

THE CHÜEH-TUAN* AS WORD, ART MOTIF AND LEGEND*

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S. E. Yakhontov and E. G. Pulleyblank, have established from philological evidence a theory for the role of the retroflexive consonants in vocalism reflected by certain divisions of words in Archaic and Ancient Chinese. Subsequent speculation pertaining to the distribution of the retroflex in vocalism of final position remains inconclusive and needs further corroboration to become theoretically probable. The word *chüeh-tuan* and its parallels in other languages give evidence for Pulleyblank's theory on retroflex and cluster finals. The parallels in other languages clarify that *chüeh-tuan* represents not a mythical "unicorn," as most Chinese have believed, but a rhinoceros. The *chüeh-tuan* as art motif and legend reflects aspects of totemism, divine power, literary imagery, and the rise of narrative. The linguistic parallels in different tongues suggest an early cultural impact among peoples as a result of the traffic along the ancient "Silk Road."

INTRODUCTION

In 1965 Etani Toshiyuki* published in the *Bukkyō daigaku kenkyū kiyō** (Journal of Bukkyō

University) an article entitled "Gen shi no 'kaku tan' setsuwa to sono haikai" (On the *Chüeh-tuan* Legend of *Yüan shih* and Its Historical Back-

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Abbreviations used in this article are as follows:

- AD *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, by Bernhard Karlgren (Paris, 1923).
 AM *Asia Major* (New Series).
 BD *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, by Herbert A. Giles (London, 1897-1898). The number following BD represents the biographical number used in the *Dictionary*; e.g., BD 1069 stands for Kuo P'o on pp. 408-409 of BD.
 CS *Chin shu*^b (PNP).
 CYYY *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* (Academia Sinica).
 DS Denis Sinor, "Sur les noms altaïques de la licorne," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Band LVI (Wien, 1960), 168-176.
 E.G.P. E. G. Pulleyblank. His works mentioned in this study include: "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese [Part I]," AM IX (1962), 58-144; "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese, Part II," AM IX (1962), 206-265; "An Interpretation of the Vowel

Systems of Old Chinese and of Written Burmese," AM X (1963), 200-221; "The Transcription of Sanskrit K and KH in Chinese," AM XI (1965), 199-210; (Review article on) "Selected Works of George A. Kennedy . . .," AM XII (1966), 127-130; and "Chinese and Indo-Europeans," JRAS XIII (1966), 9-39.

- FE Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 Vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
 GSR *Grammata serica recensa*, by Bernhard Karlgren (Stockholm, 1957; reprinted from The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, *Bulletin* 29).
 HHS *Hou-Han shu*^c (PNP).
 HL Hui-lin^d, *I-ch'ieh-ching yin i*^e (Japan: *Shishigatani Byakurensa kampon*^f, 1738).
 HS *Han shu*^g (PNP).
 JRAS *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society*.
 K. Bernhard Karlgren's system of transcription for Ancient and Middle Chinese (N.B. The tone marks for K. differ from those for M.).
 KTCY *K'ung tzu chia yü*^b (SPTK ed.).
 L James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 5 Vols. (reprint; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960); volumes cited in this study: IV, *The She King* or *The Book of Poetry*; V, *The Ch'un Ts'ew* with *The Tso Chuen*.
 M. E. G. Pulleyblank's system of transcription for Middle Chinese.
 MM Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzfassstes etymolo-*

ground)¹ dealing with some of the sources for the legend of the beast called *chüeh-tuan* which has aroused my own interest. Etani's work seeks to prove that chronological events in sources other than the *Yüan shih*² include no mention of the *chüeh-tuan* legend. Furthermore, he contends that, very likely, a necessity of reaching a thorough control over the never static conquered territories makes Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai³, a pious Buddhist believer and a policy consultant to Činggis Qan⁴, think it opportune to allude to a *chüeh-tuan* legend of didactic nature to convince Činggis to terminate unnecessary destruction. In the present study my aim is to deal with the *chüeh-tuan* from a linguistic point of view and discuss its motif in art and poetry as well as the development of the legend in terms of literary-historical analysis.

THE WORD CHÜEH-TUAN

The word *chüeh-tuan* is included among the names of animals mentioned by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju^{5b} (d. 117 B.C.)² in his description of a scene

- gisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, Band I-II (Heidelberg, 1956 and 1963).
- PNP. *Po-na pen*¹
- RE Richard Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn* (Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Washington, 1950).
- SC *Shih chi*¹ (PNP).
- Skt. Sanskrit.
- SPPY *Ssu-pu pei-yao*⁶.
- SPTK *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*¹.
- SW *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*⁷, by Hsü Shen⁸ (SPTK ed.).
- SYU Shih Yüan-ying⁹, or Hsüan-ying⁹, *I-ch'ieh-ching yin i*⁹ (*Hai-shan hsien-kuan ts'ung-shu*⁹, P'an Shih-ch'eng⁹ ed., 1846, ts'eu 6-11).
- T *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, by Takakusu Junjirō⁴ et al. ed. (Tokyo, 1922-1932), 100 vols.
- WH *Wen hsüan*, by Hsiao T'ung¹⁰ (SPTK ed.).
- YS *Yüan shih*¹¹ (PNP).

¹ Kyoto: Bukkyo University (September, 1965), No. 48, pp. 47-62.

² For a biography of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju see SC 117 (*lieh-chuan*^{5c} 57); for an English translation of the biography see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2 vols. (New York, London, 1961), II, 297-342.

of an imperial park in his "Shang-lin 'ad fu' (*Fu* on the Shang-lin)³ wherein he writes: "As for the animals, there are the *ch'i-lin*⁴ and the *chüeh-tuan*⁵, the steady horses (*t'ao-t'u*⁶) and the humped camels (*t'o-t'o*⁷), the *ch'ung-ch'ung*⁸ and the *t'o-hsi*⁹, the *chüeh-t'ü*¹⁰, the donkeys (*lū*¹¹) and the mules (*lo*¹²)."

³ See SC 117.17a6-9; see also HS 57A (*lieh-chuan* 27A) 16a, and WH 8.7a. For this passage Watson (op. cit., II, 312) gives "unicorns and boars, Wild asses and camels, Onagers and mares, Swift stallions, donkeys, and mules."

⁴ To sum up the substantial lore on the *ch'i-lin*⁵, we may say that, of yellow color (or of "five colors"), it has the body of a deer, the tail of an ox, the hooves of a horse, and one horn, the tip of which is covered with flesh. Symbolically it represents the spirit of benevolence, the virtue preached in the Confucian classics, for the fleshy tip of the horn shows that "the creature, while able for war, wills to have peace." (L, IV, 19n.) Hence, its appearance is believed to signify the emergence of a sage of great virtue or of an auspicious age. A recent work by Professor Edwin George Pulleyblank shows that the word *ch'i-lin* is of great linguistic significance in that it suggests a relationship with other similar sound units such as *ch'ien*⁶ or *M. gien* "heaven", the Yüeh chih⁷ word *Ch'i-lin*⁸ < *M. gii-lin* (or *M. giay-lin*), meaning "heaven", and particularly the *ch'i-lin*⁹ written with the horse radical suggesting a "Heavenly [Horse]." As Professor Pulleyblank states, to the extent that *ch'i-lin* remains "an unanalysable word," one would be inclined to regard it as a foreign loanword (JRS, XIII, 20-21; 32-35). For representative Chinese works on *ch'i-lin* see Lo Yüan¹⁰ (1136-1184), "Shih-shou"¹¹ (Interpretation of Animals), under "lin" in *Erh-ya i*¹² (no place of pub.; no date) 18.1a-2b, and Tung Tso-pin¹³ (1895-1963), "Huo pai-lin' chieh"¹⁴, *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang*, Part II (*An-yang fa-chüeh pao-kao ti-erh-ch'i*¹⁵ CYYY, 1930), pp. 287-355. For English works see L, IV, 19n.; "Notices of Natural History: the kelin or unicorn of Chinese," *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. VII (Canton, 1838-1839), pp. 212-217; and Odell Shepard, *The Lore of The Unicorn* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), pp. 94-97. See also L, V, 834b-835.

⁵ According to Hsü Shen's⁸ SW 10A3a5, *t'ao-t'u* is a "steady horse of the northern land." See E.G.P., AM IX, 245, where he notes that *t'ao-t'u*, *chüeh-t'ü*¹⁰ (see n. 9 below), and *t'o-hsi*⁹ (see n. 8 below) are clearly non-Chinese words.

⁶ In WH 8.7a10, a note by Wei Chao¹⁶ (A.D. 204-273) says: "*T'ao-t'u* is so called because there is muscle on its back like a sack." See also E.G.P., AM IX, 121-122.

⁷ See SW 13A.8a10, where it says "*Ch'ung-ch'ung* is a beast." See further *Shan-hai ching*¹⁷ (SPTK ed.)

