminded one of big ponies, but their ears and tails were those of the ass" (Haslund, p. 152), and the question of size stressed by Andersson cannot serve as a zoological standard in distinguishing between horses and asses. However, although Prejevalsky considers the *kulan* and the *djang* (*kiang*) to be the same animal, some scholars distinguish between them (Brehm, Bd. 12 [*Säugetiere*, Bd. 3], S. 669), and it is now usual to classify them respectively as *Equus hemionus hemionus* and *Equus hemionus kiang* as belonging to two different sub-species. The latter inhabits the Trans-Himalayan regions, whereas the animals found near Kuku-nor are supposed to belong to the former sub-species. The word *kiang* is the equivalent to the Tangutan *djang* mentioned by Prejevalsky, and according to Yule, *kulan* seems to be a word of Eastern Turkish origin. Pallas was the first to classify the *kulan* scientifically, and it was he who gave it the name *Equus hemionus*. The sub-species, then, of the genus *Equus* which are known to exist in Central Asia today are:

- 1) *Equus caballus przewalskii*
- 2) *Equus hemionus hemionus*
- 3) *Equus hemionus kiang*

Of these 1 is a horse, and 2 and 3 are asses belonging to different sub-species, the *kulan* living in herds in Ch'inghai today being asses of the 2nd sub-species. During Prejevalsky's journey, great herds of the *Equus przewalskii* seem to have been met with in the steppes near Lop-nor in Southern Sinkiang, but rare in Western Tsaidam in Ch'inghai.—Prejevalsky, vol. 2, p. 170. There are some records which describe the *kulan* as being even larger than the *Equus przewalskii*, and the Mongols, regarding these animals as a kind of horse, consider it a sin to hunt them (Haslund, p. 193), while it seems that sometimes, horses kept by the Mongols run away from the herd and join the wild *kulan*.—*ibid.*, p. 192. But according to Prejevalsky's observation, the *kulan* live in more or less clearly defined harem groups, each centring round a stallion, so that it is a question whether a strange mare from the herds of domesticated horses would be so easily admitted into such a group. (The greater part of the above note was written mainly through the assistance of Mr. Umesao Tadao).

Cf. J. G. Andersson, 1932, for further information concerning the wild horses and wild asses of Central Asia. It has also been shown by Prof. Egami Namio that the ancient nomadic peoples like the *Hsiung-nu* may quite possibly have captured wild horses and wild asses and added them to their herds of cattle.—Egami, pp. 193–217. In Li Fei's commentary on the passage about a horse appearing out of the River Wu-wa in the autumn of the 4th year of Yüan-ting era, in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 6, we read: "Pao Li-ch'ang (暴利長) lived in Nan-yang Hsin-yeh (南陽新野). He was sent as a colonist to Tun-huang for an offence during the reign of the Emperor Wu. He saw herds of wild horses by this river, among which was one that differed from the rest, and which came to drink in company with other horses of the common variety. Li-ch'ang sent men with a halter to the riverside, and made them practise throwing it at the horse from behind for a long time. He then took the halter himself and captured the horse, and sent it as a present to the Emperor. He wished to give the impression that the horse was of a divine nature, and said that it had appeared out of the water."

This may indicate that wild horses were at one time actually captured in this manner, and that the best among them were so much prized that they were considered as being of mystic origin. During the ages in which wild horses were found in great numbers in the steppes of the Asiatic continent, crossing domesticated mares with them may also have been widely practised.

is said that five-coloured mares were placed at the foot of a mountain to bear afterwards foals sired by the divine horse that sweated blood is a region known for its breed of fine horses that has played an important part in the improvement in the stock of Chinese horses. These facts would seem to show that these legends of water-horses and foals sired by divine stallions, to be found over a wide area stretching from Eastern to Southwestern Asia, owe at least a part of their origin to such customs of nomadic tribes as have already been described. But we must next seek for the reason why in this type of legends, either the stallions live in the water, or it is the water-spirits who play the part of stallions. Even if it is true that these legends arose simply from the custom of pasturing horses by the water-side, there is nothing to deny the possibility of there being something more than the actual technical advantages to be gained from such a procedure, some magical or religious significance, to be sought for behind the custom itself. To solve this question, we must extend the field of our investigation, and consider in general the close relationship which exists between horses and water.

**The Caucasus
etc.**

The mountainous regions of the Caucasus, lying between the Caspian Sea on the east and the Black Sea on the west, so forming a boundary between the two cultural spheres of Europe and the Orient, have early attracted the attention of scholars as the place where ancient races, languages and cultures have intermingled, and been preserved in that state. It also happens to be a region where horses are more loved and esteemed than anywhere else in the world, and perhaps also owing to the fact of the place being near the sea, there are many legends concerning divine horses of the sea to be formed there. For instance, in Georgia, there is a legend about a hero who goes through all kinds of trials in his quest of a divine horse which lives on the summit of a mountain that rises above the sea, another in which the hero mounted on a water-horse he obtained at the bottom of the sea, fights with a dragon and rescues the "Beautiful Golden Maiden," and another of Rashi, the winged horse, and how he helps the hero bring from the bottom of the sea some of the fine horses that live in the sea. Rashi is a horse that appears often in Georgian folklore, usually serving as the mount for the hero of the St. George type who kills serpents to obtain a magic apple-tree, or rescues a princess who is about to be sacrificed to a dragon. In the legend just mentioned of the capture of horses living in the sea, Rashi tells the hero, who is about to undertake a journey to the bottom of the sea, to empty a pail of oil into the water. If this causes the sea to become covered with foam, it is a sign that the horse from above has joined the horses of the sea, and will succeed in bringing them up to the shore. The sign is seen; and one of his horses, a red steed that had been bred by demons, becomes invisible and succeeds in carrying the hero down to the kingdom of the subterranean world. In another of these legends, the only spring of water in a subterranean kingdom is in the

Rashi, the winged
horse

possession of a dragon, who will not permit anyone to draw water from the spring unless a beautiful maiden is sacrificed to it every day. The hero mounted on Rashi, who in this legend is a red horse, penetrates to the kingdom, kills the dragon, and rescues the king's daughter whose turn it was to be sacrificed that day.¹⁰³⁾ In this type of legend the water-god represented by the dragon is placed in opposition to the horse, a theme which is often encountered in the folklore of the Indo-European peoples and elsewhere,¹⁰⁴⁾ and which in itself offers many interesting problems.

Among the Scythians, that ancient race of horsemen who dominated the plains of South Russia immediately to the north of the Caucasus, a deity called Anāhita after the manner of the Iranians, and having a fish for its symbol, presided over water and also horses. As a charm against the evil eye, the Scythians hung oblong strips of gold in the form of sturgeons on the foreheads of their horses. These gold effigies of fishes have been excavated over a wide area, from the banks of the Oxus in Turkestan in the east to Ukraine and Bulgaria in the west, the oldest of them dating back to the 5th century B.C. Those that have been so far discovered are ten in number, of which three were found on the heads of buried horses.¹⁰⁵⁾ A bronze pendant discovered in Perm to the west of the Urals, on the upper stream of the River Kama in East Russia, represents in a debased form the *motif* of the gold effigies of fish, and it is estimated that a period of from 2 to 5 centuries separates these effigies from their degenerate copies.¹⁰⁶⁾ But among the Permian finds which show more clearly the characteristics of the local culture before it received the influence of Scythio-Sarmatian art, we find a curiously-shaped idol(?) also in the form of a pendant, which seems to represent the union of horses and water.¹⁰⁷⁾ From either shoulder of the central figure, a horse's head curves upward in an arc, so that the horse's heads face each other, while water falls in waves from the arms held rigidly akimbo (Fig. 2). Such symbols of flowing water often accompany images of deities in Mexico and the Orient, and this Permian idol, and the Anāhita deity of the Scythians also, probably show the influence of Oriental mythology coming up from the south.

In Armenia in the Caucasus, too, there exists a legend of Iranian origin

103) Phalipau, p. 176-177.

104) Negelein, 1903, S. 347.

105) Tallgren, 1928, pp. 75-76, Fig. 2-4.

106) *ibid.*, pp. 77-79, Fig. 6, 7. "This divergence of time has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for: the difference in time between the models and their descendants is about 200-500 years. Either the Permian group is older than we now believe, or else the 'fish,' for instance, has lived on the Siberian steppes longer than our present information shows. In any case, the genetic connection is beyond all doubt. It is left to students of folklore and mythology to show whether in the Ob-Ugrian area conceptions exist which bears some relation to the Iranian water-deity."—*ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

107) *ibid.*, p. 68, Fig. 10; p. 69.

Anāhita

A Permian idol

Islamic culture and sea-stallions

in which the hero, Burzi, in his struggle with the "flame-horse" who appears out of the sea and kills all the horses in the royal pasture, overcomes the horse by means of the bridle of his dead horse, marries the king's daughter, and becomes his heir,¹⁰⁸⁾ while the Kurds, a semi-nomadic race who inhabit Southern Kurdistan, also have a legend among them in which a magic stallion appears out of the sea. In this legend, as told in the epic poem of Soth Osman, his steed is a sea-stallion whose speed is such that eagles and wild ducks in their flight cannot compete with him, and the Sultan wishes so much to obtain possession of the horse, that he causes the hero to be beheaded in the end. As we have seen in the Kashmir story of the parrot, and the tale of Sindbad in the *Thousand Nights and One Night*, legends of sea stallions abound in Islamic folklore, and the theme of this epic poem too, as well as many other legends of the Kurds, must have been received from the Arabs, or at any rate, the Islamic peoples to the south.¹⁰⁹⁾ But the fact that the association of horses with water in Southwestern Asia dates back to a far older period than the rise of Islamic civilization, may be gathered from a picture of a boat used by the ancient Assyrians, with the prow shaped like a horse's head and the stern in the form of the tail of a fish, which was discovered in the palace of Sargon of approximately 700 B.C. (Fig. 3).¹¹⁰⁾ A boat with the prow shaped like a horse's head appears in ancient Roman sculpture also,¹¹¹⁾ but it is of still greater interest to note that large, flat-bottomed ferry-boats used on the River Tsangpo in Tibet carry even today a wooden beam carved in the likeness of a horse's head fixed on the prow, and that these boats are called by the natives "wooden horses."¹¹²⁾ Coincidences of this nature found in regions so far apart, leave us no room for doubt as to their being due to some deep-rooted idea concerning the relationship between horses and water. Descending south from Tibet to the fertile plains of India, there is an account in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* of how, at the wedding of the sage Richika, Varuṇa, the god of the water-world, supplied the bride's father with the thousand fleet white horses which the latter had demanded.¹¹³⁾ This story is not unconnected with the Greek and Roman legends of Poseidon-Neptunus, with which we shall deal later, and we are now obliged to shift the field of our inquiry from Asia to Europe.

An oriental saying compares the rapid passing of time to a white horse leaping, seen through a cleft in a wall, and prior to the invention of the steam engine, horses must have certainly been the fastest means of travel available

Prows in the form
of horses' heads

The god Varuṇa

**The Finnic
peoples**

108) Chalatianz, S. 152.

109) Phalipau, p. 177.

110) Howey, p. 148.

111) *ibid.*, p. 147.

112) Waddel, p. 310.

113) Dowson, p. 338.

to man. That being the case, the present writer now proposes, like the mounted nomads of ancient times, to urge his steed in one momentous rush from one extremity of the Eurasian continent to the other, and to appear by the shores of the Baltic Sea, whence he will descend gradually southwards and explore the continent's western borders.

In Finland, first of all, a country rich in folklore occupying the north-western corner of the European continent, knights of old, in order to obtain a fine steed and gain the necessary qualifications for becoming its master, had to bathe three times, once in a spring, then in the dew on the fields, and the third time in the dew lying on pastures.¹¹⁴⁾ Here again we see a relationship established between divine horses and the power of water. The sea, rivers, lakes and marshes of this country are the domain of a water-spirit called the Näkki. He is usually seen in human form, but sometimes assumes the shape of a man with the legs of a horse, and drags men and beasts, particularly horses, as in the case of the Japanese *kappa*, into the water.¹¹⁵⁾ At other times, he appears in the form of a dog with a long beard, or a gigantic he-goat with a bag of netting hanging from the horns, or a tree-trunk, or a log of wood, only the tree-trunk or log of wood differs from others in that it has an eye as large as a plate, manes growing along the back. It may also assume the appearance of a tree that has fallen into the water, and as soon as someone climbs on it, it disappears under water, carrying the person with it.¹¹⁶⁾ Among the Esthonians, the Näkki, besides taking the form of a human being, is also said to appear in the form of a white or grey foal. The foal runs about the water-side and entices children to get on its back, and when they do, immediately rushes back into the sea.¹¹⁷⁾ Among the Livonians, a people who are found living today only in twelve villages at the extremity of Cape Kurland (Kuolka) in Lithuania, we also find legends of the Näkki taking the form of a horse and luring children into the water, and of sea-horses appearing on the beach and chasing people who struck or otherwise annoyed them, besides stories of people who have seen these horses swimming about in the sea.¹¹⁸⁾

Näkki, the water-spirit

Although the Näkki legend is found over a wide area stretching from Finland and Esthonia to Karelia, the spirit itself often occupying a prominent position among the water-deities, the original water-god of the Finno-Ugric peoples seems to have been of human form, the horse-shaped Näkki being, together with the name, an importation from the Germanic peoples of Scandinavia.¹¹⁹⁾ The origin of the names, Neck, Nökke, Nikur, Nennir, Hnikur, etc.,

The Germanic peoples

114) Phalipau, p. 257.

115) Holmberg, 1913, S. 197.

116) *ibid.*, S. 194.

117) *ibid.*, S. 161 f.; Holmberg, 1927, p. 202.

118) Loorits, p. 42.

119) Holmberg, 1913, S. 191 f.

by which this water-god is called among the Germanic peoples, is not clear. Some consider them to be derived from an ancient Norse word for river-horse, while others connect them with Nanna, the name of a goddess,¹²⁰⁾ or with Nicholas, the Christian saint.¹²¹⁾ This water-spirit appears by the sea-shore in the form of a beautiful dapple-grey stallion, but one can recognize the spirit by the fact that the hoofs all point backwards towards the tail. Should anyone place himself on its back, it at once dives into the water and drowns him. But it seems that it was also possible to capture the horse and set it to work for a while by certain means, and in Morlanda, in Bahus in Southern Sweden, a wise man once made the horse plough all his fields by employing a special kind of bridle, but by chance the bridle came off, and it is said that the Näkki at once rushed back into the lake, drawing the plough with it. There is a similar legend in Germany, according to which a great black horse once appeared out of the sea, which a farmer caught and attached to his plough. The horse started to draw along the plough with vigour, when in the next instant, both the plough and the farmer were dragged headlong into the sea.¹²²⁾

Hoofs pointing
backward

The fact that the Näkki, as many demons in the Indo-European countries, has hoofs pointing backward is of special interest in that it has its counterpart in Chinese legends, the monster *shan-ts'ao* (山獠, 山臊), *shan-shao* (山魃), or *shan-ching* (山精), half-ape and half-man, which lives in the mountains being described as "having one foot pointing backward," or "one foot with the heel in front."¹²³⁾ This conception seems to be of considerable antiquity, since already in the *Shan-hai-ching* there occur such passages as:

"The country of Hsiao-yang (臯陽) lies to the west of the Pei-chü (北胥). The inhabitants of this country have human faces with long lips. They have black bodies covered with hair, and *their heels are placed in front of their feet*. When they see a human being laugh, they laugh also. They wield a tube in their left hand."—10, *Hai-nei-nan-ching* (海內南經).

"In the south live the giants of Kan (贛). They have human faces with

120) Grimm, 1876, Bd. 1, S. 405.

121) Anichkof, pp. 115-116. Anichkof says: "In Germany millers throw different things into the water on the 6th of December, St. Nicolas' Day, as an offering to the water-deity. In Northern countries millers are particularly afraid of a certain deity Neck. Besides Nicor and Neck, who remind us of St. Nicolas as a sea-monster, the very name of Nicolas is used in a similar signification, but only in its diminutives. For instance, in Germany the sea-deity is sometimes called Nickel or Nickelmann, and in England Old Nick is a familiar name of Evil Spirit. . . ."

"Artemis of Ephesos, as most sea-deities, is sometimes represented on horseback; so is also sometimes St. Nicolas, he being a patron of horses.

"After all that has been said, we may, I think, draw the conclusion that the Christian cult of St. Nicolas has, as a whole, replaced that of Artemis of Ephesos."

122) Grimm, 1876, Bd. 1, S. 405 f.; Keightley, p. 162.

123) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 428; *Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu*, 51; *Hsin-ch'i-hsieh*, Hsü (續), 5.

long lips, and black bodies covered with hair. *Their heels are placed in front of their feet.* They laugh when they see a human being laugh, so that their faces become completely covered by their lips, and this makes it possible to run away from them."—18, *Hai-nan-ching* (海南經).

The Näkki is sometimes thought to assume the form of a horse when beneath water, and that of a beautiful boy or young man when above, and is also said to be seen at times sitting on the cliffs in the shape of an old man, wringing the water out of his long beard. But it is in this last form that the chief deity himself, Odin or Wodan, is often represented in the Icelandic sagas,¹²⁴⁾ and when we think of the relationship already mentioned as being supposed to exist between Nikur, the water-spirit, and St. Nicholas, and that Hnikur is one of the appellations of Odin in the *Eddas*,¹²⁵⁾ it would seem that we have a series of new problems hitherto overlooked.¹²⁶⁾ Again, the conception of Odin or his Valkyries speeding across the sky on horseback, has that in it which makes one think of the terrifying aspect of rain-clouds rushing on in a storm, and perhaps has something to do with the belief among the inhabitants of Amstetten in Lower Austria, that sometimes they see a giant astride on a white horse on the summits of mountains, and that it never fails to rain afterwards.¹²⁷⁾ This question will be discussed further in the next chapter, together with kindred Chinese legends of someone appearing mounted on a white horse, causing abundant rain to follow.

Apart from the examples already given, legends of water-spirits appearing in the form of horses are to be found in various parts of Germany such as Silesia, Pomerania, Westphalia, and Bavaria, besides Austria, Switzerland, England and France.¹²⁸⁾ When a band of soldiers were sent out to seize the Lorelei, she cast a spell on them so that they found themselves unable to move, and causing the waves to rise as high as the rock on which she was sitting, she called up a sea-green chariot drawn by horses with white manes from the bottom of the river, and taking her place in this, vanished underneath the waves,

124) Keightley, p. 148.

125) *ibid.*, p. 162.

126) From the ethnological point of view, Odin and St. Nicolas both possess characteristics that remind us strongly of secret societies, and if a common link can be found between these two and Näkk, the water-horse, as to their names and other characteristics, it may serve as a clue to the study of the nature of water-spirits in the form of horses, as well as of the complex of beliefs associating the horse with wind and rain, spirits of the dead, the nether regions, etc., and we hope to take some other opportunity to enter into a detailed discussion of the question.

127) Jähns, 1872, Bd. 1, S. 277 (cit. by Negelein, 1902, S. 24). Wodan and the Valkyries both have the power to carry away the spirits of the dead. The harpy, the female monster in the form of a horse in Greek mythology, who rules over tempests, has points of similarity with the Valkyries.—Negelein, *loc. cit.*

128) Steller, S. 1635; Panzer, S. 131.

never again to appear in human sight.¹²⁹⁾ The black horse which carried Dietrich von Bern, the hero of a mediaeval German legend, to hell, is also said to have appeared out of the sea.¹³⁰⁾ The idea of a black horse in this case, and that of hell, both contain much matter that calls for inquiry, while legends of dapple grey horses appearing out of the water and covering mares belonging to the inhabitants,¹³¹⁾ form a significant counterpart to Oriental legends of divine horses coming out of the water to cover mares. Turning now to Scotland, the sombre lochs of that country harbour a species of water-horse known widely as *kelpies*. Men can tell the approach of a *kelpie* by the terrible sound of its neighing, and those who have seen one cannot escape the fate of drowning soon after. The *kelpies* themselves drag men into the water, break up boats, and indulge in all kinds of other mischief.¹³²⁾ Sometimes the *kelpie* assumes the form of a beautiful young man and wins the love of mortal maidens, but as soon as any doubt arises in the mind of the maiden as to the identity of her lover, the *kelpie* reveals itself in its true form and drowns her in a marsh, river or well.¹³³⁾ In the Scotch Highlands also lives a monster called the Boobrie. This monster has its abode underneath the water like the *kelpie*, and has the power to change itself into three different forms, horse, bull, and bird. About this water-monster is told the following legend, of the same type as those just cited from Swedish and German folklore:

Scotland

Kelpies

The Boobrie, etc.

On the banks of Loch Freisa in the northern part of the island of Mull, on the west coast of Scotland, a tenant and his son were ploughing some land so hard that they had to use four horses. Early one morning, one of the horses cast a shoe. They were nine miles from a smithy, and the nature of the ground made it impossible for a horse to draw the plough with one hoof unshod. Just then, they saw a horse grazing by the loch, and at the suggestion of the son, they decided to enlist its services for the time being, and caught it and attached it to the plough. The horse seemed to be quite used to the work, drawing first uphill, then down again without mishap, until they came to the end of the furrow close to the loch. Here the tenant tried to turn the horses again, upon which the borrowed one became a little restive, causing the farmer to use the whip, though only lightly. But as soon as the thong touched the horse, it changed itself into a monstrous bird, for this horse was in fact the Boobrie, and uttering a cry that appeared to shake the earth, plunged into the loch, carrying the other three horses and the plough with it.¹³⁴⁾

In the same Highlands, we find another legend of the water-horse, with

129) Howey, p. 146.

130) Steller, S. 1634.

131) Simrock, S. 469.

132) Grimm, Bd. 3 (*Nachtr.*), S. 142.

133) Howey, p. 145.

134) *ibid.*, pp. 145-146 (*Campbell of Islay MSS.*).

a *motif* of the swan-maiden system :

A beautiful black water-horse once lived in the pond of Poll nan Craobhan, by the banks of the River Spey, appearing from time to time to cover mares grazing by the pond, and whenever it succeeded in decoying anyone to mount on its saddled back, immediately leaping into the pond and so drowning him. A daring man, following the instructions of a witch, once covered himself with the skin of a dappled cow and approached the water-horse after nightfall, and suddenly springing up, took off its bridle. In this way, the horse being deprived of its power, was forced to work for the man, who in a short time became exceedingly rich. After some years, while the man and his wife were out, their only daughter came across the bridle and saddle hidden in a corner of the kitchen, upon which, wishing to go out riding, she put them on the black horse. The horse neighed with joy, and no sooner was the girl in the saddle than it galloped away, to disappear into the deepest part of a lochan which was said to be bottomless.¹³⁵⁾

There is also a story in Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, told by an old man living on the island of Raasay, according to which a water-horse that dwelled in the lochs once caught a man's daughter and devoured her. So then the man lighted a great fire and put a spit in it, and hid himself nearby, leaving a sow to roast on the fire. The smell attracted the monster, and on its approaching the fire, the man took up the red-hot spit and destroyed the monster.¹³⁶⁾

A point of special interest in this story is the use of a spit to overcome the monster. The practice of putting into the water pieces of metal, particularly iron, and various objects made of metal while bathing, as a charm against the Näkki, is found widely in Finland, Esthonia and Sweden, where also, people often bathe with a knife in their mouths, or leave a knife on the shore with its edge turned towards the water, during the time they are in it. When horses, the favourite prey of the Näkki, are being bathed, metal objects are also thrown into the water, or a fire-steel is attached to the tail, or a bell hung on the horse's neck. This is particularly so in the case of unshod horses, since shod ones are believed by some to be safe from the attacks of the Näkki.¹³⁷⁾ The Scandinavians place a knife at the bottom of the boat when they go out to sea, or set a nail in a reed. The following incantation is used against the Näkki in Norway:

Nyk, Nyk, nail in water !
The Virgin Mary casteth steel in water !
Do you sink, I flit !¹³⁸⁾

135) MacDougall and Calder, pp. 308-319.

136) Boswell, pp. 153-154.

137) Holmberg, 1913, pp. 197-198; 1927, pp. 205-206.

138) Keightley, pp. 148-149; Holmberg, 1913, p. 199. In Finland, when one is entering the water, the words, "The Näkk is as heavy as iron, I am as light as a leaf," are added after reciting the words of the charm against the Näkk, and the opposite, "I am as heavy as iron, the Näkk is as light as a leaf," recited while drawing out knives etc. planted in the water, on coming up to land.—Holmberg, S. 198.

One is reminded here of the fact that the *kappa* and other Japanese water-spirits also hold anything made of iron in abhorrence. There is a legend of a *kappa* who failed in an attempt to lure a horse into the water, and being spared its life by the man who caught it trying to lure the horse, promised to bring river-fish in return every morning, only begging him not to have any cutlery lying about as it could not abide such things, and how after a time the tribute of fish ceased, because the *kappa's* injunctions were forgotten and sickles and knives left about the house. The legend is to be found in the provinces of Hida and Awa, and at Oni-fuchi, in the village of Kiyomi in the district of Ōno, Hida province, where this legend exists, it is said that even today there is a tabu on all metal articles.¹³⁹⁾ There must surely be some relationship between this and the theme of another group of Japanese legends of the Miwayama type, in which a serpent assumes human form and becomes a girl's lover, only to lose his life through the poisonous action of a needle the girl attaches to the hem of his gown,¹⁴⁰⁾ as also the Chinese custom of throwing great quantities of iron utensils, from cauldrons to hoes and spades, into the water when building a dyke, from the idea that the *chiao*-dragon, the Chinese water-spirit, is frightened away by anything made of iron.¹⁴¹⁾ The Malays, when they are about to drink from a river that is not familiar to them, plant knives into the river-bed with the edge towards the source,¹⁴²⁾ while the Tobelo in Halmahera have a custom of boiling iron in their drinking-water.¹⁴³⁾ But not only water-gods are frightened away by anything made of iron. The popular belief that iron may be used as a charm against wizards and evil spirits is to be found all over the world, from Europe and India to the Pacific, so that E. Tylor is of the opinion that it reflects the idea of the superiority of iron utensils entertained by men in the period of transition from the stone age to the iron.¹⁴⁴⁾

Charms against
water-spirits

As charms against the *Näkki* in Finland and the other Scandinavian countries, besides the forms already mentioned, there are various others in usage such as scooping up the mud and sand at the bottom of a lake with an oar, throwing stones and slag into the water behind a horse, carving crosses on the hoofs of horses and cattle, and pronouncing the names of the people who have been drowned,¹⁴⁵⁾ while it is also considered efficacious to call the *Näkki* by its name and to speak to it. When a water-spirit hears its own name called, or finds that its presence has been discovered by human beings, it is

139) Yanagita, 1912, pp. 21-22 (ed. 1942, p. 27), p. 25 (p. 32).

140) Takagi, pp. 181-184; Seki, pp. 440-471. Cf. *Kojiki*, pt. 2, p. 65.

141) *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 73.

142) Skeat, p. 274; Kruijt., blz. 161.

143) Kruijt, blz. 163.

144) Tylor, vol. 1, p. 140.

145) Holmberg, 1913, S. 201.

said to disappear into the water.¹⁴⁶⁾ This again must derive from the same kind of idea as the belief in China, that if a mountain-spirit is called by its name, it will do no harm,¹⁴⁷⁾ and the custom still prevailing in Japan, in Nishi-Kawazu of the village of Kawazu, Yasaka-gun, Izumo province, of saying, in connection with the legend of a mishap which overtook a *kappa* of the same district, "Un-shû (i.e. Izumo province) Nishi-Kawazu," when bathing, as a charm against these creatures.¹⁴⁸⁾

Returning to the main subject of this essay, if we now shift our ground **Ireland** to Ireland, we find an even closer relationship between horses and water-gods in the Celtic mythology of this island. Among the gods whose names are preserved in records of ancient Erin, the sea-god corresponding to Poseidon of the Greeks, is Ler, and his son, Manannán mac Ler, performs many deeds of prowess among the gods, mounted on a splendid horse. He also is a sea-god, and a special patron of sailors, and is supposed to have journeyed back and forth between Ireland and the Celtic Elysium in the West, in a chariot drawn by horses that ran along the surface of the sea. A horse he had, which he lent to the Sun-god Lug, is called Enbarr, or Splendid Mane. This horse could travel "swifter than the wind of spring" both on land and sea, and its bridle, said to have been obtained from a water-horse, had the power of causing the image of a worker of evil magic to appear in water contained in a special kind of pail. When a storm is raging over the sea, the Irish call the breaking waves "the white horses of Manannán mac Ler."¹⁴⁹⁾ Manannán's white horse

Cúchulainn, the hero of old Irish legends, is a being that might be ranked with the thunder-god Thōr of Northern Europe and Indra of the Indians, and the steeds he captured also came from the water-world. One of them, the Grey of Macha, appeared out of the Grey Lake. Cúchulainn approached it from behind, and wrestled with it all round Erin before it was mastered, and when it was wounded at his death, it went back into the lake to be healed.¹⁵⁰⁾ Even after the advent of Christianity, St. Michael of the White Steeds took the place of Brian, a divinity of old Irish mythology that is thought to have been partly a sea-god, and the saint became a sort of Neptune, while St. Bairre of Cork, called Find-bharr or White Mane, also assumed a Neptunic character, roaming over the seas round Ireland on a steed lent him by St. David.¹⁵¹⁾ In the 7th century, St. Fechin of Fore, another Irish saint, is supposed to have compelled a water-horse to take the place of one of the horses that were drawing Fine steeds of Cúchulainn
St. Michael and others

146) *ibid.*, S. 197.

147) "The mountain-spirit is shaped like a little child, with one foot pointing backwards. It does harm to people during night, and is called *mei* (魁, 魁). If its name is called, it loses its power to do harm."—*Pao-p'u-tzū*, Nei-p'ien (內篇), 17, T'êng-shé (登涉).

148) Yanagita, 1912, p. 29 (ed. 1942, p. 37).

149) Howey, pp. 142-143; MacCulloch, 1918, p. 128.

150) MacCulloch, 1918, p. 128.

151) Howey, pp. 143-144.

his chariot, and that had died on a journey, allowing it afterwards to return to the water.¹⁵²⁾

The goddess Epona

The Celtic goddess Epona may originally have been a goddess of a river or a spring, while she is clearly also a goddess of horses, as in the case of the goddess Anāhita of the Scythians. In a bas-relief discovered in Bregenz, in Vorarlberg, she is shown feeding five horses, while a bronze statuette found in Wiltshire, in the southwestern part of England, represents her sitting between two colts, and holding a cornucopia in her left hand (Fig. 5).¹⁵³⁾ The cornucopia is worthy of particular attention as indicating that Epona is a goddess of plenty, as well as a goddess of horses.

France

Legends exist, not only in Scotland but in France also, of water-horses that can assume whatever form they please, causing harm to travellers, or appearing as human beings to lead their lovers to destruction,¹⁵⁴⁾ and sometimes this takes place at some distance from the water, so that it is not easy to know them for what they are. In Plouguenast, in the department of Côte-du-Nord, a horse appeared before some children and caused its back to stretch, until four or five of them were mounted on it, after which it plunged into a pond and drowned them. There is another legend in Jugon of the fairy Mourioche taking the form of a horse, and drowning anyone who gets on its back. In Guernesey, a beautiful white horse made its back stretch until twelve children found they could mount it with ease, when suddenly it started to leap over hedges and ditches, and at midnight, after having galloped across the country at an incredible speed, throw the children into a marsh. In Albret, a red horse with a short tail took nine men on its back and galloped away. Eight of them were flung down on the way, and the ninth, who was clinging to the horse's manes, disappeared with it into a marsh. In lower Normandy, spirits, usually of the feminine sex, are said to assume the form of mares and carry anyone who has got on its back for long distances, and then dissolve in a pond, causing the rider to be thrown into it, laughing greatly at his discomfiture. In Bocage, spirits of this type appear as beautiful black horses, in Poitou, as white horses already saddled and bridled, and when they have succeeded in enticing men to get on them, are said to throw them into rivers and marshes, assume their original form, and laugh at the unfortunate people. We find a similar legend in Sologne.¹⁵⁵⁾ On the other hand, streams are supposed to have the power of giving health and strength to horses. In Brittany, there used to be a custom in the old days of sturdy boys mounting bare-back on horses that had not yet been broken in, and making them leap across a wide stream that flowed round the chapel of St. Eloi, on the feast-day of the saint.

The magical properties of water

152) MacCulloch, 1918, p. 129.

153) *ibid.*, pl. 15.

154) *ibid.*, p. 129.

155) Sebillot, tome 2, pp. 441-442.

Horses that went through this trial successfully were supposed to possess more strength than others. A stream in the neighbourhood of Morlaix is thought to have the power of assuring the fecundity of fillies that forded it, while there is a custom in Ploudalmezeau of bringing fillies after mass on the indulgence-day of Saint Herbot, and making them leap three times across a stream that flows near the chapel.¹⁵⁶⁾ Not only streams, but stagnant pieces of water also seem to possess the same power, for in Brittany, there are often ponds near chapels dedicated to St. Eloi, in which it is the custom to bathe horses so that they might receive the patronage of the saint. St. Eloi has apparently taken the place of some earlier local deity, and many make pilgrimages to chapels dedicated to him, in the hope of obtaining assistance from him as the patron-god of horses.¹⁵⁷⁾ We are naturally reminded by these French customs of such Japanese customs as the *uma-arai* ("horse-washing") and *Nakoshi* ("passing the summer").

Going south into Spain we find records of a century ago of "horses of the flood," horses of monstrous shape which lived in deep pools and lakes among the Caballero mountains, and appeared sometimes among men to do great damage.¹⁵⁸⁾ All this shows that there is no country on the west coast of Europe that does not have its legends and myths concerning water-horses. But before we carry our inquiry into this world of magic to Southern Europe and the Mediterranean, we must turn our attention next to the northeast, to the villages of Russia, and so, threading our way through the Slavic and Finno-Ugric peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, give a glance at the interior regions of the continent.

The horse appears in all ancient Slav festivals for celebrating the coming of spring or summer, and in Russia, on the festival of the saints Peter and Paul on June 29, a mare called *Rusalka* representing the spirit of water formed a part of the procession.¹⁵⁹⁾ It is worthy of notice that a mare should be chosen as a symbol of water in this festival for bringing in the summer. In the legends collected by V. Wollner and others, there are many instances of divine horses appearing out of the water. In one of these legends, the Tsar had a field into which came a herd of horses out of the water and ravaged the crops, and one of these had the mark of a star on its forehead, another that of the moon, and another that of the sun.¹⁶⁰⁾ These marks of celestial bodies on the foreheads of horses should be compared with the white star borne by the divine horse *Bosafabo* of the Mongols, already mentioned, the custom of attaching rosette signs on the

156) *ibid.*, p. 381.

157) *ibid.*, p. 462.

158) Howey, p. 147 (George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, 1842).

159) Phalipau, p. 257.

160) *ibid.*, p. 257.

foreheads of horses offered in sacrifice at the ceremony of *Aśvamedha*, as given in the sacred texts of ancient India, and the star which appears again on the foreheads of the divine oxen—the celestial cows—of ancient Egypt and Mycenae.¹⁶¹⁾ It is possible that the idea originated with the nomadic peoples of the steppes, who, in their worship of the sky, gave to the sun, moon, stars, wind and rain, thunder and lightning, and other phenomena connected with the sky, the forms of the beasts they kept.¹⁶²⁾

Bohemia

Misshapen forms
and the nether
world

Coming next to Czecho-Slovakia in Central Europe, water-spirits in that country often appear in the form of horses, particularly white horses. But in this instance, the horses lack the lower jaw, while the spirits sometimes also take the form of carp without tails. Being misshapen in one way or another, other examples of which are seen in headless horses and horses provided with a horn that we shall mention later, and the *Näkk* with its hoofs pointing backwards, already cited, is a condition which often accompany spirits, especially spirits of the nether world. This Czech water-horse ravages pastures, and scatters heaps of fodder with its hoofs. A farmer of *Nový Bydžov* near *Zachrastany* once saw a herd of beautiful white horses grazing by a pond. He was on the point of getting astride one of them, when he noticed that it had no lower jaw, and stopped. Then the horse laughed and said: "You are lucky, for if you had got on my back, I would have drowned you," and the whole herd leaped into the pond. This legend differs a little according to districts. In some places, the water-horse is supposed to appear in the form of a black horse foaming at the mouth, and sending forth sparks of fire from its eyes. If anyone hits the horse, his fields are sure to be ruined by it a few days later, but by using a kind of rope made of the barks of trees, it is possible to capture these horses and put them to work. A single water-horse can do as much work as several ordinary horses, but in time it becomes terribly thin. This is because it is never fed, nor given water to drink, for if water is given, it recovers its former strength in an instant and disappears for ever in the nearest river or pond. In the *Drahonicko* district lived a water-horse named *Uskocny* ("cunning"), and this, indicating that it came from the nether world, had a horn growing on its head.¹⁶³⁾

Barks of trees have
magic powers

Krolmus, the well-known folklorist, has collected a great quantity of Eastern Bohemian legends of this type, while *A. Daněk* has made a similar collection of legends of Western Bohemia told in districts round *Sumava* and

161) *Koppers*, 1936, S. 383.

162) In the *Rgveda*, the word *Aditi*, which meant originally the infinite heavens with their illimitable stores of riches, gradually came to be used at the same time for the heavenly cow, so that, the clouds were called cows, and the wind either the calf or the bull, and *Indra*, the supreme god, having both the attributes of the sun and of thunder and rain, "the bull among bulls." In the world of night, the moon and stars were also represented as cows (VII. 36, 1).—*Gubernatis*, vol. 1, pp. 5–8, 17, 18.

163) *Phalipau*, p. 258; *Panzer*, S. 131.

Chodsko. To give one or two examples of these legends:

A farmer of Volenice noticed that someone scattered about the fodder in his pasture night by night, so he hid himself behind a handmill and lay in wait for the intruder, when at midnight, a white horse appeared and began kicking the fodder about. The farmer sprang up and caught the horse, and finding that it was a water-horse, released it after making it promise that it would never do harm to his pasture again, and the horse vanished into a nearby pond called the Rábský pond.¹⁶⁴⁾ This story reminds us of the Japanese tale of the *kappa* who was forced to give a written apology for its misdemeanours.

In Ptákovice near Strakonice, a labourer was ploughing a field with his old mare, when a fine white horse made its appearance. The labourer wanted to use this unknown horse for ploughing and so give his old mare a rest. The horse was easily caught, and the ploughing finished in no time, when, looking back, he found the field in the same condition as it had been when he had started ploughing. The labourer went home and spoke of his adventure to his employer, and his employer then told him that the horse was a water-horse, and that a halter made of bark would subjugate it. In this way, the horse was caught again, and taking care not to give it any water, the people of the farm used it this time to carry bricks to build a wall in the farm. The wall was soon built, but came down again in a heap immediately afterwards. In the end the horse was released, and it disappeared into a pond near the farm.¹⁶⁵⁾

The Slavs of Lausitz, to the north of Bohemia, were protected by their geographical position from the inroads of the Scythians, Avars, and other mounted nomadic races from the east, and they had no knights who would have joined the crusades. This explains why the horse seldom plays the principal rôle in their legends, but even among these people, water-monsters sometimes assume the form of horses, and when a water-spirit takes to the water on seeing a human being, it is said to "neigh like a horse." Among the old legendary kings of Lausitz, there is one who belongs to the water-world and always goes on horseback. To throw off those who might pursue him, his horse is shod with the shoes pointing backwards, a detail which may have originated from the same group of ideas as the hoof pointing backwards of the Nökk. There is another legend of Lausitz about a carriage which appears out of the water. This is drawn by headless black horses, and anyone who has the misfortune to see it is bound to die. This legend, which reminds us of the Japanese story of the headless horse of Awa, is to be found in the districts of Göritz, Wtschau and Stradow, but its origin is not clear. Perhaps it is a reminiscence of the black horse of Triglav, the hero and sun-god of the Western Slavs, which no one except the priest was allowed to mount.¹⁶⁶⁾

164) Phalipau, p. 258.

165) *ibid.*, p. 259.

166) *ibid.*, pp. 259, 70.

Hungary

With the Hungarians also, water-spirits sometimes appear as horses. Horses lacking the lower jaw, as in the case of the water-horses of Bohemia, often come out of the River Percz and thrust into the water anyone who has not had the time to flee from them. And, as in the case of Finland, the water-spirits of this country sometimes appear in a form half-human and half horse. According to a popular belief, an old man, half of whose body is that of a horse, lives in the Hőviz pond near Sajó-Vámos in Borsod, and throws out toys and other objects from the bank to entice people into the water. In Hungary, too, water-spirits are frightened away by anything made of iron, and to clear wells of spirits who would otherwise try to draw men into them, iron nails and locks are thrown into the wells.¹⁶⁷⁾

Southern Slavs

The chariot of the sun

Lastly, we come to Yugoslavia. We have already mentioned the legend of the Western Slavs about headless black horses that come out of the water, and the possible connection between these black horses and the sun-god. Among the Southern Slavs, we come across a legend of the sun speeding across the sky on a chariot drawn by white horses. Whenever the horses shake their caparisons, rain falls and the wind rises. From being the representatives of the mysterious power of water, the divine horses now have their share in controlling celestial bodies and the wind and the rain.¹⁶⁸⁾ At this point, Slav mythology is seen to draw very near to that of the Greeks.

The Greeks and the Mediterranean

Poseidon, the horse-god

We have now reached the shores of the Mediterranean, and are about to enter the world of the Greek civilization. The first figure to meet our eyes here is that of Poseidon, and there is nothing that is known to us about the connection between horses and water-gods in Greek and Roman mythology which does not have something to do with this god. We read in the *Homeric Hymn*: "Twofold, Shaker of the Earth, is the meed of honour the gods have allotted thee, to be the 'Tamer of horses' and the 'Succour of ships.'"¹⁶⁹⁾

Areion and Pegasus

In the same way, Poseidon is called "Giver of horses and of ships with spread sails" in the most ancient hymn composed for the Athenians.¹⁷⁰⁾ When Zeus proclaimed that he would make anyone who created the most useful thing for mankind the patron of the newly built town of Athens, and name the town after him, Poseidon struck the earth with his trident and caused a splendid horse to leap out of there.¹⁷¹⁾ Poseidon became enamoured of Demeter and pursued her, and when she turned herself into a mare in her flight, he also turned himself into a horse and had his will of her, the fruit of the union being the divine horse Areion.¹⁷²⁾ Pegasus, too, was created by

167) Holmberg, 1913, S. 259 f.

168) Phalipau, p. 257.

169) *Homeric Hymns*, XXII: Evelyn-White (tr.), p. 449; Harrison, p. 17.

170) Pausanias, VII, 21, 9: Frazer, 1913, vol. 1, p. 360; Harrison, p. 17.

171) Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 12-14: Fairclough (tr.), p. 81; cf. Apollodorus: Frazer (tr.), vol. 2, p. 79, note 1; Howey, p. 133.

172) Pausanias, VIII, 25, 4: Frazer, 1913, vol. 1, p. 405.