If we look into an old work of explanations on Chinese characters, the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*^m by Hsü Shenⁿ (d. ca. 124),¹⁰ we see an interesting note under the character *tuan*^{bc}: "*Chüeh-tuan*^a is an animal. Its appearance resembles a swine. Its horn(s) are good for making bows. It is the product of the barbarian country Hsiu-to^{bd}.¹¹ [This character, in its radical,] follows *chüeh*^{bl} ['horn'] and phonetically follows *tuan*^{bm} ['straight; erect'].¹² The problem with Hsü Shen is that his interpretations of Chinese characters, while most authentic, in certain cases are rather vague. The term *ch'ung-ch'ung* which Hsü gives as meaning "a beast" is an example.¹³ The interpretation for the term *chüeh-tuan* is another case in point. Hsü says, "*chüeh-tuan* is an animal," but he does

B.45b4 (chap. 8) where it is written that *ch'ung-ch'ung* resembles a horse.

¹⁰ See SW 10A.3a5: "T'o-hsi is a wild horse."

¹¹ E.G.P., AM IX, 245-246, notes that "The *Shuo-wen*^{xx} says (literally) that *chüeh-t'i* means the offspring of a stallion and a mule. This is of course an impossibility and the text should no doubt be emended to read 'a mule which is the offspring of a stallion and a she-ass', that is a 'hinny'. This definition does not agree with the commentary of Hsü Kuang^{xy} quoted in the *Shih chi chi-chieh*^{xx} who says that a *chüeh-t'i* is a superior type of horse of the northern barbarians. A hinny is, in fact, a weak, inferior type of mule. . . ." Pulleyblank further suggests that "an earlier form in Yenisseian something like **kuti* . . . gives a reasonably good equivalent for Chinese **kwet-deh*. To agree with the Chinese a form **kuti* would be better than **kuti*, cf. **koñ-kwet* = Mongol *kökül* . . ."

¹² For a biography of Hsü Shen and other information on his work see Roy Andrew Miller, "Problems In The Study of *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953, not available to me); see also HHS 109B (*lieh-chuan* 69B) 21b-22a.

¹³ Two Ch'ing^{bc} philologists and commentators on the SW, Yen K'o-chün and Yao Wen-t'ien^{bc}, remarked that the Hsiu-to refers to Hsiu-ch'u^{bc}, which, according to the "Ti-li chih"^{bb} in the HS 28.2b4-10, is given as under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture of Wu-wei^{bl} in what is modern Kansu Province; see Yen and Yao, *Shuo-wen chiao-i*^{bi} (no place of pub., 1874) 4B10a10-10b2. Hsiu-t'u is identified with Liang-chou^{bk} in Kansu Province; see Edward Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Tomes I-V, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895-1905), I, LXVII and LXXXVII.

¹² See SW 4B.8b10-9a1.

¹³ See note 7 above.

not explain what type of animal the *chüeh-tuan* represents. In a source of a later period, that is, in the "Monograph on the Hsien-pi^{ba}" in the *Hou-Han shu*,¹⁴ we read: "Of the fowls and the beasts that are different from those of China, there are the wild horses, the wild goats, and the *chüeh-tuan-niu*^{bt}, the horn(s) of which can be made into bows—the so-called *chüeh-tuan* bow." The term *chüeh-tuan-niu* is apparently a more intelligible form than that of *chüeh-tuan*. The *niu*, or bovine, reveals that the *chüeh-tuan* is a bovine type of animal. Of great concern for the natural scientists, perhaps, is the physical appearance of the animal. Kuo P'o^{bu} (276-324)¹⁵ describes it as resembling "a swine, with horn(s) on its nose."¹⁶ This description reminds us that the closest parallel to the *chüeh-tuan* seems to be the rhinoceros. So far this and Hsü's are the only description with regard to the animal's appearance. The crucial point is, however, that the habitat of the animal is, as Hsü notes, in an alien country. In other words, in *chüeh-tuan* we seem to see a word of foreign origin. In Ancient Chinese *chüeh-tuan* could be reconstructed as K. *kāk tuān*, according to Bernhard Karlgren's system of transcription for Ancient Chinese pronunciation.¹⁷ The K. *kāk tuān* recalls the Persian word *kargadān* 'rhinoceros'.

¹⁴ See HHS 120 (*lieh-chuan* 80). 8b2-3. In the *Wei shu*^{bc} 30 (included in the *San-kuo chih*^{bc}). 5a9 it is written, under Hsien-pi, that "Of the beasts that are different from those of China, there are the wild horses, the wild goats, and the *tuan-niu*^{ba}. The horns of the *tuan-niu* can be made into bows which are commonly called *chüeh-tuan*." According to *Wei shu*, this passage is quoted from an earlier *Wei shu*^{bc} by Wang Ch'en^{br} of the Chin^{bc} period (265-419). I have not been able to find evidence that the *tuan-niu* is attested elsewhere. If there is no corruption in the quoted passage, then we may say that the *tuan-niu* might reflect the Skt. *dhenū-* (see notes 20 and 36 below), and the Avestan *daēnu-* 'female'; see MM, II, 114.

¹⁵ For a biography of Kuo P'o, see CS 72 (*lieh-chuan* 42). 1a-7b; and BD 1069.

¹⁶ SC 117.17a6.

¹⁷ See GSR 1225a and 168d. The transcription for *tuan*^{bc} is not given in GSR, nor in AD. Its transcription can be established as identical to that of *tuan*^{bm} (K. *tuān*), based on Hsü Shen and GSR 168a.

In Persian there are two words, *karg* and *kargadān*, both of which mean "rhinoceros."¹⁸ As for the Persian *karg*, it is derived from the Sanskrit *khadga-* ('rhinoceros'),¹⁹ but we do not know exactly from what source *kargadān* passed into Persian. Professor Omeljan Pritsak indicates that *kargadān* might have come into existence as a result of a folk etymology which equates the *dan* to a Persian suffix added to *karg*. Folk etymology of this kind might easily lead to an interpretation that *karg* existed earlier than *karg + dan > kargadān*. However, as Professor Pritsak suggests, the syllabic stresses are distributed to the first and last syllables to give a reading *kār/g(a)/dān*. This reading demonstrates that the syllable *ga* has an unstressed vowel. It indicates that the *dan* in *kargadān* should be regarded as part of the *kargadān* of an unknown origin.²⁰ However, since an accent rule for the early stage of Modern Persian cannot be definitely established, I suggest that evidence for the "antiquity" of the Persian *kargadān* might be confirmed by yet another hypothesis (see note 36). Presently, the intermediary through which *kargadān* passed into Persian is not easily identifiable, but Professor Pritsak maintains it might have been the language of the Kushans, who played a prominent role as culture bearers in Central Asia around the first two centuries before and after Christ.²¹ A comparison between the Persian *kargadān* and the Chinese K. *k'āh tuān* makes it obvious that one further point needs to be clarified, that is, the *r* quality in Ancient Chinese phonology.

A clarification of the role of *r* in Ancient Chinese

¹⁸ See Johann August Vullers, *Ioannis Augusti Vullers lexicon persico-latinum etymologicum* . . . (Tom. I-II, Bonnae ad Rhenum, impensis Adolphi Marei, 1855-1864), II, 820; see also RE, n.2 on pp. 6-7 and n.90 on p. 94.

¹⁹ See H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books* (Oxford, 1943), n.3 on p. 110.

²⁰ Another interpretation is that the Persian *karkadān* or *kargadān* derives from the Skt. *khadga-dhenu-* 'female rhinoceros', literally, 'rhinoceros-cow'. See RE, n.2 on p. 7 and n.90 on p. 94; see also n.36 below.

²¹ See René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes: Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan* (Paris, 1939), p. 69; and William Woodthorpe Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, England, 1951, 2nd. ed.), pp 352 and 469.

would involve a preliminary study of transcription of foreign words through examples established unfortunately not earlier than the Chinese *Ch'ieh-yün*²² system of indicating pronunciation (ca. 7th century A.D.). An established system of transcription, on any philological basis, of Sanskrit terms (basically Buddhist terms) is unknown to the Chinese before the appearance of the work *I-ch'ieh-ching yin* i²³ by Hsüan-ying²⁴ (ca. A.D. 650). In this work under the term *ch'ieh-chia*²⁵ (K. *k'iet* *g'ia*²⁶ < Skt. *khadga-* 'rhinoceros', MM, I, 299) we read: "Spelled as *ch'ieh-yeh*²⁷ [K. *k'wo* *'int*], this means rhinoceros (*hsi-niu*²⁸) . . ." Other variant transcriptions for the Skt. *khadga-*, all regarded as "erroneous," are given as *ch'ü-chia-p'o-sha*²⁹ (K. *k'wo* *g'ia* *b'uā* *ša* < Skt. *khadga-viṣṇā* 'rhinoceros'),³⁰ and *k'o-chia*³¹ (K. *k'at* *g'ia*). Hui-lin³² (A.D. 738-810) in his work that bears the same title gives the transcription for the Skt. *khadga-* as *ch'ieh-chia*³³ (K. *k'iet* *cha*),³⁴ which is, as Hui-lin continues, "[a] Sanskrit word. This means rhinoceros," and what follows in his comment repeats what Hsüan-ying wrote.³⁵ It should be noted

²² SYY, (ts'e 11) 23.3a-b. (The transcription for *chia*²² is based on AD, No. 342.) See also T, XXXI, 495b.

²³ See SYY, (ts'e 6) 1.20a. See also T, XIII, 338a where under *ch'ü-chia*²³ *p'i-sha-na*²⁴ (< *khadga-viṣṇā* -) the commentary reads: "Ch'ü-chia in Ch'ie means rhinoceros (*hsi-niu*); *p'i-sha-na* means horn (*ch'ieh*)." This is then an attestation that as early as the Northern Ch'i Dynasty (A.D. 550-577) the Chinese attempted to transcribe the Sanskrit *khadga-* into Chinese by using *ch'ü-chia*²⁵ (K. *k'wo* *g'ia*). The Khotanese form for the "rhinoceros's horn" is *khandaq-vaṣṇā*; see H. W. Bailey, "Hvatania IV," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X (1940-1942), pp. 886-887 and 899.

²⁴ For the Skt., see MM, I, 299 and FE, II, 202.

²⁵ SYY, (ts'e 10) 17.1b.

²⁶ HL, 47.13a. The transcription for *chia*²⁶ is based on AD, No. 342. It is worth noting that in HL (36.7b), under *ch'ieh-chia*²⁷ (K. *k'iet* *g'ia* we read: "The upper [word] spelled as *ch'ien-yeh*²⁸ [K. *k'ian* *'int*] is also a Sanskrit word. In T'ang²⁹ it means sword, i.e., the 'sword-bearing god'. As we see, the Skt. *khadga-* also has the meaning 'sword'; see MM, I, 299 and FE, II, 202.

²⁷ The complete entry on *ch'ieh-chia*²⁷ given by Hsüan-ying reads: "Spelled as *ch'ieh-yeh*²⁸ [K. *k'wo* *'int*], this means rhinoceros. *P'i-sha-na* [K. *b'ji* *ša* *na*], this means horn; it denotes that the rhinoceros has one

that *ch'ieh* and *chia*²⁸ in Chinese phonology belong to the so-called "Division III rhyme."²⁸ Recently, in an article "The Transcription of Sanskrit *K* and *KH* in Chinese," (*AM* XI, 199-210), Professor E. G. Pulleyblank writes that "Division III words were normally chosen to represent Sanskrit or Prakrit *k* and *kh* . . . and that this was so from the earliest days right up to and through the T'ang period." There are other examples such as *chia-po-lo*²⁹ (K. *ka puá lá*) which Hui-lin gives as the "correct" form (HL, 17.12b; 59.3a) for the Skt. *karpāsa-* ('cotton plant', MM, I, 174); *chieh-mo*³⁰ (HL, 59.2a; 31.17a; K. *k'jət muá*) for Skt. *kārma* ('work', MM, I, 176); and *chia-ni-chia*³¹ (HL, 25.21b; K. *ka ní ka*) for Skt. *karni-kāra-* 'pterispermum acerifolium'.²⁹ We have devoted

horn. 'One' also means 'solitary', as in 'solitary contemplation'. It means that each one dwells solitarily in the mountain forest. *P'i-p'o-sha*³² [K. *b'ji b'uá ša*] was rendered as *k'o-chia*³³ [K. *k'átl g'ja*]; *Yüeh-tsang-ching*³⁴ has it as *ch'ü-chia*³⁵ [K. *k'üwo g'ja*]; all are erroneous."

²⁸ The *teng*³⁶, or "Division" (of rhymes) refers to all syllables in Ancient Chinese that contain similar finals, the Divisions of which are distinguished by the quality of the principal vowel and by the presence or absence of medials. Yakhontov's definition (see reference below) of "Division" of rhymes deserves quoting: "All syllables in Ancient Chinese are known to have fallen into four divisions . . . The syllables of the III and IV divisions contained the medial 'i' or 'i'; the syllables of the I and II divisions differed in the timbre of the head vowel: in the II division the vowel was more fronted or more open than the 1st (in the I it was 'á', 'ə', 'o', 'ü', 'u'; in the II 'a', 'e', 'ə', 'ä'). Besides, the II division always comprised syllables with initial supradentals ('ts', 'tsh', 'dzh', 'š'), even if they contained the medial 'i'." See S. E. Yakhontov, "Consonant Combinations in Archaic Chinese," paper presented at the 25th International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 1960, pp. 2-3; see also Bernhard Karlgren, "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese," The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, *Bulletin* No. 26 (Stockholm, 1954), pp. 212-271; E.G.P., *AM* IX, 110-113; and Tung T'ung-ho, *Chung-kuo yü-yin shih* (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh-she³⁷, 1961), pp. 67-68 and 98-99. I wish to thank Mr. Mei Kuang³⁸ for bringing my attention to the above data.

²⁹ See Sakaki Ryōzaburō, *Hon'yaku myōgi taishū* (Kyoto: Shingonshū Kyōto Daigaku, 1916), No. 5827 (56), p. 379; Ogiwara Unrai, *Bon-Wa daijiten*³⁹ (Tokyo, 1940?), p. 322a.

our attention particularly to the K. *k'jət* for *khaḍ* in Skt. *khaḍga-*, the K. *k'jwo g'ja* for *khaḍga* in Skt. *khaḍga-viśāṇa-*, and the K. *ka ní* for *karni* in Skt. *karni-kāra-*, because the transcription system applied means the use of the Division III words to represent syllables of foreign words containing a retroflex phoneme. Pulleyblank further proposes that there are "The rare cases in which we find Division II words used to represent syllables in *kā* . . . Evidently the characteristic feature of Division II was not fronting but was retroflexion . . ." ³⁰ The examples given are *tan-to-chia-se-cha*³¹, which Pulleyblank reconstructs as *dān'-lá'-ka-ṣīt-ṭha* to stand for *dantakāṣṭha*; *na-to-chia-se-lo*³², as *nā'-lá'-ka-ṣīt-tā*, also for *dantakāṣṭha*; *chia-sha*³³, as M. *ka-ṣa* for *kāṣāya* 'the monk's robe'; and *i-chia-chüeh-ch'a*³⁴, as *'ye-ká'-kauk-tṣha* = *Ekakakṣe*.³¹ Furthermore, the theory raised by Pulleyblank postulates that "the consonantal *r* which we reconstruct for Old Chinese had not really been lost at all in *Ch'ieh-yün* Chinese. It has ceased to be a discrete consonantal element but it has spread as a blend into the vowel."³² The first instance to attest the existence of *r* in Old Chinese is the use of a retroflex word symbol to represent the retroflexion of a foreign word. Pulleyblank notices that "for *kāṣāya* Hui-lin gives as the 'correct' form *chia-lo-sha-i*³⁵ M. *k'jā-lá'-ša-yei*", with the normal spelling for Sanskrit *ka* followed by an intrusive *-lá-* which has no justification except to replace the retroflexion in the syllable before *-ṣ-* that had been expressed by the Division II speller."³³ The series of transcriptions for such Sanskrit words as *karpāsa-*, *kārma*, and *karni-kāra-* cited above attests to the fact that the *r* had undergone a process of being blended into the vowel in a phonetic evolution. Whether intentionally or unintentionally on the transcriber's part, the fact that the *r* value was understood as being representable by a chosen Division III word and, moreover, the frequent use of a chosen Division III word to represent a San-

³⁰ E.G.P., *AM* XI, 204 and 205.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 204.

³² *Ibid.*, 205.

³³ *Ibid.*, 206.

skrit syllable containing a retroflex phoneme are evidence giving ground for the theory of the lost *r* in the phonetic evolution. Finally, drawing from Pulleyblank's theory with regard to the rare cases in which Division II words were used "to represent syllables in *kā...*" and his attested examples, the word *chüeh* (~K. *kāk*) could well be taken as once having been a retroflex, Division II word. This observation on the retroflex quality of the ancient form of *chüeh* may serve as evidence whereby the Pulleyblank theory concerning the final clusters such as *-rm*, *-rk* in Ancient Chinese (AM X, 213) may find an explanatory proof. Although Karlgren's transcription *kāk* for *chüeh* does not show an *r* element, the *r* element regarded as being representable by a Division III word in the Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit words *karpāsa*-, *kārma* and *karṇi-kāra*-, the *r* in the Persian *kargadān*, and, moreover, the indications and evidence given by Pulleyblank with regard to the characteristic feature of Division II words as being retroflex, all seem to favor "the suggestion that Old Chinese could have had syllables like *karm*, *kark...*" (AM X, 213). The word *chüeh-tuan* then could very reasonably be reconstructed as **kark tuān*. Professor Pritsak suggests that the Chinese might have derived the **kark tuān* from an unknown form **kargadān*, possibly the same unknown form from which the Persian word *kargadān* took its shape. While in the Persian *kargadān* the *dan* has a labialized *a*, as Professor Pritsak contends, the *ā* vowel of *tuān* in **kark tuān* may be understood in terms of labialization. Professor Pritsak suspects that the Kushans might have been the link from which the Persians and the Chinese derived the *kargadān* and the **kark tuān* respectively, because the Greek form *καπράξωρος* (= *μὲν κερως* 'wild ox'),³⁴ registered in Aelian's (ca. A.D. 170-235) *De natura animalium*,³⁵ which should be corrected to read

³⁴ See Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1940), I, 880 and II, 1144.

³⁵ Claudius Aelianus, *Claudii Aeliani De natura animalium libri XVII, Varia historia, Epistolae fragmenta, ex recognitione Rudolphi Hercheri...*, 2 vols. (Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubner, 1864 and 1866), I, 399 and 400.