Poseidon out of the blood that dropped into the foaming sea from the head of Medusa Gorgon.¹⁷³⁾ At the wedding feast of Peleus, king of Thessaly, and Thetis, the Nereides, Poseidon gave them as gifts two immortal horses, Xanthus and Balius.¹⁷⁴⁾ On a fragment of Corinthian pottery of 7th century B.C., Poseidon is depicted astride a horse with the reins in his left hand and the trident in his right (Fig. 6),¹⁷⁵⁾ while in Atlantis, the lost kingdom imagined by Plato, a gigantic statue of Poseidon in gold stands on a chariot drawn by six winged horses in the temple of the god.¹⁷⁶⁾ In later times, Neptunus is seen in a mural painting at Pompeii riding on a car drawn by *hippocampi*, the fore halves of whose bodies have the form of horses, and the hind halves, of dolphins,¹⁷⁷⁾ and at the games of the Consualia held in his honour, horses and mules were decked with garlands of flowers.¹⁷⁸⁾ Moreover, to this god who himself assumed sometimes the form of a horse, and was represented in painting and sculpture as having the head of a horse and the body of a fish, horses were offered in solemn sacrifice. According to Pausanias, the Argives in ancient times threw horses, bitted and bridled, into the fountain of Dione in honour of Poseidon,¹⁷⁹⁾ and Festus says that in Illyria a yoke of four horses was sunk in the water every nine years.¹⁸⁰⁾ It is said that even the people of Pontus, on the far-off coast of the Black Sea, had a custom of sacrificing to Poseidon a chariot drawn by four white horses which they drove into the sea.¹⁸¹⁾

Poseidon on
horseback

Sacrifice of horses

There can be no doubt at least that the sea-god Poseidon holding in his hand the "trident fishing-spear" was a god of the fishing folk. There is as little doubt that this god who was called the "Succour of Ships," and was supposed to calm the roughest sea merely by appearing on it, was a god of sailors also. But then the question arises, why he should also be the god of horses, with which animals sailing and fishing have very little to do. Where should we look for the origin of such of his epithets as Hippius ("horse-god") and Hyppodromus ("horse-tamer")? It is sometimes said in explanation of these names, that they arose from the resemblance of sea-waves to the manes of galloping white horses, which causes them to be called "white horses"

173) Apollodorus, II, 4, 2: Frazer (tr.), vol. 1, p. 159; Howey, p. 139. "But on one monument, a Boeotian stamped amphora in the Louvre, Medusa herself has the body of a horse, though the face of a woman. She is a horse goddess and as such the fitting bride of the horse-Poseidon. The Boeotian horse-Medusa recalls the horse-headed Demeter worshipped at Phigaleia in Arcadia."—Harrison, pp. 42-43. Perhaps we may see a combination of the horse and the dragon-serpent in Medusa also.

174) Apollodorus, III, 13, 5: Frazer (tr.), vol. 2, p. 69; Howey, p. 142.

175) Harrison, p. 19, Fig. 2.

176) Plato, *Critias*, 116: Bury (tr.), p. 291.

177) Howey, pp. 134-135. 178) *ibid.*, p. 134.

179) Pausanias, VIII, 7, 2: Frazer, 1913, vol. 1, p. 381; Harrison, pp. 19-20.

180) Festus, Lib. VIII: vol. 1, p. 307, Hippius; Harrison, p. 19.

181) Howey, p. 141.

or "sea-horses,"¹⁸²⁾ or the fact is recalled that when horses were first brought to the Peloponessus by sea in the time of Adrastus in the middle of 14th century B.C., the Argives were so struck by the novelty of these animals, that they held them to be sacred and as having come from Poseidon, the sea-god.¹⁸³⁾ But neither of these explanations would seem to be adequate. Indeed, as Miss Jane Ellen Harrison has pointed out, the fountain of Dione already mentioned as having been the place where horses were sacrificed to Poseidon, is a fresh-water spring near Genethlium in Argolis,¹⁸⁴⁾ while Onchestus, "the bright grove of Poseidon," which was a great religious centre in the time of Homer and where, we read in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, fine chariots drawn by young horses were dedicated to Poseidon the King (*Anax*), is a town in Boeotia far removed from the sea.¹⁸⁵⁾ And why is it that his pursuing Demeter, the earth-goddess and the goddess of cereals, and the subsequent birth of the divine horse Arcion, or his producing the horse out of the earth in his contest with Athene, does not seem to have much to do with the sea or its white horses, the waves? Perhaps it will be possible to find in the answer to this query the clue to the whole question of horses and water-gods which form the subject of this chapter. It is now our purpose to introduce here the theory advanced by Miss Harrison, the eminent mythologist already cited, and, in doing so, to take a further step towards the solution of the question.

The earth and
Poseidon

Poseidon the
bull-man

God of the
blossoming bough

"Poseidon then so far is fisherman and horseman," says Miss Harrison, "strange and incompatible enough are the two functions, but a stranger fact still remains to be faced. He is not only fisherman and horseman; he is bull-man."¹⁸⁶⁾ The figure of Poseidon on a black figured amphora in the museum at Würzburg, given in Miss Harrison's book, is of greatest interest. The lord of the "unharvested" sea is shown riding on a bull, and holding in his right hand, with similar irrelevance, a great blossoming bough, while in his left hand he grasps a fish and behind him vaguely unattached is his trident. He is a bundle of incongruities (Fig. 7).¹⁸⁷⁾ We must remember that one of the epithets frequently given to Poseidon was *Taureus* ("who is a bull"). Festivals held in his honour were called *Tauria*, and in Ephesus, boys whose rôle it was to pour wine at the festival of Poseidon were called *tauroi* (bulls).¹⁸⁸⁾ In the story of the death of Hippolytus, the

182) *ibid.*, p. 134. The breakers are called sometimes "white horses" or "sea-horses." "The mariner who rides the white horses (or waves) is thence called Hippion. For this reason too, the ship Argo was known as Hippodameia, that is 'the Horse-tamer,' because she rode over the billows."—*loc. cit.*

183) *ibid.*, p. 141.

184) Harrison, p. 20.

185) *ibid.*, pp. 20-21; *Homeric Hymns*, III, 229-238: Evelyn-White (tr.), p. 341.

186) Harrison, p. 21.

187) *ibid.*, p. 21; 22, Fig. 3.

188) *ibid.*, p. 23; *ERE*, vol. I, p. 501.

grandson of Poseidon, the sea-bull sent by the god plays, together with horses, a decisive rôle. Theseus, the father of Hippolytus, cursing his innocent son, says, "Poseidon, reverencing my prayers, shall slay and speed him unto Hades' halls." So, while Hippolytus is driving his chariot by Saronis Golf, a wild sea-bull makes its appearance out of an enormous wave, and the frightened horses dash Hippolytus to death against the rocks.¹⁸⁹⁾

Miss Harrison's theory in regard to this difficult question is as follows: "The animal on which a god stands or rides or whose head he wears is, it is now accepted, the primitive animal form of the god. Poseidon then had once for his animal form a horse and also it would seem a bull. The bull was in the fullest sense his *vehicle*, his carrier. As the god has himself no actuality, as there *is* no god, his worshippers choose something, some plant or animal or man to be the vehicle of their desires, to represent the god they have projected. Now a bull is often thus chosen by a people of agriculturists, he is a splendid symbol and vehicle of that intense and vigorous life they feel without and within them; so is the horse to a people of horse-rearers . . .¹⁹⁰⁾ Poseidon then is fisherman-god, horse-god, bull-god. Finally we must never forget that though he is not the sea-incarnate, he is not elemental, he is *ruler* of the sea, *pontomedon* as the Greeks called him, *thalassocrat* as we should say today. These various and contradictory aspects so puzzling to the old method of mythology are clear enough once we adopt the new, once we *state the god in terms of his worshippers*: Poseidon fisher-god, horse-god, god of the blossoming bough, bull-god. Finally we must never forget that imagined *idolon* of a people of fishermen, traders, horsemen, agriculturists, bull-rearers, thalassocrats . . ."

Miss Harrison's theory

Then, did there really exist in antiquity a people who were at the same time, fishermen, agriculturist, horse-rearers, thalassocrats and who actually worshipped the bull?

"The word *thalassocrat*, ruler of the sea, instantly reminds us that the Cretan Minos was the first of the thalassocrats. His god was the Minotaur, the Minos-Bull. *The god Poseidon was primarily and in essence none other than the Cretan Minotaur . . .*

The Minotaur, the Cretan bull

"The Minotaur is *not* identical with Poseidon, rather he is the *point de repère* about which the complex of Poseidon slowly crystallizes. Beginning as an island holy bull, worshipped by a population of fishermen, agriculturists, and herdsmen, he developed with his people. As Minotaur he spread his dominion across the islands and the sea to Greece proper. There shedding his horns and hooves, he climbed at last to the snow-clad heights of Olympus. Where and when he got his new name Poseidon, which in all probability

189) Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 895-896, 1198-1249: Way (tr.), pp. 233, 257-259; Harrison, pp. 24-26.

190) *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

means Lord of Moisture, we can not certainly say."¹⁹¹⁾

Minos, the priest
and king-god

It cannot be denied that the bull forms the centre of all religious and political life in the ancient kingdom of Crete. "The Palace of Cnossus is full of the Holy Bull; his Horns of Consecration are everywhere, the whole palace is his Labyrinth." In the Greek legend of the king-god Minotaur, calling every seventh year for his toll of victims, Athenian youths and maidens, and in ancient Cretan coins and innumerable designs on amphorae, Minotaur is always represented as a man with the head and hoofs of an ox. On the Cretan sealing discovered by Sir Arthur Evans, the head of the Minotaur has become irrecognizable, but a bull's tail is clearly seen curling up behind the throne.¹⁹²⁾ The explanation given by Miss Harrison to this is that the Minotaur, half-bull and half-man, is the king-god Minos wearing a ritual mask, the bull's head and horns and possibly a bull's hide in his priestly capacity.

"In Egypt, Diodorus tells us, it was the custom in the ruling house to put on the head the foreparts of lions, bulls and snakes as tokens of the royal dominion. Sir Arthur Evans kindly tells me that the ritual form of the Minotaur, as bull-headed man, can, he believes, be traced right back to the hieroglyphs of Egypt. The Minotaur is but King Minos masking as a bull. The object is, of course, that the royal functionary as representative of the whole state may get for it the force, the *mana* of the holy animal, that like Hannah his 'horn may be exalted.'"¹⁹³⁾

Egypt, Crete and
Greece

Intercourse existed between the Minoan culture and that of ancient Egypt since the earliest times, and all historians agree that the Minoan culture played an important part in furnishing the background to the formation of the classic culture of Greece. Now, in all Greek records concerning the kingdom of Crete and its bull, the sea-god Poseidon, strangely enough, always makes his appearance. King Minos wishes for a kingdom and prays to Poseidon to send him a bull, whereupon Poseidon sends him a magnificent bull out of the depths of the sea, and so enables the king to obtain his kingdom.¹⁹⁴⁾ Again, the island of Atlantis described in Plato's *Critias* is thought to be the kingdom of Crete which, after a period of unparalleled splendour, sank into complete oblivion, and this Atlantis according to Plato's work is ruled by Poseidon. When the gods divided the world among themselves, the island of Atlantis fell to Poseidon's lot, and the god having had children born to him on the island, made them settle in a part of it.^{194a)} In Greek legend, Minos became the first lawgiver and as lawgiver he lived on, "uttering dooms" to the dead in Hades, and in Plato, Poseidon is shown giving laws to

Atlantis

191) *ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

192) *ibid.*, p. 28.

193) *ibid.*, pp. 29-30; Diodorus, I, 62, 4: Oldfather (tr.), vol. 1, p. 213; *I Samuel*, II, 10.

194) Apollodorus, III, 1, 3: Frazer (tr.), vol. 1, p. 305; Harrison, p. 32.

194a) *Critias*, 113: Bury (tr.), pp. 279-281; Harrison, pp. 32-33.

the first men in Atlantis, who swore to uphold these laws which were inscribed on pillars in the god's precincts. In many frescoes and gems discovered at Cnossus, we find scenes of bull-hunting and bull-fights, and at the ceremony of giving oaths to keep the laws in Atlantis, the kings chase and capture with staves and nooses the bulls that are kept at large in the sanctuary of Poseidon. After a bull has been caught, it is led up to the column and its blood was shed over the inscription. The blood is mixed with wine and drunk by all, who then invoke curses on those who shall disobey the laws.¹⁹⁵⁾

Bull-hunting and
bull-fights

"The remarkable analogy here," Miss Harrison continues, "is not the mere sacrifice of the bull but the conjunction of bull and pillar in Atlantis and the conjunction of bull and pillar in Crete. On the frescoed shrines of Cnossus the holy pillar rises straight out of the 'horns of consecration.' On the famous *Hagia Triada Sarcophagus* we have indeed no direct certainty that the blood of the sacrificed bull is actually applied to the pillar but the close conjunction of the two, sacrificed bull and pillar, make it highly probable. Anyhow one main point is clear. Plato could hardly have imagined a ritual so strange and complex. It must be traditional and its origin is to be sought in the ritual of the bull-Poseidon in Crete."¹⁹⁶⁾

Sacred pillars and
sacrificial bulls

The Cretans colonized Greece during the 3rd and 2nd millenium B.C. and it is a fact of great interest to us that, wherever one finds traces of the worship of Poseidon on the mainland, there one is sure to come across relics of the Mycenaean (Later Minoan) culture. Miss Harrison enumerates examples of this and concludes that "the sites of Poseidon-worship are the landing places of immigrant Minoans," and expresses the opinion that this is another irrefutable evidence of the Poseidon-Minotaur theory.¹⁹⁷⁾

Mycenaean culture
and the worship of
Poseidon

An additional fact to be noted is that, both the Cretan Minotaur and Poseidon, who may be regarded as a later form of the Minotaur, are connected in one way or another with the sun. When Odysseus did mischief to the kine of the Sun-god, it was Poseidon who punished him. The bull of Crete had another name than that of Minotaur, he was also known by the name of Talos. Talos is usually taken to be the brazen man who kept watch over the island of Crete by circling it three times a day. According to Apollodorus, when Minos married Pasiphaë, the All Shining One, the fire-god Hephaestus made a present to him of the brazen man Talos. But Apollodorus also says that, "Talos was a brazen man, but some say he was a bull."¹⁹⁸⁾ Talos is shown on ancient Cretan coins as a butting bull, but at the same time, Talos, like the Minotaur, is sometimes represented as a man holding in his hand a stone, the symbol of the sun, and Hesychius of Alexandria says that Talos means the sun.¹⁹⁹⁾

The sun and
Poseidon

195) Harrison, p. 33; *Critias*, 119-120: Bury (tr.), pp. 299-303.

196) Harrison, pp. 33-34.

197) *ibid.*, pp. 47-57.

198) *ibid.*, p. 34; Apollodorus, I, 9, 26: Frazer (tr.), vol. I, p. 119.

199) Harrison, pp. 34-35.

Poseidon, the
foreign god

The bull-god Poseidon's Cretan origin explains a great deal. "In Homer, Poseidon claims equality with Zeus. He was obliged to yield to his brother's supremacy but he is always a malcontent and often in open rebellion, persistently vindictive. He is connected always with the impious and outrageous giants; the *Cyklopes*, a godless race, are his children."²⁰⁰ Moreover, Poseidon is nearly always being beaten in his struggles with the other gods on the mainland.²⁰¹ W.E. Gladstone, in his great work, *Juventus Mundi*, considered Poseidon to be a foreign deity from the fact of the god's antipathy to Zeus, and his aloofness from the Olympian assembly,²⁰² and the knowledge gained by subsequent archaeological excavations in Crete would seem to confirm Miss Harrison's opinion that the origin of this foreign deity is to be traced to the Cretan Minotaur.

The coming of
horses to Crete

But the riddle of the horse-god Poseidon still remains to be solved. It is the bull that forms the centre of religious and political life in the kingdom of Crete, and in the Crete of the period we are discussing, we can find no trace of horse-worship. But it is possible to ascertain from archaeological remains the date at which the horse was first imported into Crete, and the route by which it came. In the early part of the Later Minoan period, which coincides with the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, that is to say, about 1500 B.C., horses and chariots make their appearance on Minoan monuments as well as on the tombstones and late frescoes of Mycenae. In a curious seal-impression of the period discovered at Cnossus, we see an enormous horse standing upon a single-masted ship with several rowers in a line beneath, and Evans takes this to be a record of the first coming of the horse to Crete. The horse's mane, as with the manes of horses in the fresco of the *megaron* at Mycenae, is bound up in a series of tufts, and although this is contrary to the custom in Europe and Asia, it coincides with the practice in Libya in Africa. What is more, the fan-shaped tail of the horse depicted is a characteristic of Libyan thoroughbred.²⁰³ In Libya we have the steady tradition of a breed of horses that were the wonder of antiquity.²⁰⁴ Here at least we have the clue to the meaning of Herodotus' statement that Poseidon came to the Greeks from the Libyans. He says, "Of him they got their knowledge from the Libyans, by whom he has been always honoured, and who were anciently the only people that had a god of the name."²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Herodotus says that it was the Libyans who taught the Greeks how to yoke four horses to a chariot.²⁰⁶ Again, we read in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (2-3 c. B.C.), that when

Libyan origin

200) *ibid.*, p. 35.

201) *ibid.*, p. 37.

202) Gladstone, pp. 241-251; Harrison, p. 36.

203) Harrison, pp. 38-39.

204) *ibid.*, p. 41.

205) Herodotus, II, 50: Rawlinson (tr.), vol. 2, p. 93; Harrison, pp. 39-40.

206) Herodotus, IV, 189: Rawlinson (tr.), vol. 3, p. 164; Harrison, p. 40.

the Argonauts ran aground on the shifting shallows of the Syrtes in Libya, and Peleus who was one of their leaders had become well-nigh desperate, a huge horse sprang out of the sea, and with its mane flowing in the wind, spurned the salt sea-foam and made swiftly for the shore, the sight of which gladdened Peleus who understood that Poseidon himself was about to lift the ship and free her from the sandbank.²⁰⁷⁾ We have already mentioned the fact that Gorgon Medusa, who gave birth to the celestial horse Pegasus by Poseidon, is sometimes represented as having the form of a horse, and to this we might add that the phrase "race of the Libyan Gorgons" appears in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides. The *kibisis* or leather wallet in which Perseus puts the head of Medusa is the primitive bag in which the Libyans used to carry stones which were his principal weapons, and on a Corinthian vase we see Perseus represented as attacking the monster with stones.²⁰⁸⁾ On the strength of these facts, Miss Harrison concludes that the story of the winged horse Pegasus also has its origin in Libya, and that it was brought from there to Greece by the peoples who were worshippers of Poseidon.²⁰⁹⁾

Mainly availing ourselves of the theory advanced by Miss Harrison, we have so far managed to trace the origin of the bull-god Poseidon to Crete, and that of the horse-god Poseidon to Libya. But as far as we know, the date at which the horse first made its appearance in Crete cannot, as we have pointed out, be earlier than the end of 16th century B.C., nor can the history of the horse in North Africa go back beyond the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos in 18th century B.C.²¹⁰⁾ The invasion of the Punjāb by the Aryans already employing horses begins a little later, and it is fairly certain that the horse was unknown in the Indus civilization of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā and in the ancient Indian culture of the pre-Aryan period.²¹¹⁾ In Mesopotamia,

Southward movement of the horse

207) Harrison, pp. 40-41; Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 1363-1379: Seaton (tr.), pp. 387-389.

208) Harrison, p. 41; Euripides, *Bacchæ*, 989-990: Way (tr.), p. 85.

209) Harrison, p. 41.

210) However, figures of what are believed to be domesticated *camelides* have been discovered among remains of the Neolithic Age in Egypt. Prof. Menghin, S. 308-310, connects this fact and the discovery of *equide* figures at Ur with the appearance in these regions after a certain period in the Neolithic Age of elements pertaining to the Upper Palæolithic bone culture in the north, elements which until then were unknown in these parts; and he concludes that one may see here traces of the southward advance of the riding animal rearing culture of Inner Asia. But for some reason that has not yet been explained, with the exception of asses which may have become domesticated in Africa, the rearing of riding animals does not seem to have existed in the civilization of the ancient Orient until long after the beginning of the historical age.

211) Some doubts remain however in regard to this question. The bones of the *Equus caballus*, probably of the same stock as the modern country-bred of Western India and closely akin to the Anau horse, have been discovered either on or near the surface of the earth at Mohenjo-daro, and taking into account the denudation that has taken place, we cannot be certain whether the bones belong to prehistoric or later times. But the complete absence of the horse in the numerous representations of animals among the remains of the period, points strongly to these bones near the surface of being of more recent origin.—Marshall, vol. 1, pp. 27-28.

the question is a little more complicated. It was thought until quite recently that since there was no mention of horses in Hammurabi's Code of ca 2000 B.C., horses were not yet reared in that part of the world at that period. Then C.E. Woolley found, in the course of excavations he carried out at Ur, the capital of ancient Sumeria, a remarkably fine representation of a horse-like figure on a rein-ring, and representations of animals drawing chariots on the mosaic "Standard" and on stone reliefs, and while Woolley himself maintains that the animals represented are asses, M. Hilzheimer, who with B. Meissner and others had pointed out previously that what may be recognized as the figures of mules or horses are to be found among Sumerian remains of the 3rd millennium B.C., believes that the animals in question are mules, and consequently, that horses existed in those parts before 3000 B.C.²¹²⁾ Following on the excavations by Woolley, R. de Mecquenem discovered in 1930, between the first and second strata of Susa (end of the 4th millennium B.C.) at Elam, the world's most ancient figure of a man mounted on a horse engraved on a piece of bone, as well as what would seem to be a record of the pedigree of horses, showing that the rearing of horses, asses and mules must have already reached a high stage of development in Elam of that period.²¹³⁾ If we are to consider these facts together with such theories as that the first traces of domesticated horses found in the Anau Culture I in Western Turkestan date back to the latter part of the 4th millennium B.C.,²¹⁴⁾ and that the term "ass of the mountains" which was used for a horse in Mesopotamia, first appears in some Sumerian documents of the end of the 4th millennium B.C.,²¹⁵⁾ we are led to the conclusion that the horse must have come into these parts from Central Asia and the Iranian plateau to the northeast sometime towards the end of that millennium. However, we are still left with the question why such an important domestic animal as the horse should have practically disappeared from Mesopotamian records from the time of the fall of the ancient Sumerian kingdom until the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C., a question that must wait for further researches for its solution, and the fact remains that it was only after the supremacy of the Kassites had been established towards the middle of the 18th century B.C. that the use of the horse became general over Southwestern

212) Woolley, 1934, text, pp. 271-273, pls. 90-93, 166, 181 b; Hilzheimer, 1931, S. 13 ff.; Hilzheimer, 1932, S. 140.

213) Amschler, 1934, S. 298-299; 1936 (*Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, tome 17*).

214) Pumpelly, vol. 1, p. 41. According to Pumpelly's calculation, they date back to 8000-6000 B.C., but the theory is not adopted here. We are following Christian and others in assigning the date to the second half of the 4th millennium B.C.—*Christian*, S. 39.

215) Hilzheimer, 1932, S. 140 (cites Langdon, 1929. It is a question whether the word *Anšukur*, "the ass of the mountains," already signified "horse" or whether it meant what it says, and the phrase was revived a good many centuries later to describe an animal then introduced for the first time by people who did not know anything of its nature.—Woolley, 1934, p. 271.

Asia, and Media and Armenia became known for their breeds of fine horses.²¹⁶⁾ In a word, the establishment of the horse as a domestic animal in South-western Asia, a region which has for its centre the Tigris-Euphratés agricultural area, probably only took place after a powerful wave of horse-culture swept across the ancient Orient from Inner Asia, just about the time of the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos, and that of the Punjāb by the Aryans. And since the horse was first introduced for fighting purposes, the period when it became a part of agricultural activities which form the basis of all ancient Oriental culture, and thence made its appearance in the world of religion and mythology must belong to a later epoch still.

The rearing for agricultural purposes and the religious worship of oxen, on the contrary, had developed inseparably with the culture, not only of Crete, but of pre-Aryan India and the ancient Orient in general, including Egypt, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.²¹⁷⁾ In Egypt and Mesopotamia, the domestication of oxen had been completed in the prehistoric era, and the uses to which these animals were put during that era must have differed little from later periods.²¹⁸⁾ Furthermore, among the sacred images of prehistoric Egypt, the worship of which was forgotten in later ages, we already find one of two bulls symmetrically joined together at the middle of their bodies,²¹⁹⁾ and of the bulls that were sacred to the gods of successive dynasties, Apis of Memphis and Mnevis of Heliopolis are known to all.²²⁰⁾ The mother-goddess Hathôr who was regarded from the earliest times as being on the same footing as the goddesses Nut and Isis, was sometimes represented as a cow, or as a goddess with the head or the horns of one.²²¹⁾ The bull-headed Cretan Minotaur must surely also derive its origin from the sacred bulls of Egypt. The copper figure of a bull, the bas-relief of bulls shown lying down on a sculptured belt, and the mosaics representing a milking scene, discovered among the ruins of a temple of the 1st Ur dynasty in 1923, indicate that at the close of the 4th millenium in Mesopotamia, oxen were already regarded in some way as being sacred.²²²⁾ The figures of bulls called *lamassi*, placed at the entrance to Babylonian temples, houses and gardens to ward off evil spirits, must have their origin in these sacred oxen of the Sumerians. The *lamassi* sometimes had wings, and the Assyrians gave them human faces.²²³⁾ At Anau in Western Turkestan, as evidence of the most ancient domesticated

The rearing and
worship of oxen

216) Meissner, 1920, S. 218; 1926, S. 221 a.

217) Malten, S. 90-139 (cit. by Koppers, 1936, S. 373).

218) Ranke, 1926, 220 a; Meissner, 1926, S. 220 b; Ranke, 1927/28, S. 142 a.

219) Müller, p. 22, Fig. 2, c, d, e.

220) *ibid.*, pp. 162, 163, Fig. 167; Ranke, 1927/28, S. 142 b.

221) Müller, pp. 37-38, Fig. 25, 26; Ranke, 1927/28, S. 142 b.

222) Woolley, 1927, pls. 26-32, 38, pp. 15 ff., 86, 110, 116-117 etc.; 1929, pp. 99-100, pl. 8, a, b.

223) Sayce, pp. 887-888.

animal we find traces of the domestication of the Asiatic urus, *Bos nomadicus*, in the Culture I of North Kurgan (latter half of the 4th millenium B.C.),²²⁴⁾ and terra-cotta figures of bulls or cows, together with crude female figurines also in terra-cotta, thought to represent the All-Mother, have been unearthed from the Culture III of South Kurgan (middle of the 3rd millenium B.C. ?).²²⁵⁾ As for remains of the Indus civilization, numerous terra-cotta figures of bulls have been discovered among the ruins of the period from Mohenjo-daro and Harappā to North and South Baluchistan, and many more figures of bulls are found represented on earthen vessels, while on a great number of seals are engraven single-horned beasts shaped like oxen, wild bisons, buffaloes and zebus, and the fact that a censer-like vessel is placed before each of the single-horned oxen which are by far the most numerous, places it beyond a doubt that they were animals with some religious significance.²²⁶⁾ What is more, these examples date from a period anterior to the introduction, popularization and firm establishment of the horse along the agricultural regions stretching from the River Indus to the Mediterranean, from which we can only conclude that, long before the god who ultimately became the sea-god Poseidon on Mt. Olympus was first represented as a horse-god, he was conceived and represented as a bull-god.

CHAPTER II

Oxen and Water-gods

We have now to consider a fresh problem, that of oxen and water-gods. Before we enter into this question, we must first, following the conclusions of the last chapter, make clear the religio-mythological environment and character of the agricultural society which came to regard the ox as a sacred animal. This in turn will serve as a basis in elucidating the question before us as a whole.

Eduard Hahn

Eduard Hahn, who from the close of the last century to the beginning of the present won a unique place for himself by his study of enonomic history from the ethnological point of view, has sought for the origin of the domestication of animals in the religious need felt by the agricultural peoples of South-western Asia for the constant supply of oxen, to be held ready for sacrifice to the god to whom they were held to be sacred. According to his theory, three separate elements which until then bore no relation to each other—corn, oxen and the plough—were henceforth inextricably combined together

224) Pumpelley, vol. 1, p. 41.

225) *ibid.*, pp. 46-48, pls. 46, 47.

226) Marshall, vol. 1, pp. 69, 72; vol. 2, pp. 382, 385, 386; vol. 3, pls. 102-111 etc.

as a result of this domestication of oxen, and so gave to agriculture the form under which we conceive it today, i.e. that of "plough-culture." The present writer now proposes to give a synopsis of those parts of Hahn's historical work that have direct bearing on the subject before us, following the line of reasoning pursued by Hahn himself:

"The transition to the most primitive form of agriculture, the hoe-culture, freed men in Western Asia also from the crude, economically unstable condition in which people who live by hunting are placed, and thus the ground was prepared for cultural development on a far wider scale than hitherto. At this point, a group of ideas sprang up in a certain region of the Near East. These ideas at first (and this is quite possible) may have grown up in separate regions independently of each other, but were later fused together, and came to form an internally combined and organically interrelated system of religious and economic concepts which was to play a most important part in the development of the entire culture of Western Asia and Europe.

"To this group of concepts which constantly made their appearance in the lives of peoples belongs the idea that the moon exerts a profound influence on the growth and propagation of all organic bodies. This idea, which sees in the moon the great principle of all growth and propagation, is not difficult to explain. The transition from the invisible new moon to the full moon in her splendour, the manner in which her light waxes and wanes, these aspects of the moon must have excited the curiosity and the wish for a knowledge of their workings in mankind at a far earlier date than those of the sun. Particularly in regions of low latitude, the motion of the sun shows little change over long periods, so that it did not occasion any desire in men to attempt to study the changes. But in regard to the moon, mankind was forced from the earliest times to take the greatest interest in her transformations. It was particularly in the moon as a measure of time that men felt this interest, and it must have been for this reason that the moon came to be considered as the outstanding embodiment of the female principle. Whether a woman has conceived or not, whether a man has become a father or not, these were important questions which affected mankind even in its earliest stages. The cessation of menstruation as a sign that a woman has become pregnant, must have been among the first things known by mankind, and this question of pregnancy, even in the oldest times, could only be answered with the help of the moon. Thus, if a woman said that menstruation usually occurred five days, or six days, after the new moon, or full moon, and since it had not occurred this time, she must have become pregnant, men were bound to recognize some sort of relationship which existed between these facts and to attribute the widest powers over such matters to the moon. If man had to recognize the possession by the moon of such powers over the propagation of his species, and if, to peoples who lived by agriculture, the moon played a decisive part in the measuring

The mystery of the moon

The moon and women

of time, it was only natural that the moon should come to be regarded as the all-powerful principle in all matters connected with growth, propagation and plenty. As everyone knows, the system is still being actively applied even in our own days. The cutting down of trees, the cutting of men's hair, bleeding, in other words, in all that pertains to the sowing and planting, growth and propagation, the moon still remains for us at the present time the determining factor. Obviously, this does not apply to all peoples and to all times. But it must be assented that for one great circle of peoples, and one in which the European culture has its roots, the foregoing holds true.

The cow and the horn

“But at the same time as the moon, in this sphere of culture, became identified with the female principle, this principle tended more and more in this particular sphere to be represented by the cow. It is sufficient here to remind ourselves of the cow's horns of the Babylonian Ishtar and the Syrian Ashtoreth, and the forms in which Isis, Europa, Io and Pasiphaë are represented to us. These all show that the great goddess hidden behind these names has in each case something to do with cows. The origin of this relationship should probably also be sought for in the moon. The sickle-shaped new moon must have suggested to our ancestors, besides such things as a little boat, the idea of the horns of an ox, particularly the straight horns growing apart of the wild ox, *Bos primigenius*. In this way, the ox became the animal sacred to the goddess, and not the *Bison europaeus*. The horns of the latter species curve inwards and downwards from the forehead.

Religious origin of domestic animals

“The ox thus became the animal sacred to the greatest among the deities, but for a long time, this still did not mean that the ox had become domesticated. But its domestication was in itself an outcome of religious ceremonies. The goddess requires offerings, and man must have in readiness these offerings, especially held sacred to her, for sacrifice at all times. There was a reason for men to be compelled to do this. If the moon was regarded by a ‘hoe-culture’ people as something by which time could be measured, and if, by analogy with events in the human world, the moon was held to be the great principle governing growth, propagation and prosperity, it followed that religious ceremonies, accompanied by sacrifices as in all other religious ceremonies, became necessary. Often the moon-goddess threatened her worshippers with signs of anger or her decline. The great nocturnal light would approach the point of extinction. This was the eclipse of the moon. On such occasions, man had to help her, or strive to appease her anger. And to do this, it was necessary to sacrifice to her the animal that stood in the closest relationship to her, a cow or a bull. Eclipses of the moon came without warning, so that men could not rely on the booty of the chase to furnish them with the animals for sacrifice. Rather, sacrificial animals had to be kept ready at hand all time, and this object was attained by herding a small number of animals in pens, or rounding them up in these pens. The idea was not a new one. Even

peoples in the earliest stages of their development, have made use on a large scale of these pens. And in the same regions, we find in later ages vast parks for animals. These were the so-called 'paradises' of the Persian kings and their predecessors.

"More or less under such conditions, the ox must have become domesticated and multiplied in these pens. The transition from a free existence in the wilds to a life of slavery under men must in this way have been unconsciously got over, and the productive faculty of the animals could not have been impaired so much as in the case of a restricted existence in smaller pens. And in course of time, the process gave rise to new important factors. First, white animals, sacred to the silver moon, began to make their appearance. Then men turned their attention to the milk produced by the animals. The product of these sacred animals first gained a religious significance, and then ultimately came to be utilized economically in everyday life . . ." ²²⁷⁾

Hahn then goes on to say that, when next the oxen sacred to the goddess The wheel and
the plough were made to draw the plough, which was also a sacred implement, the foundation of present-day agriculture (*Ackerbau*) was then laid, and supposes as an intermediate process the invention of the wheel, and the innovation of making the sacred oxen draw the chariots of the gods in procession of the temples in Mesopotamia. ²²⁸⁾

Hahn's authority made his theory accepted for a long time by all who were engaged in the same field of research. In consequence, many scholars believed that cattle-breeding was a practice which grew out of an agricultural society and that such domestic animals as goats, sheep, horses, camels and reindeer were gradually made known to the inhabitants of Central and Northern Asia through a process following the prototype set by the domestication of oxen. But in the meantime, rapidly accumulating materials had caused culture historical ethnology to make great strides, and voices, which could not be ignored, began to be raised in that circle against Hahn's theory. As early as in 1909, Fritz Gräbner pointed out that the close relationship seen in Europe and the Near East between plough-agriculture and milking economy did not arise in the manner imagined by Hahn, but was the product of cultures of different origins touching and mixing with each other, and asserted that cattle-breeding was not started by agricultural peoples but took its rise from a kind of symbiosis between men and the animals they hunted. ²²⁹⁾

Then Father Wilhelm Schmidt, who developed the sphere of culture Nomadic sphere of
culture theory on a still greater scale, advanced the theory of the existence of a nomadic-patriarchal sphere of culture centring round the steppes of Inner Asia, isolated from the agricultural peoples of the south, and rather carrying on an inde-

227) Hahn, 1896, S. 90-93.

228) *ibid.*, S. 93 ff.; Hahn, 1926, S. 218 b.

229) Gräbner, S. 1030 u. Anm. 2.

pendent growth of its own derived from a hunting culture which had once stretched across the northern regions of the Eurasian continent. In this nomadic-patriarchal sphere of culture he placed the origin and main stream of cattle-breeding.²³⁰⁾ Following this hypothesis, the domestication of such animals as the reindeer and the horse would have to be dated back to a period of great antiquity. Unfortunately, the difficulties which beset researches in prehistoric archaeology in regions named have made it impossible up to the present for Schmidt's theory to be verified in detail by actual excavation, but it still remains none the less true that, from the ethnological material at our disposal today, various marked characteristics are to be noticed in the nomadic culture which is seen to stretch across the Eurasian continent from the northeast to the southwest, reaching as far as North and East Africa, characteristics which show a difference in their origin from the agricultural culture along the southern part of the Old Continent.

The ox and the
horse

It is obviously outside the scope of this paper to deal with these questions in detail. All that the present writer wishes to say here is that the two conflicting views presented above have to do with the origin of the culture in which the development of cattle-breeding in general took its rise, and that as regards each domestic animal in particular, no one can deny the truth of such facts as the close relationship between oxen and agriculture existing in the ancient Orient which has been pointed out by Hahn. In the case of the horse, even if we confine ourselves to the facts already given at the end of the last chapter, it is clear that the circumstances attending the horse were quite different from those under which the ox was placed, and that the horse-breeding must be traced to the steppes of Central Asia. For this reason, Schmidt himself, as well as Prof. Wilhelm Koppers, thinks that the domestication of the ox most likely took place on the southernmost edge of the nomadic zone of the Old Continent, the animal early becoming a part of the life of the agricultural society, and indeed, even admits the possibility of some magico-religious motive arising out of a matriarchal culture in the formation of domestic animals of a secondary order like the ox and the pig.²³¹⁾ Furthermore, Prof. Oswald Menghin, who achieved an epoch-making synthesis by applying to the field of prehistory the concept of spheres of culture, divides the cultures of what he calls the Protoneolithic Age into three large spheres of the culture of pig-rearers, the culture of horned animal rearers, and the culture of riding animal rearers, and sees a further development of each of these respectively in the village culture, the urban culture, and the steppe culture of the Mixoneolithic Age which succeeded the Protoneolithic. That is to say, the agricultural zone of culture stretching from the Eastern Mediterranean to India, which has been shown to be inseparably bound up with the ox at the end of

230) Schmidt und Koppers, S. 194-224, 502-538.

231) *ibid.*, S. 196, 518-519, 507.

the last chapter, is, in Menghin's terminology, a zone of the Mixoneolithic urban culture or development of that culture, which in its turn was derived from the culture of horned animal rearers in the age which preceded it. Against this, the horse which made its appearance at a much later period in this world of kings and lords of cities had been originally bred by the peoples of the steppe culture—the culture of herdsmen-warriors, the *Hirtenkriegerkultur*, which in itself was a development of the culture of riding animal rearers. In this way, the authority on the history of the Stone Age had assumed that the ox and the horse had each pursued its own course in different cultural milieus in the process of becoming the companions of mankind,²³²⁾ and we for our part also must refrain from passing hasty judgment on Hahn's theory merely on the ground that it is outmoded, and endeavour rather to examine it from the point of view of modern ethnology in order to determine what part of it is still tenable today.

We had set out to study the religio-mythological milieu of the agricultural society which had come to regard the ox as an animal sacred to the gods. What had caused the ox to be linked up with agriculture? Hahn's perspicacity had seen the origin of this to lie in the moon and women. But the idea was not necessarily a new one. As early as 1861, J.J. Bachofen in his great work *Das Mutterrecht* had touched again and again on the theme of the moon and the cow as the symbols of the female principle in the classical world, and drawing examples from primitive peoples, had stressed the fact that it was the females whose duty it was originally to till the ground, and to harvest the fruits of the earth.²³³⁾ Ethnological research since then has led many scholars to think that the matriarchal society owes its origin to the fact that the development from food-collecting economy to primitive agriculture was accomplished by females who had until then been engaged in gathering vegetable food. And, while it is equally clear that, in this matriarchal-agricultural culture, the moon, the woman and the earth become combined with various

The female principle, the moon, the ox and agriculture

232) Menghin, S. 273–477. However, Menghin recognizes, in accordance with the findings of ethnological research, that in the steppe culture of the Mixoneolithic Age, in contrast to the riding animal rearing culture of the preceding period, the rearing of horned animals already occupied an essentially important position.—*ibid.*, S. 517, 528. On the other hand, whereas in the urban culture of Southwestern Asia and Northeastern Africa, both horned animals and riding animals existed at one time, the horse, the camel etc. disappeared later from some undiscovered cause, leaving only the domesticated ass in Africa.—*ibid.*, S. 308–309. Cf. note 210. It is necessary to recognize the fact that the two spheres of culture, one northern and the other southern, represented respectively by the horse and the ox, had already mingled to a considerable extent towards the end of the Neolithic Age, and what is known as the civilization of the ancient Orient itself is based on such an intricate mixture. In spite of this, however, the characteristics of each sphere of culture, centred respectively round the ox and the horse, were retained in the mixed culture which was derived from them. This is what we have endeavoured to show in the rest of the present chapter.

233) Bachofen, SS. 26, 258, 417, 38–39, etc.

ideas and symbols of fertility and growth to form a group of religio-mythological concepts, we must not overlook the possibility that the source of these concepts lies far beyond Hahn's interpretation of the facts, in some palaeolithic sphere of culture which existed before agriculture and cattle-breeding, and contained in it germs which were later to develop into plant-growing culture. From this point of view, the nude figure of a woman holding a horn-like vessel in her hand belonging to the middle Aurignacian culture, discovered at Laussel in Dordogne, and the rectangular piece of mammoth tusk carved on one side with the figures of three serpents and on the other side with a peculiar spiral ornament, discovered by Gerasimov among the remains of Aurignacian culture at Malta near Irkutsk in Siberia (Fig. 8),²³⁴⁾ are thought to furnish us with valuable clues to the mentality of the people of the Old Stone Age. To consider the former as the oldest figure so far discovered of a goddess holding in her hand a crescent-shaped cup made of the horn of a wild ox—a kind of cornucopia—cannot be far wrong in view of many examples showing the close relationship between the earth-goddess and the ox to be found later among the remains of the agricultural culture in the Neolithic Orient. The figure has a further importance in that it has served to enlighten us on the religious significance of over two dozens of so-called "Venuses" of the Aurignacian culture—statuettes and bas-reliefs of nude women with exaggerated sexual characteristics—found over a wide area stretching from Southern France to Russia.²³⁵⁾ As for the piece of mammoth tusk discovered at Malta, the spiral ornament carved on it, particularly, as in this case, that of two spirals taking opposite directions and facing each other in the form of an S, is shown to have been distributed all over the world from the Palaeolithic Age to the beginning of historic times as a symbol of the waxing and waning of the moon, and the wave-like serpents carved on the back are also important in that serpents as creatures most closely connected with the moon appear almost in every lunar mythology of the world.²³⁶⁾ What is more, the fact that 11 female figurines like those of the European Aurignacian culture, and almost identical with those discovered at Brassempouy in France, should have been found together with the mammoth tusk²³⁷⁾, would seem to confirm the magico-religious significance of the spiral ornament just mentioned. In a word, it appears to us permissible to think that, even among the hunting and gathering peoples of the Palaeolithic Age, their anxious concern for their own lives and the prolificness of their progeny, and the desire for the abundance and fertility of animals and plants which they hunted or gathered, had caused them to connect the unending death and rebirth of all natural phenomena with the

Figurines of the primitive All-mother

The spiral, the serpent and the moon

234) Salmony, 1931, S. 2, Tafel I, 4, 5; Hentze, p. 84, Fig. 59, 60; *Хандар*, Taf. 5, nr. 1.

235) Menghin, S. 148; *Хандар*, 4. 75-156.

236) Hentze, Ch. 2-4.