**καπράξωρος* (MM, I, 299), suggests such a possibility.³⁶

³⁶ Aside from the Persian *kargadān*, the Chinese **kark tuān* and K. *k'ipit cka* (*ch'ieh-chia*), the Greek **καπράξωρος*, and the Skt. *khaḍga-* and *khaḍga-dhenu-*, there are parallels in other languages too. There is the Arabic *karkadann* or *karkaddan* (both have the meaning 'rhinoceros'; see RE, pp. 6-7, including n. 2); the Turkic *karkadan* (Chaghatai, 'hippopotamus'), the Uzbek *karkidon* 'rhinoceros', and so on (see DS, p. 174). As for the Chinese parallels, they remind us that while the *ch'ieh-chia* (K. *k'ipit cka*) in T'ang times was the transcription for the Skt. *khaḍga-* 'rhinoceros' in which the first syllable containing the *d* retroflex is represented by *ch'ieh* (K. *k'ipit*), it is not inconceivable, on the other hand, that the Chinese in Han times might have attempted to use the *chüeh-tuan-niu* or **kark-tuān-ngüu* (see n. 14 and discussion in this paper above) to represent the Skt. *khaḍga-dhenu-*. I am inclined to think that instead of *chüeh-tuan-niu*, which appears in the *Hou-Han shu* and is a more intelligible form of the *chüeh-tuan*, Su-ma Hsiang-ju used *chüeh-tuan* for syntactical reasons.³⁷ If this interpretation is plausible, it might account for the idea (n. 20 above) that the modern Persian *karg* derives from the Skt. *khaḍga-*, and that the Persian *karkadan* or *kargadān* derives from the Skt. *khaḍga-dhenu-* = 'female rhinoceros' (literally, 'rhinoceros-cow'; see RE, n. 2 on p. 7 and n. 90 on p. 94). In contrast, the *ch'ieh-chia* or K. *k'ipit cka* by T'ang times represented the Skt. *khaḍga-*, whereas the *chüeh-tuan-niu* or **kark-tuān-ngüu* might have stood for the Skt. *khaḍga-dhenu-*, for the existence of the Greek *καπράξωρος* or **καπράξωρος* may mean that the Sanskrit *khaḍga-dhenu-* was the key word from which similar parallels in other languages might have derived.

We may conclude conditionally from the evidence shown by the Greek **καπράξωρος* < **καπράξωρ* + *ος* (nominative suffix) and the Chinese **kark tuān* as well as the evidence shown by the Persian *karg* and the Chinese K. *k'ipit cka* that the two Chinese terms could have been borrowed twice from India, once at an earlier date from the Skt. *khaḍga-dhenu-* as reflected in **kark tuān*, and once at a later date from the Skt. *khaḍga-* as reflected in K. *k'ipit cka*. Similarly we may assume that this borrowing twice could have happened also in the case of the Persian, i.e., once at an earlier date from the Skt. *khaḍga-dhenu-* as reflected in the Persian *kargadān*, and once at a later date from the Skt. *khaḍga-* as reflected in the Persian *karg*. The mutual harmony among the Greek **καπράξωρ* (+ *ος*), the Chinese **kark tuān*, and the Persian *kargadān* suggests that they were borrowed from the Skt. *khaḍga-dhenu-* at a historically early time; hence our hypothesis that the Persian *kargadān* is older than the Persian *karg*.

³⁷ Without attempting to give my own translation of

THE CHÜEH-TUAN MOTIF IN ART AND POETRY

Before continuing our discussion to the *chüeh-tuan* legend, perhaps a few words should be said about the **kark tuân* as a means of expression in art motifs. The passage in the *Hou-Han shu* cited above says that the horns of the **kark tuân* bovine" (*chüeh-tuan-niu*) can be made into bows known as the **kark tuân* bows. The art of making bows by means of **kark tuân* horns must have had its nomadic tradition. Somehow the Chinese seem to have learned of the art of making the **kark tuân* bows from the nomads at a fairly early time, when Li Ling⁴⁴ (d. ca. 74 B.C.),⁴⁷ an

the related text, I shall try to use Giles' system of romanization for the characters, which are underlined with numerals for syntactical analysis ("0" = modifiers; "1" = name of animal represented by one character; "2" = name of animal represented by two characters). The passage is from *SC* 117.16b-17a:

[a] <i>jung mao mau li</i> 1 1 1 1	[b] <i>ch'en-niu chu m(e)i</i> 2 1 1
[c] <i>ch'ih-shou huan-t'i</i> 2? 2?	[d] <i>ch'ung-ch'i hsiang</i> 2 1
or 0? 0? 0? 0?	<i>hsi</i> 1
[e] <i>ch'i lin chüeh-tuan</i> 1 1 2	[f] <i>t'ao-t'u t'o-t'o</i> 2 0? 1
[g] <i>ch'ung-ch'ung t'o-hsi</i> 2 2	[h] <i>chüeh-t'i lü lo⁴⁸</i> 2 1 1

The *fu*⁴⁴ structure required for this particular passage is in units of 4-4-4-4 and 4-4-4-4 parallels. To achieve this structural rule, *mao-niu*⁴⁵, a fuller form for *mao* (in a), is avoided and *mao* is used in its stead. Likewise, *li-niu*⁴⁶, a fuller form for *li* (in a), is avoided, in preference for *li*; *hsi-niu*⁴⁷, a fuller form for *hsi* (in d), is avoided, in preference for *hsi*. On the other hand, the *ch'en-niu* (in b) is retained, probably to make up a unit of four characters. It is very likely, therefore, that *chüeh-tuan-niu*, a fuller form for *chüeh-tuan*, is avoided and *chüeh-tuan* is used in its place. As for the *ch'ih-shou huan-t'i*, a puzzling unit over the meaning of which even the commentators were silent, it appears to be another technique used to observe the structural rule. Burton Watson, op. cit., II, 311, translates the first four units (a-d) as follows: "... zebras, yaks, tapirs, and black oxen,/Water buffalo, elk, and antelope,/Red-crowns' and 'round heads',/Aurochs, elephants, and rhinoceros."

⁴⁷ For biographical references to Li Ling see *SC* 109.9b-10b and *HS* 54 (*lieh-chuan* 24).9a-15b; see also Watson (tr.), op. cit., II, 152-154 and 154, n. 4; and *BD*, 1171.

outstanding Han general, in an expedition against the Hsiung-nu was captured by the enemy. There in the "barbarian" land he was given in marriage a princess of the lord of the Huns and highly honored. It must have been during his long sojourn in the land of the Huns that he learned how to make the **kark tuân* bows, for Kuo P'o notes that "Li Ling once sent ten bows of this [type] to Su Wu⁴⁸ (ca. 140-60 B.C.)."⁴⁹ The latter, Su Wu, as a good-will envoy sent on behalf of the Emperor Wu of Han to the land of the Huns, was detained there and was assured of his return to China should the herd of male sheep put in his charge yield milk. So Su Wu tended the herd of sheep in the cool northern land of the "barbarians", and it was not until the Huns and the Chinese were on good terms eighteen years later that Su was sent back to China and praised for his unswerving loyalty and devotion to the Han sovereign.

In the poetry of the Wei-Chin⁴¹ period (A.D. 220-264; 264-420), the **kark tuân* bow was celebrated for a while among other bows of great name that are found in the Chinese classics. In the "Wu-chün fu"⁴² by Ch'en Lin⁴³ (d. A.D. 217),⁴⁴ the poet, chanting the praises of the great "heavenly horde" of Ts'ao Ts'ao⁴⁵ (A.D. 155-220),⁴⁶ known as the Emperor of Wei (ca. 216-220), a patron of poetry and himself a poet of the first rank, recites as follows: "As for the bows, there are the *wu hao*⁴⁷ and the *yüeh-chi*⁴⁸, the

⁴⁸ A biography of Su Wu is included in *HS* 54.16a-23b; see also *BD*, 1792.

⁴⁹ *SC* 117.17a6.

⁴¹ See Ch'en Lin, "Ch'en chi shih chi," in *Han-Wei Liu-ch'ao pai-san chia chi*, Chang P'u⁴⁹ ed. (Shanghai, 1879), ts'e 23, 2a4-5. "Chün"⁴¹ is written as 'k'u'⁴¹ in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*⁴² (*SPTK* ed.) 347.11a12-13. Another work that refers to *chüeh-tuan* as the name of a bow can be found in the fragments of a "Chao-chün fu"⁴³ (Fu on the Chao-chün) by Liu Shao⁴⁴ (of the 3rd. century A.D.), quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 347.11a10-11.

⁴⁴ For a reference to Ch'en Lin see *Wei shu* (in the *San-kuo chih*) 21.3a-4b. See also *BD* 233.

⁴⁵ For information about Ts'ao Ts'ao see *Wei shu* 1.1a-47a; see also *The Chronicles of The Three Kingdoms*, tr. Achilles Fang, 2 vols. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies VI, Harvard University Press, 1952 and 1965), I, 1 and 15-16. See also *BD*, 2013.

⁴⁶ *Wu hao*, name of a bow; so called because of a

*fan jo*⁴⁴ and the *chüeh-tuan*⁴⁵. The ends of the bow are adorned with ivory; the handle of the bow with embroidery; the haft of the bow with exquisite designs; and the body of the bow with fine drawings." What the intent of the poet is in these lines is not difficult to fathom: to pay divine honors to the Emperor, who has around him all the divine equipage of a supernatural world and therefore symbolizes a cosmological power and order on earth.⁴⁶ Also in connection with the martial implements is the idea of using the **kark tuán* as an animal design on flags of the imperial army. The tradition of an ensign device institutionalized in the military system of the imperial armies, according to a Chinese source,⁴⁷ goes back to the legendary emperor Huang-ti⁴⁸. The designs on the flags of the armies of Huang-ti are, as described in another source,⁴⁹ the vulture (*tiao*), the pheasant (*ho*), the hawk (*ying*), and the falcon (*yüan*⁴⁹). The flags with animal designs might have been connected with the idea of demonstrat-

ing the ferocity and morale of the fighters. As for the **kark tuán* figure showing on flags, it appears in sources describing the imperial organization of the martial and palace banner system. The *chüeh-tuan-ch'i*⁵⁰ (**kark tuán* banner), among other flags with symbolic designs and with figures of animals such as the "green dragons," the "jade horse," phoenix, the *ch'i-lin*, the "flying *lin*," the *pai-shih*⁵¹ (the white lion),⁵² the rhinoceros, the "wild ox" (*ssu*⁵³), the yellow deer, the red bear, the white wolf, etc., is given in the codes of T'ang (T'ang *liu-tien*⁵⁴)⁵¹ as one of the thirty-two banners. The *chüeh-tuan-ch'i* is also mentioned with the flags of the "wild ox" (*ssu*), the rhinoceros, and other animals in the official history of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 1115-1234).⁵² Now a symbol of military prowess, the representation of animal figures on buntings among the primitive peoples might have signified reminiscences of their glorious hunting of game or the motif of totem worship.

It would be misleading to think that the *chüeh-tuan* always plays a masculine, militant role in the images of the Chinese literati. The virile and even, perhaps, the phallic suggestiveness of this horned animal, when rationally conceived into a poetic imagery, strikes us as a new conceit challenging our imagination. A "frustrated love" or an "un-

legend about a crow which sat woefully cawing at the twig of a tree of the mulberry kind, for whenever the crow tried to fly away, the twig, because of its tough bending power, would spring, dispersing and destroying the bird's nest. People cut the branches of that tree and made them into bows—hence the *wu* (woe) *hao* (caw) bow; see *Huai-nan-tzu*⁴⁴ (SPTK ed.) 1.5b6-8; and SC 12.13b9-14a6. For a brief note on *wu hao* see Professor Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The 'Fifteen Palace Poems' by K'o Chiu-ssu," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957), n. 129 on pp. 409-410.

⁴⁴ *Yüeh-chi*, a giant bow designed to be the weapon of a king; so called because the twigs of the jujube tree, from which the bow was made, were the product of the land of Yüeh (now most of Chiang-su and Chekiang, and part of Shantung); see *Li chi*, in *Shih-san-ching chu su*, Yang Ssu-sun⁴⁴ ed. (1887), *ts'ie* 16, 31.26b12-13.

⁴⁵ *Fan jo*, name of a bow of Hsia Hou shih⁴⁵ or Emperor Yü⁴⁶; see SC 117.22b2-3. For a biography of Yü see SC 2.1a-21b.

⁴⁶ I owe this idea to Professor David Hawkes who read his paper, "The Quest of The Goddess," at the Department of Far Eastern Languages of Harvard University in the early spring of 1967. See David Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess," *AM* 13 (1967), 90-93.

⁴⁷ See Wang Ch'i ed., "I chih," *San-ts'ai t'u hui*⁴⁷ (1609), series 9, *ts'ie* 46, 3.24a2.

⁴⁸ The dates of Huang-ti are given as 2698-2598 B.C. For a reference to Huang-ti see SC 7.1a-7b; see also BD, 871.

⁴⁹ *Lieh tzu*⁴⁹ (SPPY ed.) 2.22a7-8.

⁵⁰ *Shih* or *K. shik* is certainly another attempt at transcribing a foreign word into Chinese sound. Li Shih-chen (1518-1593), in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* (Ho-fei, Chang-shih Wei-ku-chai ch'ung-chiao-k'an⁵⁰, 1885) 51.A3a, relates *hsiao*⁵¹ or *K. *xög/K. xau* 'roaring of a tiger' with *pai-shih*, erroneously quoting Hsü Shen as having said: "The *Shuo-wen* says [*hsiao*] is also called *pai-shih*." In fact, *SW* 5A.8b5 merely says: "*Hsiao*, the roaring of a tiger, is also called *shih-tzu*."⁵² It is probable that in the Liu Sung times (420-479) *shih* reflects a literary term for "lion." A common term for "lion" in Chinese is, however, *shih-tzu* (for an early reference to it see *HS* 96 (*lieh-chuan* 66A) A.13b5 and 96B.24a1). Professor Pulleyblank (*AM*, IX, 109 and 226; *AM*, XII, 130) suggests that the Tokharian A *šecake* or B *šisak* must have been the basis for the transcription *shih-tzu* or his reconstructed form *M. šii-tšä* (cf. *K. ši tsi*:/K. **šjar-tšäg*) in which the back velar, so Pulleyblank explains, appears to be used to represent a foreign back consonant.

⁵¹ Li Lin-fu, *T'ang liu-tien* (Canton: Kuang-ya shu-chüeh ed., 1895) 16.6a-b.

⁵² *Chin shih*⁵¹ (History of the Chin Dynasty) 41 (*chih*⁵¹ 22) 6b4.

dermined ambition," for instance, a common theme of poetry, may thus find its expression through the image of twin **kark tuân* in the lines of a verse by Chang Tsai⁵³ (fl. A.D. 289):⁵³

She is all my thought, dwelling by the Lung land heights.⁵⁴

After her would I go, alas! but for the Mountain T'ai!⁵⁵
Atop a mount, I gaze yonder till tears fill my eyes.

My heart, ay! vexed and grievous is my heart!
Twin *chüeh-tuan* she had for me a farewell present.
Why did I have for her a carved jade-bracelet?
I wish I were on wandering clouds passing over the lands,
That I might not end my lot in endless laments!

Love or ambition frustrated because of circumstances! That kind of remorse and grievance is sadly reflected in the twin **kark tuân* (perhaps fine porcelains) that glare at each other in their deadly muteness.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHÜEH-TUAN LEGEND

In the Later Han period (A.D. 25-220), with a grand astrologer and historian in charge of the records related to auspicious omens and portents,

⁵³ For a biography of Chang Tsai see CS 54 (*lieh-chuan* 25) 14b-16a; and BD, 116. The poem is found in "Chang Meng-yang chi"⁵⁴, *Han-Wei Liu-ch'ao pai-san chia chi*, (ts'e 40) 15a.

⁵⁴ This poem (the third of four poems) written in "Imitation of the 'Poems of Four Sorrows'" ("Ssu-ch'ou shih" by Chang Heng⁵⁵, included in the WH 29.16b-18a) follows this pattern: "The one I think about is somewhere; I wish to go there but the way is blocked by some obstacles." Symbolically this pattern of thought suggests "ambition met with frustration." Hence, here Lung-yüan⁵⁶ (comprising modern Shensi and partly Kansu) may not be taken literally but as referring to one's ideal, ambition, etc. Cf. Chang Heng (WH 29.17b), "She is all my thought, dwelling in Han-yang./ After her would I go, alas! but for Lung-fan crooked and long!" Han-yang has the same symbolic function as Lung-yüan.

⁵⁵ Here Chang Tsai presents "Mount T'ai" as a symbol representing an obstacle which prevents him from reaching "Lung-yüan," his goal. It is interesting to read in WH 29.16b Chang Heng's line: "She is all my thought, dwelling in Mount T'ai./ After her would I go, alas! but for Liang-fu obstructing!" Chang Heng symbolizes "Mount T'ai" as the goal, whereas Chang Tsai refers to it as an obstacle.

data of fabulous and legendary nature found their way into the imperial archives. By the Sung period (A.D. 420-479), a brief passage about the *chüeh-tuan* first appears. The *Sung shu*⁵⁶,⁵⁶ official history of the Sung dynasty by Shen Yüeh⁵⁷ (A.D. 441-513),⁵⁷ has the following observation:

That which is called *chüeh-tuan* travels eighteen thousand *li* a day and knows the speech of four alien tribes. When a wise monarch or a sage ruler reigns and his wisdom reaches matters beyond this universe and matters far off, this animal appears, presenting a book.

This brief observation, also found in the *Jui ying t'u chi*⁵⁸ by Sun Jo-chih⁵⁹ of the Liang period (A.D. 502-557), contains three distinct elements: a swiftly travelling animal, the animal being able to use human speech, and its appearance in conjunction with the presence of a sage. The swiftly-travelling animal motif, though known to be characteristic of certain other animals in the Chinese classics (e.g., the *ch'i chi*⁶⁰ and the *hua liu*⁶¹ in *Chuang tzu*⁶²),⁶⁰ was not associated with the *chüeh-tuan* until the appearance of the above observation and may be regarded as a later addition. In this instance it is not easy, and perhaps unnecessary, to determine how much foreign influence helped to bring about the formation of this element in the anecdote, although we know about the swiftness of certain unicorned animals that seem to belong to the rhinoceros type of animals

⁵⁴ (*chih* 19) 29.47a8-9.