237) Salmony, 1931, S. 3-4, Tafel II; Burkitt, p. 119, Fig. 4, Nos. 6-7; Hentze, p. 84.

perpetual waxing and waning of the moon, and that in this way, the idea of seeking for magic powers to induce fertility among their own kind and among animals in the moon as a symbol of maternity already existed in germ in their primitive minds.²³⁸⁾

When the germs of a plant-growing culture latent in the plant-gathering economy supported by females developed into the earliest primitive hoe-agriculture, the characteristics of lunar mythology already mentioned took complete and definite shape, while at the same time new elements were added to them. The most important of these was the idea of the fertility of the Mother Earth, and it was then that the ideas of the moon, the female principle, the earth and fertility became united at last to form a single complex.²³⁹⁾ The present writer would content himself here with pointing out that among the various other elements which go to make up this complex, sexual organs, fish, serpents and spirals, whether examined from the point of view of prehistoric remains, or from that of the ethnological distribution of these symbols, date back, together with the belief in the moon, the female principle, and the lunar progenitor of mankind, which form the nuclei of this mythological complex, to a period of great antiquity, that since the beginning of the plant-growing culture at the latest, yet new elements such as the worship of the great All-Mother, belief in the world of the dead, worship of skulls, human sacrifices and sanguine sacrifices were added, and that popular beliefs and customs connected with dogs, bears, hares, ravens and toads, as well as various forms of religious worship like tree-worship and shamanism, are found distributed over the sphere of this complex, with more or less local variations.

It is hoped that the foregoing has shown with sufficient clearness that the religio-mythological milieu in which the ox, having become combined with the moon, the female principle and the earth, emerged as the animal sacred to the gods, forms what we call here the sphere of lunar mythology. This being granted, we must next deal with the question, in what relationship of time and space, and in what manner functionally, the ox and water-gods, which form the principal theme of this chapter, stood to each other and to the other elements of this mythological sphere. A part of this question has already been answered. But the example mentioned above of a nude figurine belonging to the Aurignacian culture does not necessarily imply that wild

238) Hentze, p. 241 (*Nachwort* von Herbert Kuhn). In this connection, we might point out that many hunting and gathering peoples today possess means of reckoning the days after the lunar calendar.—Hirschberg, 1931, S. 462–463. Neither must we forget that the word “moon” is considered to be the oldest among words in the Indo-European languages signifying some celestial body. Sanskrit—*mas*, Avesta Persian—*mah*, Old Prussian—*mah*, Lithuanian—*menu*, Gothic—*mena*, Greek—*mene*, Latin—*mensis*, the common root being *me*. As is clear from the Sanskrit verb, 1st person singular, *mami* (to measure, to calculate), the moon was “that which measured.”—Hentze, p. 241 (*Nachwort* von H. Kuhn).

239) *ibid.*, pp. 241–242 (*Nachwort* von H. Kuhn).

oxen were at that period made objects of religious worship as they later came to be in the Orient. Neither did the area in which oxen were held to be sacred animals spread over the whole sphere of lunar mythology. It had as its centre the southern regions of the Old Continent, stretching towards North and East Africa on the west, and towards East Asia and Indonesia on the east, and the fact seems to show that the worship of the ox as the symbol of fertility and generation only made its appearance in the lunar mythological sphere of culture along the southern borders of the Old Continent, after the development of agriculture, and possibly after the domesticated ox had come to be bound up integrally with agriculture. The relics of the oldest known forms of ox-worship, which were given at the end of the last chapter, must be the products of this kind of cultural environment, and this relationship between the ox and the lunar mythology, constantly adding to itself new elements, continued on to the world of ancient civilization. The Babylonian moon-god Sin, or Nannaru, was commonly given the epithet of "the Young Bull," and he was represented with two great horns.²⁴⁰⁾ The cow was used as a symbol of the great earth-mother Ishtar (Astarte, Ashtart, Ashtoreth, etc.) of the Semites, the daughter of the god Anu and the moon-goddess, and there are records which lead one to believe that the goddess was cow-headed.²⁴¹⁾ The great goddess Isis of the Egyptians was also sometimes represented with the head or the horns of a cow, would assume the form of a cow, and the cow was sacred to her.²⁴²⁾ In Greek mythology, the goddess Hera who combined in herself the three elements of the cow, the moon and the earth-mother, and Io, who, changed into a cow by Hera, crossed the Bosphorus ("cow crossing") in that form, must both be considered in their relation to the Egyptian Isis.²⁴³⁾ Heracles passed the sea upon the neck of the "cow-moon,"²⁴⁴⁾ and while the moon, clouds, the dawn and the sky were all represented as the beneficent cow of abundance by the ancient Indo-Europeans,²⁴⁵⁾ both Indra and Odin were said to be descended from such a cow.²⁴⁶⁾ Milk was yielded constantly by the cow kept in the celestial city of Varuṇa in the *Rāmāyana*, whence the moon with its white light and the ambrosia and nectar emerged.²⁴⁷⁾ The animal sacred to the god Śiva, girdled with serpents and wearing a necklace of skulls, and connected with *linga*-worship and sanguine sacrifice, was the bull Nandi.²⁴⁸⁾ In the cosmogony of the ancient Persians also, the bull was

240) Ebeling, S. 165 b.

241) Sayce, p. 888.

242) Müller, pp. 37, 99, 116; Edwardes and Spence, p. 93.

243) Elworthy, 1900, p. 14; Elworthy, 1895, p. 183.

244) Gubernatis, vol. 1, p. 273.

245) *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

246) *ibid.*, p. 224.

247) *ibid.*, p. 69, note 4.

248) Edwardes and Spence, p. 160.

one of the first things to be created. When Ahrman killed this primitive bull, 55 species of grain and 12 species of medical plants grew forth from the earth, "owing to the vegetable principle proceeding from every limb of the ox, and their splendour and strength were the seminal energy of the ox," while its sperm was carried to the abode of the moon, and purified by the light of the moon, produced an ox and a cow, and after them 282 species of each kind upon the earth.²⁴⁹⁾ The epithet always used in regard to the moon in the *Avesta* is *gaokithra*, "having the seed of the bull."²⁵⁰⁾ It is clear that a fertility concept lies at the bottom of all these ideas. The animal chosen to draw the sacred cart of Nerthus, the goddess of fertility—*terra mater*, the earth-mother—worshipped by a portion of the ancient Germans, as recorded by Tacitus, was a cow.²⁵¹⁾

Secondly, we see something like the same condition of things as in the case of the ox, in the relationship of water or water-gods to the other elements in the sphere of lunar mythology. The association of water with the moon, however, differs from the former case in this that it seems to go back to a period of the greatest antiquity, as is evidenced by the fact that in the flood legend, which is common to various tribes that are found scattered today over points in this globe at the widest possible distance from each other, and who are thought to preserve amongst them the most primitive forms of culture, it is always the moon which is supposed to have caused these floods. Thus, it was the god Puluga, who possesses many of the characteristics of a moon-god, that brought down in the Andaman version a great flood as a punishment to mankind.²⁵²⁾ The Yagans of Tierra del Fuego at the southernmost tip of the South American Continent also have a legend of the moon causing a flood.²⁵³⁾ In the flood legend of the Kurnai who inhabit the southeastern regions of Australia, animals of all kinds attempt to make a gigantic frog that had absorbed into itself all the water in the world vomit back the water by dancing comic dances before it, and the serpent succeeding by its writhings to do so, the water pouring out from the frog causes a great flood in which nearly the whole of mankind is destroyed.²⁵⁴⁾ The frog is a symbol of the moon, and other legends in which floods are caused by the moon are found among the primitive peoples of Australia.²⁵⁵⁾ In legends of a great many of the American Indian tribes, the raven, the whale, the coyote, and particularly, the great rabbit Manabozho, which animals are believed by one or the other

249) *Bundahish*, ch. X, 1-3: West (tr.), pp. 31-32.

250) *Zend-Avesta, Mâh Yasht, Strôzah*, I, 12: Darmesteter (tr.), pp. 88-91, 8.

251) Tacitus, *Germania*, 40: Hutton (tr.), p. 331.

252) *UdG*, Bd. 3, 1931, S. 109, cf. S. 85.

253) *ibid.*, S. 109, cf. S. 85; Bd. 1, 1926, S. 392 Anm. 1.

254) *ibid.*, Bd. 1, 1926, S. 393-394.

255) Hentze, p. 50 note 186.

of these tribes as well as by many other peoples of the world to be seen in the moon, play an important part in the causing of floods,²⁵⁶⁾ while the idea that rain and thunder are caused by the moon is found among the Eskimos, Bushmen, and certain tribes along the coast of Peru.^{256a)} Traces of the connection between lunar mythology and flood-legends are also to be found among peoples of a higher culture, as may be seen in the Chinese legends of the Emperor Yü and the wise minister I-yin.²⁵⁷⁾ It remains a question, therefore, to what extent, in the case of the tribes of the lowest stage of culture like the Andamanese, the Yagans and the Kurnai, these legends which are found distributed all over the world are really native to them, and to what extent they have been borrowed from later cultures, a question which is yet to be determined together with that of the interpretation of these legends themselves. But as we have already pointed out, it is possible to discover the elements of a lunar mythology in the culture of hunters and gatherers of the Palaeolithic Age, and we propose to continue the discussion of this subject by quoting the words of a Bushman of South Africa, which show with what anxiety the benefits of rain are awaited, even in the simplest forms of the plant-gathering mode of living.

The rain cow

In a cave on a small hill on the south bank of the Caledon River in Orange Free State, there is a rock-painting which the Bushmen explain as "She-rain with the rainbow over her" (Fig. 11).²⁵⁸⁾ It is shaped like an ox, and the rainbow, a band coloured yellow above and red below, stretches over its whole body. In rock-paintings copied by George William Stow during the 70's of the last century, there are besides this one many figures of animals which the Bushmen call "rain bulls" or "rain cows" (Fig. 12).²⁵⁹⁾ The Bushmen have only one word for rain and water in their language, and the following account given by one of them about these animals has much in it that is of interest to us:

"My mother told me that people pull out the water cow and lead her over their place, that the rain may fall at their place, in order that the wild-onion leaves may sprout out there. If the rain does not fall, they will die. Therefore the medicine men shall go and kill the water cow at the place to which they go to stay near the wild-onion leaves, so that they can dig out and eat the wild-onions. If the rain did not fall, they would not see the wild-onion leaves, for these are bulbs which they dig out and eat; they are the Bushmen's food. Therefore they beg the medicine men to make rain fall for them. This is the reason why the medicine man works for them. The water's people walk about, they charm the water, they make it rain, so that the mothers may

256) Riem, S. 181 (cit. by Hentze, p. 55).

256a) Koppers, 1936, S. 376.

257) Hentze, pp. 5-52; Granet, tome 1, pp. 416 ff.

258) Stow and Bleek, pl. 34.

259) *ibid.*, pl. 67 a; cf. S. 18, 32, 41, 42, 58.

dig and feed themselves. They sling a thong over the water cow's horns, they lead her out and make her walk, they kill her on the way. They cut her up so that the rain may fall where they have killed her. The rain does fall; they bring the rain by means of the water cow's flesh. The rain falls behind them as they go home, it follows them; the people who asked for the rain really see the rain clouds."²⁶⁰⁾

We see in the artlessness of this narrative the eagerness with which the plant-gathering peoples await the coming of rain. The Bushmen learned of domesticated oxen from the Bantus of the north, an event of not very great antiquity. They live by hunting, as well as on bulbs which form their principal means of subsistence, and which their women dig up with sticks inserted into round stones for weight.²⁶¹⁾ We have already shown that in this type of plant-gathering economy lie latent the germs of a plant-growing form of existence. But once men enter the stage in which they assure their food supply by tilling the soil, their interest in rain and drought can only become more urgent, as a matter of life and death to them. It is surely possible to think then that in this way, the belief in the magical powers of water over the fertility of the earth now made its appearance as an important element in the lunar mythological complex, in addition to other magico-religious concepts of sexual nature having for their objects the fertility and propagation of man himself and the animals he hunted. Thus, on the one hand, the powers of the rain-maker were vastly increased socially, and on the other hand, in the world of mythology, beliefs concerning the association of rain or water with the moon, acquiring a special meaning, came to hold sway across the ages in the lives of the agricultural peoples. The idea of the speckled surface of the moon being the figure of a man carrying pitchers of water (usually by means of a pole), and legends explaining this idea, are found distributed over a wide area, from Northern Europe, Germany, Ireland, across Siberia to the Northwest Indians in North America on the one hand, and among the Ainu, the Okinawans and in New Zealand on the other hand,²⁶²⁾ while N. Nevskii has recorded a legend in Miyako-jima concerning the water of life and water of death which shows connections with the moon-legend just mentioned, having to do with men and serpents, and explaining the origin of the custom of drawing water from the well on the dawn of the first festival of the year and all having this water of rejuvenescence poured over them.²⁶³⁾ The meaning of such phrases as "the *ochimizu* (the water of rejuvenescence) which the moon has," as recorded in the *Manyōshū*, and the nature of the Japanese belief in the *wakamizu* (water

The moon and the water of life

260) *ibid.*, pl. 34, Explanation by a Bushman.

261) *ibid.*, p. xxiii, Introduction by Dorothea F. Bleek; Hirschberg 1939, S. 366.

262) Ishida, 1950, pp. 2-10; Nevskii, pp. 218-220; Batchelor, pp. 67-68; Harva, 1938, S. 185-186; Coxwell, pp. 134, 158, 280-281; Wolf, S. 56; Swanton, pp. 450-452; Alexander, p. 257; Westervelt, pp. 170-171.

263) Nevskii, pp. 635-639.

of rejuvenescence) which has existed since the Heian period have only been made clear as a result of such comparative studies.²⁶⁴⁾ In the case of peoples who developed agriculture by means of irrigation from great rivers, it is easy to understand from what has already been written the nature of the process by which the idea of regarding rivers as sacred combined with the ancient lunar mythology, the flood-legend, and the fertility-rites of sexual nature to produce its own particular form of legends and rites. Even from the rough description given above, it is clear that the two elements of oxen and water had to become associated with each other through lunar mythology and the various beliefs concerning fertility. The rain cow of the Bushmen already mentioned is an example of this, about which one may say that the ox must have been regarded as a symbol of fertility among the tribes of the north, before oxen came into the lives of the Bushmen. We propose to give in this chapter, from the point of view stated above, examples of the association of oxen with water, or water-gods, but before proceeding to do so, we would like to say a few words more concerning the relationship between horses and the lunar mythology.

The horse and
the moon

We have seen in Chapter I examples in which the horse appeared in conjunction with water, water-spirits, or water-gods, as well as with the earth, the world of the dead, fertility-concepts, and other elements of what we have named in the present chapter the lunar mythology. The idea of the horse carrying to the world of the dead or of spirits the dead (and sometimes the living), shamans, and disease demons, is found widely distributed in the world of Shamanism of the Asiatic continent and the popular beliefs of the Indo-European peoples,²⁶⁵⁾ and has been made the object of studies from the earliest days. In Nordic mythology, the moon-goddess Mani on her chariot drawn by the swift-footed steed Alsvider flees forever across the skies pursued by the two wolves Sköll and Hati.²⁶⁶⁾ But side by side with such concepts of a lunar mythological character, the idea for example of celestial horses drawing the chariot of the sun is to be found in the mythologies of Babylonia, India, Greece, Scandinavia and China,²⁶⁷⁾ and the bronze model of a chariot with a bronze horse and carrying the disk of the sun plated with gold has been discovered at Trundholm in Denmark.²⁶⁸⁾ The custom of sacrificing horses to the sun-god existed among the Jews, Persians, Scythians, Massagetaes, Spartans, Armenians, and the people of the island of Rhodes.²⁶⁹⁾ But we have no proof whatever that the horse, ever since its domestication, bore the same

Horses of the sun

264) *Manyōshū*, XIII, 3245; Orikuchi, 1929, pp. 150-169; Ishida, 1950, pp. 1-10.

265) *Sui-yüan-chêng t'ung-chih*, Mêng-tsu, pp. 92, 97-98; Minakata, 1918, p. 181; Karutz, S. 130-131; Negelein, 1901-1902, Bd. 11, S. 414-419, Bd. 12, S. 377-380.

266) Howey, pp. 126-127.

267) Izushi, pp. 188-195, 222-224 (notes).

268) Berthellson, S. 451 b-452 b, Tafel 76; MacCulloch, 1930, pp. 198-199, pl. 25.

269) Izushi, pp. 189-192, 222-223.

close relationship to lunar and solar mythology as the ox did to the lunar mythological complex.

As we have already pointed out, the horse, coming from the north, made its appearance in the world of the pre-Aryan civilization which stretched from the Eastern Mediterranean to India, and began to play the important part it did in it, at a much later date than the ox. The well-known relic of the horse-sacrifices of the later Neolithic Age, of a flint-dagger left embedded in the skull of a pony, was discovered at Schonon in Scandinavia, but this does not date back to a period earlier than 2400 B.C.,²⁷⁰⁾ and it has been ascertained from rock-paintings of the Bronze Age that even in Scandinavia, where the horse has been universally used in agriculture, oxen were first employed to draw the plough.²⁷¹⁾ For these reasons, we are inclined to seek for the place of origin of horse-rearing among the steppes of Inner Asia. W. Schmidt assumed the existence of a nomadic and patriarchal sphere of culture which for long pursued its own particular line of development in the isolation of these steppes. This sphere of culture had cattle-breeding for its economic basis, and socially and politically, was patriarchal and military in character. In the field of religion, the form of cult which may be said to be truly its own must be its monotheistic worship of heaven.²⁷²⁾ The lack of material in the shape of prehistoric remains makes it impossible to sift the question as thoroughly as in the case of the religious significance of the ox, but if it is true that the horse was domesticated and developed into what it became in the nomadic culture of the steppes, ceremonies which bear no relationship to other cultures, such as the king of the Hsiung-nu sacrificing a white horse to heaven on the top of a mountain, as recorded in the *Han-shu*,²⁷³⁾ and the custom surviving until recent times of consecrating horses to the god of heaven,²⁷⁴⁾ must be regarded as preserving the original form in which the horse first made its entry into the religious lives of men. The idea of celestial horses, and that of gods descending vertically from the sky mounted on horses, which appear in later ages, must also have their origin in this nomadic culture. But when the nomadic peoples with their horses commenced their exodus into the agricultural regions to the east, west and south, the contact, over-lapping and mixing of different cultures which must have been going on for a long time already, now received a further impetus. Especially, with the appearance and diffusion

Worship of the sky

270) *Rl. d. Vorg.*, Bd 9, Tafel 95 a; Amschler, 1934, S. 298-299.

271) Thurnwald, 1929, S. 345-355; *Rl. d. Vorg.*, Bd 1, Tafel 3 a.

272) Schmidt und Koppers, S. 102; Koppers, 1935, S. 16-17; cf. *UdG*, III. Teil, *Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker* (Bde. 7, 8, 9), 1940-1949; Schmidt, 1942.

273) *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 94, *Hsiung-nu-chuan* (匈奴傳), pt. 2.

274) Cf. relevant passages in: Gahs, S. 217-232; Koppers, 1936; Bleichsteiner, 1936, S. 414 ff. Attention is further drawn to the fact that, while Shamanism is closely connected with sanguine sacrifices, the shamans take no part in the bloodless sacrifices that are practised at the same time by the nomadic peoples of Asia.—Gahs, *loc. cit.*; Menghin, S. 518.

The replacing of
the ox with the
horse

of horses in the agricultural world of the ancient Orient, in which, as we have shown chronologically, the ox had come to occupy more or less the central position in the religious life of the people, the two cultures of the north and the south, of the horse and the ox, while retaining their individual characteristics, gradually began to combine together and form a single culture. In consequence, in the domain of myth and rituals also, the horse was sometimes seen to take a share in the part played until then solely by the ox, or to replace the latter altogether. At the same time, the central position originally occupied by the cow, as in the case of the cow sacred to the goddess Isis, would be taken over by the bull, or the element of sky-worship would begin to preponderate in the lunar-mythological complex, both of which phenomena may be regarded as forming a part of the same process outlined. Professor Koppers seems to consider the solarization of the lunar mythology which took place in the history of the ancient Orient also in relation to this process.²⁷⁵⁾ The transformation of the bull-god Poseidon into a horse-god, or the strange phenomenon of the two existing side by side, both of which facts have been discussed by Miss Harrison, may be best understood in this light. Furthermore, the culture itself of the Indo-European peoples would seem to have for its basis the two cultures referred to, northern and southern, cattle-breeding and agricultural, and it is from this culture historical and ethnological point of view that the present writer wishes once more to consider the principal subject of this treatise.

Poseidon as earth-
god and god of
agriculture

The first point to be discussed is the character of the water-god Poseidon to which reference has been made in the last chapter. As has already been pointed out, it was natural that the god Poseidon of the ancient culture of the nautical peoples of the Mediterranean should have become the god of the ocean, of sailors and of fishermen. But it is doubtful whether this foreign god who came to Mt. Olympus in the form of a bull or a horse from Crete and North Africa, had always been a sea-god. It was into the fresh-water spring of Dione near Genethlium that the Argives of old threw horses, bitted and bridled, in honour of Poseidon. Onchestus, "the bright grove of Poseidon," where chariots drawn by young horses were offered to Poseidon the King, was in no other place than Boeotia, far removed from the sea. Guided by these doubts, we cannot help coming across aspects of Poseidon, the sea-god, bull-god and horse-god, which are eminently those of an earth-god and a god of the world of the dead, an agricultural god and a fertility-god.

The corn-spirit
and the horse

Sir J. Frazer in his monumental work, *The Golden Bough*, has enumerated and discussed the popular beliefs in Europe of the corn-spirit taking the form of a mare, and the rites for invoking this spirit at harvest time.²⁷⁶⁾ This corn-spirit may be traced back to Demeter, the "corn-mother," the goddess of agriculture who was worshipped at Phigaleia in Arcadia. It was

275) Koppers, 1936, S. 372-395.

276) *GB*, pt. 5, vol. 1, pp. 292-294.

a goddess with the head and manes of a horse, and according to the legend, she took this form and hid herself in a cave in Phigaleia to escape from the pursuit by Poseidon. This caused the fruits of the earth to wither, and the people were faced with starvation, when the god Pan took on himself to appease the goddess and succeeded in bringing her back, upon which the people of Phigaleia honoured her by putting up her image in the cave to commemorate her return to the fruitful fields.²⁷⁷⁾ In Roman mythology, Neptunus pursues Ceres, the Corn-Mother, who searches over the earth for her daughter Proserpina whom Pluto, the King of Hades, carried away to his dominions. Ceres in her flight changed herself into a mare, and Neptunus caught up with her and had his will of her in the guise of a stallion, out of which union was born Arion the divine horse, a legend which coincides in detail with a Greek one quoted in the last chapter. In the *Odyssey*, when Telemachus arrived at Pylos on the coast of the western Peloponessus, the people of the coast "made to the blue-haired Shaker of the Earth oblation, slaying coal-black bulls to him."²⁷⁸⁾ The priestess Athene who accompanied Telemachus at once offered a prayer to the king of the ocean saying, "Hearken thou, Poseidon, Girdler of the Earth, nor grudge our work to end according to our vow."²⁷⁹⁾ When Theseus begs Poseidon to kill Hippolytus by sending the sea-bull out of the waves, the words of his curse were, "Poseidon, reverencing my prayers, shall slay and speed him unto Hades' halls."²⁸⁰⁾ Poseidon who had once ruled over the whole land, had shown his bride Amymone the water-springs of Lerne and when the sovereignty of the land was adjudged to Hera, he in wrath caused the springs to dry up and made Argos "very thirsty."²⁸¹⁾ The water-god Poseidon who appears in these words and legends is a being somewhat removed from the sea. We find evidence both in Homer and Athenaeus that the bull was the proper animal to sacrifice to Poseidon,²⁸²⁾ and if, as Miss Harrison argues, the bull-god Poseidon was a later form of the Cretan Minotaur, and if the origin of the sacred bulls who filled the palace at Cnossus can be traced back to the Egyptian culture of the Nile, then we are surely justified in thinking that the primary character of the god was that of the god of the nether regions and the world of the dead, with much in him that pertains to an agricultural god. Here then must be the answer to the riddle of Poseidon seated on the back of a bull and holding in his hand a great blossoming bough. The sacred bull and the religio-mythological ritual attached to it which we find forming the basic element in the ancient cultures of Crete and Egypt, belong

277) *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 35-91; vol. 2, p. 21; Pausanias, VIII, 42.1: Frazer, 1913, vol. 1, p. 428.

278) Homer, *The Odyssey*, III, 5-7: Murray (tr.), vol. 2, p. 69.

279) *ibid.*, III, 55-56: Murray (tr.), vol. 1, p. 73.

280) Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 895-896: Way (tr.), p. 233.

281) Pausanias, II, 15, 5: Frazer, 1913, vol. 1, p. 93; Harrison, p. 51.

282) Harrison, p. 51; Athenaeus, VI, 261: Gulick (tr.), vol. 3, pp. 145-147.

by their character almost without a doubt to an agricultural culture, and the world of lunar mythology into which some elements of a solar mythology have been introduced, while at the same time, once the great king of the nether regions betakes himself to the sea, it is easily conceivable that he should extend his dominions and become the lord of the ocean.²⁸³⁾

Water and the ox

Although the sea has no direct connections with agriculture, water itself is the source of life to agricultural people. Water is a mystic force in that it controls the growth of plants and the increase of flocks. That being the case, we can find many examples besides that of Poseidon, of an ox, which occupies a central position in agricultural ritual as the symbol of fertility, becoming associated with water-gods. Already in predynastic Egypt the goddess Meht-uêret ("the great flood") sprang from the combination of the idea that the sky is a great cow with the idea that the sky is the water of a great river or a continuation of the ocean. The goddess was the cow of the skies, the expression of the primeval fertility of the female principle, and the female personification of watery matter which formed the substance out of which the world proceeded.²⁸⁴⁾ The Greek river-god Acheloos is usually represented in the form of a bull with a human head, from which grew horns that were supposed to have the power of bringing fertility to animals and plants. When this god competed with Heracles for the love of the maiden Deianeira, he is said to have turned himself first into a serpent, and then into a bull, and gave every proof of his powers of metamorphosis.²⁸⁵⁾ Sophocles makes Deianeira exclaim:

Courtship of a
water-god

For my first wooer was a river god,
Acheloos, who in triple form appeared
To sue my father Oeneus for my hand,
Now as a bull, now as a sinuous snake
With glittering coils, and now in bulk a man
With front of ox, while from his shaggy beard
Runnels of fountain-water spouted forth.²⁸⁶⁾

It is a fact worthy of notice that the "sinuous snake" occupies a position equal in importance to that of the ox in the agricultural, matriarchal, and lunar mythological complex. Water-gods most commonly take the form of serpents in South Africa and Australia, while in India and Eastern Asia, as has already been pointed out, imagination has turned these serpents into dragons. But whether in the form of dragons and serpents, or of oxen and horses, wherein lies the meaning of water-gods seeking the love of human maidens? It is said that the Trojan maidens before marriage bathed in the sacred river Scamander and prayed to the river to take their virginity,²⁸⁷⁾ and the custom

283) Steller, p. 1634.

284) Mercer, p. 712; Müller, p. 39.

285) Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 62-86: Miller, vol. 2, pp. 7-9; Frazer, 1918, vol. 2, p. 413.

286) Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 9-15: Storr (tr.), p. 259; Harrison, p. 30.

287) *GB*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 162.

existed in Syria and various parts of India, of barren women bathing in those rivers that were supposed to be inhabited by river-spirits in the hope of conceiving children.²⁸⁸⁾ These facts would seem to show that stories of water-gods seeking union with virgins²⁸⁹⁾ also arose from the magical rites of agricultural peoples who sought help from the fertilizing powers of rivers, springs and rain. The Japanese Miwayama-type legend in which gigantic serpents inhabiting deep pools change themselves into beautiful youths and nightly visit human maidens is distributed over a very wide area, while legends of the Perseus and Andromeda type where heroes rescue virgins offered in sacrifice to dragons and serpents, of which the Japanese legend of Susa-no-o and Kushiinada-hime is another example, might indicate the actual existence in the past of a custom of offering human sacrifices as a part of fertility rite. Legends of this type are found in Babylonia and in Greece, from the Japanese islands and Annam in the east to Scandinavia, Scotland and nearly the whole of Europe in the west, as well as among the Negroes and Kabyles of Africa, and among American Indians and the Eskimos,²⁹⁰⁾ and the extent of its distribution suggests its antiquity. Human sacrifices were in fact offered to river-gods, to the River Nile in Egypt, to the Ganges in India, and to the River Tiber in Rome besides other places,²⁹¹⁾ and it is equally clear that they were in the nature of a fertility rite. The Indian water-god Varuṇa, who gave a thousand white steeds to the father of the bride at the marriage feast of the sage Richika, was regarded as the god of fertility in marriage, and the words, "king of the world of water, who curbs the wicked, who made a road in the heavens to receive the rays of the sun, etc." were used in prayers addressed to him. Human sacrifices were offered to this god also, as we read in the tale of Śunahśepa, and it is said that this gave rise to the custom in later times of sacrificing infants to the river-goddess Ganga at the mouth of the river.²⁹²⁾ Neither should the story of the Cretan Minotaur demanding a tribute every seven years of Athenian youths and maidens be regarded simply as a dramatization of the enmity roused in the hearts of the Athenians by the historical facts of the heavy burden laid by King Minos on tributary cities like Athens and Megara along the coast of the Mediterranean, but as containing vestiges in it of some religious ritual of bygone ages. The ball of thread given by Ariadne to Theseus before his entry into the labyrinth reminds us of the story of the thread which Ikutamayori-hime passed by means of a needle through the hem of the gown worn by the Japanese serpent-god, Miwa-no-Ômono-nushi, who visited her every night, and we must not forget that, in the Mediterranean culture of the period,

Sacrifice of virgins

288) *ibid.*, pp. 159-161.

289) *ibid.*, pp. 150-154.

290) *ibid.*, pp. 155 ff.; MacCulloch, 1920, p. 408; James, p. 708.

291) Mercer, p. 710.

292) Croke, 1920, p. 717; Gubernatis, vol. 1, pp. 69-71.

the bull often represented the god of water, and that the bull-headed Minotaur may be taken to be the forerunner of Poseidon.

Oxen and horses
offered to water-
gods

If such is the case, it would seem to us that the custom of sacrificing oxen to water-gods which we find widely spread along the coast of the Mediterranean in ancient times had the character originally of an agricultural fertility rite. Then what of horses? According to Homer, a bull each was offered to Poseidon and the spirit of the sacred River Alpheus by being thrown into the waters of the river,²⁹³⁾ but into "the fair stream and whirling silver waves" of the River Scamander, the ravisher of maidens, "single-hoofed horses" were cast alive besides many oxen.²⁹⁴⁾ In later ages, as we read in Tacitus, when the Roman general Vitellius came with his army to the banks of the River Euphrates, he sacrificed pigs, rams and bulls in the river after the Roman manner to appease the river-god, while Tiridates slew a horse for the same purpose.²⁹⁵⁾ The story of Pompey causing magnificent war-horses to be thrown into the sea in thanksgiving for a victory is well-known. The interpretation given to these sacrifices may have differed with the times, but for reasons already stated, we are led to conclude that they were the result of the horse, which had come into the ancient Mediterranean sphere of culture from the north at a later period than the ox, being assimilated into this agricultural culture and becoming the symbol of fertility and growth, side by side with, or replacing the ox. The horse-headed Demeter, the Corn-Mother, and the harvest festivals of European peasants of which the festivals held in her honour furnish us with an early instance, are examples of the horse being regarded in such a light by the agricultural population, and the idea has been early suggested by W. Mannhardt and others that the sacrifice of the October horse in ancient Rome may have been in reality a symbolic representation of the mythical killing of the horse-shaped corn-spirit, and its subsequent resurrection.²⁹⁶⁾ The god Mars to whom this horse was sacrificed, was the god of fields and harvests as well as being the god of war,²⁹⁷⁾ and the head of the horse that had been sacrificed was cut off and garlanded with a string of loaves to symbolize the Spirit of the Corn, while the blood was used later for fumigating cattle in the spring. The grotesque head of the horse made the object of a heated contest between the inhabitants of two wards, the Sacred Way and the Subura and if the former ward won, in the earliest days of Rome, the head was fastened on a wall of the King's House, whereas if the latter did, it was the Mamilian Tower that was adorned with the trophy.²⁹⁸⁾ 'The custom of hanging horses'

Horse-headed
agricultural gods

293) Homer, *The Iliad*, XI, 726-729: Murray (tr.), vol. 1, p. 535.

294) *ibid.*, XXI, 130-132: Murray (tr.), vol. 2, pp. 417-419.

295) Tacitus, *Annales*, 37: Murphy (tr.), p. 275.

296) Mannhardt, S. 160, 163 ff. (cit. by Koppers, 1936, S. 289).-291.

297) Ovid, *Fasti*: Frazer, *Appendix*, pp. 397-399; Eitrem, S. 20 (cit. by Koppers, 1936, S. 289).

298) Ovid, *Fasti*: Frazer, *Appendix*, pp. 413-416; Koppers, 1936, S. 290; Howey, pp. 109-110.

heads at the entrance of farmhouses as a kind of charm still remains in certain districts at the present day, and such heads were commonly seen in the Ōu region in Japan until quite recently²⁹⁹⁾ (Cf. Fig. 20). Many images of Oshira-sama, who is variously worshipped as the patron god of abundant harvests, of silk-worms, of children, of those stricken with diseases of the eye and so on, by the people of the Kantō and Tōhoku districts in Japan, are furnished with horses' heads (Fig. 9).³⁰⁰⁾ Moreover, other examples such as the legend of a girl uniting herself with a horse and together with the horse's head or hide flying through the air, which explains the origin of this particular god,³⁰¹⁾

299) Thomas, p. 519. Mr. Sasaki Kizen records his memories of this custom as practised in his native village in Rikuchū province in Northeastern Honshū as follows:—"Of course, this was not confined to my village, but there was a custom in the old days of cutting off the heads of horses that had died and hanging them on poles set up outside the entrances of houses. When I was a boy, a third, or even perhaps half of the fifty houses in my village had these poles before them. Before some houses, three or four of such horses' skulls washed many times over by the rain looked up at the sky through hollow eyes and showed their teeth ranged along the upper jaws. In my house, too, three such skulls lay on the stone wall until one or two years ago. One can easily imagine that in my grandfather's time, in my great-grandfather's, and in times still further back, every house had such horses' heads before it."—Sasaki, 1931, p. 21; Satō, pp. 248-249; Yanagita, 1914, pp. 87-188 (ed. 1942, 240-241). In Europe, in the northwestern part of Germany, Wales, Russia, the Tyrols, Raetia, Spain and elsewhere, one often sees two sculptured heads of horses jutting out cross-wise from the summit of gables of farmhouses.—Petersen (cit. in *Folklore*, vol. 11, p. 322, pls. I-V, p. 437-pl. VI). The present writer does not think that these customs found in Japan are directly connected with the Southern European belief in corn-spirits and horses' heads. As with the Japanese belief in Oshira-sama given in the next note, such Japanese customs as hanging horses' skulls outside farmhouses seem to contain elements in them which differ considerably in origin from the Southern European belief in question. We have only referred to these customs as showing how the horse, brought by the nomadic peoples, came into and became a part of the lives of the agricultural peoples.

300) *Oshirasama-zuroku*, pl. 43. Cf. pls. 18, 26, 33, 36, 37. A detailed bibliography on the Oshira-sama is given in pp. 127-141 of the same work.

301) Yanagita, 1935, pp. 55-56, 181-182. The following is a typical story from the *Tōno Monogatari*, told to the author by Mrs. Daidō Hide of Tsuchi-buchi village, Kamihei-gun, Rikuchū province (age over 80): "Once there lived a poor farmer who had lost his wife, but had a beautiful daughter. They kept a horse, and the daughter so loved the horse that at night she went to sleep in the stable and she and the horse came to mate. One night, her father found this out, and the next day, he took out the horse without letting his daughter know of it and killed it by hanging it by its neck on a mulberry tree. That night, his daughter found the horse gone, and learning what had happened from him, went in alarm and sorrow to the mulberry tree and began to cry, clinging to the neck of the dead horse. Her father saw this and grew angry, and cut off the horse's head with an axe, when the girl leapt on to the horse's head and ascended to heaven. This is the origin of the god Oshira-sama, and his image is made out of the mulberry tree on which the horse was hanged, etc."—Yanagita, 1935, p. 55.

It is clear that this story springs from the same source as that recorded in the *Sou-shēn-chi*, 14, in which we read, "The horse's skin suddenly rose up and enveloped the woman, and carried her away . . . After several days, the woman and the horse's skin were found among the branches of a great tree, but all had turned into silkworms, which were weaving cocoons on the branches . . . For this reason, the tree came to be called the mulberry tree, etc." But it is an interesting question whether this is an instance of the spreading of legends through books, or the legend was brought to Japan before, or independently of the coming of books, for instance through the importation of the art of sericulture.

the custom of throwing images of Oshira-sama into rivers and wells,³⁰²⁾ the Emburi dance of peasants of the Tōhoku district in which the dancers wear great caps shaped like horses' heads and execute horse-like movements at the time of the raking of rice-fields,³⁰³⁾ the belief that the god Oshira-sama goes up into the sky at the beginning of each winter, carrying with him the seeds of cereals which he brings back to earth in March of the following year,³⁰⁴⁾ the custom of the *makko-tsunagi* ("tethering of horses") in the Tōno area of Rikuchū province whereby images of horses are hung on branches together with straw wrappings containing rice-cake, which are said to travel to Izumo province to meet the coming of the ripening of cereals,³⁰⁵⁾ that of carrying figures of horses' heads *haru-koma* ("spring colt") in January,³⁰⁶⁾ the practice of bringing out white horses and striking them on the occasion of the Hakuba-sechie ("white horse ceremonial") at the Japanese court in old times,³⁰⁷⁾ the pilgrimage to the Inari shrine dedicated to Kura-ina-tama-no-kami, the god of rice, on the first Day of the Horse in February according to the lunar calendar,³⁰⁸⁾ and the custom

302) Sasaki, 1931 a, pp. 156-157.

303) *ibid.*, p. 158. Mr. Sasaki says that he saw an Emburi dance at Hachinohe in Aomori prefecture in February 1931, and became aware for the first time that the *eboshi*-hat worn by Oshira-sama was derived from the shape of a horse's head.

304) *ibid.*, p. 158. For this reason, there is a custom of bringing out a mill-stone into the garden on the dawn of the day of the god's coming, and making noises in it with a pestle. This is said to be done to call down the god.

305) *ibid.*, p. 158. "In the old days, it was usual to make images of horses about 2 feet long with straw, and to take them, together with straw-wrappers containing *shitogi* (roughly kneaded rice-cakes), to trees growing near wells and rivers or the sluices of one's rice-fields, and hang them on the branches. In recent times, it became rare to see horses made of straw, paper folded four times or six times in the form of horses being substituted, and these were pierced with spits and hung at the places named. Whether made of straw or paper, the rice-cakes were smeared on the horses' mouths. These horses were also offered to *ubusuna-gami*, the local deities of the place. The horses were supposed to travel to Izumo province to greet the coming of the ripening of corn. The earlier the horses were hung the better, for the agricultural gods of the families who were late in hanging their horses were supposed to come back late, and so everyone vied with each other in going out to hang the horses at dawn. When we were boys, we used to collect these horses on our way back from school, and see who collected the most. We showed off those we collected which had shapes that differed from others, and tried to guess which family had hung out which horse. The boys of the present day also seem to indulge in this pastime."

306) Tsunoda, vol. 2, nos. 11-12, pp. 681-684, 730-731; vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 26-28; Hirase, pp. 108-110.

307) This custom is still to be found today in certain districts, and it is said that at the Shiroumatsuri ("white horse festival") held each year on the night of Jan. 7th at the Kashima shrine in Hitachi province, and the first festival of the year held on Jan. 13th according to the lunar calendar at Kuon-ji temple on Mt. Minobe, horses are still beaten on the buttock.—Deguchi, p. 10. For the meaning of this custom of striking horses, cf. Deguchi, p. 11 ff. and passages on the "whipping oxen" in this chapter, p. 107.

308) Deguchi, p. 17; Minakata, 1918, p. 181.

of bringing out black horses;³⁰⁹⁾ or cutting off horses' heads and throwing them into rivers, when praying for rain,³¹⁰⁾ all show that in Japan, horses, and more particularly, their heads, possessed the qualities of an agricultural god. The circumstances which gave rise to the horse-headed Kôshin-image and the worship of Batô-Kwannon ("horse-headed Avalokiteśvara")³¹¹⁾ are not clear, but it is worthy of particular notice that Kodapen (Kodadeo, Ghordeo), the god of horses worshipped by the Gonds in Central India, is represented by stones set up on the boundaries of villages, and besides presiding over the villages as their patron god, also has something of the character of a corn-spirit.³¹²⁾ There are also scholars like Miss Harrison who would have it that it is possible to see in the famous Trojan horse the relics of a wooden horse originally used in some fertility rite and forming part of the paraphernalia for a resurrection ceremony or the magical rite of a sacred marriage, when one compares the Trojan horse with the hobby-horse—the symbol of fertility—which still survives in the village tradition and customs of Europe, or the wooden cow of Crete which Daedalus hollowed out and placed on wheels, covering it with cow hide, and in which he put Pasiphaë to please Ariadne.³¹³⁾ From all this,

309) Nakayama, p. 67 (cites *Seiyô-gorei-ikyô, Higashikasugai-gun-shi, Engishiki*, 3.)

310) In Inano village, Kawabe-gun, Settsu province, the inhabitants cut off a horse's head and throw it into the waterfall Mizo-taki at the source of the River Namase, when praying for rain. The horse must be white with black markings. At this ceremony, a book of prayer for rain preserved in the village is read, and then the horse's head is cut off and thrown into the waterfall, after which the inhabitants return to the village without looking back. The man chosen to cut off the head wears the ceremonious dress, *kami-shimo*, and performs his task on a rock. In some years, the man only makes a semblance of cutting off the horse's head, and after wounding the horse slightly on the neck, the blood is smeared on the rock, after which the inhabitants return to the village. One such ceremony was held in 1883, and much rain fell while the villagers were on their way back.—Nakayama, p. 67.

311) Examples of Kôshin-images with horses' heads are quite common in the neighbourhood of Tokyo. Batô-Kwannon is the Japanese version for Hayagriva Vidyârâja and there must certainly be some connection between these two. A similar relationship may exist between our Batô-Kwannon and some older popular beliefs. We read in the *Kwannon-reijô-ki* (觀音靈場記), 6, that the presiding deity of Matsuo-ji temple in Wakasa province, near the boundary between this province and Tango, is Batô-Kwannon, and the origin of the temple is as follows: A fisherman of Kô-no-ura put out to sea carrying an image of Batô-Kwannon 1 *sun 8 bu* (about 2 ins.) long, and met a storm, but was able to reach the shore guided by the neighing of a white horse. So the fisherman carved another image of Batô-Kwannon out of wood thrown upon the beach, and built a temple in which to enshrine it, and ever since then, someone among his descendants, who must always be squint eyed, is chosen to take care of the temple. The image has three faces and two arms, coloured red, and represented as in anger, with the head of a white horse on top of the faces. (From the material collected by Mr. Yanagita).

312) The stone on the outskirts of the village representing a horse-god is worshipped at the beginning of the rainy season. Only men join in the worship, women being excluded.—Crooke, 1912, p. 8 a. "When a field is sown, the field-god, Kodopen, said to represent the god of the *kodo* millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), but more probably a hill-god, is propitiated."—Crooke, 1913, p. 313 a. Cf. Crooke, 1926, p. 351; Minakata, 1918, p. 181.

313) Harrison, pp. 43-46. Cf. Apollodorus, III. 1, 4: Frazer (tr.), vol. 1. p. 305.

then, the significance of the cornucopia held in the left hand of Epona, the Celtic goddess of water and of horses (Fig. 5), has, we think, become much clearer.

North and South

The sacrifice of horses practised from ancient times by the peoples of the steppes of Inner Asia in the north, was by its nature a bloodless sacrifice offered to heaven and differed greatly both in form and content from the sacrifices, such as have been just described, in usage among the agricultural peoples of the south. We naturally find many elements in the ox-rearing customs of the area stretching from the southern half of the Eurasian continent to East Africa that owe their origin to the nomadic culture of Inner Asia,³¹⁴⁾ but as we have already pointed out, the sacrifice of oxen and horses to water-gods, or rather, the association of these animals with water-gods, has a strongly "southern" character, and in the opinion of the present writer, it indicates that the process which began primarily with the ox was later extended to the horse. But as is usual with all such secondary complexes, there is much also in these customs and legends which possesses a "northern" quality having its origin in the nomadic culture, and other qualities belonging to cultures of still other orders. The question of the sacrifice of horses in its entirety, which would require a book by itself to be fully discussed, cannot be dealt with here. But to give only one example having to do with water-gods, the casting into the sea of a yoke of four horses at the annual festival of the sun-god in Rhodes, where the people followed a religion of Semitic origin,³¹⁵⁾ indicates a culture different from that seen in the sacrifice of oxen in the agricultural and lunar mythological world. The idea of regarding the horse as the animal sacred to the sun-god is particularly prominent in the religion of the Semites,³¹⁶⁾ while we have already given some examples showing that the association in some form or other of the horse with the sun was widespread among the beliefs of the Indo-Europeans.

We have perhaps been tarrying too long by the coasts of the Mediterranean of the ancient world. But it is not that we have been lured into doing so by the poetic charm in which its myths and legends abound, washed as we might say by the blue waves of the Mediterranean. If we have stayed too long, it was because the remains and legends of the ancient world preserved in these regions are comparatively rich in clues to the solution of the questions raised in this essay. But we must now take leave of this fascinating world and particularly of Poseidon, the great water-god, the one who "moves in a kind of rolling splendour." We shall retrace our steps, and in examining the relationship of oxen (and horses) to the water-spirits and water-monsters of European folklore, it is hoped that the conclusions arrived at from the foregoing study

314) Flor, S. 16-24.

315) Smith, p. 293.

316) II *Kings*, XIII, 11.

of the ancient Mediterranean culture will be further confirmed.

Beginning in the north, we shall first give a glance at the Slavic peoples. **The Slavs**
 There is a water-spirit living in the depths of rivers and marshes called Vodyanik **The water-man**
 or Deduška Vodyanoi ("water-grandfather") in Russia, Vodník in Bohemia, Vodeni Mož ("water-man") in Yugoslavia, Topielec ("drowner") in Poland and so on. He usually appears as a bald-headed old man and lives mostly at the bottom of the water near a mill, where he keeps numerous herds of oxen, horses, sheep and pigs which he drives up to land every night to graze. It is said that he is sometimes seen seated on the mill-wheel, combing his long green hair. This old man possesses great strength in the water, but has none at all when on dry land. He likes to ride on a sheat-fish, or saddles horses, bulls or cows and rides them until they fall down dead in the marshes. Whatever happens in the world of water is his doing, and although he helps the fishermen and sailors when in good humour, he will overturn boats, tear the spikes out of mill-wheels, and cause mills to be flooded by the rising waters of rivers when he is irritated. To avoid such mishaps, millers must bury some living thing like a cow, sheep, or even a man in the foundations of their mills. The old man also appears often at markets. If he pays a high price for corn, it is a sign that the harvest is going to be bad, and if a low price, the crop will certainly be a good one. He marries water-nymphs and girls who have been drowned. When the waters of rivers and lakes overflow their banks, men know that he is getting drunk at his marriage-feast. During the winter, he usually remains underwater in his dwelling, and when he wakes up with the coming of spring, he is hungry and irritable, breaks the ice, stirs up the waves and frightens the fish. To appease him, a horse smeared with honey is sacrificed, and being impatient for it, he causes the water to heave and howls dismally for three days. In Ukraine, the head of a horse used to be buried in a dyke so that it would not be destroyed by the Vodyanik.³¹⁷⁾ Although of a different origin perhaps from this water-man, a spirit in the form of a gigantic bull is said to inhabit each of the large lakes in Yugoslavia, and people make offerings of coins to them before washing sheep in these lakes.³¹⁸⁾ There are also legends among the Western Slavic Wends (Sorbes) of how the water-spirit Nix draws cows into the water each day at midday.³¹⁹⁾

The facts enumerated above show to what extent the water-spirit, regarded **The Turks**
 as the god of fertility, has become associated with agriculture and oxen and horses, so as to leave even today vestiges of some ancient agricultural ritual in the popular beliefs of the Slavic peoples. We may add here that the legend of the Slavic water-spirit, together with that of the water-horse Rusalka, spread to the Turks in the basin of the Volga, and to the far Siberian tribes

317) Máchal, pp. 270-271.

318) Bolívka, S. 318.

319) Panzer, S. 132.

also through the Russians. The Yakuts in particular have much in their folklore that is of purely Russian origin. They believe that the water-spirits come on land between New Year's Eve and the Twelfth Night and wander along the roads with many children who are carried on the backs of oxen. At that time, the people gather together at cross-roads, openings in the ice, and near deserted huts to listen to the noise the spirits make, and foretell from it the things that will happen during the year. The Yenissei-Ostyaks and other fishing tribes of Northern Siberia believe in the existence of a spirit who presides over rivers, lakes and marshes, and make offerings to it at the beginning of the fishing season in spring, while the Yakuts in the past are said to have sacrificed a black bull to their water-spirit, Ukulan Tojon, through the shamans.³²⁰⁾

The Finno-Ugric peoples

Water-festivals,
oxen and horses

If we turn our attention next to the water-festivals of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Northern Europe who are either surrounded or in actual contact with the Slavs, we find the agricultural character of their festivals equally pronounced. For instance, in Russian Ingermanland, the head, hoofs and entrails of a cow that had been slaughtered for the occasion were thrown into the water, at the peasant festival held on St. Peter's or St. Elias' day. Other examples are reported in which not only the head and entrails but a whole he-goat was cast into a river, or the head of an ox first thrown into a lake as a redemption-offering and then afterwards the carcass. According to the inhabitants of those regions, the object of this practice was to ward off death by drowning, and according to some others, to prevent any misfortune overtaking the cattle, but it is hardly possible that a ceremony of this sort held regularly every year at a fixed period should have been started to guard against accidental mishaps like drowning. St. Elias, on whose day the ceremony was held, was regarded as the god of wind, rain and thunder, and Uno Holmberg is of the opinion that the original significance of a ceremony which was at first a magical fertility rite must have become forgotten in the course of ages.³²¹⁾ The custom of sprinkling water on oxen, horses and sheep when first turning them out to pasture in the spring is to be found everywhere in Finland,³²²⁾ and indicates a belief in the magical powers of water as the source of fertility. The custom of bringing the bride on the second day after marriage to some place where there is water, and a relation of the bridegroom, or the bride and bridegroom themselves overturning the first pitcher of water drawn is derived from the same idea. This custom is to be found mainly in Eastern Finland among the Cheremiss, Esthonians, Karelians, Ingrians, and Votians, and since it coincides in every detail with the practice in Eastern Russia, it is thought to be of Slav origin.³²³⁾ The Votyaks, Mordvins, and the Baltic Finns sacri-

320) Holmberg, 1927 a, pp. 469-470.

321) Holmberg, 1913, S. 229-230.

322) *ibid.*, S. 232.

323) *ibid.*, S. 230.

ficed a black animal, generally a sheep or a black bull, not only to the earth but also to the "Water-Mother," chiefly to obtain fruitful rains. The Cheremiss sprinkle water on one another at such ceremonies.³²⁴⁾ The Votyaks and the Mordvins, like the Russians earlier, hold a great festival at which they throw horses into the water when the ice begins to break in the spring. At an Ostyak festival which Holmberg witnessed in 1911 at the River Buy, a tributary of the Kama, a young foal was first killed and cooked by the river, then the people knelt down facing the river and the officiating priest began reading a long prayer begging prosperity from the river. Meanwhile the bones, hide, and other parts of the carcass were thrown into the river together with the animal's new halter, the blood having been already flowing into the river through a ditch dug in the dyke. The kind of animal to be sacrificed was changed every year, so that if it was a brown foal one year, it would be a black bull the next.³²⁵⁾ According to Castrén, the Ostyaks of Obdorsk, when fishing was bad on the River Obi, sometimes sacrificed a reindeer by sinking it in the river with a stone hung on its neck.³²⁶⁾ This, however, is not to be taken as the authentic form of sacrificing reindeer, and is probably an imitation of the sacrifice of oxen and horses in practice among the agricultural peoples.

Examples of water-spirits appearing in the form of horses, or luring horses into the water, have already been given. But these spirits, like the great Poseidon, also assume the form of oxen, and lure oxen as well as horses into the water. Vüt-oza ("water master") dreaded by the Cheremiss dwells in such waters as do not dry up during the hot season. He usually appears as an old man, but can turn himself also into a horse or a bullock. He likes to lure human beings, but when he fails, he captures cattle and carries them away into the water.³²⁷⁾ When the Näkk, the water-spirit of the Esthonians, wishes to entice cattle into the water, he turns himself into an animal and mixes with them on their pasture ground, and then, when returning to the water, entices the other animals to follow him.³²⁸⁾ Master of the water

The idea of water-spirits keeping herds of magnificent cattle in underwater pastures, as in the case of the Russian Vodyanik, is prevalent also among the Finns who live along the shores of the Baltic. One finds such legends as that in the diocese of Uuras, a man once saw a herd of beautiful cows come out of Lake Uuras and land on an island in the lake, but disappear again into the water when the man approached them, or that in the diocese of Kürsten on the bay of Bothnia, great herds of the "cows of the Näkk" appear nightly on the shore and graze there from sundown until dawn of the next day.³²⁹⁾ Oxen kept by water-spirits

324) Holmberg, 1927 a, p. 212.

325) *ibid.*, pp. 214-215, pl. XXI, p. 200.

326) Holmberg, 1913, S. 56-57.

327) Holmberg, 1927 a, p. 199.

328) *ibid.*, p. 203.

329) Holmberg, 1913, S. 209.

Sometimes, after these oxen have been led back at dawn into the water by the water-spirit who owns them, it happens that just one animal is left behind. If a man circles the animal once or three times with a piece of iron in his hand, it can no longer return to the water. It becomes a part of the human world, and the water-spirit can only howl from the water, vainly searching for the lost animal. If it is a cow, one has only to caress her and be gentle to her, or even just recognize her for what she is, to make her one's own.³³⁰⁾ To rear such a water-cow with a herd of ordinary cattle, her first milk must be offered to the spirit of the earth. Her blood, when she is slaughtered, must also be offered to the earth. In some regions, when milking such a water-cow, the first three spouts are spilled on the ground while one recites the words, "One for the earth, one for the water, one for those who dwell in the air!"³³¹⁾ At the extremity of the peninsula of Kurland to the south, where are the villages of the Livonians now reduced to a population of a little over 1,000, one finds, besides legends of the Näkk in the form of a horse and of sea-horses, stories of a sea-maiden, sometimes called "Virgin Mary," who tends blue sea-oxen by the shore and drives them back into the sea before the eyes of human watchers, and how one cow which lagged behind left her progeny in Kurland, and an abundance of other such legends.³³²⁾

Oxen of the earth-spirit and the oxen of wells

According to the Finns of Scandinavia, great herds of cattle owned by an earth-spirit called Maahiaiset ("the underground one") also come out of the earth and disappear into it again, but if a man throws anything made of iron at them, they can be easily caught. A similar story is told about the "cows of Manalaiset ('the dead') in Northern Finland and Russian Karelia.³³³⁾ In general, one sees again in these legends and popular beliefs, the conjunction of the earth, water, the nether regions and the ox that is peculiar to the religious concepts of most agricultural peoples. But as the idea of water-spirits keeping herds of cattle is confined to the Baltic Finns among the Finnish peoples, and the cows being beautiful animals giving an abundant supply of milk, the possibility of men capturing them by going round them and other such factors have much in common with the beliefs of the Nordic peoples, it is thought that the idea must have been imported among these Baltic Finns by the latter.³³⁴⁾ Among the Finns of Nyland, there is a legend of a water-monster called Kaivohärkä ("the bull of the well") who lives at the bottom of wells, and the story of how he will draw anyone who comes near into the well is used to frighten children. Whether this is a variation of the Näkk legend, or derived from the story of the oxen kept by water-spirits is not clear,

330) *ibid.*, S. 209-210; Holmberg 1927 a, p. 205.

331) Holmberg, 1913, S. 210-211.

332) Loorits, p. 42.

333) Holmberg, 1913, S. 211.

334) *ibid.* S. 211.

but there are similar monsters in the folklore of the Germanic peoples, and it is probable that it originated with them.³³⁵⁾

It is best therefore that we should examine once more the forms of the **The Germanic** water-monsters in Germanic folklore. In Northern Germany, there is a **peoples** legend of a variegated bull which came out of the sea everyday to give a dinner **The water-bull** to a shepherd, and even a clean shirt on Sundays, a legend which is widely spread with its several variants.³³⁶⁾ Near Scheuen in Niedersachsen, there is a marsh called Taufe from which a wild bull sometimes appears to cover cows grazing. There is no doubt that this story has something in common with the idea of grazing horses by the water-side to obtain fine horses which had been mentioned early in this paper, and as we have observed in connection with the water-stallion seen by Sindbad the sailor, legends of this type might be a reminiscence of herding customs once actually in existence. It is also said that, when a storm rises over this marsh, a great horse with gigantic hoofs rises out of the water.³³⁷⁾ In Eastern Germany, the water-man often appears in the form of a white calf, and goes about limping while uttering pitiful cries. This is a sign that someone will be drowned. It is also said to appear in the form of a black calf with a horse's head and long ears. In Swabia, there is a water-spirit which has the form of a white cow. In Switzerland, there lives a water-monster with the belly of a great cow, whose thousand shining eyes are all fixed on one point. When this monster rolls out of the water, it destroys everything within its reach.³³⁸⁾ In Switzerland there is also a legend of two oxen appearing out of a lake and fighting with each other,³³⁹⁾ and in England too there are many legends of oxen who live in lakes, and of the water-spirit Nix, or a water-giant, appearing in the form of oxen. This is supposed to cause diseases and death to cows.³⁴⁰⁾ The mediaeval legend of how Meroveus was born of the union of a bull which appeared on the sea-shore with the sleeping queen³⁴¹⁾ clearly belongs to the same category, and it is said that there is also a similar legend in Spain. The Scotch water-horse *kelpie* sometimes **The Celts** appears on land in the form of a bull, and then it is called a water-bull.³⁴²⁾ We often find the water-bull in the folklore of other Celtic peoples including the inhabitants of the Isle of Man,³⁴³⁾ and in this way, we can see that the idea

335) *ibid.*, S. 211-212.

336) Kuhn und Schwartz, S. 501 (cit. by Gubernatis, vol. 2, p. 223) *Ann.* 256-257.

337) Grimm, 1876, Bd 1, S. 406.

338) Panzer, S. 132.

339) *ibid.*, S. 132.

340) Wirth, S. 482.

341) Simrock, S. 437, 469 (1887, S. 417, 448); Wirth, S. 482; Gubernatis, vol. 1, p. 223; Grimm, 1903, Nr. 424 (cit. by Panzer, S. 132).

342) Grimm, 1876, Bd 3, Nachtr., S. 142. For examples of water-oxen in Europe, see the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Bd 8, S. 482 already cited, while a detailed bibliography on the subject is given in p. 484 of the same work.

343) Rhys, pp. 284-285; Peacock, p. 569; Croke, 1896, vol. 1, p. 44-45.

connecting oxen with water-spirits, side by side with that connecting horses with water-spirits, has spread among the Germanic, the Slavic, the Celtic, and in fact, nearly the entire European peoples, extending as far as the various peoples of Finno-Ugric origin.

The Semites
"Oxen's well"

Taking leave of Europe and turning back once more to Asia, there is a place of pilgrimage called "Oxen's well," Ain al-bacar, at Acre on the west coast of Syria. This was visited by the Jews, the Christians and the Moham-medans for the reason that the oxen Adam ploughed with came out of the well.³⁴⁴⁾ This mediaeval legend of the Semites which connects the origin of agriculture with sacred water and oxen must have its source in the culture of the ancient Orient. Ox-worship did not originate with the ancient Semites, to whom it seems to have been transmitted by way of Sumeria to Babylon, and from the Hittites to Northern Syria,³⁴⁵⁾ and there is extant a Babylonian hymn written in both the Sumerian and Semitic languages addressed to the great bull, the offspring of the storm-god Zu, "the supreme bull that treading the holy pasturage . . . planting the corn and making the field luxuriant," in which it is said that the mouth of the great basin of water,—"sea" or "the deep,"—which stands in the court of a Babylonian temple, lies between the ears of the bull. In the same hymn occur the words "the twelve gods of copper," so that this "sea" must have been of the same sort as the "sea" of Solomon's temple of which we read in *Kings* that "it stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east; and the sea was set above upon them, and all their hinder parts were inward."³⁴⁶⁾ There is an ancient Jewish story of a king of the deep sea who had the form of a three-headed bull, and the idea which occurs in the *Arabian Nights* of a bull which stands up in the middle of the ocean bearing the world on itself is thought to have been carried with the spread of Islam in later ages to Egypt, to Eastern Russia, and the Turks of Central Asia, and then on to the Volga Finns and the various tribes of the Caucasus.³⁴⁷⁾

The bull which
bears the "sea"

We have already mentioned the fact that in the culture of the ancient Indo-European peoples, there was a mingling of "southern" elements centred round the bull with "northern" elements founded on the horse. Taking this culture as such with them, these peoples advanced eastwards to the Iranian plateau, to the Punjāb, and to the fertile plains watered by the Ganges, and in following their march, we should like to start with two incidents recorded by Herodotus. The first has to do with the arrival of the Persian army led by Cyrus on the banks of the River Gyndes, a tributary of

Persians

344) Smith, p. 183, note 1.

345) Sayce, pp. 888-889.

346) *ibid.*, p. 888; I *Kings*, VII, 25.

347) Harva, 1938, S. 30-32.

the River Tigris, on their way to attack Babylon. Cyrus was about to order his great army to cross the river, when "one of the sacred white horses accompanying his march, full of spirit and high mettle, walked into the water, and tried to cross by himself; but the current seized him, swept him along with it, and drowned him in its depth. Cyrus, enraged at the insolence of the river, threatened so to break its strength that in future even women should cross it easily without wetting their knees. Accordingly he put off for a time his attack on Babylon, and, dividing his army into two parts, he marked out by ropes one hundred and eighty trenches on each side of the Gyndes, leading off from it in all directions, and setting his army to dig, some on one side of the river, some on the other, he accomplished his threat by the aid of so great a number of hands, but not without losing thereby the whole summer season. Having, however, thus wreaked his vengeance on the Gyndes, by dispersing it through three hundred and sixty channels, Cyrus, with the first approach of the ensuing spring, marched forward against Babylon."³⁴⁸⁾ The number 360 corresponds to the number of days in a solar year. That is to say, we find expressed in this legend, besides the idea of river-gods seeking white horses such as we have already seen in old Chinese records, the idea of the white horse as an animal sacred to the sun-god which is common to the ancient Semites and Indo-Europeans. The second incident is concerned with the expedition into Greece of Xerxes, the grandson of Cyrus. When the vast army of Xerxes came to the River Strymon in Trachea, the Magi accompanying the army sacrificed white horses to make the stream favourable. "After propitiating the stream by these and many other magical ceremonies, the Persians crossed the Strymon, by bridges made before their arrival, at a place called The Nine Ways, which was in the territory of the Edonians. And when they learnt that the name of the place was The Nine Ways, they took nine of the youths of the land and as many of their maidens, and buried them alive on the spot. Burying alive is a Persian custom."³⁴⁹⁾ It is worthy of notice that we find recorded here, besides the sacrifice of white horses to propitiate river-gods, sacrifices consisting in the burying alive of boys and girls by the bank of a river, a form of fertility rite wide practised among ancient agricultural peoples. These two examples have to do with white horses and river-gods. Then how does the case stand with the oxen? Plutarch relates that the ancient Persians sacrificed sacred cows by the banks of the Euphrates—

White horses and river-gods

Sacrifice of cows

"On the other side of the river, there was a certain number of kine consecrated to Diana Persica, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyond the river of Euphrates, do reverence and honour above all the other gods: and these kine they employ to none other use, but only to sacrifice them unto this goddess. They wander all about the country where they will, without any manner of

348) Herodotus, I, 189-190: Rawlinson (tr.), vol. 1, pp. 310-311.

349) *ibid.*, VII, 113-114: Rawlinson (tr.), vol. 4, p. 94.

tying, or shackling otherwise, having only the mark of the goddess, which is a lamp printed upon their bodies, and they are not easy to be taken when one would have them, but with great ado." But when the Roman general Lucius Licinius Lucullus was advancing with his army against Tigranes, the king of Armenia, and had completed the crossing of the Euphrates, "one of these consecrated kine . . . came to offer herself upon a rock which they suppose is hallowed or dedicated unto their goddess, bowing down her head, and stretching out her neck, like those that are tied short, as if she had come even of purpose to present herself to Lucullus, to be sacrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a bull also unto the river Euphrates, in token of thanks for his safe passage over."³⁵⁰—We have already argued, from an analysis of the structure of ancient Oriental culture, that these sacrifices of oxen and horses to river-gods must have been derived from the sacrifice of oxen having the character of a fertility rite connected with agriculture. Among the Iranian peoples, the relationship between water and horses is particularly prominent, and beginning with the goddess Anāhita and the Scythian horse-charm in the form of a golden fish which have been mentioned in the last chapter, such other examples as the legend of horses that sweat blood of Ta-yüan and Tokhara, the Dapple of Ch'inghai which was obtained by turning loose a Persian mare into Ch'inghai (Kuku-nor), the water-horse in the river which neighed in answer to the bronze horse in the Zoroastrian temple in the River Oxus, all these have some connection with the Iranian peoples. If we further take into consideration the story of the sea-stallions in the *Arabian Nights*, and the legends of water-horses belonging to the Islamic sphere of culture to be found in Kashmir, Kurdistan and Armenia, we cannot help thinking that a portion at least of these legends was carried to the east and west of the Eurasian continent by the equestrian peoples of Iranian origin.

But we must neither forget that the ox occupied in the Zoroastrian religion a position equal in importance to that which it held in the Hindu. We have already mentioned the legend of the moon "that contained the seed of the bull." There is a hymn in the *Avesta* which says: "Hail, bounteous bull! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow his part upon the righteous faithful, and wilt bestow it on the faithful yet unborn!"³⁵¹

The urine of the cow was used in religious ceremonies of purification, at which it was drunk or used for washing one's face, and the *Avesta* gives a formula to be recited on taking the cow-urine.³⁵² A variant of the legend given in the last chapter of the divine horse which lived in a cave on the south

Distribution of the water-horse legend and the Iranian peoples

Sacred urine of oxen

350) Plutarch: North (tr.), vol. 5, pp. 229-230.

351) *Zend-Avesta, Vendidad*, XXI, 1: Darmesteter (tr.) pt. 1, p. 231.

352) *Zend-Avesta, Khordah-Avesta*, III: Bleek (tr.) pt. 3, p. 3; Gubernatis, vol. 1, pp. 95, 99, 80-81.

side of Mt. Po-li in Tokhara, recorded in Chinese works of the T'ang and Sung periods, and according to which the urine of the horse is supposed to have been constantly flowing out of a hole in a wall of stone,³⁵³⁾ may have some connection with such ideas.

The custom of using the excrement and urine of oxen as a means of purification is thought to have spread from the Hindu to the Persians, but it cannot have been derived from the religious ideas of the Aryan peoples themselves. As we have already stated, the ethnological and archaeological knowledge we possess today permits us to follow the development of a culture which existed in a zone extending from India to the Mediterranean long before the coming of the Aryans. The culture of the Dravidian peoples who, as the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India, laid the foundations of ancient Indian civilization, or the far older Indus civilization which yet seems to be closely related to the former, are both parts of this pre-Aryan culture, and as far as we can ascertain through the *Atharvaveda* which is said to reflect the popular beliefs of these pre-Aryan peoples, or the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā which tell us of the Indus civilization of fifteen or sixteen centuries before the Aryan invasion, this culture, although from the point of view of ethnology it was made up, strictly speaking, of a variety of primitive cultures, had a strongly agricultural and matriarchal character. The Earth-Mother, trees, oxen, serpents and sexual organs were worshipped, and polyandry and bloody human sacrifices seem to have been practised. The people learned early to rear oxen and made these animals the centre of their religious life, but they were unacquainted with horses, which is the reason given for their having been easily conquered, in spite of the comparatively high level of their culture, by the Aryan new-comers who went to battle with war-horses and chariots.³⁵⁴⁾ The Aryans already possessed, prior to their invasion of India, a culture which combined cattle-breeding with agriculture and the horse with the ox. But the idea of considering the ox as something sacred in the manner of the ancient Brahmans and the modern Hindus, to the extent of regarding the urine and excrement of oxen as the ambrosial food, must be founded on a religious conception of an agricultural character having to do with fertility rites, which was held by the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India in common with the peoples belonging to the ancient Oriental and Mediterranean sphere of culture. This agricultural and matriarchal culture which was dominant in pre-Aryan India must have been extended to the Tibetan plateau in the north, and in the east must have been in contact with the agricultural and ox-rearing culture of the area extending as far as Southern China from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The important part played today by oxen and water-buffaloes in the agricultural rites of tribal societies with marked matriarchal characteristics in Assam and

India
Pre-Aryan culture

353) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 435; cf. note 45.

354) Kimura, pp. 339-354, 361, 383.

Indonesia, will probably have to be studied in relation to the migration of the Austronesians, who spread southward from their home in the Asiatic continent to the islands in the Southern Pacific, long before the coming of Hinduism.³⁵⁵⁾

Furnished with the cultural data given in the foregoing pages, if we now turn our steps towards India and return for the last time to China and East Asia, we shall have advanced a step further towards the solution of the problems the clues to which we first gained in our examination of the structure of the ancient Mediterranean and Oriental culture.

We shall first begin by glancing over the folklore which may have been preserved for thousands of years among the vast population of India.

Sacrifices to the
flood demon

“ In the Punjāb, when a village is in danger of floods, the headman makes an offering of a cocoa-nut and a rupee to the flood demon. As in many other places the cocoa-nut represents the head of a human victim, which in olden times was the proper offering. . . Some people throw seven handfuls of boiled wheat and sugar into the stream and distribute the remainder among the persons present. Some take a male buffalo, a horse, or a ram, and after boring the right ear of the victim, throw it into the water. If the victim be a horse, it should be saddled before it is offered. A short time ago, when the town and temples at Hardwār were in imminent danger during the Gohna flood, the Brāhmins poured vessels of milk, rice and flowers into the waters of Mother Ganges and prayed to her to spare them.”³⁵⁶⁾

Buffalo demon

The object of the sacrifice to the water-demon in the passage quoted, just as in the case of Wang Tsun of the Han dynasty in China who sunk a white horse in the Yellow River to appease the water-god, is to avert the disaster of a flood, but if we examine the nature of the offerings, it is difficult not to notice that the ceremony has the character of an agricultural ritual. In Mirzapur on the banks of the Ganges, there is a famous water-hole called Barewa. It is said that a herdsman once brought some buffaloes to graze by it and the water of Barewa was incensed by this and swallowed up both the herdsman and the cattle. The drowned buffaloes then turned into a dangerous demon called Bhainsāsura (“ buffalo demon ”) who took up his abode in the pool with the Nāga and the Nāgin, so that today no one can fish in the pool without first appeasing the devil with the offering of a fowl, eggs, and a goat.³⁵⁷⁾ This demon also became deified as a corn-spirit, and it is necessary to propitiate him when the grain has come into ear.³⁵⁸⁾ The buffalo is worshipped together with Yama, the god of death, as his *vāhana* (vehicle), so that pious Hindus do not use it for ploughing and carting.³⁵⁹⁾ The legend

355) Heine-Geldern, 1932, S. 543-619.

356) Crooke, 1896, vol. 1, 46.

357) *ibid.*, p. 44.

358) Marshall, vol. 1, p. 72.

359) Crooke, 1926, p. 366.

of the slaying of the death demon, Asura Mahiṣa, which had the form of a buffalo, by Devī (Durgā), the wife of the god Śiva, may explain the sacrifice of buffaloes often offered to this Mother-Goddess in place of the human sacrifices of ancient times.³⁶⁰⁾ The Gaddī shepherds in the Punjāb offer food, water or sheep made of flour to the Batal water-spirits,³⁶¹⁾ the Khasis of Assam offer a goat to the river-goddess before casting their nets,³⁶²⁾ and the Kaivarta fishermen of Bengal throw a live kid into the water at the ceremony for guarding their nets.³⁶³⁾ These are the rites performed by herdsmen and fishermen to propitiate water-gods, and oxen and horses have no part in them, the animals sacrificed being confined to small horned animals like sheep and goats. They are probably later imitations of the sacrifice of oxen and horses.

We have already referred to the relationship between horses and the water-god Varuṇa. This god who was originally the god of the celestial world first appears as the lord of water in the *Purāṇas*,³⁶⁴⁾ and the linking of his name with the Aśvamedha, the sacrifice of the horse, which was practised from the age of the *Rgveda* also seems to be a secondary combination.³⁶⁵⁾ But we cannot overlook the fact that this national ceremony, the nature of which is preserved for us in detail in the classical literature of India, has characteristics which show its close relationship with the world of lunar mythology and the mythology of the nether regions, and all that has to do with fertility rites, and Varuṇa also seems to be invoked in the capacity of such a type of deity. At the beginning of this ceremony, at the moment the horse chosen for sacrifice is led into the pond for cleansing, a black "four-eyed dog" (a dog with a spot above, or at the side of, each eye) is knocked down dead by a pariah and the words, "Those who would do harm to the horse, may Varuṇa crush them!" are chanted. Then the dog's carcass is thrown at the foot of the horse standing in the water. Four-eyed dogs often appear in the beliefs of the Indo-European peoples as a dog of the god of the nether regions.³⁶⁶⁾ After this, the horse is let loose towards the northeast for a year, and when it is strangled together with hundreds of other animals after going through various preparations, the first wife of the king who presides over the ceremony takes her place by the side of the horse, and the priest spreads a cloth over them. This represents the sexual act, and during this time, the priest and the women exchange ribald pleasantries.³⁶⁷⁾ When the moment has come for the final ablutions, the king enters the water with the queen and chants a hymn of praise to the god Varuṇa,

Varuṇa in the
Aśvamedha

360) Keith, 1917, pl. 1, Frontispiece; Marshall, p. 72, note.

361) Crooke, 1921, p. 718.

362) Gurdon, pp. 114, 115.

363) Crooke, 1921, p. 718.

364) Dowson, p. 338.

365) Keith, 1925, p. 346 (cit. by Koppers, 1936, S. 341). Vol. 2, pp. 346-347.

366) Koppers, 1936, S. 341.

367) *ibid.*, S. 297-298, 345.

saying, "Praised be Varuṇa! The bonds of Varuṇa have been severed!" and "a man of the Atori clan, white, with yellow eyes, and wrinkles on his face" is immersed up to the mouth in water, while the blood of the horse that has been sacrificed is poured on his head.³⁶⁸⁾ In this way, those who follow him and the king who is presiding over the ceremony are purified of their sins. The "white-skinned and yellow-eyed" old man who may be compared to the Jewish scapegoat, while being a symbol of Varuṇa himself, is considered as having perhaps some significance that has to do with the lunar mythology, since the Atori clan is frequently associated with gold.³⁶⁹⁾ In this connection, we should also remember the story of Śunahśepa in which human sacrifice is offered to Varuṇa.

The horse and
the mysteries of
Mṛtyu-Prajāpati-
Aśvamedha

But the question goes beyond Varuṇa. The being round which the mysteries of Aśvamedha centre is Prajāpati as the creator of the universe. He is, in his original form, Mṛtyu—Death—and while he creates all things, he devours everything that he creates. He writhes, sings, and sweats in order to create, and thus the horse and the Aśvamedha are born. It is Prajāpati himself who offers sacrifice in the Aśvamedha, and the horse sacrificed is no other than the universe. All things are contained in the Aśvamedha.³⁷⁰⁾ Such are the mysteries of the Mṛtyu-Prajāpati-Aśvamedha as interpreted pantheistically in the *White Yajurveda*, and such an example of the horse occupying the central position in a cosmogonic complex of this kind is not to be found among other Indo-European peoples. But what is of particular interest to us in connection with the questions with which we are dealing is the fact that Mṛtyu-Prajāpati is considered at the same time as being Aditi.³⁷¹⁾ Aditi is the goddess of cows, or of the earth, and usually closely related with the moon-goddess herself.³⁷²⁾ Prajāpati is also said to be a bull. "The great bull is Prajāpati!" "The bull is the Prajāpati (lord of creatures or generation)!"³⁷³⁾ And often the cow which is the mother of the earth is represented on a pendant worn by Prajāpati the creator in his guise of a bull.³⁷⁴⁾ Here again we might see, as we did in our examination of the Mediterranean culture, a reminiscence of a previous civilization in India before the coming of the Aryans. The mysteries themselves and their cosmogonic content must be of ancient origin. But it is possible that the appearance of the horse in the ceremony, and the foregoing philosophic interpretation of Mṛtyu-Prajāpati, date from a comparatively late

Aditi

368) *ibid.*, S. 298, 342.

369) *ibid.*, S. 344.

370) *ibid.*, S. 324.

371) *ibid.*, S. 324.

372) *ibid.*, S. 362.

373) *ibid.*, S. 337; *Satapatha-Brahmana*, IV, 4, 2, 14: Eggeling, 1885 (*SBE*, vol. 26), p. 360; V, 2, 5, 17: Eggeling, 1894 (*SBE*, vol. 41), p. 58.

374) Held, p. 74 (cit. by Koppers, 1936, S. 362.)

period. Moreover, the priest of the Aśvamedha whispers in the right ear of the horse, "Thou art strong by thy mother," and to the carver he says, "Bless its (the horse's) mother! Bless its father!" naming its mother first, while, when the ceremony has reached its climax, the women begin lamenting and calling to the horse just sacrificed, "Mother! Little mother! Dear little mother! There is now no one to lead me!—The little mother over there!"³⁷⁵⁾

All this establishes beyond a doubt that in a zone covering pre-Aryan and pre-Semitic India, Iran, Southwestern Asia and the Mediterranean, there existed a matriarchal, vegetable, and agricultural religious complex of great vitality, closely connected with the moon, oxen, water and the world of the dead, and centred round the idea of the Earth-Mother, Magna Mater. M. Jean Przyluski affirms that the Aryans in India were in contact since before the age of the *Vedas* with the peoples who were worshippers of this Earth-Mother,³⁷⁶⁾ but however that may be, it is, as we have already seen, the agreed opinion of all who study cultural history today, that before the appearance of the horse in the sphere of culture presided over by the Earth-Mother, the animal which was held to be inseparable from her was the ox. Since that is the case, it is permissible to surmise that the process by which the horse, appearing out of the sphere of culture with strong patriarchal tendencies of the nomads of the steppes, established itself in the world of the Earth-Mother, forming connections with the moon, water, and the world of the dead in great national ceremonies like the Aśvamedha or in the rites and beliefs of the common people, consisted quite simply in replacing the ox in the religious position it occupied prior to the coming of the horse.

The Earth-Mother
and oxen

But before we return once more, in the wake of the sacred bull, to East Asia, there is left still one more problem which we must take this opportunity to clarify. It is the question of the relation of oxen and horses to the gods of rain and thunder. According to the Vedic idea, both the horse and the bull were *that which pours out* and *that which makes fruitful*. The horse of Indra, the god of thunder and rain,—and even the chariot they drew,—possessed this virtue.³⁷⁷⁾ This fact is of particular importance in pursuing the problem before us. We read in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* that the ancient kings of India performed the ceremony of the sacrifice to Indra of the stallion,³⁷⁸⁾ and there is a hymn in the *R̥gveda* in which Indra appears on horseback.³⁷⁹⁾ All scholars are agreed that this god used to be one of those to whom the sacrifice of the Aśvamedha was offered.³⁸⁰⁾ But the

Gods of thunder
and rain, and oxen
and horses

375) Koppers, 1936, S. 362.

376) Przyluski, 1934, p. 430 (cit. by Koppers, 1936, S. 362).

377) *R̥gveda Sanhitā*, V, 36, 5; VIII, 13, 31: Wilson (tr.) vol. 3, p. 293; vol. 4, p. 276.

378) *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 21 ff.: Keith (tr.), 1920, pp. 336 ff.; Koppers, 1936, S. 337.

379) *R̥gveda Sanhitā*, I, 183: Wilson (tr.), vol. 2, p. 122.

380) Koppers, 1936, S. 337.

Indra-Adad type of
thunder-god

commonest symbol of Indra, the god of thunder and rain, is the bull, and the deed for which he is known is his striking with thunder the evil dragon Vṛtra, who had pent up all the water in the world in a cave, and causing the water to flow back to the sea again. We find the same two characteristics in the god Verethraghna—later Mithra—who is the Iranian equivalent to Indra in the *Avesta*, and also in the thunder-gods Adad (Hadad, Rammān) and Tešub in Southwestern Asia and Asia Minor.³⁸¹⁾ In connection with the formation and essential character of the god of thunder and rain, Prof. F. Kern has pointed out that, while the god is in a certain sense a projection of the god of the sky worshipped by the nomads, he is also in another sense the product of an agricultural society, and Kern argued that a nomadic-agricultural mixed culture was best fitted for the formation of such a deity.³⁸²⁾ We can see indeed from such other cases also as Jehovah of the Israelites wreaking his anger on the whole land of Egypt by sending down thunder and hail,³⁸³⁾ and Zeus striking with lightning Phaëton driving the chariot of the sun, and killing by the same means the hero Iasion enamoured of the goddess Demeter,³⁸⁴⁾ that the idea of the god of the sky easily leads to that of the god of thunder and lightning, but at the same time, it must not be forgotten that thunder and rain stand in close relationship to agriculture, and are therefore apt to become associated with the moon. On this account, Prof. Koppers, augmenting the theory advanced by Kern, has mentioned examples of the idea that thunder, lightning and rain are all caused by the moon occurring among the Eskimos, Bushmen, and certain tribes along the coast of Peru, and made it clear that the thunder-god possesses at the same time the characteristics of the moon-god.³⁸⁵⁾ In proof of the existence in the thunder-god Indra of elements belonging to the lunar mythology, Koppers enumerates such factors as the legendary repetition of the slaying of the demon dragon Vṛta being interpreted as a symbol of the waxing and waning of the moon, and *soma*, the drink of gods, which is regarded as something having a connection with, or the

Moon, thunder
and rain

381) *ibid.*, S. 338, 367, 378-379; Gubernatis, vol. 2, pp. 391-394. Of special interest is the fact that Verethraghna sometimes assumes the form of a bull.—Koppers, 1936, S. 338, Anm. 80. Adad is the Western Semitic name of the Sumerian god Iškur. The god has also other names such as Mir, Mirmer, Iluwer, Mur, meaning the giver of storms, and Rammān, "the roarer." Tešub is the Hittite name for the same god. The god, while being feared on the one hand as the destroyer of cities and plains, was also worshipped as a fertility god who gave water to the fields. His symbol was a trident or an axe, and he was represented as a bull lying down, or with the horns of a bull, or riding on a bull.—Ebeling, 1924, S. 17 a, b; Unger, S. 440 a; Langdon, 1931, p. 47.

382) Kern, S. 179.

383) *Exodus*, IX, 23, 24.

384) Fox, pp. 244, 226; cf. pp. 53, 90, 264, 280; Apollodoros: Frazer (tr.), vol. 2, pp. 388-394, Appendix 11; *ibid.*, III, 11, 1: Frazer (tr.), vol. 2, p. 35.

385) Koppers, 1936, S. 376.

same thing as the moon, the bull which is supposed to be the animal of the moon, the death-spirits Maruts that live in the moon, and water which is inseparable from the moon, all being closely associated with Indra, and further gives such evidence as the similarity between Indra and Heracles, in whom we find many characteristics pertaining to the lunar mythology, and the absence in Indra of solar mythological as well as ethical elements.³⁸⁶⁾ As for the bull being connected with the thunder-god, we see examples of it in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Asia Minor (the Hittites), and Syria, besides in India and Iran as we have already pointed out, and the thunder-god was represented mounted on a bull as far back as in the third millenium B.C. in Ur.³⁸⁷⁾ It is interesting to compare this figure of the thunder-god mounted on a bull with the Indra on horseback of later ages. The idea of gods riding animals is only possible when men have learned to ride themselves. So that, somewhere in Southwestern Asia, where the thunder-god was worshipped in the form of a bull, or represented with a bull following at his heels, men must have come into contact with the equestrian peoples of Inner Asia, and inspired by them, conceived the idea of placing on the back of a bull the thunder-god who was so closely associated with the bull.³⁸⁸⁾ And in India, we might say that a step forward was taken, when they represented their bull-god Indra on the back of a horse.³⁸⁹⁾ Here too we see an instance of the Indo-European peoples, who brought the horse into the sphere of ox-cult, substituting the bull with the horse.

The thunder-god mounted on the bull

The area of distribution of the Indra-Adad type of the thunder-god in the ancient Orient extended from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia at its centre to Syria and Palestine, but there does not seem to have been any contact with the cultures of ancient Egypt and Crete.³⁹⁰⁾ And since the worship of the god spread eastward to Iran and India, and we find traces of his influence westwards in the Greek Heracles and Thor of the Nordic mythology, it is to be surmised that this god has his origin in the ancient Tauris culture of Asia Minor and the Caucasus, and that his worship then spread to the primitive Indo-European peoples.³⁹¹⁾

The thunder-god associated with the bull was also commonly worshipped as the god of fertility. The thunderbolt sent by Indra of the *Rgveda*, which penetrated the clouds and made the cow fruitful, took the form of a phallus.³⁹²⁾ In the same way, the axe of Thor, the Indra of the Nordic mythology, seems to have figured in nuptial ceremonies as a symbol of fecundi-

The thunder-god as the god of fertility

386) *ibid.*, S. 339-340.

387) *ibid.*, S. 378-379, Anm. 29; cf. note 217.

388) *ibid.*, S. 380; cf. Ebeling, 1928 a, S. 439 a; Unger, 1926, S. 440 a.

389) *ibid.*, S. 380-381; 379, Anm. 29.

390) *ibid.*, S. 376.