⁵⁵ For a biography of Shen Yüeh see the *Liang shu*⁵⁶ (History of the Liang Dynasty) 13 (*lieh-chuan* 7). 6a-21a.

⁵⁶ Sun Jo-chih, *Jui ying t'u chi*, *Kuan-ku-t'ang suo-chu-shu*, Yeh Te-hui ed.⁵⁷ (Ch'ang-sha), ts'e 9, 24a. The dates for Sun are not established. A note in the *Sui-shu ching-chi chih*, *Pa-shih ching-chi chih*, Chang Shou-jung ed. (Soochow: Chen-hsin shu-she⁵⁸, 1882), ts'e 3, 3.27b remarks that there was the *Jui-ying-t'u chi* by Sun Jo-chih of the Liang⁵⁹ period.

⁵⁷ See *Nan-hua chen-ching*⁶⁰ (SPTK ed.) 6.17b. *Ch'i*, *chi*, and *liu* are given in the SW 10A1b as horses of "green" color, of blood color with black hair, and of "thousand li" (*ch'ien-li ma*⁶¹) respectively. *Hua* is not given in the SW. We should note, however, that both *ch'i-chi* and *hua-liu* as compound terms refer generally to "excellent steeds." *Hua-liu*, according to a note in the *Mu-t'ien-tzu chuan*⁶² (SPTK ed.) 1.7b, is a "spotted, blood colored horse."

through the Greek and Roman sources beginning with Ctesias, including the **καρύάωνος* given by Aelian.⁶⁰ The other two elements seem to be compatible. For the "speech" or "word" is itself an expression of thought, wise or otherwise, a gift from God to human beings alone, and the fact that the *chüeh-tuan* "knows the speech of four alien tribes" indicates the animal's unusual capacity for wisdom; but the animal with its wisdom would lead nowhere and become purposeless if it did not share its wisdom with a partaker, and so it meets a sage equal to it in the capacity for wisdom. In that sense the other two elements are not only seen as compatible but have parallels in other legends.

In both the *Sung shu* and the *Jui ying t'u chi*, the authors speak of a strange creature by the name of *shih*, probably an animal of the lion type.⁶¹ In the *Jui ying t'u chi* (23b-24a) it is referred to as *pai shih* (white lion); and in the *Sung shu* 29.47b, as *shih shou*⁶² (lion animal) under which the following description is found:

In Huang-ti's time, when he made an imperial tour of inspection to the eastern coast, a *shih* animal (*shih shou*) appeared. It could speak. It was well acquainted with the vitalities of all creation by dint of which it exhorted the people and suppressed the evil of the time. When a worthy ruler [reigns with] illustrious virtue [which reaches into] dark and remote places, then it comes.

A comparison of this and the *chüeh-tuan* anecdotes found in the *Sung shu* and the *Jui ying t'u chi* shows that all versions have the following common motifs: (1) someone (or something) travels; (2) an animal is able to speak; and (3) the animal appears in conjunction with the presence of a sagacious person, and this introduces a statement

having a didactic intent. In the anecdote just cited above the person who must travel is specifically mentioned as being Huang-ti and, consequently, he encounters the *shih* animal. Huang-ti's encounter with the animal provides ample opportunity for further narration, viz., the animal's role as an intelligent source for things beyond human knowledge, and finally its role as a censor in an evil age and as a speaker for morality.

It is difficult, on the other hand, to determine whether the *chüeh-tuan* and the *shih-shou* anecdotes in the *Sung shu* and the *Jui ying t'u chi* are based in toto on an unknown common source or one is older than the other with slight difference in details. However, the conjunction of the animal with the presence of a sagacious person in both anecdotes seems to point to an earlier source, namely, the *K'ung tzu chia yü*,⁶³ or *The School Sayings of Confucius*. The *K'ung tzu chia yü* passage involving Confucius and a *lin*⁶⁴ is included in James Legge's translation, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with The Tso Chuen* (i.e., the *Ch'un ch'iu* with the *Tso chuan*).⁶⁵ Since the *Ch'un ch'iu*⁶⁶ and the *Tso chuan*⁶⁷ contain records on *lin* and Confucius' remark about *lin*, we may cite them from Legge as well:

XIV 1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, [some] hunters in the west captured a *lin*.

(from the *Ch'un ch'iu*)

The *Chuen* says:—"This spring, they were hunting westwards in Ta-yay, and Ts'oo-shang, one of Shuh-sun's waggoners, captured a *lin*. Thinking the thing was inauspicious, he gave [the creature] to the forester. Chung-ne went to see it and said, "It is a *lin*;" on which they took it, [and carried it away to the capital.]"

(from the *Tso chuan*)

A waggoner of Shuh-sun's, Tsze-ts'oo-shang, was gathering firewood in Ta-yay, when he found a *lin*. Hav-

⁶⁰ See Odell Shepard, *The Lore of The Unicorn*, pp. 28, 31, and 36; and Aelianus, *De natura animalium*, I, 399, where, referring to the *καρύάωνος* of India, the author writes, "ποδὶν δὲ ἀπὸ τὰς ἐλθόντων."

⁶¹ See note 50 above.

⁶² The text reads "hsien-chün ming-te yü-yüan tse lai."⁶³ The text in the *Jui ying t'u chi* reads "hsien-chün ming-te tse chih."⁶⁴ Ch'ü-t'an Hsi-ta (of the T'ang period) in *Ta-T'ang K'ai-yüan chan-ching* (Heng-te-t'ang k'an-pen, "no date and place of pub.") 116.2b has "hsien-chün te chi yü-hsia tse ch'u."⁶⁵ I have consulted the other two texts for my translation.

⁶³ KTCY 4.16b-17a. For an English translation of sections 1-10 of the KTCY see R. P. Kramers, *K'ung Tzu Chia Yü, The School Sayings of Confucius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), pp. 201-250 and notes, pp. 251-360. For a reference to Confucius see H. G. Creel, *Confucius, The Man and The Myth* (New York: The John Day Company, 1949).

⁶⁴ L, V, pp. 833-834.

⁶⁵ For the Chinese text see the *Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi chieh*⁶⁶ (SPTK ed.) 30.1a.

⁶⁶ For the Chinese text see *Ibid.*, 30.1b2-4.

ing broken its fore leg, he carried it home with him in a carriage. Shuh-sun thinking it inauspicious, threw it away outside the suburbs, and sent a messenger to tell Confucius of it, saying, "What is it? It is an antelope and horned." Confucius went to see it, and said, "It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?" He took the back of his sleeve and wiped his face, while his tears wet the lapel of his coat. When Shuh-sun heard what it was, he sent and had it brought [to the city]. Tsze-kung asked the master why he wept, and Confucius said, "The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected."

(from the *KTCY*)

From the last anecdote we are able to detect some basic motifs: (1) "Confucius went" (cf. "someone travels"), (2) the idea of a *lin* being related to an intelligent king, suggesting that the *lin* is associated with an intelligent authority, though it does not speak, and (3) the *lin*'s association with Confucius, a sagacious person. A closer scrutiny of the basic motifs in this and the other anecdotes we have discussed above seems to indicate that each of the motifs is a device significantly designed to follow what we may call a composite pattern that is set for the development of narration. The motif "someone travels" is a device which allows a "happening" to occur, i.e., the encounter of a person and an animal. Next, we observe that, in the entire narration, stress is placed on the encounter between Confucius, a traditionally moral figure, and a *lin*, a beast possessing supernatural gifts. The major intent of the narration is obviously to make a moral remark. This intent is expressed by the device of introducing figures—like Confucius, an established exemplar of ancient moral virtues; like the *lin*, a coined image of divine authority—figures through whom a moral remark could be assured of being sufficiently convincing and authoritative. The basic motifs are used, then, to build up to a moral observation, which becomes the theme of the narrative.

One other element which we have kept in suspension for a moment is the *chüeh-tuan*'s coming with a book in the anecdote of the previously mentioned *Sung shu* passage. This element appears to be an amplifier to suggest the idea that the animal, in addition to knowing human speech,

has access to heavenly intelligence, the idea that the animal is equipped with divine wisdom and, thus, is an authority as a "donor of benevolence" or a "giver of warning." This element is traceable to the famous legend that highlights the birth of Confucius. The legend is included in the *Shih i chi*⁶⁷ or the *Record of Gleanings* by Wang Chia⁶⁸ (A.D. ?–390).⁶⁹

The twenty-first year of the reign of Chou Ling wang⁷⁰ (i.e., 551 B.C.):⁷¹ Confucius was born in the time of Lu Hsiang kung.⁷² At night there descended from the sky two green dragons. They drew near the household of Cheng-tsai.⁷³ Because of a dream [Cheng-tsai] gave birth to Confucius. [In her dream] there were two goddesses, holding in their hands sweet-scented, ambrosial incense, descending from the air in order to bathe Cheng-tsai. The Heavenly God ordered that heavenly music be arranged for the household of the Yen family (Yen-shih *chih-chia*⁷⁴).⁷⁵ There were voices from the air, saying, "With heavenly inspiration you give birth to a sagacious babe. For that reason we are here in the company of the music." The sounds of the pipe instruments and the hand-organs were of a different kind from that of the world. Moreover, the Five Immortals (*wu-lao*⁷⁶)⁷⁷ were also present, waiting in the yard of Cheng-tsai; they were the spirits of the Five Stars (*wu-hsing chih-ching*⁷⁸).⁷⁹

Before Confucius was born, a *lin* came ejecting a

⁶⁷ See *Pei-hai* (Shang Chün⁶⁸ ed., no date and place of pub.), ts'ie 2, 3a–4a.