391) *ibid.*, S. 376, 377, Anm. 25.

392) *Gubernatis*, vol. 1, pp. 224-225.

ty.³⁹³⁾ Parjanya, another ancient Indian god of thunder and rain, was likened to the bull, as the embodiment of the power which controlled the growth of plants, the increase of cattle, fecundity in women, and similar manifestations.³⁹⁴⁾ The Esthonian peasants used to pray for an abundant harvest and beneficent rain by sacrificing an ox to their thunder-god Taara.³⁹⁵⁾ The Slavs also sacrificed oxen to their thunder-god Perun.³⁹⁶⁾

It is also probable to find a projection of these Indra-like qualities of a god of thunder and rain associated with the moon, the ox, and water, in the mythology of the agricultural peoples of Eastern Asia. The process by which the god of thunder, as the god who brings on showers, becomes at the same time the god of water and agriculture, is to be seen in the etymology of such Japanese words for lightning as *ina-zuma* ("rice-wife") and *ina-bikari* ("rice-light"), in such Japanese customs as that of surrounding with a row of green bamboos hung with *shime-nawa* (sacred straw festoon) a piece of rice-field struck by lightning, and sanctifying it as the spot where the thunder-god descended,³⁹⁷⁾ and in such Japanese legends as that of the thunder-god falling down from the sky and being turned into a boy, and giving water to rice-fields in return for his having been rescued by men,³⁹⁸⁾ and the Japanese have in their Susa-no-o-no-mikoto a perfect example of the Indra-Adad type of

Susa-no-o-no-
mikoto

393) The giant Thrymr stole and hid Mjölfnir, the hammer of Thor, and asked Freyja to marry him. Thor took on the form of Freyja and came to the house of the unsuspecting Thrymr, who brought out Mjölfnir and placed it on his bride's knees, and so the entire race of giants was killed by Thor. This Nordic legend indicates that the thunder-god Thor was originally a fertility-god, and we might mention in this connection, that there was a custom in districts along the coast of the Baltic formerly belonging to Russia, of placing an axe under the bridal bed that sturdy children might be born of the marriage. In Sweden, there was discovered a crude rock-picture of a man and a woman lying down and a man beside them holding aloft an axe.—Bing, S. 242, Abb. 10 Taf. 15; cf. Abb. 5, Taf. 15. A similar picture is engraved on a funeral tablet discovered in Semferopol in Southern Russia.—Tallgren, 1926, p. 49, Fig. 36 B, No. 6.

394) *GB*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 368; *R̥gveda Sanhitā*, V, 83: Wilson (tr.), vol. 3, pp. 373-374.

395) *GB*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 366; Grimm, 1875, Bd. 1, S. 146.

396) *GB*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 365; Máchal, pp. 295, 296.

397) Yanagita, 1940 a, p. 108.

398) *ibid.*, pp. 107-108. In Chapter 2 of the *Shirin Saiyō-shō* (A.D. 1266),* there occurs the following passage: "According to the story preserved by old people, Tatsu-ta was the place where the thunder-god once fell and could not ascend to heaven again. He was changed into a boy, and a farmer adopted him as his child. There was a drought over the land at the time, and no rain fell in the neighbouring villages, but a shower came down at intervals over the farmer's fields so that the rice grew and ripened, and the farmer harvested as much rice as he wanted. The boy asked the farmer sometime afterwards for permission to leave him, and turning himself into a little dragon, ascended to heaven, whence the name Tatsu-ta ("dragon-field") which came to be given to the place."—p. 16. In the story of the saint Shin-yū of Echigo province, who bound up the thunder and built a tower, given in Chapter 12 of the *Konjaku-monogatari-shū*, water gushes forth from a hole which the thunder-child makes in a rock.

thunder-god in Eastern Asia. This god who slew the serpent, Yamata-no-orochi, at the source of the River Hi and rescued Kushi-inada-hime, while being the god of thunder-storms who shook the mountains and rivers, had also much in common with the moon-god Tsuki-yomi, and in addition to being the god of the Japanese nether regions, Sokotsu-ne-no-kuni, had also marked characteristics of an agricultural god. Further, as the god "who ruled over the plains of the sea," there are many points about him which remind us of the unruly foreign god Poseidon. We may argue from this that it was not mere coincidence which caused him to be regarded in later ages as the Japanese counterpart of the Ox-headed King of Gods, Gozu-tennô, and perhaps it is even possible that the god of thunder, Kitano-Tenjin, mounted on a bull, has an origin going back far beyond Sugawara-no-Michizane, the historical personage of the 9th century who is supposed posthumously to have taken the form of this deity.

The fact that the god Ômono-nushi (Ôkuni-nushi, Ôna-muchi), the son of Susa-no-o-no-mikoto, appears as a serpent-god in the Miwayama type legend, indicates that Susa-no-o-no-mikoto probably possessed the characteristics of a serpent-god as well as those of a bull-god, and in all Japanese beliefs concerning thunder-gods, they seem to have had originally the form of serpents. When Chiisakobe-no-Sugaru captured the thunder on Mt. Mimoro and presented it to the Emperor Yûryaku, it is said to have been shaped like a great serpent, and that "its eyes glowed,"³⁹⁹⁾ and when the priest Dôjô, begot by the thunder-god, was born, a serpent was coiled twice round his head with the serpent's head and tail hanging down towards the back of the child.⁴⁰⁰⁾ In the story of Mt. Kurefushi in *Hitachi-Fudoki*, the god who visited his human paramour nightly seems also to have been a thunder-god with the form of a serpent, and the little serpent born to the god tried to shock its uncle to death and ascend to heaven.⁴⁰¹⁾ In this connection, Mr. Yanagita is of the opinion that the Japanese words like *okan-dachi* meaning thunder, and *yû-dachi*, a violent shower of rain (*dachi* < *tatsu*), probably signify the descent of the god of heaven on a piece of ground that has been purified for his reception, that the word *tatsu* (*v.* to stand, appear; *n.* dragon), as in *omokage ni tatsu* (to seem to appear before one's eyes), *yume-makura ni tatsu* (to appear in one's dream), and *tsui-tachi* (the first day of a month), had originally the meaning of a god making his appearance, and that unless this view is taken, it would be difficult to account for the legend of thunder falling in the place, told in explanation of the name Tatsu-ta in Yamato province,³⁹⁸⁾ or the Japanese reading of the Chinese character 龍 (*lung*, dragon) as *tatsu*.⁴⁰²⁾ In China also, it is the serpent-shaped dragon *lung*, the water-god, who raises thunder-storms,

Thunder-gods in
the form of serpents

China and her
border regions

399) *Nihongi*, 14: vol. 2, p. 224; Yanagita, 1940 a, pp. 110-111.

400) *Ryôiki*, pt. I, 3; Yanagita, 1940 a, p. 110.

401) *Fudoki*, p. 72.

402) Yanagita, 1940 a, p. 114, note 6; 1940 b, pp. 1-2; cf. note 396.

Thunder and the
dragon

Wicked dragons
destroyed by
thunder

makes the wind rise, and causes the clouds to form, just as in the case of Japanese dragons. In the *Shan-hai-ching* there occurs the passage, "The thunder-god dwells in the Thunder Marsh. He has the form of a dragon with a human head, and strikes on his belly as though it were a drum,"⁴⁰³⁾ which shows us that the thunder-god was early associated with the dragon in the minds of the Chinese. It is said that on the Lung-t'ai-t'ou (龍臺頭 "dragon raising his head"), which falls on the 2nd day of the 2nd month of the lunar calendar, the warmth of the sun envelops the earth, and the dragon who has been lying under cover during the winter raises his head,⁴⁰⁴⁾ and we also find it recorded that the dragon is kindred to the thunder, and that he ascends to heaven in company with thunder and lightning.⁴⁰⁵⁾ At the same time, the pearl held in the claws of the dragon is taken to be the thunder in the midst of clouds, or again, the moon hidden by clouds.⁴⁰⁶⁾ The dragon is of the same nature as the clouds and rain,⁴⁰⁷⁾ rides on clouds,⁴⁰⁸⁾ and as one of the most exalted of heavenly gods, is called T'ien-i (天一) and T'ai-in (太陰).⁴⁰⁹⁾ On the other hand, although of the same nature as the thunder, a dragon that has become degenerate may be destroyed by thunder and lightning (or an axe). We find written concerning the legend of the temple Hui-li-ssü (慧力寺) in Ch'ing-chiang-hsien (清江縣), Kiangsi province, that, "Old men tell us, there was a rock in the river which had the sinuous form of a dragon, complete with head, claws, and scales. A priest named Shan-chou (善周) lived in the Hui-li-ssü, and divining that the dragon did evil, one day brought thunder and shattered the rock."⁴¹⁰⁾ "Hai-yin (海印) was a priest of the temple Hui-li-ssü. It is said that there was a stone dragon by the river, sinuous and of immense size, with every scale in place. This stone dragon did mischief in company with a wooden dragon carved in ancient times that was in the temple. So the priest hammered a copper nail into the wooden dragon, and having read aloud some *sutras*, brought thunder with which he struck the stone dragon. One evening, it thundered, and the dragon was shattered to pieces."^{410a)}

It is interesting to note the similarity of *motif* between these stories and the Indra-Adad type of legends dealing with the slaying of evil dragons. The thunder and lightning of Indra transformed themselves without difficulties into the axe of Rammān (Adad) and the hammer of Thor. The water-god General Yang-ssü (楊四) of Ch'ang-sha (長沙) cut down with an axe Wu-i-lung

403) *Shan-hai-ching*, 13, *Hai-nei-tung-ching* (海內東經); *Huai-nan-tzū*, 4, *Chui-hsing-hsün* (墜形訓).

404) *Ten-ching sui shih-chi*, Jap. tr. p. 43, note 2.

405) *Lung-hêng*, 6, *Lung-hsü-p'ien* (龍虛篇).

406) Visser, pp. 103, 106.

407) *Lung-hêng*, 16, *Lan-lung-p'ien* (亂龍篇); 14, *Han-wên-p'ien* (寒溫篇).

408) *Han-fei-tzū*, 17; *Lung-hêng*, 6, *Lung-hsü-p'ien*.

409) *Huai-nan-tzū*, 3, *T'ien-wên-hsün* (天文訓).

410) *Kiangsi t'ung-chih*, 1732, 161, *Tsa-chi* (雜記), 3; Huang Chih-kang, p. 77.

410a) *Ch'ing-chiang-hsien-chih*, 28, *Tsa-chih* (雜誌); *Kiangsi t'ung-chih*, 1880, 179, *Hsien-chih* (仙釋), 2; Huang Chih-kang, p. 77.

(無義龍), a dragon water-god,⁴¹¹⁾ and Êrh-lang-chün (二郎君), a water-god dwelling by the Yangtse River, also fought with an evil dragon on horse-back armed with an axe.⁴¹²⁾ For this reason, the image of this god enshrined by the river shows him wearing a golden armour, holding an axe in his hand, and treading underfoot a *chiao*-dragon. This is the form in which General Yang-ssü is usually represented.⁴¹³⁾ Moreover, the dragon which dominates the moon and the heavens through its power over wind, rain, clouds and thunder, and grants by the same means the prayers of farmers for abundant harvests that follow a beneficent rain, in its turn becomes associated, on falling from the heavens to earth, with the ox. In legends of struggles with *chiao*-dragons about which we shall speak later, the dragons usually appear in the form of oxen. The *chiao*-dragon is a species of dragon which, having left its abode in the sky, lives at the bottom of rivers. It is shaped like a serpent, and is said to cry in a manner resembling the lowing of oxen.⁴¹⁴⁾ The facts give an added interest to the legend of thunder falling in ancient times on a farmhouse in Po-chou (亳州) in Anhui province, and how, on having urine thrown at it, it lost the power to return to the sky and "lowed like an ox."⁴¹⁵⁾ We shall give later an example of oxen in the water causing the wind to rise, and rain. The legends already referred to of the inhabitants of a village in Ê-meih-sien casting a fine horse into the water, thereby causing much rain and thunder, and of the messenger of a river-god mounted on a white horse with red mane, followed by abundant rain wherever he goes, may be explained by the association of the horse with the dragon, but in China, too, the first animal which became connected with river-gods may have been the ox. At any rate, it is clear that a complex connecting the moon above with the waters of rivers on earth below through the medium of thunder, rain, wind, and clouds on one hand, and *chiao*-dragons, horses, and oxen on the other, possesses pre-eminently an agricultural and lunar mythological character.

The *chiao*-dragon
in the form of oxen

The foregoing is the first step on our way back to the world of Eastern Asia. The chronology relating to the domestication of the ox and the horse in Eastern Asia may not be ascertained with such exactitude as in the case of the ancient Mediterranean, Egypt, Southwestern Asia and India. Students of prehistoric archaeology in China and Japan do not appear to have paid much attention in the past to this important problem in the history of mankind. In reference to the numerous bones of oxen discovered among remains of the Yang-shao culture in Honan, Kansu and Ch'inghai, the present writer has not been able to obtain any information except that J. G. Andersson considers

Origin of the
domestication of
oxen and horses

411) Huang Chih-kang, p. 6.

412) *ibid.*, p. 10.

413) *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

414) Eberhard, 1942, S. 401; *Hsin-ch'i-hsieh*, 17, Lung-mu (龍母).

415) *Liao-chai-chih-i shih-i*, Lei-kung (雷公).

about 40 of the bones of oxen found on the site of Lo-han-t'ang in Ch'inghai province to be those of oxen that have been domesticated, and the question is certainly among the most interesting which remain to be solved in the domain of Chinese prehistoric research.⁴¹⁶⁾ It is said that the site of Lo-han-t'ang belongs to the early Yang-shao period which follows closely on the Ch'i-chia period. We have already dealt with the reasons which give cogency to the theory that the origin place of domestication of the ox lies further to the south on the Asiatic continent than that of the domestication of the horse, and we propose in the following pages to elucidate our view that the association of the ox in China with traits of religion, mythology and legend of an agricultural character should be linked up with the culture of Southeastern Asia rather than with anything further north. But the fact that the oldest remains pertaining to the domestication of the ox in China should be found on her western borders, whereas those discovered in China proper belong to a much later date, would seem to support the view that the introduction into China of the domesticated ox took place through the eastern advance of a cultural wave by way of Central Asia. On the other hand, in respect to the wild horse, the bones of the *Equus sanmeniensis* have been found on the site of the discovery of the *Sinanthropus*,⁴¹⁷⁾ and those of the *Equus przewalskii*, the ancestor of the Chinese domesticated horse, among remains belonging to the Palaeolithic Age,⁴¹⁸⁾ which facts indicate the existence of the horse in China from the earliest times, but this does not imply that any trace of its domestication has been so far found. The horse was well-known to the Neolithic people in Kansu, but it does not seem to have been domesticated at that period either.⁴¹⁹⁾ In contrast to these facts, the bones of horses discovered together with those of oxen in Ch'êng-tzū-ai (城子崖) in Shantung, and belonging to the later Neolithic Age, lead us to think by their vast quantity that they had already been domesticated.⁴²⁰⁾ Perhaps the similarity in species of the bones of oxen in Ch'êng-tzū-ai to those discovered at the Yin site in An-yang may also be cited in support of such a conclusion.⁴²¹⁾ Prof. Erkes has recently put forward the novel thesis that the wild horse, known from the most ancient times in China, became domesticated during the Neolithic Age, and thence the product was made known to the Ural-Altaic peoples instead of the contrary, basing his arguments on the antiquity of the wild horse in China, and the fact that the Indo-Chinese languages possess a common word for the horse, and

416) Andersson, 1934, p. 242; Heine-Geldern, 1932, S. 594.

417) Andersson, 1934, pp. 120-121.

418) Boule, Breuil, Licent et Teilhard de Chardin, pp. 45-46, pl. X, Fig. 8.

419) Andersson, 1925, p. 17, Fig. 5 a, shows the picture of a horse on a piece of pottery of Hsintien period.

420) Creel, pp. 189, 191, 192-193; Li-chi, p. 91.

421) Creel, pp. 189, 191.

that at least, the nouns which stand for horse in the eastern Altaic languages—*morin* in Mongolian, *mal* in Korean etc.—seem to have been borrowed from the Chinese *mar*.⁴²²⁾ But if the bones of horses discovered in Ch'êng-tzū-ai are to be taken as the earliest remains of domesticated horses in China, the period to which they belong, roughly coincides with that of the mass transmigration of the Hyksos and the Aryans in the 2nd millenium B.C., when a powerful wave of the horse culture of Inner Asia spread towards the southern regions of the Eurasian continent, whereas we already see traces of the domestication of the ox in the site of Lo-han-t'ang belonging to the early Yang-shao culture which ante-dates the supposed period of the domestication of the horse by several, or perhaps more than 10 centuries. The present writer has pointed out elsewhere the lack of conclusive proof in the data produced by Erkes in support of his theory, and the abundance of documentary and ethnological material in Chinese history which tends to confirm the opposite of what Erkes has advanced.⁴²³⁾ The question, then, of the process by which the domesticated ox and the domesticated horse made their first appearance in Chinese culture, and that of Eastern Asia in general, must wait for further developments in archaeological research to be satisfactorily solved. But it is none the less true that in ancient China also, the horse was employed mainly by the ruling classes in war, and for transit and hunting, whereas the labours of the field were assigned to the ox, as the animal pertaining peculiarly to the earth. The fact that the mythical emperor Shên-nung (神農 “Divine Farmer”), who first made the plough and taught men to till the fields, is represented as ox-headed, must be a reminiscence of an old belief of the early days of agriculture. In regard to the relationship between oxen and horses and the world of water which in its turn is inseparable from agriculture, if we read through the *Shan-hai-ching*, monsters which dwell in the water, or which cause floods or rainstorms, are nearly always described as having the form of oxen and not of horses, and in the two examples where these monsters appear in the form of horses, they are said to have the tails of oxen. To quote some passages:

The ox-headed
Shên-nung

“In the Eastern Seas there is the mountain Liu-po-shan (流波山), 7,000 *li* from the shore. On the mountain is a beast shaped like an ox, of a blue colour, without any horns and with only one foot. When this beast goes about the water, the wind rises and rain comes. Its light is like that of the sun and the moon, and its voice is like a peal of thunder. It is called *kuei* (夔). The emperor Huang-ti had it captured and made a drum with its skin. When the drum was beaten with the bones of the thunder-beast, its sound could be heard at a distance of 500 *li*, so that the whole country stood in awe of the Emperor.”—14 *Ta-huang-tung-ching* (大荒東經).

Water-horses and
water-oxen in the
Shan-hai-ching

“On the mountain of K'ung-sang (空桑) . . . there is a beast. It has

422) Erkes, S. 27-32.

423) Ishida, 1948, pp. 46-71 gives a detailed criticism of the Erkes' theory.

the form of an ox with the markings of a tiger. Its voice sounds like a bell. It is called *ling-ling* (鈴鈴) . . . When this beast appears, it is the sign of great floods being caused over the country."—4 *Tung-shan-ching* (東山經).

"The river Hua-shui (滑水) has its source . . . in the mountain of Ch'iu-fa (球法) . . . In the river are many water-horses. They are shaped like horses, with limbs that are dappled, and the tails of oxen. They cry as though they were calling someone."—3 *Pei-shan-ching* (北山經).

"The river Mao-shui (旄水) . . . which has its source in the mountain of Tun-t'ou (敦頭) flows eastward into the marsh Ang-tsê (邛澤). In the river are many *po-ma* (駢馬). They have the tails of oxen, white bodies, and, a horn growing on their heads. They cry as though they were calling someone."—3 *Pei-shan-ching* (北山經).⁴²⁴⁾

The fact that in such a work as the *Shan-hai-ching*, there are hardly any strange beasts connected with water having the complete form of horses as in later ages, and that most of them either have the forms, or at least the tails of oxen, constitutes one of the reasons why the present writer is inclined to the view that, in China also, the animal which was associated with water-spirits and river-gods, in popular belief at any rate, was originally the ox. A further proof is offered by the words *ho-po p'u-niu* (河伯僕牛 "ox in the service of the river-prince"), which also occur in the *Shan-hai-ching*. The passage is as follows:

"Ox in the service
of the river-prince"

"There is a country called K'un-min-kuo (困民國), whose rulers belong to the Kou (勾) family. There was a man called Wang Hai (王亥) who held a bird in each hand, and ate their heads. Wang Hai entrusted Yu I (有易) with the care of *ho-po p'u-niu*. Yu I killed Wang Hai, and gained possession of *p'u-niu*."—14 *Ta-huang-tung-ching*.

We are concerned with the meaning of the words *ho-po p'u-niu*. In Kuo P'o's commentary, we are only given the explanation that "*ho-po p'u-niu* are all names of persons," but this does not seem to clarify the passage. It is

424) In later records, the *po-ma* is supposed to appear out of the sea to the south of Kuangtung province. "There is a great sea to the east of Ping-ting-hsien (平定縣). In the sea is found the *po-ma*, which is an animal like the horse with the tail of an ox, and having a horn growing on its head."—*Kuang-chou-chi*. To give a further example or two from the *Shan-hai-ching*, although it is not quite clear whether the animal lives in the water or not: "The river P'an-shui (泮水) has its source in . . . the Yellow Mountain. It flows westward and joins the Red River, in which are found a great quantity of jade. There is a beast there which has the form of a bluish-black ox with large eyes, and this beast is called a *min* (鱗)."—2 *Hsi-shan-ching* (西山經). "The river Yao-shui (濠水) flows here, and its waters are as clear as crystal. A celestial being lives here, who has the form of an ox with eight feet and two heads, and the tail of a horse . . . Whenever he appears, there is war in the region."—*loc. cit.*. The *t'ao-tu*, *chiao*, *k'ung-k'ung* which live in the "Northern Seas," and which we mentioned in Chapter I, are the only water-monsters given in the *Shan-hai-ching* that are described as having the form of horses (see p. 13). But living in the "Northern Seas" does not necessarily mean: in the sea.

Mr. Lo Chên-yü who, in his study of the ideographs discovered at the Yin site, has identified the *p'u-niu* in the *Shan-hai-ching* with the *fu-niu* (服牛) in the *Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu* etc., the old pronunciation of both *p'u* and *fu* being the same. The *ho-po p'u-niu* may therefore be translated as "ox in the service of the river-prince."⁴²⁵ It is said that, when the King Mu of the Chou dynasty held a ceremony in honour of the god of the Yellow River, he caused oxen, horses, pigs and sheep to be thrown into the river,⁴²⁶ but if one examines the ideographs discovered at the Yin site, one sees that the original ideograph of the character *ch'ên* (沈, to sink) as used in the word *li-ch'ên* (豨沈), a kind of sacrifice to the spirits of mountains and rivers, is constructed by placing the ideograph for ox within the ideograph for water.⁴²⁷ So that if we go back to the Yin dynasty, it is to be surmised that the animal held sacred to the river-god was the ox, and in consequence, the words *ho-po p'u-niu* in the *Shan-hai-ching* must mean the sacred ox in the service of the river-god, an expression capable of being interpreted as the river-god himself in the guise of an ox.

In Shên-chou (陝州) in the northwestern part of Honan province is the T'ieh-niu-miao (鐵牛廟), the "Temple of the Iron Ox." The iron ox worshipped here is the one about which Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) has written in a poem, "Who, like the iron ox, can lay himself down and bear the weight of the Huangho?" It stands in the middle of the river to the north of the city, and it is said that the head of the ox rested in Honan province and its tail in Hopei, and that the Emperor Yü employed it to quell the water of the Huangho in flood.⁴²⁸ The iron ox of Shao-chi-wa (筲箕窪) in Chiang-ling-hsien (江陵縣) in Hupei also stands by the temple of the god of the Yangtse River, has the shape of an ox with a single horn, is about 10 feet in height, and supposed to have power over the waters of the river. The iron ox outside the east gate of the Ta-ming-hsien (大名縣) in Hopei is supposed to have inside it some precious treasure by means of which it averts floods, and the copper ox in I-ho-yüan (頤和園) in Peking is also said to rule the waters of the lake there. The Chên-ho-miao (鎮河廟), to the northeast of K'ai-fêng in Honan, and the So-chiang-lou (鎮江樓) to the southeast of Chiu-chiang-hsien (九江縣) in Kiangsi have each its iron ox, and although the iron ox of Huai-ning-fu (懷寧府) in Anhui has become buried in the earth so that only its back is now visible, it was originally cast in order to subdue the water-monsters dwelling in the river.⁴²⁹ Such ideas as these may have taken their rise from the oxen which were once sacrificed to river-gods, or from the even older idea of the river-

An iron ox quells
a river in flood

425) Lo Chên-yü, pt. 1; Kuo Mo-jo, p. 104.

426) *Mu-t'ien-tzû-chuan*, 1.

427) Lo Chên-yü, pt. 2, p. 16 a, b, pt. 3, p. 62 a, b.

428) *P'ei-wên-yün-fu*, 26, pt. 1, *niu* (牛).

429) Other iron oxen of this sort are found in Yüeh-yang-hsien (岳陽縣) in Hunan, Lo-yang-hsien (洛陽縣) in Honan, Chao-i-hsien (朝邑縣) in Shensi, Han-tan-hsien (邯鄲縣) in Hopei, while there is a copper ox in Ho-hsien (霍縣) in Shansi.—Huan Chih-kang, p. 25-27.

god having the form of an oxen, and together with the belief that water-spirits abhor iron, must date back to a period of considerable antiquity. Even of great interest is a legend in the *Sou-shên-chi* of a tree-spirit in the form of an ox who had power over wind and rain, and ended by disappearing into a river.

Tree-spirit in the
form of a blue ox

“The Nu-t'ê (怒特) shrine stood in Wu-tu Ku-tao (武都故道). A catalpa tree grew over the temple, and Prince Wên of Ch'in ordered the tree to be cut down. On men attempting to do so, a great rain-storm arose, causing the gashes made on the tree to heal up, and after a time, it was found that axes were no longer of avail in felling the tree. The prince then ordered thirty or forty men with axes to bring down the tree, but still it could not be done. The men were wearied and went home to rest, but one of them who had hurt his foot could not walk, and so laid himself underneath the tree. Then he heard the gods of the tree say to each other, 'We have laboured hard in our fight today,' and one of them said, 'O, it was nothing at all.' Another then said, 'If the prince of Ch'in continues to send men, what then?' His interlocutor answered, 'What can the prince of Ch'in do against us?' But another of the gods said, 'If [the prince of] Ch'in makes the men twine, with their hair dishevelled, a red thread round the tree, and causes them, clad in red and with ashes on their heads, to cut you down, then you will be helpless.' To this, the other could make no answer. The next day, the prince did as the sick man heard the demon say he should, and so the men were able to cut down the tree. At the moment it was cut down, a blue ox came out of the tree and ran into the river Fêng-shui (豐水). After this, an ox appeared out of the river, which the prince commanded his horsemen to slay. However, they found the ox more than a match for them, when one of them fell from his horse, and re-mounted with his hair undone. The ox was frightened at the sight of it, and sank into the water, never daring to appear again. From this time onwards, Ch'in caused her horsemen to wear helmets garnished with yak-tail.”⁴³⁰⁾

Wu-tu Ku-tao lies in the southern extremity of Kansu province in what used to be the territory of Ch'in in the Chan-kuo period. What is meant by Nu-t'ê is not clear, but a passage in the *Lieh-i-chuan* says, “The shrine of Nu-t'ê stands in Wu-tu Ku-tao-hsien, and the god enshrined is that of a great catalpa tree which used to grow in Nan-shan (南山),” and gives the date of the above incident as the 27th year of the reign of Prince Wên of the Ch'in dynasty, ending with the words, “The tree, on being cut down, turned itself into an ox and entered the river Fêng-shui, so Ch'in raised a temple in its honour.”⁴³¹⁾ From this, we can see that it was a temple built in the honour of a tree-spirit in the form of a blue ox who took refuge into the river Fêng-shui. The Fêng-shui may be the same as Fêng-shui-ch'üan (豐水泉) in Ch'êng-hsien

430) *Sou-shên-chi*, 18. In the *Hsüan-chung-chi*, the same story is given as occurring under the Emperor Shih-huang of the Ch'in dynasty.

431) *Shui-ching-chu*, 14, Wei-shui (渭水).

(成縣) in Kansu, but in the *Shui-ching-chu*, the river into which the blue ox entered is the Han-shui (捍水), a tributary of the river Wei-shui.⁴³²⁾ If this is true, then the ox may have gone down the Wei-shui into the Huang-ho, to reappear from its waters in the days of the Later Han dynasty, for there is a legend that in the reign of the emperor Huan-ti, when the Emperor had gone on an excursion on the Yellow River, a blue ox rose out of the water and kicked him. The people round him took fright and fled, when a brave man grappled with the ox, drew its feet towards him with his left hand, and finally cut off its head with his right hand, with an axe. This blue ox was the spirit of a tree ten thousand years old.⁴³³⁾ We also come across such passages in books as, "The spirit of a tree a thousand years old becomes a blue sheep, that of a tree ten thousand years old becomes a blue ox, and they often appear among men,"⁴³⁴⁾ or "A great pine, perhaps a thousand years old, grew on a mountain, and the spirit of the pine became an ox."⁴³⁵⁾ Such an idea of tree-spirits turning into oxen, and causing rain-storms or entering into the water, reminds us very much of the Indus culture and the beliefs of ancient India. Among the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro, there is one, shown in Fig. 12, in which the *pipal* tree, still held sacred in India today, is represented in a curious combination with single-horned animals which look like wild oxen.⁴³⁶⁾ Ernest Mackay interprets this as the heads and necks of a species of wild oxen springing from the lower part of the stem of the sacred tree, and says that it shows the special relationship in which wild oxen, that appear so often on remains of the Indus culture, stood to the Indian "Tree of Creation,"⁴³⁷⁾ while John Marshall is of the opinion that the *pipal* tree is growing out of the necks of the "unicorns" connected together, that this particular animal was perhaps closely associated with the goddess of the *pipal* tree as her *vāhana* (vehicle), that such an association of tree-spirits with their animal *vāhanas* occurs frequently in Hindu and Buddhist iconography, and that it was probably traditional from pre-Aryan times.⁴³⁸⁾ Although an interval of 3,000 years, and a distance of 2,500 miles, separate the spirit of the catalpa tree in the form of a blue ox of Wu-tu, and the oxen sacred to the goddess of the *pipal* tree in the valley of the Indus, if it can be shown that the association of oxen with tree-spirits was once a widely distributed belief over the ancient Asiatic continent, then perhaps such a passage in the *Shan-hai-ching* as, "There is a tree shaped like an ox, and by pulling at this, one may get a piece of bark shaped like the string for attaching one's hat to one's head, and like

Single-horned oxen
of the sacred tree

432) *loc. cit.*

433) *Yüan-chung-chi*; *Hsüan-chung-chi*.

434) *ibid.*

435) *T'ien-chung-chi*, 55.

436) Marshall, vol. 3, pl. CXII, no. 387.

437) *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 390; Mackay, p. 74, pl. M, 3.

438) Marshall, vol. 1, p. 64.

a yellow serpent . . . The tree is called the *chien* (建) tree,"⁴³⁹⁾ may be taken as preserving traces of some ancient belief of this nature. The legend of the Buryats of later ages concerning the hero Gesir Bogdo, and how his nine horses into which so many birch trees had metamorphosed themselves carried nine Shalmo Khans far out into the Yellow Sea, and there becoming birch trees again, drowned the Khans,⁴⁴⁰⁾ may also be a development of legends of the type of which we have given an example, that had been transmitted to the equestrian peoples of Inner Asia.

Blue oxen in the
water

For other examples of blue oxen in the water, there is a deep pool called Ch'ing-niu-yüan (青牛淵 "Blue Ox Pool") in what was once the river Ch'i-i-shui (祁夷水), and is now the river Hu-liu-shui (壺流水) in the north-eastern part of Shansi province. This pool is said to have been so named because a dragon lived in it and appeared from time to time on the river, having the form of a blue ox.⁴⁴¹⁾ Yüeh-wang-t'an (越王潭 "Pool of the King of Yüeh"), to the north of Sui-an-hsien (綏安縣, southwest of the present I-hsing-hsien 宜興縣) in the southern part of Kiangsu province, is said to be the place where a great stone bull weighing a 100 *shih*, which Chien-tê (建德), the king of Yüeh, obtained when he invaded the kingdom of Wu, and which he caused 3,000 boys and girls to draw, fell into the water, men, boat and ox, and that even now its spirit appears on the river in the form of a blue ox on a boat.⁴⁴²⁾ Huan Hsüan (桓玄) who lived in Nan-chün (南郡), Hupei province, once met an aged nobleman riding a blue ox in Ching-chou (荊州), and struck by the form and colour of the ox, exchanged his horse for it, when, coming to Ling-ling (零陵) in the southern part of Hunan province, the ox entered the water and disappeared.⁴⁴³⁾ These examples come mostly from regions to the north of the Yangtsekiang, and along the Huangho also, the inhabitants even at the present day believe that the god of the Huangho, whom they call Ta-wang, the Great King, appears in a variety of forms such as a dragon, or an ox, or a horse, and that wherever this happens, a flood is sure to follow.⁴⁴⁴⁾ The cries of what are supposed to be a species of frog in a lake called the Boshadé-nor in Ming-an Banner in Chahar, Inner Mongolia, are taken by the inhabitants to be the bellowing of the *usunai ukhur* ("water-ox"), and the present writer has heard in Mongolia, that there are also tales of this water-ox coming up on land to mix with herds of oxen grazing about the place, or dragging men and cattle into the water, but he has had no opportunity to visit the actual region. But these legends of water-oxen seem to be found

Mongolian
water-oxen

439) *Shan-hai-ching*, 10, *Hai-nei-nan-ching* (海內南經).

440) Curtin, pp. 130-131.

441) *Shui-ching-chu*, 13, Shih-shui (濕水).

442) *T'ien-chung-chi*, 55.

443) *Yu-ming-lu*.

444) Wilhelm, S. 141.

sporadically among the Mongols, and Potanin reports that the Khalkha Mongols living along the great lakes near the northern border of Outer Mongolia like Upsa-nor and Tirkhin-Tsagan believe that the lakes are inhabited by water-oxen, called *usunai argamyk*, whose cries can be heard nightly.⁴⁴⁵⁾ Haslund also, when voyaging on Sokho-nor in 1927, heard from the Etsingol Torguts the following extremely interesting story concerning the legendary water cattle "*sokho*," which were supposed to live in the lake :

"Where the lake of Sokho-nor now heaves there once stood a great and wealthy city. Its inhabitants lived a sinful and unrighteous life which called forth the wrath of the gods. In order to punish the people the angry gods one night caused the whole city to sink into the earth, and in the hollow made by this they created a lake into which they cast alkali and salt so that no people would be able to live in its proximity. But the innocent cattle were not to suffer for the sake of their sinful owners and the animals therefore were transformed into *sokho*, the water cattle, who could live and multiply on the rich pastures of the lake's bed. Sometimes one could see them rise to the surface of the water, but always right out in the middle of the lake. Sometimes, when the water level was specially low, early morning hunters had seen their tracks on the brink, and old folk could remember their parents telling them how sixty years ago, when the lake was dried up after a very dry summer, the mysterious water cattle had been seen disappearing into the interior of the earth through a hole in the bottom of the lake.

"The lake was ruled over by *sokho* and was therefore known as 'The Lake of Water Cattle' and *sokho* were in intimate contact with the gods. Once upon a time, many generations before, men were better than they are now, and in those times it could happen that a poor huntsman who lived a pure life would hear at night the tree-tops whispering a mystic formula. And if this poor huntsman on the next night led a cow to the edge of the lake and laid himself down to sleep beside it after having cried the proper formula out over the lake, during the night the cow would be visited by *sokho* and soon afterwards would become pregnant and give birth to a calf whose productivity was equal to that of a herd of many hundred animals. But nowadays, when people were less good, these miracles occurred no more."⁴⁴⁶⁾

The rich pastures at the bottom of the lake, and water-oxen which appear by night on the shores of the lake, and cover cows so that they bear calves endowed with extraordinary powers of propagation, are instances of a remarkable coincidence between the legends of the east and the west. The popular belief that when a bull which is supposed to live in the lakes begins to bellow, it is a sign of storms coming, or of some other sinister event, is recorded over a wide area covering Central and Northern Asia, and it is said

Oxen and wind
and rain

445) Potanin, vol. 2, p. 98.

446) Haslund, pp. 137-138.

that in those regions, when the ice cracks and rises during cold nights, the inhabitants attribute it to the water-bulls breaking the ice.⁴⁴⁷⁾ But on the other hand, these legends we have been examining, which probably spread northwards with the northward advance of the domesticated ox, belong to a comparatively late period, and if we classify the material in ancient Chinese works according to the place of the origin of the material, we find that, while legends concerning divine horses in the water are found from the western and north-western provinces of China to Central Asia, those about oxen and water preponderate in the southern and southwestern regions, where they are divided into local types according to the area of their distribution. The legend that: "During the K'ai-huang (開皇) era of the Sui dynasty, a white ox entered the village, which the inhabitants of the village killed and ate. The next day a great rain-storm (some words here missing) . . . and the ground fell in, and the whole village was turned into a lake,"⁴⁴⁸⁾ which is found in Sui-hsi-hsien (遂溪縣) in the northern part of Lei-chou peninsula in Kuangtung province, seems, like the story of causing a thunder-storm by throwing a fine steed into the water, to have its origin in some belief which was generally held since the age of the *Shan-hai-ching*. Another legend which appears to have spread over an area covering the provinces of Kuangtung, Fukien, and Kuangsi since about the time of the Chin dynasty, is that of a golden ox in the water tethered by a golden chain.

Golden ox and
golden chain

"Chin-niu-t'an (金牛潭 "Golden Ox Pool") lies 20 *li* to the northeast of Tsêng-ch'êng (增城), and it is so deep that it may not be fathomed. There is a rock about 30 *ch'ih* in circumference on its northern shore, and a fisherman once saw a golden ox come out of the water and lie down on the rock. During the I-hsi (義熙) era, a man living in Tsêng-ch'êng-hsien called Ch'ang An (常安) came to this pool and picked up a golden chain which he found on the rock. It had the thickness of a man's finger, and though he sought for its end, there seemed to be no end to it, when suddenly, something in the water began to pull at it. He tightened his grip on the chain, but the thing in the water continuing to pull, the chain broke, and some *ch'ih* of it was left in the man's hands. This man lived to a great age. Later Chou Yün-fu (周雲甫) saw the ox resting on the rock. Beside it lay a chain. Yün-fu being naturally a brave man, went towards the ox and took hold of the chain, and on his pulling at it, the chain broke, and in this way he obtained about 2 *ch'ih* of it. He later obtained great wealth."⁴⁴⁹⁾

447) Holmberg, 1927 b, p. 470. We have already made reference to the fact that a part at least of the Siberian legends concerning water-spirits and oxen were brought by the Russians from Northern Europe (see pp. 73-74).

448) *Madenokôji MS.* (cites *P'ei-wên-yün-fu?*).

449) *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, 157, Ling-nan-tao (嶺南道), Kuang-chou Nan-hai-hsien (廣州南海縣); *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 900.

“Chin-so-t'an (金鎖潭 “Golden Chain Pool”) lies 30 *li* to the east of the *hsien* (Ch'ing-yüan-hsien 清遠縣, Kuang-chou 廣州). In the days of the Ch'in dynasty, K'un-lun (崑崙) sent a rhinoceros in tribute. The rhinoceros ran into the pool and disappeared, dragging after it its golden chain. In the time of the Chin dynasty, a fisherman called Chou Chung-chü (周仲居) fished up the golden chain, and on pulling at it, saw the rhinoceros. He tried to secure the rhinoceros, but could not, the chain broke, and so he obtained about 1 *ch'ih* of it.”⁴⁵⁰⁾

The two localities named are situated respectively in the eastern and northern parts of Kuangtung province. The rhinoceros mentioned in the latter legend often makes its appearance in Chinese legends concerning water-gods together with the ox, and numerous examples of Japanese water-monsters also being called *sai* (rhinoceros) or *sai-ryü* (“rhinoceros-dragon”) in the provinces of Shinano, Ômi, Tôtômi, Musashi etc. are given in the *Santô-mindan-shû*.⁴⁵¹⁾ Chinese legends of golden bulls in the province of Fukien, Kuangsi etc. differ little in character from those already given.

“20 *li* to the west of *chou* (Fu-chou 福州), one comes to the Chin-so-chiang (金鎖江 “Golden Chain River”). It is written in the *Min-chung-chi* (閩中記) that once a fisherman fished up a golden chain from the river, and saw a golden ox rise from the water. The fisherman at once began pulling up the golden chain, but on reaching the river-bank, the ox broke the chain, and so about 2 *ch'ih* of it was left in the man's hands. The emperor K'ang-ti of the Chin dynasty gave orders that a temple be built on the spot, and the god of the temple became known as a very powerful god.”⁴⁵²⁾

In Kuangsi province, there are the following legends concerning Pa-ch'iu-hsien (巴丘縣), to the north of the Hsia-chiang-hsien (峽江縣), and Kan-hsien (贛縣) to the south of it.

“A pool 30 *li* above Chin-kang (金岡) in Pa-ch'iu-hsien is called the Huang-chin-lai (黃金灘 “Golden Pool”). Once a man was fishing in the pool and brought up a golden chain which, on being pulled up, filled the boat, when a golden bull rose out of the water. It was of a fearsome appearance, and so were its cries, and it leapt back into the pool. The chain continued to go after it for a long time, and then it was played out, and the man grasping its end and pulling with all his might, obtained several *ch'ih* of it. Hence the name of the pool.”⁴⁵³⁾

“A fisherman lived in a place 20 *li* to the north of Kan-hsien at the beginning of the Hsien-ho (咸和) era under the Chin dynasty. One day he fished

450) *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, 157, Ling-nan-tao, Ch'ing-yüan-hsien (清遠縣). According to the *I-yüan*, the same event occurred in the Chien-yüan (建元) era under the emperor K'ang-ti of the Chin dynasty.

451) Yanagita, 1914, pp. 52-53 (ed. 1942, pp. 66-67).

452) *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, 100, Chiang-nan-tung-tao (江南東道), 12, Fu-chou (福州), Min-hsien (閩縣).

453) *Yu-ming-lu*.

up from the river a golden chain, and had pulled up several hundred *ch'ih* of it, when something rose from the water after the chain. It was like an ox, and had red eyes and white horns. It was frightened at the sight of the man, and ran away dragging the chain after it. The fisherman cut the chain with a sword, and so he obtained several *ch'ih* of it."⁴⁵⁴)

Golden ox in
Annam

This golden ox of South China seems to have gone as far south as Annam, to appear sometimes even today on the lake Hsi-ho (西湖 "West Lake") to the west of Hanoi. In a collection of legends translated by M. Chéon, we read that:

"There is a great lake called the West Lake to the west of Hanoi. The lake was once a forest in which lived monsters that did harm to men. A nobleman named Khong lo had a great bell cast on a mountain called the Mountain of the Raftsman (in the province of Bắc-ninh), and rang three trial peals on it. The sounds echoed throughout heaven and earth, and a golden buffalo in China hearing the bell thought it was its mother calling to it, and started at once for Annam. The road taken by the golden buffalo became what is now the River To-lich. The buffalo came as far as the forest, but could not find its mother. So the enraged creature caused such commotion that the forest sank into the ground and became a lake. Even today, when the weather is fine and calm, the golden buffalo is said to come up to the surface of the lake. The bell now lies at the bottom of a river called the River of the Six Heads."⁴⁵⁵)

Jean Przyluski says he heard a similar legend about the origin of the West Lake from a Chinese who was a native of Kuangtung, according to whose story the golden buffalo of China heard a golden bell ringing in Annam and came as far as Tonkin, where it smelt the bell lying buried in the earth, and the ground it dug up became the present West Lake. The Chinese had heard the story in South China before coming to Tonkin.⁴⁵⁶) Przyluski has shown that there are many points in common between Annamese and South Chinese beliefs concerning gold, and in the Malay peninsula also, there are legends of tin ore moving about underneath the ground in the form of a buffalo, and

454) *Ta-ming I-t'ung ming-shêng-chih* (大明一統名勝志) (cit. by Huang Chih-kang, p. 159). We also find legends of this type to the north of the Yangtsekiang: "The river at Niu-chu-chin (牛渚津) in Huai-nan (淮南) is extremely deep, and may not be fathomed. Once a magnificent golden bull was seen there, to which was attached a golden chain."—*Yu-ming-lu*. But when we come to Shantung further north, the legend loses some of its original characteristics, and there is only a white ox to which is attached a chain: "A native of Yen-chou (兗州) was travelling by boat, and saw a chain floating on the water. He picked up and pulled in 500 or 600 *ch'ih* of it, when a white ox came up at the end of it. It differed in no way from an ordinary ox and was beautifully shaped. The man saw that it was a divine animal and let it go, and the ox entered the water dragging the chain after it."—*T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 900.

455) Przyluski, 1914, pp. 2-3 (Chéon, *Recueil de cent textes annotés et traduits*, 2^{ème} ed., texte no. 48).

456) *ibid.*, p. 7 and note 1.

the spirit of gold taking the shape of a *kijang* or roe-deer,⁴⁵⁷⁾ so that in regard to the gold *motif* in these South Chinese legends of the golden ox and the golden chain, their origin may be traced to Annam which is particularly rich in original folklore on the subject of gold. But as to the main source of this group of legends, all obviously belonging to the same category, and which spread over a definite area in South China at about the same period under the Chin dynasty, it is to be sought for in the legend of Hsü Chên-chün (許真君) imprisoning an evil *chiao*-dragon, which became popular all over China just about the time of the same Chin dynasty.⁴⁵⁹⁾ We have already pointed out the frequent association of *chiao*-dragons with oxen. Hsü Chên-chün and the *chiao*-dragon fight with each other, in the course of which they both assume a number of different shapes and employ all their resources as supernatural beings, and in the end Hsü Chên-chün captures the *chiao*-dragon, plants an iron tree by the side of a well, and attaching the dragon by an iron chain to the tree, throws it into the bottom of the well. The dragon begs for mercy and asks Hsü Chên-chün when it will be able to see the sun again, to which the latter replies, "When the iron tree blossoms, and horns grow on the heads of horses, then I shall set you free."⁴⁵⁹⁾ This type of legend is often found associated with iron pillars which were set up in different parts of the country as a charm against mischief wrought by *chiao*-dragons, and sometimes Êrh-lang-chün (二郎君) takes the place in these legends of Hsü Chên-chün. The iron pillar in the well in the T'ieh-chu-kung (鐵柱宮 "Iron Pillar Palace") in Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi, and that on the mountain Hsüan-tan-ling (懸潭嶺) in Chi-shui-hsien (吉水縣) in the same province are both said to have been employed by Hsü Chên-chün to hold *chiao*-dragons in subjection,⁴⁶⁰⁾ while on the banks of the river Hsi-chiang (西江) in Kuan-hsien-ch'êng (灌縣城), Ssüch'uan province, it is Êrh-lang-chün who is supposed to have set up an iron pillar and attached a *chiao*-dragon to it by an iron chain.⁴⁶¹⁾ The iron pillar at the meeting point of the rivers Lan-ts'ang-chiang (瀾滄江) and Hei-hui-chiang (黑惠江), 200 *li* to the east of Shun-ning-fu (順寧府) in Yunnan province, is supposed to have been set up by the Emperor Yü to mark the *hai-yen* ("eye of the sea"), when he came here after successfully combating a flood,⁴⁶²⁾ and although the T'ieh-chu-kang (鐵柱岡 "Iron Pillar Hill") on the sea-shore 2 *li* from the north

Hsü Chên-chün
imprisons an evil
chiao-dragon

Iron pillars and
iron chains

457) Skeat, pp. 250-252, 271. There is a legend of a golden *kijang* at Raub in Pahang on the east coast, known for the quality of the gold produced there.

458) Huang Chih-kang, p. 157.

459) *ibid.*, p. 51.

460) *ibid.*, pp. 61-64.

461) *ibid.*, pp. 10-11 The *chiao*-dragon knowing that further resistance is useless, begs for mercy, and asks Êrh-lang, "When shall I regain my freedom?" to which Êrh-lang replies: "When flowers blossom on this iron tree and horses grow horns on their heads, then you will be free."

462) *ibid.*, pp. 157-158 (cit. *Tien-nan tsa-chih* 滇南雜誌). Cf. p. 16.

Chiao-dragons fear
iron

Fights with oxen
in the water

Li Ping and the
river-god

gate of Yen-ch'êng-hsien (鹽城縣) in Kiangsu province is believed by inhabitants of the district to be the pillar to which the First Emperor (Shih-huang) of the Ch'in dynasty once tethered his horse, a passage in the *Yü-ti-chi-shêng* says that "*chiao*-dragons abound along the shore here, and since they are by nature timorous of iron, the pillar was set up here to hold them in subjection."⁴⁶³ These iron pillars, like the iron oxen already mentioned, have their origin in the belief that iron has the power to drive away *chiao*-dragons in the water, and a further examination would show that they have a connection with a megalithic culture, a question with which we shall deal later. While the *chiao*-dragon pursued by Hsü Chên-chün is said to have turned itself into a yellow ox, seeing which Chên-chün made a black ox, or himself became a black ox engaged in combat with it, other legends of fights with or between oxen in the water are also found widely distributed in the western and southern parts of China, containing much in them that is of great interest to us. According to the *Po-wu-chih* by Chang Hua of the Chin dynasty, when divine oxen born by the waters in Chiu-chên (九真) in Northern Annam fought together, the sea seethed, and when they fought on shore, the oxen kept by the inhabitants were very much frightened, while if there was anyone who stood in the way of these divine oxen, thunder was heard, for which reason they were called divine.⁴⁶⁴ This detail of the thunder may have originated in the association of oxen with thunder-gods which, as well as in those regions already mentioned, is a feature of Southern Asiatic mythology. In the ancient Hsin-an-hsien (信安縣) to the east of the present K'ai-ping-hsien (開平縣) in Kuangtung province, there was a water-ox which had the shape of a fish, and which came on land to fight with oxen kept by the inhabitants. It fought until its horns became soft, and then it returned to the water, upon which the horns immediately hardened again, and it would then come up once more on land.⁴⁶⁵ There is also a legend in Huai-an-fu (淮安府), Kiangsu province, of a cow which turned itself into a dragon and fought with a dragon of a lake, and overcoming it, became itself the dragon of Ta-hu, the Great Lake.⁴⁶⁶ Besides these examples, the type of legend most widely distributed in China concerning fights with oxen is that in which a river-god oppresses the people by causing floods every year, and a governor with the attributes of a water-god like Li Ping (李冰) and Êrh-lang goes into the water to fight the river-god, overcomes him, and so frees the people from the fear of all such occurrences in the future. This type of legend is to be found in Ssüch'uan province and the provinces of Kansu, Shansi, Anhui etc., while the date of the story ranges from modern folklore

463) *ibid.*, p. 158 (cit. *Yü-ti-chi-shêng*).

464) *Po-wu-chih*, 3.

465) *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, 157, Liang-nan-tao, Hsin-an-hsien (信安縣). In the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, pt. 2, bk. 8, the place is given as Chü-lou-hsien (句漏縣) on the northern border of Annam.

466) *Huai-an-fu-chih*, 1685, 1, Yü-ti-chih (輿地志), 2, Hsing-yeh (星野); Visser, pp. 129-130.

to as far back as records of the Han dynasty. What is more, in these tales it is not only the river-god who often appears in the shape of an ox, but his antagonists like Li Ping, the governor of Shu (Ssüch'uan), also assume the form of an ox in attacking him, a fact which lends to these legends a capital importance in their relation to the subject of this chapter. The oldest record of such a legend is probably the following passage quoted in the *Kua-ti-chih* as occurring in the *Fêng-su-t'ung* by Yin Shao of the Han dynasty.

“Chao-wang, king of Ch'in, made Li Ping the governor of Shu. Li Ping drew the waters of in Ch'êng-tu-hsien and irrigated ten thousand *ch'ing* of rice-fields. The god of the river had a custom of taking two women as his consorts, and Li Ping went in the guise of a woman and was married to the god. A path led to the temple of the god, and there Li Ping offered wine to him, filling the cup to the brim, and therewith Li Ping began upbraiding the god in no uncertain tones. The god hearing this, at once disappeared. After a while, two blue oxen were seen fighting on the bank* of the river and then they once more entered the river. Then Li Ping called to the officials, ‘I am extremely tired, you must help me. The white thing on the loins of the ox facing south is my official sash.’ The treasurer of the province then ran his sword through the ox facing north, and the river-god died.”⁴⁶⁷⁾

In a book which seems to belong to the T'ang dynasty, there is a passage which says that to commemorate the exploits of Li Ping, bull-fights were held in spring and autumn, and a stone ox was buried in the garden of the temple dedicated to the hero.

“Li Ping became governor of Shu-chün. There dwelt a *chiao*-dragon in those parts which caused floods every year that inundated the entire district. Li Ping entered the water and killed the *chiao*-dragon. He then turned himself into an ox, and seeing the dragon who was god of the river leap out of the water, he overcame the god also. He then came out of the river, chose several hundred soldiers known for their bravery, gave them strong bows and great arrows and said to them, ‘I assumed the form of an ox the last time, and this time the river-god is sure to take that form also. I shall bind a long piece of white silk round my body so that you will be able to recognize me, and when you see us appear, you must kill the one who is without any such a sign.’ He then entered the water, roaring. Soon a thunder-storm arose, of such violence that heaven and earth became of one colour. When this had subsided a little, two oxen were seen fighting on the shore, and a long piece of white silk could be seen round the ox that was Li Ping. So the men sent a volley of arrows at the other ox, and the river-god died. After this, the people of Shu never suffered from floods. Even today, when great waves rise on the river, they seem almost to reach the temple of Li Ping and then the water begins to retire in a body. It is not without reason, therefore, that bull-fights are held in

467) *Kua-ti-chih*, 7; *Shih-chi, chêng-i* (正義), 29, Ho-ch'ü (河渠) (cit. *Kua-ti-chih*).

the spring and autumn. There are several thousands of houses to the south of the temple dedicated to Li Ping, and although the ground by the river is extremely low, it is not necessary for the people to move at the time of autumn floods. There is a stone ox buried in the garden of the temple. In the 5th year of the T'ai-ho (太和) era in the time of the T'ang dynasty, there was a great flood. The god Li Ping assuming the form of a dragon again fought with a dragon at Kuan-k'ou (灌口), and this time also wore a piece of white silk so that he might be distinguished from the enemy. The water began to go down, and although during this flood *tso-mien* (左綿) and *tzü-t'ung* (梓潼) floated on the river and filled the valley, and tens of districts suffered great danger, Western Shu alone was quite unharmed.⁴⁶⁸⁾

In Chapter 93 of Prof. Eberhard's book, *Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen*, a total of 7 examples ancient and modern, including the two cited above,—4 examples from Ssüch'uan, and 1 each from Kansu, Shansi, Anhui provinces,—are given as belonging to Type No. 1 of "The fight with the river-god." In these examples, the river-god appears as a *chiao*-dragon and also as an ox in 3 of the stories from Ssüch'uan, as a *chiao*-dragon only in the 4th, and as an ox in the 3 stories from Anhui, Shansi and Kansu. In the 3 stories from Ssüch'uan, not only the river-god but his antagonist, Li Ping, the governor of Shu, also turns himself into an ox as already mentioned in his fight with the river-god, and in the stories from Anhui and Shansi also, the image of an ox is placed in the garden of the temple dedicated to the governor, while bull-fights are held in his honour in the story from Ssüch'uan which we have given. Eberhard regards this type of legend as providing an explanation of the origin and meaning of bull-fights, and the existence of so many legends of this kind in Ssüch'uan must have some connection with the fact that the Miao used to have bull-fights in the past.⁴⁶⁹⁾ We read in the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* that in the country Kuei-tzū-kuo (龜茲國), the people also held bull-fights and horse-races on New Year's Day, by which to foretell the increase or otherwise of sheep and horses.⁴⁷⁰⁾ In the bull-fights held at the present day in Ching-hua-hsien (金華縣) in Chekiang and elsewhere, the people divide themselves into two parties, each party backing an ox, and the vanquished ox being eaten afterwards,⁴⁷¹⁾ and as we shall explain later, the custom seems to have had its origin in the sacrifice of oxen as a part of some fertility rite. In this connection, we might add that in the 3 stories from Ssüch'uan among the 7 mentioned by Eberhard, young girls are offered in sacrifice to propitiate the river-god, and this Perseus and Andromeda *motif* are held, as in examples already mentioned, to be a reminiscence of human sacrifices having the character

Bull-fight and
fertility rites

468) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 291.

469) Eberhard, 1937, Kap. 93, S. 135-138.

470) *ibid.*, S. 137; *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, 4.

471) Eberhard, 1942, S. 175.

of a fertility rite. The river-god in the story from Kansu cited by Eberhard is the spirit of the tree ten-thousand years old, who fled from the tree in the shape of a blue ox into the river Fêng-shui, and it is clear that this tree-spirit too has something of the character of a fertility-god. There is material from other regions to support this interpretation. A custom observed by farmers practically all over China in the beginning of spring is whipping coloured oxen made of clay, and then breaking them into pieces to forecast the coming or not of drought that year, on which day also, food and wine are offered to the earth-god.⁴⁷²⁾ This is called *ta-ch'un* (打春 “striking of spring”), *pien-ch'un* (鞭春 “whipping of spring”), *pien-niu* (鞭牛 “whipping oxen”) and so on, and no doubt has the magico-religious significance of sacrificing the clay oxen, the symbols of fertility, to greet and to speed the spring's return. The custom of striking cattle with sticks or the branches of certain trees that are thought to be phallic symbols is to be found in India, Germany, Albania, Greece and other regions,⁴⁷³⁾ and the Japanese custom of striking the buttocks of horses at Shintô ceremonies, or that observed by the Japanese people from ancient times of striking the posteriors of women with *kayu-zue* (sticks for stirring gruel), *kezuri-kake* (half-shaved sticks), or sticks fashioned in the form of phalluses, on 15th of January, no doubt have their origin in the same sort of idea connected with a magical fertility rite.⁴⁷⁴⁾ The ox has always been associated in China with the earth and the centre of things,⁴⁷⁵⁾ and inseparably bound up with the earth-god or *shê* (社). We read in a passage in the *Po-wu-chih* quoted in the *T'ai-ping-yü-lan* :

“The Emperor received in the first month of the Chou dynasty the heads of sacrificial oxen offered to the *shê* and then issued the seeds for sowing. . . On the eighth the Emperor shot down black sacrificial oxen in the suburb and prayed that the harvest be plentiful that year.”⁴⁷⁶⁾

We can see from this importance attached to the sacrifice of oxen at the ceremony of praying to the earth-god for a plentiful harvest at the beginning of the year. But the earth-god was also represented by a stone image or pillar

472) *ibid.*, S. 175-177; *Ho-p'u-an*, pt. 1, vol. 3, p. 51 (Chekiang), vol. 4, p. 39 (Fukien), vol. 7, p. 26 (Shensi), vol. 8, pp. 5, 21 (Kuangtung), pt. 2, vol. 2, p. 20 (Shantung), vol. 6, p. 15 (Hupei). This custom of whipping oxen is found over a wide area in Eastern Asia, M. Grenard witnessing it in Kashgar and M. Diguët in Annam.—Chavannes, p. 500, note 2.

473) *Gubernatis*, vol. 1, pp. 224-225; *GB*, pt. 6, p. 266. Frazer gives examples in these pages which show that the custom of striking not only cattle but human beings is found all over the world.—pp. 254-273.

474) Deguchi, p. 12.

475) W. Eberhard, 1942, S. 178. “The Emperor wears a yellow robe, rides on a yellow horse, adorns himself with pieces of yellow jade, and his standard is yellow also [the colour yellow is taken from the colour of the earth]. He makes the millet and the ox his food [both the millet and the ox belong to the earth].—*Huai-nan-tz'ü*, 5, *Shih-tsê-hsün* (時則訓).

476) *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 532.

Oxen and the
megalithic culture

of a phallic character called *tsu* (祖), and there even remains a custom today in Yang-chou (揚州) in Kiangsu province of a man and a woman carrying paper images respectively of the male and female sexual organ round the streets at the festival in honour of the *shé* in February and burning the images afterwards, the festival being in fact called the festival of greeting the spring.⁴⁷⁷⁾ On the other hand, we find in Assam, Nias, and other regions of Southeastern Asia a religious complex in which the sacrifice of oxen, erecting of megaliths, and agricultural rites are combined. In such cases, the heads and horns of oxen are considered to wield a powerful influence over the fertility of the earth, but the tribes in Southeastern Asia who possess this megalithic culture are invariably also head-hunters and skull-worshippers, and human heads are believed to exercise the same sort of power over harvests as the heads of oxen sacrificed to the *shé* at the beginning of the year. If we now connect together the series of geographical and ideological phenomena such as we have described, it becomes possible to argue that not only the clay oxen used to propitiate the earth-god and to greet the coming of spring in the ceremony of whipping the spring, but the custom of having bull-fights and the legends attached to them, also have their origin in the sacrifice of oxen in some fertility rite, and that this in turn takes its rise from the same source as that which led to the institution of human sacrifices. Moreover, the rivers are in a sense a prolongation of the earth, and are also the mainstay of the lives of agricultural peoples, so that it is not surprising that oxen, which are animals held to be sacred to the earth-god, should be transformed into river-gods and demand the sacrifice of girls to be their consorts, or that the spirit of a tree ten thousand years old should assume the form of a blue ox and enter the water, and such beliefs must spring from the magical power of fertility attributed to oxen just as we saw in the case of the agricultural sphere of culture of the regions extending from Southeastern Asia to the Mediterranean. But it has already been pointed out by Eberhard that the complex comprising the series: sacrificial oxen—bull-fights—clay oxen—river-spirits in the form of oxen—earth-god *shé*—phallic stone *tsu* etc., which we find among the Chinese peasantry, is most easily linked up with the megalithic culture of Southeastern Asia, in which we find beliefs in magical powers of human skulls and heads of oxen, ancestor-worship, and agricultural rites associated with the megaliths.⁴⁷⁸⁾ Further ethnological and archaeological researches remain yet to be made concerning the characteristics of this megalithic culture. Here we must content ourselves with the pointing out of one or two more interesting points in connection with this culture, within the limits of the subject of this essay.

Carp turned into
iron

The following strange story is recorded in various books since the time of the Chin dynasty as the legend of the miraculous rise to power of one Fan

477) Eberhard, 1942, S. 178–179.

478) *ibid.*, S. 173–184.

Wên (范文) who usurped the throne of Lin-i (林邑), a kingdom later to become that of Champa on the east coast of Annam:

“Fan Wên was by origin a slave in Jih-nan (日南). One day, he was grazing sheep by a mountain stream, and caught two carp. He wished to eat the carp by himself, and hid them. His master found this out and reprimanded him, and so Fan Wên lied and said that he had brought back two whetstones and not fish. His master went to the place where the fish were, and found two stones instead, just as Wên told him. Wên marvelled at this, and he found moreover that the stones had streaks of iron in it. So he took them into the mountain and melted them, and made out of them two swords. He took these swords and went to Chang (鄣), this being a place among the mountains. He improvised the words of a charm and said, ‘Carp changed themselves, and were made into swords. If they can cleave stones, they must have divine power. Wên shall then rule over the country.’ In the end, he cut them, and the people of the country made him king.”⁴⁷⁹⁾

That is to say, two carp were turned into stones, and from the stones were made two iron swords. It is a strange legend, but perhaps it is possible to explain even legends like these if we compare them with ethnological material from neighbouring countries.

In Tonkin today, there is a widespread belief that if a stone is buried long enough in the earth, its magical powers are gradually increased, so that in the end it becomes a dangerous spirit with supernatural powers. In villages in Tonkin, one sometimes sees small, strangely looking figures in stone of dogs, horses, elephants, and other animals by the side of temples and in gardens of communal houses. These are supposed to have been shaped naturally by the constant action of the energy stored in the earth, and to turn into gold possessing the most powerful *mana* if they should remain buried. An inhabitant of Hai-du'o'ng province is said to have met with misfortunes on account of having dug up a stone figure of this kind.⁴⁸⁰⁾ There is also a story that a farmer of Vo-song village in the canton of Đông-hai in the same province once stole a small pig and kept it under a basket turned upside down, but it was really gold that had been metamorphosed into a pig, and the next day, it had turned into a piece of iron.⁴⁸¹⁾ The Annamese legend of carp turning into stone, and then into iron, must then have some connection with beliefs of this type concerning the metamorphosis of stone into metal, and the accompanying increase in magical power possessed by such stones. But there

479) *Shu-i-chi*, pt. 1. A similar passage is found in the *Shui-ching-chu*, 36, Wên-shui (溫水). The story is also found in the *Chin-shu*, 97, *Ssü-i-chuan* (四夷傳), the *Liang-shu*, 54, *Chu-i-chuan* (諸夷傳), but in these we only read that “he caught two carp which became iron.” The original form of the legend is probably indicated in the carp turning first into stone.

480) Przyluski, 1914, pp. 3-4.

481) *ibid.*, p. 7.

Carp, *chiao*-dragons,
and serpent

still remains the question of the carp. The Chinese have believed from old times that the carp as the king of fishes often became the messenger of dragon-kings, and it was generally regarded as being their equal. The golden carp which Ch'ên Kuang-jui (陳光蕊), the father of Hsüan-chuang, rescues and lets go into the water in the *Hsi-yu-chi* turns out to be a dragon-king in disguise.⁴⁸²⁾ So that, it is not strange to find the carp being confounded with *chiao*-dragons which are said to rule over the fish with their 3,600 varieties, and also with serpents which are closely allied to *chiao*-dragons. But the serpent in Chinese legends often appears transformed into coins, or metal from which weapons are made.⁴⁸³⁾ In this way, there may also be relationship between this idea of carp and serpents having the character of water-spirits turning into iron or some metal weapon, and the custom of throwing metal objects into the water as a charm against *chiao*-dragons, the Näkk, and other water-spirits of which we have spoken in the last chapter. The oxen in the water already mentioned may also be considered as pointing to such a possibility. According to the *Ching-chou-chi* by Ch'êng Hung-chih (盛弘之), there were two sand-banks to the south of Yen-wei-chou (鷓尾州), called Lung (龍) and Ch'ung (龍), and the water between these two sand-banks abounded in strange fish. But since every time a net was thrown into the water, it became caught on something and was torn, a diver went down to investigate and saw two stone oxen at the bottom which were causing the trouble, and so people ceased thenceforth to throw nets in there.⁴⁸⁴⁾ We have already given examples in Chinese folklore of people fishing in rivers and obtaining golden chains from golden oxen, and this time it is throwing nets from a sand-bank which become caught on stone oxen in the water. The identity of these oxen is worthy of study. We read in Chinese records that in Ssüch'uan, the governor Li Ping killed a water-god who appeared out of a river in the form of an ox, and afterwards made five rhinoceroses of stone to quell the water-spirits, one of which he sunk in the river.⁴⁸⁵⁾ The rhinoceros resembles the dragon in some of its aspects, and we have already mentioned the fact that in China and Japan, it is often confounded in its capacity

Stone oxen in the
water

Water-spirits
quelled by stone
rhinoceroses

482) *Hsi-yu-chi*, 9.

483) Eberhard, 1941, Nr. 100a, 113a; 1942, S. 401; 1937, S. 229-230.

484) *T'ai-ping-yü-lan*, 900.

485) *Shui-ching-chu*, 33, Chiang-shui (江水). Huang Chih-kang, p. 25, cites from the *Chi-ku-lu* (集古錄): "Li Ping of the Ch'in dynasty was made governor of Shu, and he caused canals to be dug so as to lead the water of the river into the Yangtsekiang, and in this way he put an end to floods. The god of the river was angered by this, and turning himself into an ox, appeared over the water. Li Ping took a sword and entered the water, and killed the god. He then caused five rhinoceroses to be carved out of stone and had them placed by the waterside. This being done, he made a covenant with the river and said, 'In after times, when the water is low, it will not come as far as the feet of the rhinoceroses, nor as far as the shoulders even when it is high.' The monument bearing the words of the vow is called *Shih-shui-pei* (誓水碑 'water-oath monument'), and is to be found at P'êng-chou (彭州)."

of a water-monster with the ox. Li Ping was a hero who had changed himself into an ox to fight with a river-god, and near the site where the five stone rhinoceroses were placed, there was also the Shih-niu-mên (石牛門 "Stone Ox Gate") as well as the Shih-hsi-yüan (石犀淵 "Stone Rhinoceros Pool"). Moreover, the people of Ssüchu'an not only had these beliefs concerning oxen in rivers, but they really seem to have sunk stone oxen in them to avert disasters caused by water.⁴⁸⁶⁾ In view of these facts, perhaps we may be justified in thinking that the custom of throwing iron objects into the water as a charm against *chiao*-dragons, which were supposed to abhor anything made of iron, may have been derived originally from that of sinking stone oxen, or stone pillars, into the water. Metal objects probably took the place of stone with the coming of the metal age, and if we take into consideration the fact that in sacrificial ceremonies, the animals or human beings sacrificed often embodied the god himself to whom the sacrifice is made, it is possible for us to conjecture that *chiao*-dragons, oxen, serpents, and other water-spirits, the beings to be charmed away, were themselves embodied in the stone or iron objects thrown into the water, while the idea of throwing these things into the water as being held in aversion by water-gods may be a product of later ages, and if we trace these practices back to their origin in the Stone Age, we may find that they possessed originally a sacrificial meaning. Looking at the question in this way, it is possible to comprehend the nature of such a legend as that of carp turning into stone and then into iron, if we remember the close relationship between carp and *chiao*-dragons. Considered from this point of view, the iron ox of Shên-chou which was made to bear the waters of the Yellow River by Yü, and the golden oxen bound by a golden chain at the bottom of the river, will both be seen to possess origins going back to the remotest times. But if objects of iron or other metal thrown into the water had taken the place of stone oxen and stone rhinoceroses, the iron pillars of which we have spoken in connection with the legend of golden oxen and golden chains may also have been derived from the stone pillars of preceding ages. We are here again confronted then with the problem of the megalithic culture of Southeastern Asia. In this culture, which was characterized by head-hunting, skull-worship and ox-sacrifice, and closely bound up with water and agriculture, the stone pillars seem often to have been used to tether oxen that were to be sacrificed to the ancestors and the dead,⁴⁸⁷⁾ and Eberhard is of the opinion that, not only the stone pillars of the *tsu* of the present day representing both the earth-god and the phallus, but the stone tablets set up for the dead in China since the time of the Later Han dynasty bear some relationship to this megalithic culture.⁴⁸⁸⁾ In this culture, the worship of the dead and the ances-

Stone pillars and
sacrificial oxen

486) Eberhard, 1942, S. 401.

487) Heine-Geldern, 1923, S. 946.

488) Eberhard, 1942, S. 400.

The earth, ancestors, sexual organs and serpents

tors probably merged from the earliest times with the worship of the earth and the god of generation, and it centred around the ox-sacrifice having the character of a fertility rite.⁴⁸⁹⁾ The earth, the world of the dead, and sex-worship also become easily associated with serpent-worship. So that the serpent-shaped river-spirit of China, the *chiao*-dragon, may have come to have connections with oxen in the water partly through the influence of a wave of the megalithic culture. But as the megalithic culture in Southwestern China became acquainted with the use of copper or iron, special magical powers must have come to be attributed to these superior metals, and perhaps, just as they probably replaced the stone in serving as charms against water-monsters, they may have given rise to the idea of copper serpents and iron *chiao*-dragons in the water-world also. Such conjectures must of course seem premature in view of the scanty material at our disposal today. But the swords which Fan Wên, the tyrant of Lin-i, made out of iron carp were certainly possessed of the magical powers of *chiao*-dragons. When he smote stones with them, it was like cleaving rushes and straw.⁴⁹⁰⁾ It is a fact of further interest to us that the Yao tribe in Southwestern China had a custom, when a boy was born in a family, of immersing iron of the same weight as the newborn child in poisoned water, and making a steel sword out of the iron on the child coming of age. The sword was worn by him for life, but it was the custom that the young man should try the temper of the sword by cutting off the head of an ox with one blow.⁴⁹¹⁾ This had the character of a test forming part of an initiation ceremony, and the *motif* of cutting off the head of an ox, as also the legend of Fan Wên, might well be derived from the megalithic culture after it had gained knowledge of the qualities of iron.

Cutting off the heads of oxen with iron swords

Dragon-horses *cum* celestial horses *versus* river-oxen *cum* earth-oxen

In a general manner, we might say of the relationship between water-gods and oxen and horses dealt with in these two chapters, that whereas the idea of the water-horse is found mainly in western and northwestern China, and further west in Central Asia, the idea of the river-ox dominates in the southern and southwestern parts of China, and the regions still south of them of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. And although both ideas are closely associated

489) "There is a double significance in the megaliths, at least in those of Assam. They have to keep alive the names of the dead, serve as the dwelling-places of their souls, and as lasting monuments to the religious and magical achievements of the dead during their lives on earth, protect their souls from the dangers threatening them after death. But it is also necessary to perpetuate the successes and riches of the dead and the fertility of their fields and cattle, to cause these benefits to be extended to all, and to preserve the power of fertility which was probably regarded as a faculty directly exercised by the souls of the dead. The fact that megaliths are closely associated with water must also have some connection with this significance of megaliths as magical means of bringing about fertility."—Heine-Geldern, 1934, S. 22.

490) *Shui-ching-chu*, 36, Wên-shui.

491) *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*, 328, *Ssü-i-k'ao* (四裔考), 5.

with that of the dragon as a water-god, the dragon connected with the horse is, as we may see in the "Ode to the Celestial Horse from the West" in the *Han-shu*, the *lung*-dragon which, while being a water-spirit, is also capable of ascending to heaven and becoming its ruler, a fact which contrasts with the dragon connected with the ox being essentially a *chiao*-dragon, a variety which lurks in rivers and in the earth, and is deprived of the power of ascending to heaven. This can be easily understood when we consider that "Heaven is represented by the horse and the earth by the ox," as stated in the *I-ching* (*Shuo-kua-chuan* 說卦傳), has been a fundamental conception of the Chinese from the earliest times, but we would like here to take a step further and suggest that, while the idea of the dragon-horse *cum* celestial horse was for the most part preserved in documents by peoples or classes of northern origin who established a state along the valley of the Yellow River, and thence penetrated to and became a part of the belief of the common people, the idea of river-ox *cum* earth-ox originated in the belief and ceremonies of the agricultural population in Central and South China, and forming for a long time a part of these folk beliefs, gradually became adopted also into the rites performed by kings, nobles, and the gentry. This dual structure of northern elements and southern, heaven and earth, horse and ox, furnishes us with a clue to the study of the historical and cultural formation of the Chinese people today, and we might see the same kind of relationship between the worship of heaven which developed into the idea of *t'ien* ("heaven") propounded in Confucianism in North China, and the cult of the earth of which Taoism, in South China, is an expression. Of course, this is a conjecture which has only to do with the primitive stages of the ideas in question, and no one can deny that these two sources of folklore came, with the passing of time, to influence and become combined with each other, both geographically and ideologically. Already under the Chou dynasty, the King Mu sacrificed oxen, horses, pigs and sheep in honour of the god of the Yellow River, and when we come down to the Chin dynasty, in the country of Fu-yü (夫餘) further to the north, oxen were sacrificed to heaven at the commencement of a war, and its hoofs used to foretell victory or defeat.⁴⁹² In a still later age, however, in the time of Liao, there is a legend of the ancestors of the Ch'i-tan:

"There was a god who rode on a white horse from the mountain Ma-yü-shan (馬盂山), floated down the river T'u-ho (土河) towards the east. There was a heavenly maiden who came in a carriage drawn by a blue ox from pine forests in the plain and floated down the river Huang-ho (潢河). The two rivers met at the foot of the mountain Mu-yeh-shan (木葉山), and the god and the heavenly maiden were united and eight children were born. Their posterity multiplied and gathered power, and were divided into eight tribes."

Heaven is represented by the horse, and the earth by the ox

White horse and blue ox

492) *Chin-shu*, 97, *Tung-i-chuan* (東夷傳).

For this reason, it is said that in the ancestral temple of the Ch'i-tan were depicted the two divine beings and their eight children, and white horses and blue oxen were also used in ceremonies held at the beginning of a war and in spring and autumn, so that the origin of the Ch'i-tan might not be forgotten.⁴⁹³⁾ In this interesting combination of the male ancestor riding a white horse, and the female going in a carriage drawn by a blue ox, both horse and ox floating down a river towards each other, we may catch a glimpse of the two cultures, one of the horse and of northern origin, and the other of the ox and of southern descent, mingling together while retaining their respective characteristics. With the Yakut of Turkish origin, who emigrated much further north than the Ch'i-tan, a part of their spirits Abasy live in the upper world and the other part in the lower one, and horses are sacrificed to the former, horned cattle to the latter. The Abasy also own households and cattle, but those of the upper world only keep horses, while those of the lower only keep horned cattle. At the same time, the Ajysyt (the goddess of birth) of horses seems to be a man-spirit, while that of horned cattle is a woman spirit. To Urün Ajy Toyon, the supreme god of the Yakut, only horses are sacrificed and never horned cattle.⁴⁹⁴⁾ This clearly indicates a mixture of the two cultures, and in Central and Northern Asia also, the horse and the ox retain in the sphere of religion the characteristics peculiar to each, which they have acquired in their respective cultural milieus.

The Abasy of the
Yakut

The Japanese Islands

Agriculture and
the ox

If we now turn back to the Japanese Islands, while the process and the chronological order of the appearance of the ox and the horse as domesticated animals must wait for future researches in Japanese prehistory to be determined, it seems at least possible to establish the fact that the first domesticated animal to become associated with agriculture was the ox and not the horse, as we have done in the case of China.⁴⁹⁵⁾ With reference to the various popular ceremonies connected with rice-fields, the first of which is performed on the day of *okoto-hajime* (the first day of the year in Japan for doing these things), the practice of taking oxen and horses used in fields to mountain shrines seems to have been confined at first to oxen, and then spread to horses. As uses to which horses can be put grew in number, and more horses came to be taken to mountain shrines, those shrines and temples which held the spring festival on the day of the horse began to be chosen for the place of pilgrimage. After the planting of rice-fields, oxen are given rest, but horses are not. When a calf is born, its footprint is taken on wet paper and stuck at the entrance of the farmhouse. This is to indicate that only oxen that have been purified according to Shinto rites are to be found there, and serves to drive away evil spirits who might otherwise enter the place to do harm to the calf. The ox

493) *Liao-shih*, 37, *Ti-li-chih* (地理志), 1.

494) Jochelson, p. 106.

495) Ikata, pp. 360-361, 278, 350.

has always been regarded as an animal having close associations with water, and on the day of the ox during the dog-days it had to be immersed in water even if only superficially.⁴⁹⁶⁾ In consequence, there are many legends in Japan of divine oxen as well as of rhinoceroses and “rhinoceros-dragons” in the water already referred to. Beginning with some of the older examples, when the Empress Jingû was passing the sea near Bizen province, a great ox appeared out of the waves and tried to overturn the ship,⁴⁹⁷⁾ and when the Emperor Ôjin went to hunt in Awaji Island, a being calling itself the “Ox” of Morogata in Hyûga came up out of the water wrapped in the skin of a deer with horns.⁴⁹⁸⁾ The *Santô-mindan-shû* gives examples of such legends from Osaka and the provinces of Ôsumi, Tosa, Aki, Kai, Musashi, Shimôsa, Ugo, Rikuchû etc.⁴⁹⁹⁾ A water-god appears mounted on the back of a river-ox (Shimôsa),⁵⁰⁰⁾ an ox belonging to a farmer follows an underground stream of water and goes about under the earth (Rikuchû),⁵⁰¹⁾ or, as in the legends of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water, a yellow ox is drawn into the water by a *kappa* (Aki),⁵⁰²⁾ and there is even a legend of a water-monster resembling an ox pulling a man into the water and drowning him (Kai).⁵⁰³⁾ Examples are also given from all over Japan of such place-names as Ushiga-fuchi (“Ox-pool”) and Ushi-numa (“Ox-marsh”), and examples of peasant customs of praying for rain which consist in throwing the heads of oxen or great straw figures of oxen into waterfalls, ponds or rivers are to be found in the provinces of Bungo, Harima, Kii, Suruga, Iwashiro etc. At the Minaochi shrine at Tadasu-no-hara, where the boundaries of the three districts (*gun*) Nifu, Imatachi, and Nanjô in Echizen province meet, it is said that rain will come if a pair of oxen which live in the pond are drawn up, and there is a custom in time of drought of the men and women of the three districts assembling and dividing themselves into two groups, one pulling at the bull and the other at the cow, the ropes being attached to rocks at the bottom of the pond.⁵⁰⁴⁾ Of course, we cannot adequately study the significance of these legends and customs with the material gathered in Japan as our only data, but Mr. Yanagita’s detailed study has shown that such festivals as Ushino-Shôgatsu (“Ox New Year”), Ushino-Toshi-koshi (“Passing of the year of oxen”), Ushi-matsuri (“Ox festival”), Ushi-kagura (“Ox music and dance”), Ushi-maushi (“Ox festival”), Nakoshi-matsuri (“Passing the

Divine oxen in the water

The ox and the ceremony of praying for rain

The Nakoshi festival etc.

496) Orikuchi, 1930, pp. 1028-1029.

497) *Fudoki*, p. 413.

498) *ibid.*, p. 317.

499) Yanagita, 1914, p. 53-57 (ed. 1942, pp. 68-73).

500) *ibid.*, p. 55-56 (p. 71).

501) *ibid.*, p. 55 (p. 70).

502) *ibid.*, p. 56 (p. 72).

503) *ibid.*, p. 57 (p. 73).

504) Nakayama, pp. 67-68.

summer”), Gyûtô (“Ox-lantern”) Ushi-no-Gion (“Ox Gion-festival”), Ushi-no-Yaburi (“Oxen entering the bush,” annual holiday for oxen), Ushikake (“Ox-race”) etc., which for the most part consist in bathing oxen and horses in a river, or leaving them for a day to roam at will by the side of a river, either towards the beginning of spring or the end of summer, have at least for their object the safeguarding of these animals against any evil that might befall them during the year by placing them under the protection of the water-god,⁵⁰⁵⁾ and if we compare such facts with the legends and customs to be found in the southern half of the Eurasian continent which we have been studying in these chapters, it will become sufficiently clear that the Japanese river-ox belongs to the same category of ideas as that of agricultural populations of China and Southeastern Asia.

The riddle of the
kappa trying to lure
horses into the water

Our long discussions in the foregoing pages have perhaps brought us a little nearer to the solution of the problem posed by the legend of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water. At Shinoda in Nagaoka-gun, Tosa province, which is one of the places where the legend is preserved from old times, horses are brought to the riverside on June 15th of each year and tethered to stakes by long ropes. This is called the Nomaki (“Grazing in fields”), and on this day a *kappa* festival is held.⁵⁰⁶⁾ Near Fukuyama in Bingo province, it was believed that if oxen and horses were bathed in the sea or in rivers on July 7th, it made them immune against attacks of the *kappa* throughout the year.⁵⁰⁷⁾ In some parts of Kyûshû, the *kappa* are called *kawa-no-tono* (“lords of the river”), and in the southern provinces of Kyûshû such as Hyûga and Ôsumi where the *kappa* are the most venerated, they are called *sui-jin* (“water-gods”).⁵⁰⁸⁾ One of Mr. Yanagita’s outstanding contributions to the etymology of the Japanese language is the theory advanced by him that such words as *mizushi*, which is used for *kappa* in Kaga and Noto provinces, *medochi* in Nambu and the Ainu *mintsuchi*, are all derived from *mizuchi*, which in its turn is a variation of *mizu-tsuchi* meaning a divine being in the water and having no connection originally with the Chinese ideograph 蛟 *chiao* or 蚪 *ch’iu* which is usually rendered into Japanese as *mizuchi*,⁵⁰⁹⁾ and being of the opinion that the *kappa* are water-gods who had degenerated into water-monsters, Mr. Yanagita says at the end of his article, “In this reason, such instances as the *kappa* festival in Tosa when horses are tethered to stakes by the waterside may probably be considered as a sort of an old-age pension paid to the *mizuchi*, and such place-names as Senzoku-no-ike (“Feet-washing pond”) and Umairai-buchi (“Horse-washing pool”), as well as the name Koma-tsunagi-no-

505) Yanagita, 1914, pp. 84-85 (ed. 1942, pp. 107-108).

506) *ibid.*, p. 86 (110).

507) *ibid.*, p. 86 (p. 110).

508) *ibid.*, p. 43 (p. 54), p. 81 (p. 104).

509) *ibid.*, pp. 90-91 (p. 116).

matsu ("Horse-tethering pine"), given to certain pine trees in all parts of our country and the reason for which has so far remained unknown, are most likely the relics of yearly rites held in ancient times at which horses were offered to the water-god, and which in course of time came to be regarded by the agricultural population simply as a means of safeguarding their horses from evil throughout the year, the origin of the practice becoming completely forgotten. The custom, however, of offering the heads of oxen and horses to the water-god to pray for rain was long preserved."⁵¹⁰ It may be difficult to find actual instances in Japan of oxen and horses being offered yearly to the water-god, but if we take into consideration the legends and customs in all parts of the Eurasian continent discussed in these pages, it becomes no longer possible to question Mr. Yanagita's conclusion that such Japanese customs as the Nakoshi-matsuri and Ushi-no-yaburi, or indeed the Japanese legend of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water, have their origin in the sacrifice of oxen and horses to the water-god in remote ages.

CHAPTER III

Monkeys and Water-gods

Much has been done to clear up obscurities in connection with the identity of the *kappa* in the foregoing chapters, but a large number of questions still remain to be settled.

In Etchû province, the *kappa* are called *game* (<*kame*, tortoise), and there are many regions where they are conceived of under a form resembling that of tortoises.⁵¹¹ In the same way, in Mino province, the *kawarambe* (*kappa*) are thought to be creatures that are rather like the *dochi* (snapping turtle), and are in consequence called *dochi-robe* in some parts of the province.⁵¹² Sketches of *kappa* said to have been captured at Niigata in Echigo province, and at Mito in Hitachi (Fig. 1), show them to be monsters which crawl about on all fours, and resembling tortoises or snapping-turtles.⁵¹³ This idea of water-spirits and river-gods having the form of tortoises and snapping-turtles is a world-wide one, which we find in places as far removed from each other as Mongolia and Egypt,⁵¹⁴ and the legend given in the *Sou-shên-chi* of the prince Ching-kung of Ch'i crossing a river has something in common with the Japanese one of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water. In

510) *ibid.*, p. 92 (pp. 117-118).