⁶⁸ For a biography of Wang Chia see the *CS* 95 (*lieh-chuan* 65). 18b–19a.

⁶⁹ For a reference to Chou Ling wang see *SC* 4.31b.

⁷⁰ For a reference to Lu Hsiang kung see *SC* 33.16ab.

⁷¹ Cheng-tsai, Confucius' mother. According to the *KTCY* 9.10b–11a, Meng-p'i or Po-ni⁷² took in marriage Cheng-tsai, the youngest daughter of a Yen⁷³ family. Cheng-tsai gave birth to Chung-ni,⁷⁴ or Confucius.

⁷² For Yen-shih see note 71 above. For further information on Yen shih see the *T'ung-chih* (Cheng Ch'iao ed., Shanghai: T'u-shu chi-ch'eng chü⁷⁵, 1901) 27.10a. See also note 77 below.

⁷³ We do not know who the "Five Immortals" (or "Five Elders") were. Both the *wu-lao* and the *wu-hsing* (see n. 74 below) *chih-ching*⁷⁶ ("The Spirits of the Five Stars") were associated with the "inauguration" of Emperor Shun (2317–2208 B.C.; see *SC* 1.20a–29a); see the *Chu-shu chi-nien*⁷⁷ (*SPTK* ed.) A.5b–6a.

⁷⁴ See Liu Hsiang (80–9 B.C.), *Shuo yüan*⁷⁸ (*SPTK* ed.) 18.2b, where it is written: "The so-called *wu-hsing* (The Five Stars) are (1) *sui-hsing* (Jupiter), (2) *jung-huo* (Mars), (3) *chen-hsing* (Saturn), (4) *t'ai-pai* (Venus), and (5) *ch'en-hsing*⁷⁹ (Mercury)."

"jade book" at the household of Ch'üeh-li.⁷⁶ The message [in the book] read: "The descendant of Mercury (*shui-hsing chih tzu-sun*), a crownless king of the decaying Chou (*shuai-Chou erh su-wang*)."⁷⁷ This was why the two dragons had circled the house and the Five Stars had descended into the yard. Cheng-tsai, being virtuous and bright, knew that it must be a miracle from God. So she tied an embroidered sash around the horn of the *lin*. The *lin* stayed over two nights and left.

A fortune-teller said, "Confucius is a descendant of Yin T'ang,⁷⁸ a crownless king endowed with the virtue of water."⁷⁹

Toward the end of [the reign (519-447 B.C.) of Chou] Ching wang,⁸¹ in the twenty-fourth year [sic⁸²] of Lu Ting kung,⁸³ Ch'ü Shang,⁸⁴ a native of Lu, while tilling near Ta-tse,⁸⁵ procured a *lin*. He presented it to Confucius. The sash that had been tied around the horn was still there. Confucius, knowing that his life was to come to an end, held the *lin*, untied the sash, and shed tears ceaselessly.

Between the time when the *lin* had appeared and the year when the sash was untied, one hundred years had elapsed.

⁷⁶ Ch'üeh-li was Confucius' household which, according to one source, was some 500 paces southeast of the Confucian Temple in Ch'ü-fu, Shantung; see Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), *Jih-chih-lu chi-shih* (SPPY ed.) 31.38ab.

⁷⁷ I.e., "descendant of [Ch'eng⁸¹] T'ang of the Yin [Dynasty]." Ch'eng T'ang (reigned 1766-1753 B.C.) was the founder of the Shang⁸¹ or Yin Dynasty (1766-1154 B.C.). See SC 3.1a-5b; and *Chu-shu chi-nien* A.20b-22b; see also BD, 282.

⁷⁸ The attribute of water, which was one of the "Five Elements" including fire (*huo*), metal (*chin*), wood (*mu*), and earth (*t'u*), was believed to have been associated with the legendary Emperor Chuan Hsü⁸¹ (2515-2435 B.C.; see SC 1.8ab), who, according to the *T'ung chih* 27.10a, was the ancestor of the family of Yen; see KTCY 6.1a-6.1b and 6.3a.

⁷⁹ For a reference to Chou Ching wang see SC 4.32a.

⁸⁰ The reign of Lu Ting kung⁸³ actually ended in the fifteenth year (495 B.C.) rather than in the twenty-fourth year. In fact, the event did not take place under Lu Ting kung's reign. The text should actually read: *Lu Ai kung shih-szu-nien*,⁸² that is to say, 481 B.C.; see SC (*nien-piao* 2) 14.57b and 14.60a. See also L, V, pp. 833-834.

⁸¹ I.e., Legge's "Ts'oo-shang," Shu-sun's waggoner; Shu-sun⁸⁴ was a descendant of Shu-ya⁸⁵ who was half brother of Duke Chuang of Lu (Lu Chuang kung⁸⁶); see L, V (Book III) p. 121a and p. 834a.

⁸² I.e., Ta-yeh-tse, in what is now Chü-yeh⁸⁷ hsien of Shantung; see *Shui-ching chu* (SPPY ed.) 40.31a.

We notice, of course, that the above legend involves more than one theme. It deals with the birth of Confucius, the prophecy of Confucius' role in a troubled age, and the appearance of a *lin* foretelling the death of Confucius. We may note in passing that the legend as a whole suggests a work of piecemeal materials drawn from several sources, one of which can be traced to a passage in the *Chu-shu chi-nien* (for a reference to this work see n. 73) describing the "inauguration" day of Emperor Shun on which the "Spirits of the Five Stars" were present. The accounts about *lin* and Confucius in the *Tso chuan* and the *K'ung tzu chia yü*, as we have already discussed, are undoubtedly other sources upon which Wang Chia has elaborated his own version.

With the foregoing references in mind (the basic motifs, the *chüeh-tuan* anecdotes found in the *Sung shu* and the *Jui ying t'u chi*), it may be appropriate at this point to look into a further development of the *chüeh-tuan* legend in sources of a later period, that is, in the "Chung-shu-ling Yeh-lü kung shen-tao-pei"⁸⁸ (The Spirit-Way Stele [in Memory] of Sire Yeh-lü, The Grand Secretary) by Sung Tzu-chen⁸⁹ of the Yüan period, in the *Yüan-ch'ao ming-ch'ien shih-lieh*⁹⁰ (Accounts of Famous Ministers of the Yüan Dynasty)⁹¹ by Su T'ien-chüeh⁹² (A.D. 1294-1352),⁹³ and in the *Cho-keng lu*⁹⁴ by T'ao Tsung-i⁹⁵ (fl. A.D. 1360).⁹⁶ Since Su T'ien-chüeh is merely quoting Sung Tzu-chen, the versions by the latter and by T'ao are essential for our purpose and are given as follows:

Next year they came to T'ieh-men-kuan⁹⁷ in the

⁸⁸ For a biography of Sung Tzu-chen see YS 159 (*lieh-chuan* 46). 1a-3b.

⁸⁹ (pub. 1394) 5.3b4-8.

⁹⁰ A biography of Su T'ien-chüeh is included in the YS 183 (*lieh-chuan* 70). 17b-20b.

⁹¹ For a biography of T'ao Tsung-i see *Ming shih*⁹² (SPTK ed.) 285 (*lieh-chuan* 173). 17b-18a.