511) *Kappa-Zokuden*, p. 971.

512) *ibid.*, p. 976.

513) Yanagita, 1914, pp. 38, 40 (ed. 1942, pp. 49, 50).

514) Minakata, 1916, p. 75.

this legend a great snapping-turtle appears out of the river and bites the left horse of the three drawing Ching-kung's chariot, causing the horse to sink into the water, and Ku-chih-tzū (古治子) draws his sword and kills the snapping-turtle, crying in a loud voice to heaven, whereupon the river begins to flow backwards.⁵¹⁵⁾ According to the *Pao-p'u-tzū* also, the snapping-turtle casts a spell on men and makes them sick.⁵¹⁶⁾

Otters

In the dialect of Saga prefecture, the *kappa* is called *kawasso*, and this seems to be derived from *kawauso*, meaning otters.⁵¹⁷⁾ Similarly, with the typical legend from Nishikawazu in Izumo province of a *kappa* trying to lure a horse into the water, and on its failing to do so, giving a written apology to the owner of the horse, the *kappa* or *enkō* which is given as the culprit in the *Unyōshi* becomes an otter in the modern version,⁵¹⁸⁾ and in the district round Ryōtsu in Sado, the inhabitants believe that a kind of otter living in the sea known as *umi-kaburo* often deceives people and makes them lose their lives.⁵¹⁹⁾ The belief that otters are powerful water-spirits is another that is distributed over a wide area, as we may see from examples of Korean and Annamese legends concerning such otters given in Chapter I.⁵²⁰⁾

Boy water-gods

Thirdly, the idea that the *kappa*, as the Chinese ideographs 河童 indicate, are shaped like little boys is to be found everywhere in Japan, and the names given them in different regions, beginning with the most general one of *kappa* derived from *kawa-wappa* (river-boy), and comprising such widely varying examples as the *kawarambe* or *kawakozō* of Owari province and the valley of the River Tenryū, the *kawa-kobōshi* and *kawara-kozō* of Ise, *kawa-warō* of Chikuzen, *gārappa* of Higo, *garwara* and *garwaro* of Hyūga, *kamurō* of the Okinawan Islands, and, to give another set of examples, the *kau-ko*, *kawa-kō*, *gau-ko*, or *gon-go* of Bizen and Bitchū, derived from the same source as the *kawa-ko* (river-child) of Izumo province, the *ga-tarō* of Harima, which belongs to the same group as the *kawa-tarō* (river-boy) used in provinces round Kyōto and in some of the provinces in Kyūshū, all express the same idea.⁵²¹⁾ There are numerous legends and folk-tales in Japan of a spirit-child appearing out of the water and doing some good to mankind, such as the myth of the little god Sukuna-hiko-na-gami, and well known Japanese folk-tales such as that of Uriko-hime, of Momo-tarō, and others preserved in remote villages like the story of Kabu-kire-warashi of the Ōu region and Hana-tare-kozō-sama of Higo. The theme of these stories, taken up in connection with the

515) *Sou-shēn-chi*, 11.

516) *Pao-p'u-tzū*, Nei-p'ien (丙篇), 17, T'êng-shê (登涉).

517) Yanagita, 1914, p. 43 (ed. 1942, p. 55).

518) *ibid.*, pp. 28-29 (ed. 1942, pp. 36-37).

519) *ibid.*, p. 43 (ed. 1942, p. 55).

520) Cf. notes 83, 84, pp. 18-19.

521) Yanagita, 1914, pp. 41, 39 (ed. 1942, pp. 52-53, 50); *Kappa-Zokuden*, pp. 971-972, 976, 977.

question of the *chiisa-ko* (little child) type of legends and the more general one of mother-and-son deities, is the subject of a new interpretation by Mr. Yanagita of a truly international significance, and which is probably the most suggestive and the richest in original ideas, and most capable of being developed indefinitely in the field of comparative ethnological research, that has been put forward by him in his studies of Japanese folklore.⁵²²⁾ Of course, it is beyond the scope of the present essay to venture into an examination of the problem involved, and leaving this for some future occasion,⁵²³⁾ we shall content ourselves with saying that in Mr. Yanagita's opinion, the Japanese *kappa* is no other than a degenerate survival of these spirit-children and child-gods of the water-world. The Ryûgû-kozô ("Dragon Palace Boy") who is supposed to have appeared out of the great pond of Kurumeki in Inasa-gun, Tôtômi province, and helped a farmer to till his field, has something in common with the *chiisa-ko* whom a beautiful woman of the water-world gave to an old man who was cutting wood, and the Nyoi-dôji whom Tawara Tôda brought back from the Dragon Palace underneath the sea, and similar legends of *kappa* helping man which exist in connection with ponds called Kozô-gafuchî ("Little boy's pond") all over Japan prove that this Ryûgû-kozô is himself *kappa* and nothing else.⁵²⁴⁾ Legends of divine boys coming down from heaven and alighting by some piece of water, and water-gods manifesting their divine nature in their childhood, are found widely distributed from Korea to China,⁵²⁵⁾ and we also find in China water-monsters having the form of little boys which remind us of the *kappa*. The *wang-liang* (罔兩) which is defined as a water-god in commentaries on the *Tso-chuan* and the *Huai-nan-tzû*⁵²⁶⁾ is described by Huai-nan-wang as having "the form of a child aged three, of a reddish-black colour, with red eyes, long ears, and beautiful hair."⁵²⁷⁾ In the *Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu*, there is the following description

The *wang-liang*

522) Cf. *Kaijin-shôdô* (海神小童 "Boy Sea-gods"), *Momo-tarô no tanjô* ("The Birth of Momotarô"), *Tanishi no chôja* (田螺の長者 "The Rich River-snail"), *Uriko Orihime* (瓜子織姫 "Uriko, the Weaver Princess")—The above contained in Yanagita, 1942 a; *Raishin-shinkô no henshen* (雷神信仰の變遷 "Metamorphoses of Thunder-god Worship"); *Matsuô-kenji no monogatari* (松王健兒の物語 "The Story of Matsuô-kenji"), *Utsubo-bune no hanashi* (うつぼ舟の話 "The Story of the Utsubo-boat")—contained in Yanagita, 1940; *Issun-bôshidan* (一寸法師譚 "The Mannikin")—contained in Yanagita, 1946; *Utsubo-bune no Ôjo* (うつぼ舟の王女 "The Princess in the Utsubo-boat")—contained in Yanagita, 1938; *Sumiyaki Kogorô ga koto* 炭焼小五郎が事 "Kogorô, the Charcoal-burner") contained in Yanagita, 1925; Yanagita, 1920; Yanagita, 1928.

523) An outline of the author's own study of these problems is given in Ishida, 1948 a.

524) Yanagita, 1942 a, pp. 111 ff.

525) Mishina, pp. 159-163; *Shu-i-chi*, 1; Huang Chih-kang, p. 101, etc.

526) *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih-chuan*, 3rd year of Hsüan-kung, commentary by Tu; *Huai-nan-tzû*, 12, *Tao-ying-hsün*.

527) We read in the *Shuo-wên* that: "The *wang-liang* are spirits of mountains and rivers. Huai-nan-wang says that the *wang-liang* have the appearance of children three years old, etc."

The *shui-hu*

of the *shui-hu* (水虎 “water-tiger”): “According to the *Hsiang-mien-chi* (襄沔記), there is a river called the Su-shui (涑水) in Chung-lu-hsien (中盧縣) which flows into the river Mien-shui (沔水). In this river Su-shui is a being shaped like a child of three or five years of age, its body covered with scales like those of a carp which no arrow may pierce. This being appears on the sands and suns itself in autumn. Its knees resemble the claws of tigers. It often hides in the water with only its knees showing, and when children begin playing with them, it bites them. If one captures it alive and plucks its nose, it may be made to work for a short while. This being is called *shui-hu*.”⁵²⁸⁾

The *ho-shui-kuei*

The name *shui-hu* was imported into Japan and became another name for the *kappa*. According to Mr. Chou Tso-jên (周作人), there is also a legend in his native town Shao-hsing (紹興) in Chekiang province about a water-spirit in the form of a child called *ho-shui-kuei* (河水鬼 “river-water demon”).⁵²⁹⁾ The following passage also occurs in the *Kô-Yamato-Honzô* of Naomi Ryû, a Japanese work published in 1755, under the heading, “*Sui-un* (水蠃, Chin. *shui-yün*), called in Japanese *kawaro* or *gawa-tarô*,” a passage which is given in the work as being a quotation from the Chinese *Yu-ming-lu*:

The *shui-yün*

“The *shui-yün* is also known as *yün-t'ung* (蠃童) and *shui-ching* (水精 ‘water-spirit’). Its height is from 3 to 6 *ch'ih*, varying according to specimens. It has ears, nose, tongue and lips, and a bowl on its head capable of holding from 3 to 5 *shêng* [pint] of water. It is full of courage so long as there is water in the bowl, but loses its fierceness if the water is spilled. The Mongols call it *shui-hu*.”⁵³⁰⁾

Mr. Okada Tatebuni, probably quoting from the *Kô-Yamato-Honzô*, gives this passage in his work, *Dôbutsukai Ryô-i-shi*, published in 1927, as occurring in the *Yu-ming-lu*, and points out the marked resemblance between the *shui-yün* and the *kappa*,⁵³¹⁾ and now Mr. Chou Tso-jên quotes the passage from Mr. Okada's work in one of his essays and compares the *ho-shui-kuei* of his birthplace with the Japanese *kappa* and the *shui-yün* in the *Yu-ming-lu*.⁵³²⁾ The present writer has not been able to trace the particular passage in the *Yu-ming-lu* of Liu I-ch'ing of the Sung dynasty, but if the author of the *Kô-Yamato-Honzô* really saw it in some different text of the *Yu-ming-lu* imported from China into Japan, the description of the *shui-yün* as having a bowl on its head capable of holding from 3 to 5 pints of water, and its being

Bowl on the head

528) *Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu*, 42.

529) Chou Tso-jên, p. 218.

530) *Kô-Yamato-Honzô*, 10.531) Okada, pp. 41-42. Mr. Komiya Toyotaka quotes this passage from the *Kô-Yamato-Honzô* and expresses the opinion that there is perhaps an unknown text of the *Yu-ming-lu* in which it occurs.—Komiya, pp. 257-258.

532) Chou Tso-jên, p. 218.

full of courage so long as there is water in the bowl, only becoming dispirited when the water is spilled, and another passage which the author claims to be a quotation from the *Hsiang-mien-tsa-chi*: "Then the scales on its head become rent and it loses its courage. The natives call it *shui-hu* . . . This is the same as the *shui-yün*,"⁵³³) are so many proofs that the same sort of popular belief as that of the Japanese *kappa* having a bowl on its head existed also in China, and the words, "The Mongols call it *shui-ching*," furnish us with further interesting material for study in comparative ethnology. But if this Japanese writer of the Tokugawa period had purposely added to or transformed the original texts, in giving reins to his imagination stirred by memories of the Japanese *kappa*, then, since there is the example of a great Chinese scholar being taken in by such a piece of Japanese literary pleasantry, we are faced with a problem of a completely different order of interest. This shows how important it is to give all material a thorough sifting before deciding on its authenticity, and we propose to wait for the results of further research before expressing an opinion on this particular problem.

Lastly, we should like to take up the question of the relationship between Monkeys the *kappa* and monkeys. The area in which the *kappa* are called *enko* or *enkô* stretches from Izumo, Iwami, Suhô, Nagato and other provinces in the western part of Chûgoku district to the provinces of Iyo, Tosa etc. in Shikoku,⁵³⁴) and the Chinese ideographs 猿猴 (*en-kô*, monkey) are used for the word in the *Unyôshi* mentioned above.⁵³⁵) Many of the people in Kyûshû also who report that they saw *kappa* say that they resembled monkeys in size and form, and even in their cries.⁵³⁶) There are also many instances of water-monsters which would certainly be considered as *kappa* at the present day being called *kawa-zaru* ("river-monkey") or *fuchi-zaru* ("deep water monkey") in documents of the Tokugawa period.⁵³⁷) For instance, we read that in Tôtômi, wherever the *kawa-zaru* made their appearance horses died out, and that when Ara Genzaburô, a retainer of the Môri clan, dived to the bottom of the Kama-ga-fuchi, a deep part in a river near Yoshida in Aki province, to chastise a *fuchi-zaru* that lived there and did harm to men and beasts, he first caught hold of the monster's neck and shook it, and when the water contained in a hollow on its head was spilled, Ara was able to capture the monster without any further difficulty.⁵³⁸) Place-names like Saru-ga-fuchi ("Monkey Deep") and Enkô-fuchi ("Deep of monkeys") are to be found all over Japan, and eight such examples from Iwami, Tosa,

533) *Kô-Yamato-Honzô*, 10.

534) Yanagita, 1914, p. 48 (ed. 1942, p. 61).

535) *ibid.*, pp. 28-29 (ed. 1942, p. 36).

536) *ibid.*, p. 48 (ed. 1942, p. 61).

537) *ibid.*, p. 49 (ed. 1942, p. 62-63).

538) *ibid.*, pp. 49-50 (ed. 1942, p. 63).

Monkeys by the
waterside

Shimozuke, Musashi, Echizen and Mimasaka are given in the *Santô-min-dan-shû*.⁵³⁹⁾ The Saru-sawa-no-ike ("Monkey Pond") in Yamato, Sarube-no-fuchi ("Monkey Deep") in Wakasa, and Saru-ga-fuchi in Mimasaka all have legends connected with them that have to do with water and monkeys.⁵⁴⁰⁾ The story of the monkeys of Saru-sawa-no-ike joining their hands together and trying to catch the moon reflected in the pond from a branch of a tree, and all of them drowning in the attempt, is an instance of stories in Buddhist texts being imported into Japan and preserved in the form of legends connected with the place-names of the country,⁵⁴¹⁾ but there is also a belief that the monkeys, who are the messengers of the god of the Hiyoshi shrine, alight by the shores of Lake Biwa and examine the water, and when it is at its purest, inform the god of the fact, so that the purification ceremonies may be performed. This idea led subsequently to the appearance of monkeys in ceremonies held for praising the garden of a house, with the object mainly of extolling the quality of the water found within the premises.⁵⁴²⁾ These facts leave no room for doubt that monkeys which are animals having a natural relationship with water, and usually found living near it, played an important part in the formation of the *kappa* legend by being made to transfer their abode from the waterside into the water itself in the course of ages, in the imagination of men.

Monkeys are con-
sidered as the
enemies of the *kappa*

On the other hand, the idea also exists that monkeys are the enemies of the *kappa*. The *kappa* are supposed to lose their power of movement on seeing a monkey, and monkeys are believed to do anything to capture a *kappa* when they see one, so that jugglers who live by making monkeys do tricks are said to cover the faces of monkeys in their keeping as a precaution when they are crossing rivers.⁵⁴³⁾ The people of Edo also seem to have had the idea that keeping monkeys is an effective means of safeguarding oneself from the mischief wrought by the *kappa*.⁵⁴⁴⁾ When a favourite page of Katô Kiyomasa was pulled into the River Yatsushiro by the *kappa* and drowned, the warrior chief made plans for an expedition against the *kappa* and collected together an army of monkeys in his domains. This terrified the *kappa*, and Kusen-bô, the chief of the nine thousand *kappa*, asked a Buddhist priest to act as intermediary, and by swearing never to do harm again to human beings, barely managed to appease the angry general.⁵⁴⁵⁾ But since we are concerned with popular beliefs, the enmity between the *kappa* and monkeys by no means preclude the

539) *ibid.*, p. 50 (ed. 1942, p. 64).

540) *ibid.*, p. 51 (ed. 1942, p. 65).

541) Schiefner and Ralston, p. 353 (*Kah-gyur*, IV, f 249).

542) Orikuchi, 1930, p. 1030.

543) Yanagita, 1914, p. 48 (ed. 1942, p. 61).

544) *ibid.*, p. 49 (ed. 1942, p. 62).

545) *ibid.*, p. 48 (ed. 1942, pp. 61-62).

possibility of union between these two. Sacred oxen sacrificed to water-gods are identical with these water-gods, and *chiao*-dragons which pull horses into the water become dragon-horses themselves. The superiority enjoyed by monkeys in their fights against the *kappa* recorded in old documents is only a proof of the ideological identity of these two sorts of creatures.

The question next arises, whether we may not find instances of a similar relationship existing between monkeys and water-spirits in the folklore of nations adjacent to Japan. So far, the present writer has only been able to find one such an example in Chinese folklore.

There is a well called Chih-ch'i-ching (支祁井 "Well of Chih-ch'i") The water-monster
Wu Chih-ch'i in Hsü-i-hsien (盱眙縣) in the northeastern part of Anhui province. About this well, the following passage occurs in the *Anhui-t'ung-chih*: "The well Chih-ch'i-ching is also called Shêng-mu-ching (聖母井 "Well of the Holy Mother"). It is behind the temple Kuei-shan-ssü (龜山寺) in the northeastern part of Hsü-i-hsien, and the great Yü imprisoned a water-god in this well. The well is covered by a pavilion built over it."⁵⁴⁶ This well in which Yü imprisoned a water-god is worthy of consideration. Li Chao of the T'ang dynasty says in his *Kuo-shih-pu*, quoting from the *Shan-hai-ching*, that, "A water-beast caused much mischief and Yü chained it. The beast was called Wu Chih-ch'i," and T'ao Tsung-i of the Ming dynasty, also quoting from the *Shan-hai-ching*, says in his *Cho-kêng-lu* that, "A water-beast caused much mischief, and Yü chained it under the mountain Chün-shan (軍山). The beast was called Wu Chih-ch'i."⁵⁴⁷ These particular passages cannot be found in the text now extant of the *Shan-hai-ching*, but a legend of Yü chaining up a water-beast would seem from these quotations to have been included from a period of considerable antiquity in tales of his successful struggle to control the rivers. But what is of even greater interest to us is the fact that since about the time of the T'ang dynasty, legends came to be told in which this water-beast chained up by Yü appears in a form resembling that of a monkey. The *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi* gives one such legend as occurring in the *Jung-mu-chien-t'an*.⁵⁴⁸

In A.D. 798 Li Kung-tso (李公佐) of Kansu set out on a boat on the rivers Hsiao-shui (濠水) and Hsiang-shui (湘水) in Honan province. On this trip he met by chance Yang Hêng (楊衡), who was engaged in a military expedition to the south, and the two went ashore and lodged in a Buddhist temple, where, as they watched the moon rise over the river, Yang told Li the following story: "During the Yung-t'ai (永泰) era, Li T'ang (李湯) was governor of Ch'u-chou (楚州). About this time, there was a fisherman who went one night to fish at the foot of the mountain Kuei-shan (龜山), and his hook caught

546) *Anhui-t'ung-chih*, 33, Yü-ti-chih (輿地志), Shan-ch'uan (山川); Huang Chih-kang, p. 168.

547) Huang Chih-kang, p. 168.

548) *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, 467.

on something in the water and would not come up. He was a good diver, and so he went down into the water swiftly to a depth of 50 *chang* (500 *ch'ih*), and there saw a great iron chain encircling the base of the mountain. He tried to find the end of the chain, but could not, and he informed Li T'ang of the matter. T'ang ordered fifty or sixty fishermen and others who could swim well to pull up the chain, but they were not able to, and so above fifty oxen were collected together to lend them aid. Then the chain shook, and began to give way, and although it was quite calm at the time, great waves rose up and astonished the bystanders . . . Upon this, there appeared at the end of the chain a creature shaped like a monkey with a white head, long mane, snowy white fangs and golden claws, and it leaped up on the shore. Its height was about 5 *chang*, and the way it crouched resembled a monkey. But its eyes were closed, and not moving at all, it looked as though it was blind. Water ran down from its eyes and nose like a stream, and the slaver from its mouth was foul and evil-smelling, so that no one could venture near the creature. After a long while, it stretched its neck and yawned, and then suddenly opened both its eyes. They shone like lightning, and looking round at the people gathered about, it showed signs of rising up in great rage. All who were there fled, and the beast, slowly dragging the chain and the oxen attached to it, entered the water and was never seen again. There were many men of note in Ch'u there, and they were all as terrified as T'ang, looking at each other in perplexity, and not knowing what to do with such a creature. Since then, fishermen sometimes saw the place where the chain was, but no one ever saw the beast again."

In the spring of A.D. 813 Li Kung-tso visited what used to be the kingdom of Eastern Wu, and going with Yüan Kung-hsi (元公錫), the governor of the region, on a boat on the Lake Tung-t'ing, he climbed the mountain Pao-shan (包山) and stayed at the cell of a Taoist sage, Chou Chiao-chün (周焦君). The two went into a sacred grotto to look for writings of the sages, and obtained the 8th book of an early text of the *Yüeh-tu-ching* (岳瀆經), but the ideographs being of a strange, antiquated form, and the sequence not being clear on account of the material on which they were written being much damaged by insects, they had great difficulties in deciphering the text. Finally, they managed to do so, and they came upon the following passage in the book:

"Yü went three times to the mountain T'ung-pai-shan (桐柏山) to regulate the course of rivers. But each time a great wind rose, thunder came, and the rocks echoed and the trees groaned. The spirit of the earth watched jealously over the rivers, that of the heavens sent forth his armies, and nothing could be done. Yü grew angry, and summoned Kuei-lung (夔龍), whereupon the spirits of T'ung-pai-shan and other mountains bent down their heads before him and placed themselves at his orders. So Yü made Hung Mêng-

shih (鴻蒙氏), Chang Shang-shih (章商氏), Tou Lu-shih (兜廬氏), Li Lou-shih (犁婁氏) capture the god of the Rivers Huai and Wo, who was named Wu Chih-ch'i. This god was eloquent in conversation, and knew all the deeps and shallows of the rivers Yangtsekiang and Huai-ho, and the situation of fields and marshes. He was shaped like a monkey, had a flat nose and a high forehead, a green body, white head, golden eyes and snowy white fangs. His neck, when stretched, was a hundred *ch'ih* long, his strength exceeded that of nine elephants, and he was so agile and swift in his movements that it was difficult to have him within sight and hearing for any length of time. Yü turned him over to T'ung Lü (童律), who was not able to master him, then to Wu Mu-yu (烏木由), who was not able to master him either, and then to Kêng Ch'ên (庚辰), who mastered him. The god had been surrounded by the spirits Ch'i-p'i (鴟脾), Huan-ho (桓胡) and other spirits of trees, rivers, mountains and stones for thousands of years, but Kêng Ch'ên drove them all away, passed a great rope round the neck of the god, bored a hole in his nose to hang a golden bell, and led him to the foot of the mountain Kuei-shan of the southern side of the River Huai. Ever since that time, the river has flowed in peace to the sea."

What Li T'ang saw, and Yang Hêng told to Li Kung-tso, therefore coincides with what is written in the *Yüeh-tu-ching*, and so the water-monster with the shape of a monkey, which dragged into the water fifty oxen during the reign of the T'ang dynasty, is supposed to be the same as the water-god Wu Chih-ch'i whom Yü caused to be chained up at the foot of Mount Kuei. This legend is still preserved in the district round Hsü-i-hsien in Anhui province, where the River Huai flows into the lake Hung-tsê-hu (洪澤湖), and fishermen even today are said sometimes to catch a glimpse of the chain attached to the monster at the bottom of the river.⁵⁴⁹⁾ The legend of the golden ox in the water attached to a golden chain given in the last chapter may also have something in common with this other legend as to its source.

The legend of Wu Chih-ch'i, the water-god shaped like a monkey, who was put in chains at the foot of Mount Kuei, may have been the prototype of the story in the *Hsi-yu-chi*, which was written much later, of the Buddha imprisoning the monkey hero Sung Wu-k'ung under the mountain Wu-hsing-shan (五行山), and placing on the top of the mountain magic words written in golden characters to bind the monkey,⁵⁵⁰⁾ but since Sung Wu-k'ung, a stone monkey come to life, is said to have dived into the water and explored the grotto Shui-lien-tung (水簾洞) in the mountain Hua-kuo-shan (華果山), and making himself king of the monkeys, spent his mornings on Hua-kuo-shan and his evenings in Shui-lien-tung, passing in this way 300 years, we can say

549) Doré, vol. 10, p. 103.

550) *Hsi-yu-chi*, 7 and 17.

Monkeys, horses
and the *kappa*

that he himself has a close relationship with water.⁵⁵¹⁾ As we have already pointed out before, the actual fact of monkeys having the habit of living in numbers near the water was probably an element in the formation of the idea of the monkey-like *kappa* of Japanese folklore, but since such examples are only found rarely among the peoples of countries adjacent to Japan, it would be premature to assume a direct relationship between the Japanese *kappa* and the Chinese Wu Chih-ch'i. Such being the case, we should try and see if there are not other more cogent factors which could have brought the *kappa* and monkeys together, and it was Mr. Yanagita who, by looking towards the horse and demonstrating the close relationship existing between this animal and the *kappa*, and at the same time clearly showing the ties which bound horses to monkeys (Cf. Fig. 13, 14, 15, 17), gave the final answer to the problem in his theory concerning the legend of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water. His studies of such questions as monkeys kept in stables, jugglers who employ monkeys, *komahiki-sen* or fancy coins bearing effigies of monkeys leading horses (Fig. 16), and the origin of the Japanese *Nô*-farce *Utsubo-zaru* ("Monkey's skin for decorating quivers"), are among the most brilliant contained in his *Santô-mindan-shû*, and leaving to his learned pen all such problems connected with Japanese folklore, we propose to consider the question before us from the broader standpoint of comparative ethnology.

The ideological association of monkeys with horses is not found distributed all over the world as in the case of the relationship between oxen and horses and water-gods which we have studied in the last two chapters. As far as the present writer is aware, it is confined more or less to regions in East Asia covering Japan, China and India. Moreover, from the zoological distribution of monkeys, and the position occupied by them in the religious life of peoples, it is more than probable that the origin of the idea is to be sought for in India, where monkeys are found in greatest number, and which country has always formed the centre of the religious worship of monkeys. In fact, to give the beliefs, tabus, magical practices and legends concerning monkeys contained in the mythology and folklore of this country would be enough to fill a volume by itself.

Viṣṇu

The god Viṣṇu of the *R̥gveda* taking the form of *kapi* ("monkey") or Vṛṣākapi ("Pluvial monkey") was beheaded by Indra, and the word Hari which is commonly used for this god not only means a monkey at the same time,⁵⁵²⁾ but in the *Mahābhārata*, it is also the name of the parent of horses and monkeys.⁵⁵³⁾ In fact, one of the ten great incarnations of Viṣṇu is Kalki ("White Horse"), and it is said that the Hindus expect him to appear one day mounted on a white horse, and holding in his hand a shining sword to restore

551) *ibid.*, 1.

552) *R̥gveda Sanhitā*, X, 86, 5: Wilson (tr.), vol. 6, p. 233; Gubernatis, vol. 2, pp. 99-100.

553) *Mahābhārata*, ch. LXV, 65: Dutt (tr.), vol. 1, p. 94.

the world to its original purity.⁵⁵⁴⁾ But in a Buddhist *sūtra* translated into Chinese by Pu-k'ung (不空) of the T'ang dynasty, directions are given for painting the image of Hayagrīva ("horse-headed") Vidyārāja, the Buddhist version of the god Viṣṇu, in which occur the words, "To paint the Hayagrīva Vidyārāja, his body must be the colour of fire, and he must look as though angered, with a nose shaped *like that of monkeys* etc." Although the original Sanskrit *sūtra* has been lost, the translation provides us with one more evidence of the antiquity of the relationship between horses and monkeys.⁵⁵⁵⁾

Gandharvas, who are regarded by some scholars as the equivalent of the Gandharvas Greek Centaur, and whose appearance in Indian mythology date from the age of the *Vedas*, are semi-divine beings who are the musicians of the heavenly world, preside over marriage, are fond of women, extremely jealous of their wives, the water-spirits called Apsarases, and guard with miserly care the medicinal herbs and the drink of the gods, *soma*, which is found in the water. But these characteristics have much in common with those of the ass in Indian mythology, and a comparison with the *Avesta* is said to prove the identity of Gandharvas with the ass.⁵⁵⁶⁾ At the same time, the monkey often takes the place of the ass in Indian mythology, and Gandharvas also were sometimes represented as monkeys.⁵⁵⁷⁾ Moreover, these Gandharvas, who were so closely associated with the water-world, are said to have driven the horses of the sun, and there was even a tribe of low caste people called Gandharvas who sold incense and juggled, and went about dancing and making horses and monkeys perform tricks, begging money of the people. The beauty of their women is often said to have attracted the attention of the nobility.⁵⁵⁸⁾

Mr. Minakata Kumakusu says in reference to them that "The tribe of Gandharvas in ancient times, when begging their living by exhibiting incense etc., often made horses dance, and it is probably for this reason that their patron god was given the form of a horse and . . . made the god of incense, music and marriage. The wives of such low class people often assist at marriages in India and elsewhere even today, and the genitals of horses and asses being conspicuously exposed, they have been commonly chosen as symbols of marital harmony and of propagation," and concerning the close relationship between horses and monkeys he says also,

"This is probably a relic of low caste people like the Gandharvas, who made horses and monkeys perform tricks, keeping these two sorts of animals

554) Edwardes and Spence, pp. 186-187.

555) *Taishō-Zōkyō*, vol. 19, no. 950, p. 199 a: cf. *Nanjō Catalogue*, no. 1024. In a different Chinese version of the same *sūtra* translated by Bodhiruci (*Nanjō Catalogue*, no. 532), however, these words "with a nose shaped like that of monkeys" do not occur.—*ibid.*, no. 951, p. 231 a.

556) Gubernatis, vol 1, pp. 53, 369, 370; 365-366, 379.

557) *ibid.*, pp. 368, 382.

558) Minakata, 1918, p. 193.

in the same place for the sake of convenience."⁵⁵⁹⁾

Monkeys kept in
stables

The custom of keeping monkeys in stables to protect horses is still practised in Northern India today, and an old proverb says, "The evil of the stable is on the monkey's head."⁵⁶⁰⁾ The earliest material for the study of this custom seems also to date back to the age of the compilation of the Buddhist *sūtras*, and in the *Parrot Jātaka* in the *Ma-ho-séng-chih-lü* (摩訶僧祇律) translated into Chinese by Fa-hsien (法顯) and others under the Eastern Chin dynasty, although in this case also, the original Sanskrit text has been lost, there is a passage which relates how a king once became very much attached to a baby monkey presented to him by one of his ministers, and how, although it had a beautiful fur and jumped and gambolled about while it was young, and was petted by all, the fur became ragged as it grew up, so that no one liked it any longer to look at it, and it learned to prick up its ears and stretch its mouth to frighten the children, and in the end the king tired of it, and commanded it to be tied to one of the pillars in the stable.⁵⁶¹⁾

Monkeys used to
cure horses

In one of the versions of *Panchatantra*, there is the following story of how monkeys were used to cure horses that had been badly burned:

Once in ancient times, King Chandra kept a herd of monkeys for the amusement of the princes his children. The king of the herd was a wise monkey, and seeing a ram enter the kitchen from time to time and annoy the cook, foresaw that one day, the cook would throw a burning brand at the ram, from which its wool would catch fire, and the ram running into the stable would set fire to it, the horses become burnt, and all the monkeys be killed to cure the horses' burns. He warned the other monkeys of the event, but they would not listen to him, and so he went away by himself into the woods. The event took place just as he had predicted, and the king summoned surgeons who were well versed in the works of Sālihotra, the veterinary surgeon, and ordered them to attend to the horses. They answered, "Just as the sun comes out and scatters the darkness, so all maladies of horses caused by burns are made to disappear by using the marrow of monkeys. These were the words of our master, Sālihotra. We beg thee therefore that this remedy be employed immediately, before the horses die." The king at once ordered the monkeys kept for the princes to be killed, and hearing of this, the king of the monkeys who had escaped to the woods entered into a league with a Rākṣasa that lived in a pond, and luring the king and his suite to the place, caused them all to be devoured by the Rākṣasa.⁵⁶²⁾

There is a similar story told of Kuo P'o of the Chin dynasty, who lived just about the time of the compilation of the *Panchatantra*, who

559) *ibid.*, pp. 193, 196.

560) Crooke, vol. 2, p. 49.

561) *Taishō-Zōkyō*, vol. 22, no. 1425, p. 258 b, c.

562) *Panchatantra*, bk. V. no. 10: Benfey (tr.), 2. Theil, S. 346-352, esp. 348-349.

caused a dead horse to be resuscitated by means of a monkey. Chao Ku (趙固), a general of the Eastern Chin dynasty, is grieving over the death of his favourite horse, when the Taoist Kuo P'o arrives and instructs him as follows:

"Let twenty or thirty of your sturdiest men, each carrying a bamboo pole, go eastward from here for thirty *li*, and there they will come to a hill covered with trees in the likeness of a temple grove. When they have arrived there, let them beat about the wood with their bamboo poles; and they shall obtain a creature which let them bring home quickly. If they succeed in capturing this creature, the horse will at once be brought back to life. Hearing this, fifty of the general's bravest men set out, and came to a great wooded hill just as P'o had said, and a creature that looked like a monkey, but was not one, ran out of the trees. The men ran after it and caught it, and brought it back hugging it. The creature saw the dead horse from afar and struggled to get near it, and P'o ordered the men to let it go. The creature at once ran towards the head of the horse, and breathed into its nose, and after a while the horse rose up and began to gallop about. The creature had disappeared, and Chao Ku richly rewarded Kuo P'o."⁵⁶³⁾

But the custom of keeping monkeys in stables makes its appearance in Chinese documents much later than this. According to the *I-chien-chih* written by Hung Mai of the Sung dynasty, Mêng Kuang-wei (孟廣威), who went as governor to Wu-ling (武陵) in Hupei province in the 8th year of the Chêng-ho (政和) era (A.D. 1118) during the reign of the Emperor Hui-tsung of the Sung dynasty, was a great lover of horses, and always kept monkeys in his stable. It seems to have been said at the time that monkeys and horses were naturally inclined towards each other.⁵⁶⁴⁾ It is also said that a man obtained an ugly monkey about 2 *ch'ih* high in I-ling (夷陵), I-ch'ang-hsien (宜昌縣), in Hupei province, and brought it home and kept it in his stable, and when next year the monkey died, the horses died also.⁵⁶⁵⁾ There is another story of the Sung dynasty of one Wang, who lived in Yin (鄆) in Chekiang province, and being a horse-dealer, kept a monkey. It is said that his wife lay asleep one summer afternoon overcome with wine, and the monkey ravished her, from which union were born two children.⁵⁶⁶⁾ To give one or two more examples from the writings of the Ming dynasty, we read in the *Wu-tsa-tsu*: "A man living in the capital kept a monkey in his stable, and the monkey would jump up on the horse's back wherever it had the chance to, and never tire of teasing the horse, plaiting its mane and clinging to its neck. The horse never seemed to mind this at all. One day, the monkey was on the horse's back, and the horse becoming excited, broke loose from its

Monkeys are good for horses

563) *Sou-shên-hou-chi*, pt. 2; *Sou-shên-chi*, 3; *Chin-shu*, 72, *Kuo P'o-chuan*.

564) *I-chien-chih*, Hsin (辛), pt. 1.

565) *ibid.*, Ting (丁), pt. 9.

566) *Chien-hu-chi*, Jên (壬), 4.

halter, and rushed out with the monkey on its back. The monkey seemed to be enjoying all this extremely. The horse was passing under a beam, when it suddenly reared, and the monkey was hit by the beam and its head smashed, and it fell down dead. Those who were watching were astonished by this."⁵⁶⁷⁾

In the *Ch'ien-ch'üeh-chü-lei-shu* edited by Ch'ên Jên-hsi of the Ming dynasty we read: "There is a picture in the palace Tzū-chi-kung (紫極宮) at Ch'u-chou (楚州) of a monkey playing with a horse, swinging a rope. The monkey shakes the rope, surprising the horse, and the groom not knowing what is the matter, whips the monkey from behind. It is said that, monkeys have a good effect on horses, and here the monkey is suffering for it. I have caused the following poem in the spirit of the picture:

The monkey gambols, the horse is surprised.
 The groom cannot understand the friendship between monkeys
 and horses.
 The monkey is only acting according to its nature, nor can blame
 be attached to the horse.
 The intention is to avoid causing harm, and yet harm is done."⁵⁶⁸⁾

Monkeys drive
 away disease

The custom of keeping monkeys in stables from the idea that they are good for horses seems to have had for its original motive the preservation of horses from disease. J. Crawfurd, an Englishman who went on an embassy to Siam in 1812, saw two white monkeys kept in the stables where were the king's white elephants. He asked the grooms the reason for this, as he writes in his diary, and he was told that it was to prevent the elephants from becoming ill.⁵⁶⁹⁾ In Chinese documents of the Middle Ages, we often come across the same statements regarding monkeys kept in stables in company with horses. In the *Wu-tsa-tsu* already mentioned, we read that "Monkeys are kept in stables, so that horses may not become ill,"⁵⁷⁰⁾ and a passage in the *Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu* says, "If those who rear horses keep these animals (monkeys) in stables, it will prevent the horses from becoming ill."⁵⁷¹⁾ In the *I-chien-chih* and the *Ch'i-chüeh-liao-tsa-chi*, both written under the Sung dynasty, we come across passages saying that breeders of horses in Shu often kept monkeys in stables to maintain their horses in good health,⁵⁷²⁾ and in many books dealing with diseases of horses and other such subjects, we are told that monkeys drive away disease, or that the skins of monkeys have power over the diseases of horses, or that they keep away evil and cure scabies, or that monkeys

567) *Wu-tsa-tsu*, 9.

568) *Ch'ien-ch'üeh-chü-lei-shu*, 111.

569) Crawfurd, p. 97 and a wood-cut on p. 103.

570) *Wu-tsa-tsu*, 9.

571) *Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu*, 51, pt. 2.

572) Cit. by Eberhard, 1942, S. 28; *Ch'i-chüeh-liao-tsa-chi*, pt. 2.

tied in stables avert evil and prevent a hundred diseases,⁵⁷³⁾ all of which clearly spring from the same idea as the custom of keeping monkeys in stables in India and Siam. Such being the case, the story in the *Hsi-yu-chi* of the monkey hero Sun Wu-k'ung being given the post of keeper of the celestial stables, his remaining at his post for half a month, and then, being told the lowliness of his position by his colleagues, going into a great rage and returning to his mountain Hua-kuo-shan,⁵⁷⁴⁾ may not perhaps be regarded solely as a product of the author's imagination.

Sun Wu-k'ung, the keeper of the celestial stables

Although the relationship between monkeys and horses such as we have described may have its origin in India, it is interesting to note that there are materials which lead us to suppose that the idea spread to China through Tibet, or at least by the medium of tribes of Tibetan origin. In the *Manibkakhbum*, which is one of the oldest of Tibetan Buddhist texts, there is a legend of the founding of Tibet in which the king of the monkeys, as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara-Bodhisattva, appears in Tibet and marries a Rākṣasī, and so becomes the ancestor of the Tibetans.⁵⁷⁵⁾ The legend is thought to have its source in the ancient Bon religion of the Tibetans, to which a coating of Buddhism has been added, but similar legends of monkey ancestry are to be found among tribes of Tibetan origin, or tribes having close connections with such tribes, inhabiting the southwestern regions of China.⁵⁷⁶⁾ To begin with, in the *Tang-hsiang-chuan* (黨項傳 "History of the Tangut") of the *Sui-shu*, the first official history to be written concerning the Tangut, a Tibetan tribe living in Ch'inghai province today, there is a passage which says, "The Tangut Ch'iang (羌) are descendants of the San-miao (三苗). They are divided into the Tang-ch'ang (宕昌) and Pai-lang (白狼), and all consider themselves as having sprung from monkeys,"⁵⁷⁷⁾ which shows that the legend given above was one which originated among the Tibetans themselves. In the *Sou-shên-chi*, a work dating back to a far earlier period than *Manibkakhbum* or the *Sui-shu*, there occurs the following passage concerning the regions of Ssüch'uan or Shu:

The monkey ancestor of the Tibetans

"An animal lives on a high mountain in the southwestern part of Shu, *Chia-kuo* or *ma-hua* which resembles a monkey in appearance. It is about 7 *ch'ih* in height, and does well all that men can do. It is fleet of foot and pursues human beings, and is called *chia-kuo* (猓國). It is also called *ma-hua* (馬化), and also *chiieh*

573) Yanagida, 1914, p. 66 (1947, p. 84).

574) *Hsi-yu-chi*, 4.

575) Aoki, pp. 78-80. According to the legend recorded by Koeppen, Avalokiteśvara-Bodhisattva, the patron saint of Tibet, turns himself into the monkey *Brag sssin po* (rock-monster) and comes to Tibet, where a female air-demon has turned herself into the she-monkey *Brag sssin mo*, and the two meeting became the ancestors of the Tibetans.—Koeppen, Bd. 2 (*Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*), S. 44-45.

576) Aoki, pp. 80-82.

577) *Sui-shu*, 83, *Hsi-yü-chuan* (西域傳). There is a similar passage in the *Pei-shih*, 96.

(獼). It looks out for young women going along the road, captures them and goes away, without anyone knowing of it. . . It mates with these women, and those who do not conceive are not allowed to return to their homes all their lives. After ten years, they come to resemble the being in appearance, become troubled in their brains and lose all desire to go home. Those women who conceive, the animal carries in its arms to their homes, the children that are borne having a human appearance. The mothers who do not bring up these children die, so they all take care to do so, and when these children grow up, they do not differ in any way from human beings. They all call themselves Yang (楊), and so there are many in the southwestern part of Shu today who have Yang for their surname, most of them being the descendants of these *chiao-kuo* or *ma-hua*.⁵⁷⁸⁾

The Yang family
and the Pai-ma-ti

The families with Yang for their surname are found not only among the Yao tribes of Kuangsi and Hunan, the Miao tribes of Ssüch'uan and Yunnan, and the Sung-wai Man (松外蠻) of Yunnan who are probably of Tibetan origin. There is also a powerful family in the western part of Ssüch'uan province, calling themselves the descendants of the Pai-ma Ti (白馬氏 "White Horse Ti"), whose surname, it is said, was Yang since the time of the T'ang dynasty and still is today.⁵⁷⁹⁾ The Ti, like the Ch'iang, are an ancient tribe of clearly Tibetan origin, and during the days of the Former Han dynasty, there was a tribe of the Ti calling themselves Pai-ma ("White Horse") among the so-called Southwestern Barbarians who occupied regions around what is now Ch'êng-hsien (成縣) in Kansu province.⁵⁸⁰⁾ In the 6th year of the Yüan-ting (元鼎) era (111 B.C.), during the reign of the emperor Wu-ti of that dynasty, they surrendered to the Chinese and Wu-tu-chün (武都郡) was set up in those parts, and it is recorded that in the 1st year of the Ti-chieh (地節) era (69 B.C.), under the emperor Hsüan-ti, Pai-ma Ch'iang of Wu-tu rose in rebellion,⁵⁸¹⁾ while it is a matter of history that the chiefs of the Ti who set up and maintained the kingdom of Ch'ou-ch'ih (仇池) in those regions from the end of the Han dynasty into the Liu-chao ("Six Dynasties") called themselves Yang.⁵⁸²⁾ That there should be branches of the Ch'iang and the Ti of Tibetan origin who should call themselves "White Horse," and that there should be even today a Yang family, said to be descended from the *chia-kuo* or *ma-hua* which resembled monkeys, tracing their origin back to the Pai-ma Ti, cannot be dismissed as so many coincidences in view of the relationship between monkeys and horses. Furthermore, the fact of

578) *Sou-shên-chi*, 12.

579) Eberhard, 1942, S. 28-29.

580) *Shih-chi*, 116, *Hsi-nan-i-chuan* (西南夷傳); *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 28, pt. 2, *Ti-li-chih* (地理志), Wu-tu-chün (武都郡); *ibid.*, 95, *Hsi-nan-i liang-yüeh ch'ao-hsien-chuan* (西南夷兩粵朝鮮傳).

581) *Hua-yang-kuo-chih*, *Shu-chih* (蜀志).

582) *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 40, *Ti-li-chih*, 3, Lung-yu-tao (隴右道); *Tôyô-rekishi Dai-jiten*, art. "Ti" and "Yang-ti."

these tribes inhabiting the western part of Ssüch'uan province reminds us of the passage in the *Sou-shên-chi* already quoted which says, "There are many in the southwestern part of Shu (i.e. Ssüch'uan) today who have Yang for their surname," and the statement in the *I-chien-chih* that breeders of horses in Shu often kept monkeys in stables for the protection of their horses.

In the *Yeh-jên-chien-hua* written during the reign of the Sung dynasty there is a story of one Yang Ch'ien-tu (楊千度), a native of Shu, who made his living by keeping a monkey and making him perform tricks. One day, a monkey in the stables of the palace broke loose, and ran up the palace buildings and we are told that Yang, by the command of the lord of Shu, used his own monkey to recapture the truant.⁵⁸³⁾ This Yang must have been by profession something like the Japanese jugglers with their performing monkeys, and the story indicates that the region of Shu, the surname Yang, and the monkeys kept in stables must have been associated with each other from ancient times. Attention might also be drawn to the fact that the word *ko-jan* (猓然), which is given in the *Kuo-shih-pu* as meaning a variety of monkeys, is often used as a tribal name of the Lolo whose language is of Tibeto-Burman origin, and who live in large numbers in the southwestern part of Ssüch'uan province.⁵⁸⁴⁾

In the Mongolian epic *Gesir Khan*, a work containing markedly Tibetan elements, there is a story of the divine horse Kyang Geu Karkar recognizing a demon disguised as a great monkey ravaging a field at night, and killing him with a single kick of his hoofs.⁵⁸⁵⁾ This may, or may not be, another example of the ideological association of monkeys with horses. One must avoid any hasty judgment in the matter, and the idea is only suggested here as a possibility.

It is interesting to find this relationship between monkeys and horses expressed in designs on articles of harness and other objects. In the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, following a passage about the steed Chüeh-po-yü (決波驂) beloved of the Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, and which had been presented to him by the king of Ku-li-kan (骨利幹), we read that: "In the treasure-house of the emperors of the Sui dynasty, there was a piece of jade carved in the likeness of monkeys with arms entwined, the arms forming a ring, so that it could be used as a bit. The Emperor T'ai-tsung later went out riding with it in company with his courtiers, but he was displeased with the design and broke it with his whip."⁵⁸⁶⁾

The shape of the gem described here is not quite clear, but we can understand at least that it was intended to be used as a bit. But what is even

583) *Yeh-jên-chien-hua*; Yang-yü-tu 楊于度, according to *T'ai-ping-kuan-chi*, 446.

584) Eberhard, 1942, S. 29.

585) Phalipau, p. 166.

586) *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*, 2.

Monkeys on
horseback

more interesting is the fact that the same *motif* of monkeys, this time mounted on horseback, just as in the passage in the *Wu-tsa-tsu* quoted above, is found in designs of pendants of the northern Eurasian nomadic peoples, who lived beyond regions where monkeys are to be found. The example shown in Fig. 18 *a* was found at Minussinsk in Siberia, and has been judged to belong to the 2nd millenium A.D.,⁵⁸⁷⁾ but the shape of the horse in *a*, as well as that shown in *b*,⁵⁸⁸⁾ resembles the horse figure on the stone sculptures of the Han dynasty. The example shown in *c* comes from Yekaterinovka in European Russia and is thought to date back possibly to the beginning of the Christian era.⁵⁸⁹⁾ If that is the case, we are led to the conclusion that the composite idea of monkeys and horses must have spread to the equestrian peoples of the north through Tibet or China at a very early date. Among the burial offerings of the T'ang dynasty, there is a figure of a monkey crouched on the saddle of a camel,⁵⁹⁰⁾ and the monkey on horseback, based on the legend of Po-lo (伯樂), a famous connoisseur of horses, is one of the *motifs* of the Koga figures made in Nagasaki prefecture, Japan, which have a history dating back to the Bunroku era (1592-1595).⁵⁹¹⁾ The Komagata ("Horse-shape") shrine on the slope of Mount Onikoshi in Takizawa village, Iwate prefecture, was formerly known as the Sôzen shrine, and there are old records which show that festivals were held here on the first day of the horse in February and May 5th in the 2nd year of the Keichô era (A.D. 1596). The image of the chief deity of the shrine is a wooden figure about 1 foot high, and looks like a monkey on horseback.⁵⁹²⁾ On Mt. Tsurumaki in the province of Izu, there was a monument called Komagata, erected in A.D. 1599, on which also a monkey was shown on horseback.⁵⁹³⁾

Monkeys drawing
horses

In this way, as Mr. Yanagita so clearly demonstrates in his *Santô-mindan-shû*, the idea of relationship between monkeys and horses, including that of keeping monkeys in stables, was introduced into Japan at a pretty early date, and gave rise to the profession of jugglers with performing monkeys whose original function was to come to stables to make monkeys dance there, and to pray for the safety of the horses, and the *motif* of monkeys drawing horses by the bridle came to figure in designs of fancy coins, in the votive tablets put up at shrines (Fig.14, 16), and in charms for the protection of stables (Fig. 15, 17).⁵⁹⁴⁾ Thus, Mr. Yanagita's theory that the monkey, an

587) Salmony, 1933, pl. 35, no. 7, and p. 83.

588) Bleichsteiner, S. 52, Taf. 4, Fig. 6.

589) Tallgren, 1932, pp. 27, 31, Fig. 36.

590) Siren, S. 28, Fig. 40 (Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm).

591) Sumi, p. 272.

592) Yanagita, 1912, p. 602.

593) *Tanki Manroku*, p. 492.

594) Yanagita, 1914, pp. 61-78 (ed. 1942, 78-100).

animal naturally associated with water from its habit of living near it, holding the horse by the bridle, must have been drawn into the water by the water-god together with the horse, and having been turned into a *kappa*, became one of the factors in the formation of the legend of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water, increases in probability when we study in connection with it the material offered by the folklore of the countries adjacent to Japan. Also, that the idea of monkeys being the enemies of *kappa*, as seen in the story of Katô Kiyomasa planning an expedition against Kusenbô, the chief of the *kappa*, should exist side by side with the popular belief that the *kappa* are monkeys, is a fact that is most suggestive, when we consider it in relation to such other material for study as the legends, beginning with that in the *Jâtaka*, and found in India, China and Japan, of crocodiles, turtles and sea-dragons trying to obtain the liver or heart of a monkey as an effective medicine either for their own sickness or for that of their wives, and failing in their attempts to that end to lure monkeys into the water.⁵⁹⁵⁾ Neither is the fact that the monkey, the protector of stables, becomes in the form of a *kappa* the enemy of horses at all incongruous, when we consider the dual qualities of good and evil possessed by the gods in popular belief, and the character of a foreign god introduced from abroad which the monkey-god possesses in Japanese mythology, all of which has been thoroughly discussed by Mr. Yanagita in his work.⁵⁹⁶⁾

Crocodiles and the
liver of monkeys

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing 3 chapters, we have given at least in rough outline the cultural background to Japanese legends concerning the *kappa* luring horses into the water, by examining in each chapter respectively horses, oxen and monkeys in their relationship to water-gods. The question dealt with may be summarized as follows: Summary

Mr. Yanagita, starting from the fact that legends concerning the *kappa* of the type in which the *kappa* attempt to lure horses grazing by the waterside into the water, and fail to do so, are to be found all over Japan, has pointed out in his *Santô-mindan-shû* the possibility of the existence of a group of inter-related popular beliefs, which gave rise not only to these legends, but to the idea that the progeny of dragons or water-gods may be obtained by pasturing mares by the waterside, and to the Japanese legends of such famous horses as

595) *Jâtaka*, nos. 57, 208, 342: Cowell (ed.), vol. I, pp. 142-143, vol. II, p. 110, vol. III, pp. 87-88; *Taishô Zôkyô*, vol. 3, p. 19 b, c, pp. 76 b, c-77 a; *Panchatantra*, bk. IV; *Fa-yüan-chulin*, 54, *Cha-wei-pien* (詐偽篇), 60; *Konjaku-monogatari-shû*, *Tenjiku-Shintan no Bu*, 5, no. 25; *Shaseki-shû*, 5, pt. 1; Yanagita, 1941, pp. 4-6.

596) Yanagita, 1914, pp. 78-80 (ed. 1942, pp. 100-102).

Fine steeds obtained
by the waterside

Ikezuki and Surusumi appearing out of, or at least from the neighbourhood of some piece of water. In the present essay, we have compared this Japanese material with similar material in the Eurasian continent in general, and attempted to trace them to their common source in the cultural history of mankind. The popular beliefs and customs, for instance, founded on the idea that fine steeds may be obtained by putting mares to pasture by the waterside are by no means peculiar to Japan, nor did they originate there. Among the material relating to this *motif* recorded by the present writer in Chapter I of this essay alone, collected from all parts of the world, there are two such examples from Shantung, two from Shansi, four from Ssüch'uan and one each from Kueichou, Ch'inghai and Kansu as regards China, besides examples from Mongolia, Ta-yüan, Kashmir, Tokhara, Kurdistan and Northern Europe, while similar legends of water-stallions are quoted from the Chinese *Pieh-kuo tung-ming-chi* written under the Han dynasty and the *Arabian Nights*. The fact is significant. We have sought to explain the origin of these legends at least in part by the cattle-breeding custom actually practised in Asia of causing the females of domesticated cattle to breed with their wild male counterparts to obtain a sturdy progeny. But in this type of legends, it is not only that the stallions live generally in the water, or that water-spirits perform the part of stallions, but it often happens that divine horses, or water-spirits in the form of horses, actually appear out of the water. Examples of this latter *motif* alone, apart from those already given, and other numerous Chinese legends concerning dragon-horses, are to be found over a wide area extending from the Chinese provinces of Hopei, Shensi, Kansu, Hupei and Ssüch'uan to Annam, and, west of these regions, from Sinkiang to Russian Turkestan, Armenia, Georgia, and beyond these, in nearly every corner of Europe. Such a fact cannot be explained by the cattle-breeding customs of the nomadic peoples alone.

Water-gods in the
form of horses

Oxen and water

The investigation of this problem led the present writer to that of the relationship between oxen and water. Popular beliefs and folklore associating oxen with water are, in their case also, to be found not only in Japan but in nearly the entire extent of the Eurasian continent with the exception of the Arctic region. In China and its neighbouring countries, for example, legends of two oxen fighting in the water, while being most numerous in Ssüch'uan, occur also in Shensi, Shansi, Anhui, Kiangsu and Kuangtung, and southward of China in Annam. Legends of golden oxen dwelling under the water occur in Kuangtung, Fukien and Kiangsi, and from Anhui in the north to Annam in the south, and with regard to legends of iron oxen (rarely, stone oxen or copper oxen) employed to quell floods, we have given three examples each from Honan and Hopei, and one each from Kiangsi, Anhui, Hunan, Hupei, Ssüch'uan, Shensi and Shansi. As for water-spirits in the form of oxen who live in the water, examples are to be found from Hunan, Hupei, Kiangsu, and

the Yellow River basin to Shansi, Kansu, Mongolia, Central Asia, and even as far as Siberia. In Europe also, popular beliefs concerning strange oxen appearing out of the water, and water-spirits keeping beautiful herds of oxen in pastures at the bottom of the water are the common property of nearly all the European peoples including the Celtic, the Germanic, the Slavic, and the Finno-Ugric peoples. The area of distribution of these legends is of corresponding extent.

Given these facts, we are next faced with the problem of whether horses and oxen were together given the character of water-gods and water-monsters from the beginning, or whether one of the two became associated with the water-world first, and the idea was then extended to the other. In regard to this problem, the history and prehistoric archaeology of the ancient pre-Aryan cultural zone along the southern border of the Eurasian continent from India to the Eastern Mediterranean furnished the present writer with the decisive clues to its solution. This sphere of culture had as a common characteristic the worship of the Great Earth Mother as the symbol of fertility, while the breeding and religious worship of oxen were also practised from prehistoric times. Furthermore, this worship of oxen was based on the idea of regarding these animals as something sacred as the embodiment of the magical power of fertility, which fact associated them with the primitive Earth Mother as the symbol of generation, and those elements inseparable from the female principle in religious worship, the moon and the power of fertility of the earth. Cultural history has made it clear that this complex combining together the moon, the earth, the female principle, oxen, and the power of fertility is founded in plant-growing and agriculture, and so it was natural that water, the source of life to agricultural peoples, became associated closely in its turn with oxen, as with the moon, the Earth Mother and so forth, in this religious complex which might be defined ethnologically as agricultural, matriarchal and lunar mythological. In this way, we may reconstruct from a vast store of material the process by which oxen, representing the primary principle of fertility and growth, came to be offered in sacrifice to the river-god as animals sacred to water-gods, or by which water-spirits themselves came to assume the form of oxen.

On the other hand, horses were domesticated and reared on the steppes of Inner Asia, and there served in the development of a nomadic and equestrian culture of a different nature from that of the agricultural peoples to the south. We find traces of this northern culture infiltrating southwards into Egypt and Mesopotamia already in the Neolithic Age, but apart from the ass, horse-breeding itself was practised neither in the ancient Orient nor pre-Aryan India, until long after the beginning of the so-called historic age. That is to say, the horses were not known to the ancient Egyptians before the invasion of the Hyksos in the middle of the 18th century B.C., and the invasion

Ox-worship

The moon, the earth, the female principle, oxen, the power of fertility and water

The southward advance of the horse

of the Punjāb by the Aryans with their horses, as also the importation of horses by sea into the world of the Minoan civilization in Crete, are now definitely regarded by historians as events occurring even later, in or about 16th century B.C. With regard to Mesopotamia alone the question is a little more complicated, but it is clear that the horse, coming from the north, became generally known in these regions and over the whole of Southwestern Asia to play more or less a decisive part in human life only after a similar wave of horse-rearing peoples from Inner Asia had swept down southward about the time of the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos and the Punjāb by the Aryans. But long before this, the ox was not only being reared by the agricultural peoples along the southern border of the Eurasian continent, but temples in Egypt, Sumeria, and Babylonia, the palace at Cnossus, and the cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā were filled with sacred oxen. And as the horse advanced into this area and took its place in the society of men, the position hitherto occupied by the ox, and the part played by it in religion and mythology of these regions came gradually to be either shared, or taken over altogether by the horse. The present writer, following the studies of Prof. Koppers, has been able to trace the workings of this process in an analysis of the mysteries of the Aśvamedha, the ceremony of horse-sacrifice of Ancient India, and in the metamorphosis undergone by the *vāhana* of Indra, the god of thunder and rain. With the brilliant example before him set by Miss Harrison, who has so ably demonstrated the progress of Poseidon, the Greek sea-god, bull-god, and horse-god, from his beginnings as the Minotaur, the Cretan king-god, to the heights of Mount Olympus, the present writer has also assumed that long before Poseidon came to be regarded as a horse-god, he was worshipped in the form of a bull as an earth-god, fertility god, agricultural god, and a god of the nether regions.

Oxen replaced by
horses

Western Europe
and Eastern Asia

With reference to Western Europe and Eastern Asia, it is not so easy to determine, from the results of researches in prehistoric archaeology, the order of appearance in these regions of the ox and the horse, and the opinions of scholars differ in this point. But, although it might be premature to assert that here too, the domesticated horse was introduced by the exodus of nomadic peoples from the interior of the continent, it is fairly certain that in the beginning at least, the horse was employed mainly for transport and in war, whereas the animal first used in ploughing and which in that way became associated with agriculture, was not the horse but the ox, just as it happened in the regions along the southern border of the continent. So that, for example, such customs of Chinese peasants as whipping clay oxen to greet the coming of spring, and sacrificing oxen to the earth-god *shē* must date back to a remote antiquity, while the belief among the peoples of Eastern Asia which represents in the form of oxen water-gods, river-gods, thunder-gods and *chiao*-dragons who exercise power over water, and the

Oxen and
agriculture

popular belief existing in various parts of Europe of water-spirits in the form of oxen inhabiting seas, rivers, lakes and marshes, and others keeping herds of oxen in pastures underneath the water, must belong to an order of ideas more primitive than that of water-spirits in the form of horses, and probably date from a period of greater antiquity. Judging from the fact that legends in which the horse appears in close relationship with water are frequently found among the peoples of Iranian origin who inhabited those regions serving one might say as the connecting point between the eastern and western parts of the Eurasian continent, in which such legends are widely distributed, the present writer conjectures that at least a portion of the ideas concerning water-horses, and beliefs in which water-gods combine the characteristics of horse-gods, may have been carried at a comparatively late period by peoples of Iranian origin from the Orient into the eastern and western parts of the Eurasian continent. In China particularly, the group of ideas connecting together water-horses, dragon-horses and celestial horses existed from ancient times chiefly in the western and northwestern parts of the country and thence further west towards Central Asia, whereas that of river-oxen and earth-oxen is found distributed from China proper towards Southwestern China and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and there are grounds for thinking that legends of "water-oxen" in Mongolia, Siberia and elsewhere were carried there by the advance northwards of the ox from the south. We may regard this as reflecting the fact that the horse and the ox originated in two different cultural milieus, one northern and the other southern. The present writer has advanced a step further from this in surmising that the group of ideas concerning dragon-horses and celestial horses was first recorded in documents by ruling tribes or classes of northern origin who built up a state in the valley of the Yellow River, whence the ideas gradually sank to the level of popular beliefs, while those connected with river-oxen and earth-oxen sprang originally from the beliefs and customs of the agricultural population, were long preserved in such a form, and then adopted into national ceremonies observed by kings and nobles.

Dragon-horses *cum*
celestial horses
versus river-oxen
cum earth-oxen

To summarize, the present writer is of the opinion that the close relationship between water-gods and oxen and horses, examples of which are found in the folklores of the entire Eurasian continent, began with the central position occupied by the ox in the fertility rites of agricultural societies, and then, with the introduction of the horse into these agricultural regions from the steppes of Inner Asia, it either took its place by the side of the ox, or replaced it entirely, and so these horses became spirits and monsters inhabiting seas and rivers, marshes and lakes, or came in their turn to be sacrificed to water-gods. Whether coincidences between such legends are the result of diffusion, or due to independent development from a common cultural basis, must be looked into historically in each particular instance, but this has been beyond the

Continuity of the
human culture

scope of the present essay. But in either case, it is possible to see through these phenomena how the various cultures of mankind form, both in time and space, a continuous entity. And if we now turn back to the Japanese islands, having as our background such a knowledge of culture historical and comparative ethnology, it will be seen that the legends concerning the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water are essentially nothing more than a particular type of the legends dealing with the association of horses with water-spirits which are to be found all over the Eurasian continent.

Monkeys

But the origin of the *kappa*, a water-monster peculiar to Japan, and the process by which these legends of their trying to lure horses into the water came into being, contain many problems which, starting with the child water-god, the forerunner of the *kappa*, are capable of being pursued indefinitely in the domain of ethnology. In the present essay, the elucidation of the nature of the *kappa* as a whole has been left for further research, and only the relationships between monkeys and water-gods, and between monkeys and horses, which have a direct bearing on these legends of the *kappa* trying to lure horses into the water, have been dealt with in Chapter 3. The idea of the association of monkeys with horses, an example of which are the monkeys kept in stables, is to be found from ancient times in all parts of Eastern Asia, from India to China and Japan. At the same time, monkeys themselves as animals which by nature frequent places near the water have a tendency to be treated as water-spirits. In the Japanese islands, whereas the ox and the horse appeared in and out of the water-world either as the incarnation of water-gods, or as animals held sacred to these water-gods, just as in other regions of the Eurasian continent, some of the Japanese water-gods, in their degenerate form, became peculiar monsters resembling monkeys, and did their best to lure oxen and horses, particularly horses, into the water. Such is the origin of these legends of the *kappa* (river-child) or *enkô* (monkey), a water-monster peculiar to Japanese folklore.

The above is a summary of the main subjects dealt with in this essay, but many interesting problems of cultural history and ethnology were discussed in connection with these subjects, some of which we give below.

God of thunder
and rain

1) The combination of oxen, the earth, the moon, the female principle, water, and the world of the dead is found nearly everywhere in the agricultural zone in the southern part of the old continent, but the worship of the god of thunder and rain, which is closely connected with oxen and the moon, was also added to this lunar mythological complex, assumed a particular form, and with the exception of a comparatively small region, spread over a vast area stretching from Eastern Asia to Europe. A characteristic of the god common to all the regions in which he was worshipped, is his destruction of an evil dragon, and he is often represented as riding on an ox, and later, a horse. In Eastern Asia, the dragon which is a water-god, is at the same time the god of thunder

and rain, and also closely connected with oxen and horses.

2) From Southeastern Asia to the southern part of China, the sacrifice of oxen, the whipping of clay oxen in spring, bull-fights, and other such religious customs connected with oxen having the character of a fertility rite, seem to have spread in close association with the wave of megalithic culture, together with such other customs as head-hunting and skull- and ancestor-worship. Legends in Ssüch'uan concerning stone oxen and stone rhinoceroses which hold water-spirits in subjection may have some connection with this particular culture. Megalithic culture

3) Examples of the idea that water-spirits have an aversion for anything made of metal, particularly iron, are to be found nearly all over the world, from Nordic legends of the Näkk to Eastern Asiatic ones about *chiao*-dragons and the *kappa*, but Chinese legends of iron oxen quelling floods, and setting up iron pillars to which to chain *chiao*-dragons, probably indicate, together with legends found in South China of golden chains and golden oxen at the bottom of lakes and rivers, a prolongation into the metal age of the stone oxen and stone pillars of the megalithic culture. So that, the idea of using iron objects as a charm against water-gods may have sprung originally from stone oxen employed for the same purpose, which in their turn may have possessed at first a sacrificial character. Taboo of iron

Among these statements, there are some that must be regarded as premature conclusions, and there are others which only indicate the loci of the problems concerned, while leaving its development for future discussion. But even within the scope of this restricted essay, it has been possible to point out the fact that much of the Japanese legends preserved from ancient times have connections, not only with the neighbouring cultures of Eastern Asia, but with the cultures of peoples living in regions far removed from Japan. So that, in studying problems of Japanese *Volkskunde*, it is always possible to enhance one's apprehension of their culture historical significance by adopting the methods of comparative ethnology. A Japanese thinker of the end of the Tokugawa period has stressed the fact that the waters of the river flowing under the Nihonbashi bridge in Edo finally merge with the River Thames in London. In the currents of human culture also, there are aspects resembling the streams that flow through the ocean. If it should be possible, then, to prove that even behind such local, peculiarly Japanese phenomena as the *kappa*, there lurks something which, flowing darkly along the depths of the civilization of man, connects with the sea-god Poseidon of the Mediterranean and Näkk, the Nordic water-spirit, the importance of the contribution this would make towards opening up our eyes to the continuous oneness of human culture would be indeed incalculable. The need of vision
from the standpoint
of world-history

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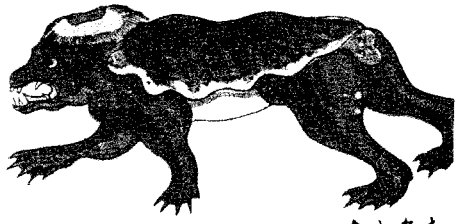
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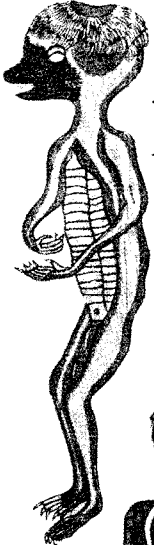
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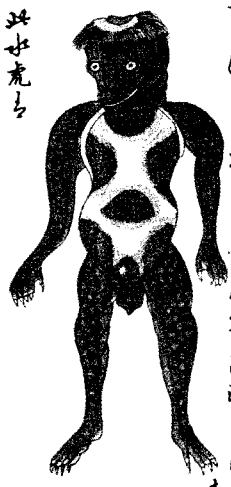
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水虎の害と避くは管水相和舟のり
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紀州 浩雪坂本先生 鑿定
純澤先生 縮圖
東都書肆 林奎文房 潤暉 終究 完

彫工師 大塚 丹次

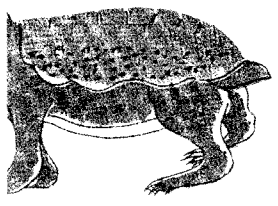
按るに河童は二種の水煙子や不可思議のいふ其形類種あり
 關東より西に種も異なる條ふく人上書以てそのも示辨之遺後
 地方よりあるも多し多く人共害と非知らざるものあり其形
 乃て漢上の書種も多し其書に載る可きものも水虎乃至
 水漢魚虫の附録に載る者多し其書に其漢書あり
 唐守末谷及山標等の名あり即此の類屬なり 幽其録



河童

豐洲に産する
 其形人形又
 雅小似て毛如毛
 好て相撲をなす
 も人と同じ事
 小人同ふ福と事
 水虎と云ふ所の
 物と違ふ所植物の
 及ぶ所よりけり

説文云蛸蛸山
 川之精物也准
 南子説蛸狀云
 如三歳小兒赤
 黑色赤目長耳
 美髮正字通蛸
 巫坊切音閑徐
 蛸曰俗作蛸
 非是



此水虎の圖は後國抄海に産するものと云
 寛政甲寅に林與村中が寫すと云

其類属のものはも年と産するものか其はよく社
 人入り入つて擇人となり男子とわづらひて魅せ
 りまてれさうと云はれしといふ



脚圖



長し手足の指五面ハのみにて
 其形細毛あり



明和年中不唐海竹意を云ふ書に也と傳夫の海竹と云ふ

寛永年間豊後國
 肥田と云ふ處に獲る所の
 水虎寫す人花小
 筋の如く其の形
 其も中産するもの
 頭上の凹如蛇の如く
 其形二寸許あり
 其形一、二寸上下四枚
 其形左右二枚あり

the Kappa
 of the late Tokugawa period

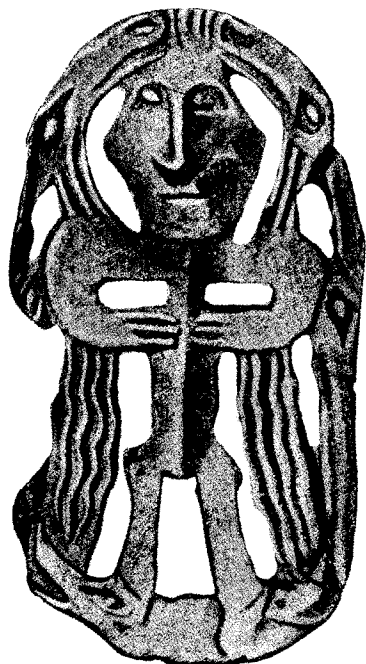


Fig. 2 Horse and water combined
in a Permian idol (p. 27)

Tallgren, 1928, Fig. 10



Fig. 1 *Kappa* caught on the beach near Mito,
Hitachi province (p. 117). *Zen-an Zuihitsu*

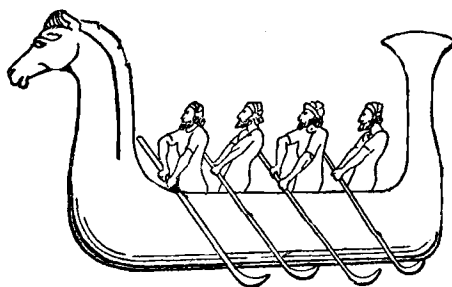


Fig. 3 Assyrian boat used about 700 B.C.
and depicted in the palace of Sargon
(p. 28).

Howey, p. 148



Fig. 4 Hippocampi depicted on the wall of Min-wei near Kizil, Chinese Turkestan (p. 17).

Grünwedel, Fig. 237b



a) From a bas-relief found
at Bregenz, Tyrol.

b) From a bronze statuette
found in Wiltshire.



Fig. 5 Celtic horse-goddess Epona, may originally be a deity of springs or rivers,
conceived as a spirited steed (p. 36).

MacCulloch, 1918, Pl. XV



Fig. 6 Poseidon on horseback, on a fragment of 7th century B.C. Corinthian pottery (p. 41).

Harrison, Fig. 2



Fig. 7 Poseidon as bull-god, on a black figured amphora in the museum at Würzburg (p. 42).

Harrison, Fig. 3

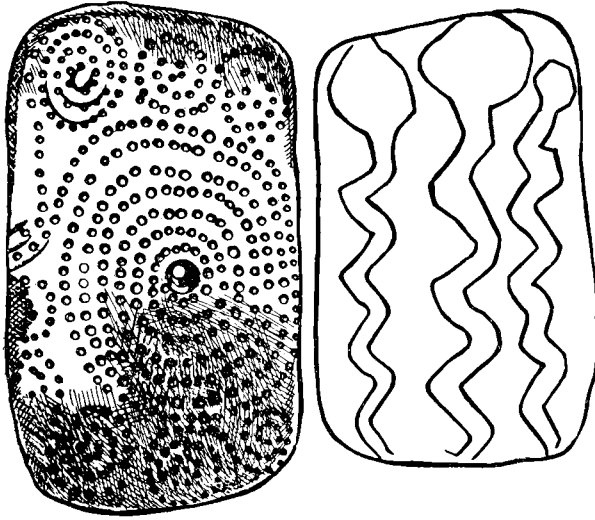


Fig. 8 Spirals and serpents engraved on each side of a piece of mammoth tusk, discovered at Malta near Irkutsk (p. 56).

Hentze, Fig. 59, 60

Fig. 9 Horse-headed Oshira-sama, Hirota village, Kise-gun, Iwate prefecture (p. 69).

Oshira-sama Zuroku, Pl. 43



Fig. 10 Unicorns combined with a pipal tree. A sealing from Mohenjo-Daro (p. 97).

Marshall, Vol. 3,
Pl. CXII, No. 387



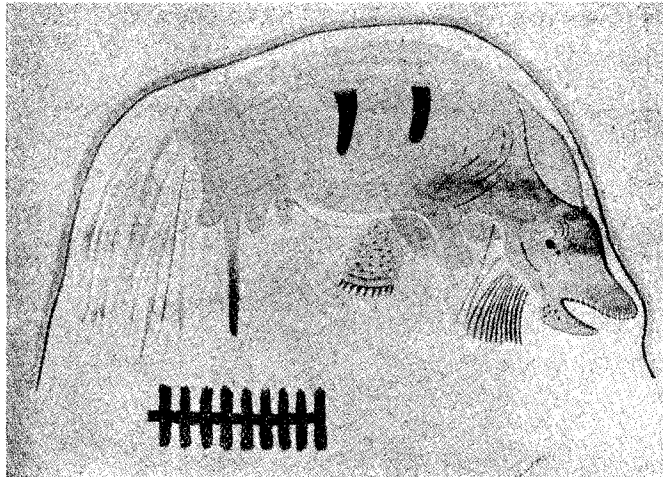


Fig. 11 She-rain with the rain-bow over her. A rock-painting by the Bushmen, from a cave under the great precipice of Klein Aasvogelkop, Rouxville District, Orange Free State (p. 60).
Stow and Bleek, Pl. 34

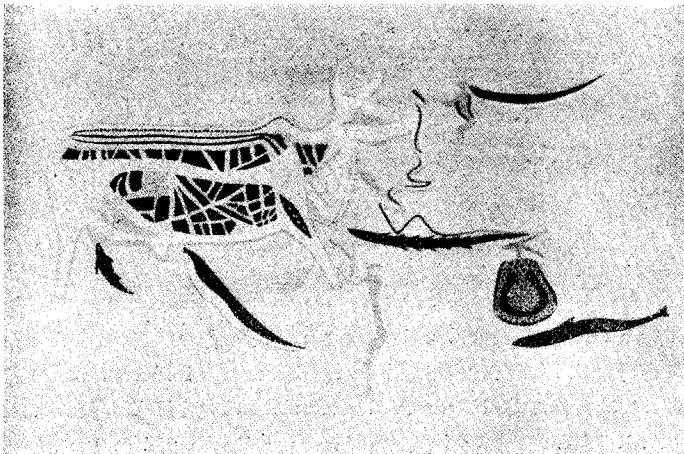


Fig. 12 The rain-bull, with two sorcerers who own it, a snake called *kanga wai*, spotted. The shield-looking thing is said to be a water's thing, but what they do not know. A rock-painting by the Bushmen, from a small cave on the banks of the Sand Spruit, Basutoland District (p. 60).
Stow and Bleek, Pl. 67 a



Fig. 13 Monkey holding a horse. The oldest known picture in Japan representing the association of monkeys with horses, sketched on the lower panel of a miniature tower containing some "bones of Buddha," in the temple Shōmyō-ji, Kanazawa, Sagami province, in A.D. 1296. Preserved in the Kanazawa Bunko (Cf. p. 126).

Photographed by Mr. Kondō Kihaku. Cf. Kondō, pp. 36-38

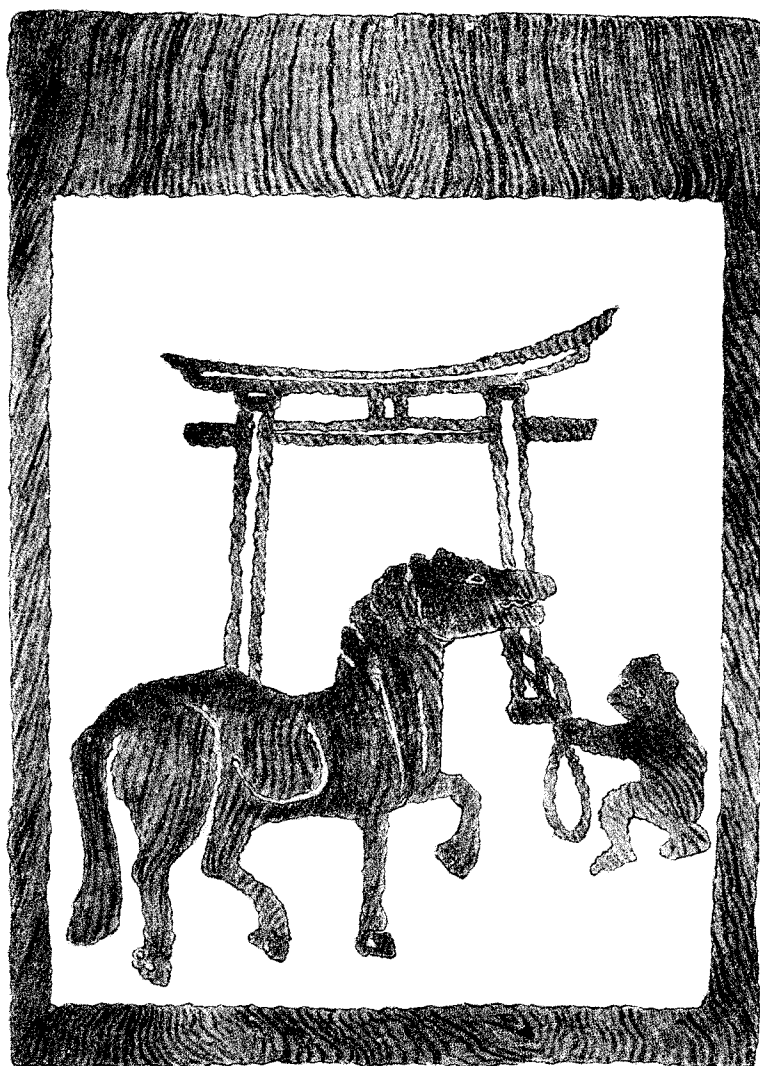


Fig. 14 Monkey drawing a horse, carved in relief on a votive picture dedicated in A.D. 1589 to the Sannô Shrine, Hikita village, Musashi province (Cf. p. 126).

Shimpen Musashi Fudoki-kô

伊奈川馬頭觀世音

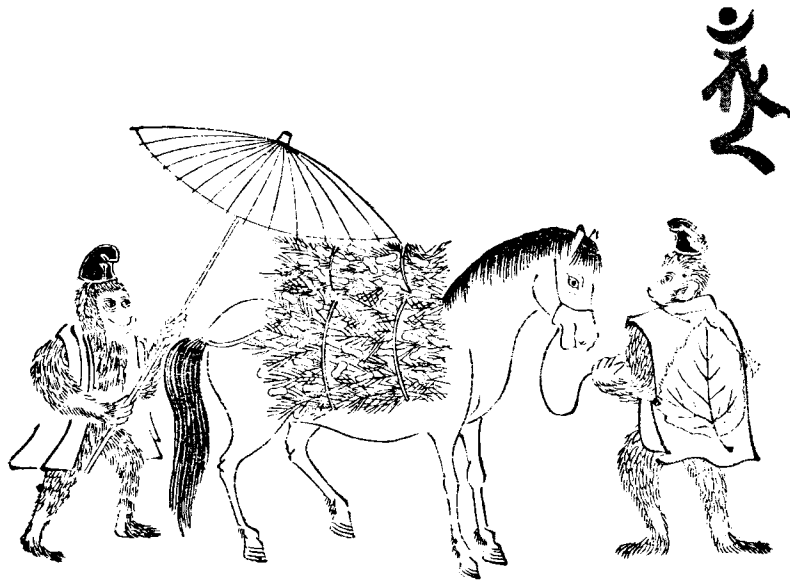
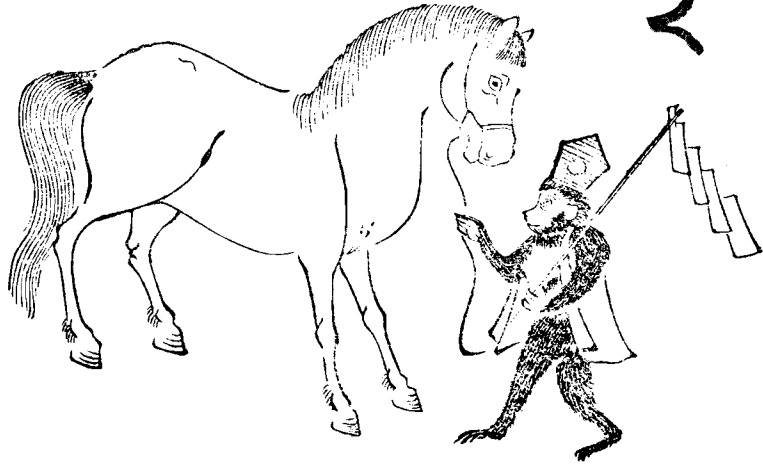


Fig. 15 Charms to be pasted in a stable, issued by a shrine in Kiso province (Cf. p. 126).

Collection of Mr. Yanagita Kuniō

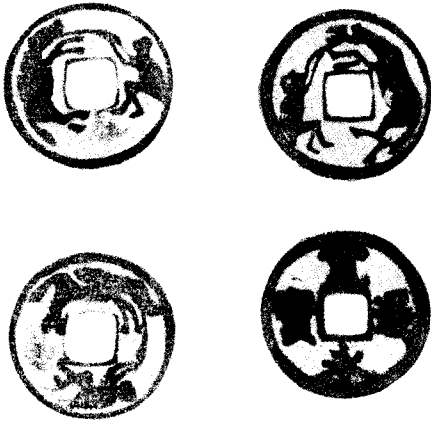


Fig. 16 *Komahikisen* or fancy coins bearing effigies of monkeys leading horses (p. 126).

Collection of Mr. Nukui Ginjirō

Fig. 17 A charm to be pasted in a stable, issued by the Ōshiko shrine, Harima province (Cf. p. 126).

Mr. Yamanaka Emi's collection of Shinto and Buddhist charms

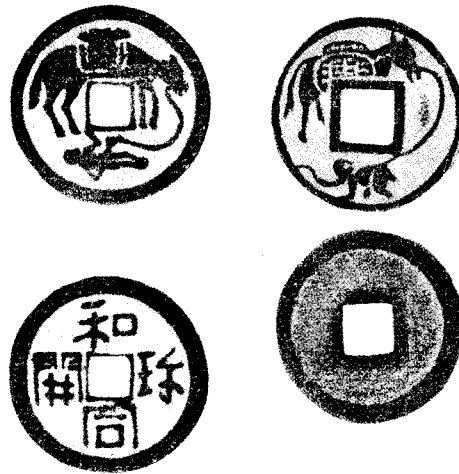


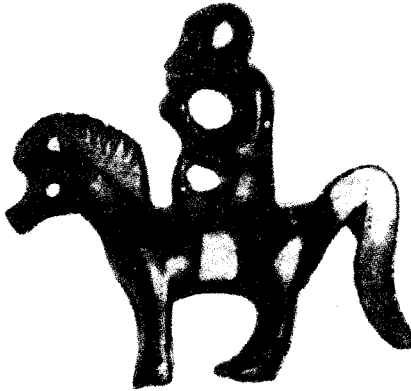
Fig. 18 Monkeys mounted on horseback found in designs of northern Eurasian nomadic peoples (p. 134)



a

a) Pendant drop from Minussinsk, Siberia.
Later than 10th century A.D.

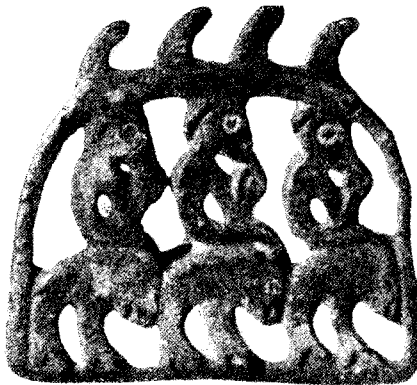
Salmony, 1933, Pl. XXV, No. 7



b

b) Pendant drop. Site unknown. Collection of Mr. Exner, Vienna.

Bleichsteiner, 1939, Taf. IV, Fig. 6



c

c) Pendant drop from Yekaterinovka.

Tallgren, 1932, Fig. 36.

Fig. 19 *Kappa* from the river Chikugogawa, Kyushu

Suiko Koryaku



Fig. 20 Skull supposed to be that of the famous steed Surusumi, hung on a pillar in the house of the family Kumagai, Izumitani village, Suruga province, said to protect the house from fire, and heal or tame sick or too high-spirited horses when tethered to the pillar (Cf. p. 69).

Shunkoku Zasshi, 25