⁹² I.e., "Iron-Gate Pass." For this famous pass see John Leyden and William Erskine, *Memoirs of Akbar-ed-din Muhammed Baber* (Emperor of Hindustan), London, 1826, p. xxvi, where under Kesh, we read "The famous pass of Kohlûgha (the Iron Gate), or Derbend, lies in the hills between Kesh and Hissâr. Fadlallah pretends that

land of Eastern India. The imperial bodyguards saw a beast. It had the body of a deer and the tail of a horse. Its color was green. It had a single horn and could manage to speak in human words, saying, "Your master should return soon!" His Majesty asked in wonder of Ch'u-ts'ai. Ch'u-ts'ai said, "This beast is called *chüeh-tuan*. It travels eighteen thousand *li* a day and understands the languages of four alien tribes. [Its appearance] signifies disfavor of war. Now the supreme Heaven sends it down to let Your Majesty know [Heaven's will]. It is desirable that Your Majesty receive the will of Heaven and be merciful toward the lives of these several countries. [Your doing so would], indeed, count toward Your Majesty's boundless blessings." His Majesty, without a single day's delay, ordered withdrawal of the troops [from India].⁸⁷

... When Emperor T'ai-tsu⁸⁸ halted in Western India, all of a sudden there appeared a giant beast several ten's of *chang*⁸⁹ high. It had one horn and looked like a rhinoceros. It could manage to speak in

it was cut in the rock, which only proves that it was narrow and difficult, and perhaps improved by art See also p. 132. For detailed references see Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (London: John Murray, 1903), Vol. I, p. 53, n. 3; and N. C. Munkuev, *Kitaiskii istochnik o pervykh mongol'skikh zhanaz. Nadgrobnaya nadpis' na mogile Elyuz' Ču-caya. Perevod i issledovanie* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1965), p. 101, n. 70. See further the section on "Hsi-yü chuan"⁹⁰ (Monograph of the Western Regions) in the *Ming shih* 332 (*lieh chuan* 220). 9a4-7, where, with reference to K'o-shih⁹¹ (Keš), the text reads: "Three hundred *li* west [of the city of Keš] huge mountains stand imposing, amid which runs a rocky valley with cliffs [which look] as though they had been cut by an ax. One travels two or three *li* and comes out of the entrance to the valley, where there is a stone gate of which the color is like iron. The route runs from east to west. The barbarians call it T'ieh-men kuan and station guards to keep watch over it. It was said that T'ai-tsu of the Yüan had reached the T'ieh-men kuan of Eastern India and come across a one-horned beast which could speak human language. It was this [place]."

⁸⁷ *Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei*⁸⁸ (Su T'ien-chüeh ed., *SPTK* ed.) 57.11b-12a.

⁸⁸ I.e., Činggis Qan; for a reference to Činggis the following works are suggested: B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Činggis-Khan* (tr. Prince D. S. Mirsky; London, 1930); René Grousset, *Le conquérant du monde* (*Vie de Gengis-Khan*) (Paris: Albin Michel, 1944). The latter has been translated into English by Marian McKellar and Denis Sinor, *Conqueror of the World* (New York: The Orion Press, 1966).

⁸⁹ One *chang* in Yüan times was approximately 307.2 cm.

human words, saying, "This [part of the world] is not good for His Majesty. He should return without delay." Those present were all struck in consternation except Yeh-lü, His Excellency Wen-cheng (Wen-cheng *kung*⁹¹), who proceeded [to the presence of His Majesty], saying, "This is called *chüeh-tuan*. It is the spirit of the Pleiades. When a sagacious ruler reigns, that animal comes, presenting a book. Moreover, it travels eighteen thousand *li* a day. It is as divine and intelligent as the spirits and gods. It will not stand offence." The Emperor thereupon withdrew.⁹⁰

These two variants show clearly that the essential features of the animal are given: the single horn, the body of a deer and the tail of a horse, or the appearance of a rhinoceros. In addition, both versions describe the animal as being able to speak, to travel swiftly. But the unusual attributes of the animal, namely, the *chüeh-tuan* as the spirit of the Pleiades and its coming with a book, characteristics which are associated with the *lin* in Wang Chia's *Shih i chi*, are missing in the version by Sung Tzu-chen. This elimination of the fabulously construed attributes of the animal seems to have been faithfully observed in the transmission of the legend to a still later source, i.e., in the *Yüan shih*.

In the *Yüan shih*, the official history of the Yüan dynasty (A.D. 1277-1368), the recurrence of the same term *chüeh-tuan* is found in the "T'ai-tsu pen-chi" (Annals of T'ai-tsu [i.e., Činggis Qan]), the "Wu-hsing chih" (Treatise on the Five Elements),⁹¹ and the "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai lieh-chuan" (Biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai). I herewith present translations of the texts in the order in which they appear in the *Yüan shih*:

This year [1224] the Emperor reached the country of Eastern India. A *chüeh-tuan* appeared. He withdrew the army. ("T'ai-tsu pen-chi," *YS*, 1.22a)

When T'ai-tsu was on the campaign in the west, a *chüeh-tuan* appeared in Eastern India. It spoke in human voice, saying, "Your master should return soon!" The meaning was that Heaven was telling T'ai-tsu to stop the carnage. ("Wu-hsing chih," *YS*, 50.2a)

In *chia-shen*⁹¹ [1224] the Emperor reached Eastern India and halted at the T'ieh-men kuan. A one-horned beast resembling a deer and having the tail of a horse

⁹⁰ See T'ao Tsung-i, "Chüeh-tuan" (*Nan-ts'un*⁹¹ *Cho-keng lu*, *SPTK* ed.) 5.1a10-1b4.

⁹¹ For the "Five Elements" see note 77 above.

and green in color managed to speak in human words, saying to the imperial bodyguards, "Your master should return soon!" The Emperor asked Ch'u-ts'ai about it. He replied, "This, indeed, is an auspicious beast. Its name is *chüeh-tuan*. It can speak all languages. It loves life and abhors slaughter. This is an omen sent from Heaven to reveal its will to Your Majesty. Your Majesty is the principal son (*yüan-tzu*³²) of Heaven, and all the people under Heaven are the sons of Your Majesty. It is desirable that Your Majesty receive the will of Heaven to preserve the people's lives." The Emperor withdrew the army without a single day's delay.³²

(YS, 146 (*lieh-chuan* 33) 2a8-2b3)

Here, again, in this episode of the "Biography of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai," the basic motifs are present: someone's traveling (here Činggis' marching to India), the animal being able to speak, and the conjunction of the animal with the presence of a sagacious person—motifs which can be traced back to the *chüeh-tuan* material in the *Sung shu* and in the works of Sung Tzu-chen and T'ao Tsung-i. It is clear, therefore, that Sung Lien³³, compiler of the *Yüan shih*, had a choice in these sources from which to draw details of the legend. He seems to have favored the version by Sung Tzu-chen. In so doing he eliminated to the maximum the unusual attributes of the animal, such as the *chüeh-tuan* as the spirit of the Pleiades and its coming with a book. We notice finally that in all the three versions by Sung Tzu-chen, T'ao Tsung-i, and Sung Lien, the theme leads up either to an advice to Činggis "to accept the will of Heaven," or to a warning that "the animal will not stand offence."

If we compare these three versions with the earlier anecdote of the *chüeh-tuan* found in the *Sung shu*, we notice that what is lacking in the latter are the particulars about the animal's general appearance and other details contained in the three versions—the persons who discoursed and the content of their discourse. If we try to reduce each of these matters under the headings of descriptive techniques, persons or characters, and dialogue, it becomes clear to us that what the

Sung shu anecdote lacks is actually a matter of development of narrative techniques. The *chüeh-tuan* in its most simple form made its first appearance in the "Shang-lin fu" by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju. We recall also that the *chüeh-tuan* was the name of a renowned bow in the poems of the Wei-Chin period, and that elsewhere in the poem by Chang Tsai, the "twin *chüeh-tuan*" was used as an image symbolizing the union of two lovers. Its later development was somewhat obscure until the anecdote of the *chüeh-tuan* appeared in the *Sung shu*. A fuller development of the legend involving richer description, characters, and dialogues, such as those found in the *Yüan* sources and in the *Yüan shih*, was fairly late. It is significant to observe that the process of introducing a richer description, characters, and dialogues not only takes place in the development of the *chüeh-tuan* legend, but is also attested in the development of the *lin* legend. The first mention of *lin* of any historical value is found in the *Ch'un ch'iu*. The record on *lin* in the *Ch'un ch'iu*, as quoted earlier from Legge's translation, is the simplest account of its kind. The account is given a fuller description in the passage found in the *Tso chuan*, wherein the names of the *lin*-catcher and the place where the *lin* appeared, names previously non-existing in the *Ch'un ch'iu* account of the *lin*, are specified; other details as well as Confucius' very brief remark about the animal have been added. The account is further elaborated in the version included in the *K'ung tzu chia yü*, in which the development has mounted to an extent involving a more revealing description with simple characters and dialogues. This kind of development of narration seems to be a characteristic feature of the rise of Chinese literary narrative.

CONCLUSION

One explanation for this seemingly arrested process through which the *chüeh-tuan* takes shape in a legend of moderate length may be found in the exotic nature of the animal. The Chinese have a fancy for embellishing their poems with hyperbole of exotic flavors to achieve a twofold effect: idealizing the object depicted and tickling one's imagination. The use of the *chüeh-tuan* as an

³² For a Russian translation of the biography see N. C. Munkuev, op. cit., pp. 185-201].

³³ For a biography of Sung Lien see the *Ming shih* 128 (*lieh-chuan* 16). 8b-13a.

image for the strange in the "Shang-lin fu" is just one instance among many others such as those of the *t'ao-t'u*, *chüeh-t'i*, *ch'i-lin* (if these words are to be taken as foreign loan-words, as Professor Pulleyblank has suggested). It is amazing to see how the image, *chüeh-tuan*, in the hands of poets of different periods assumes varied, telling impacts upon one's mind and yet at the same time the exotic element remains intact. The word *chüeh-tuan* would have lost its allusive attractiveness had one followed the classicists' commentaries relating the **kark tuân* to the swine-like rhinoceros (*hsi-niu*)!⁹⁴ But even more surprising linguistically is the existence of this "Kulturwort" in so many ancient tongues—the Greek *καράξωνος* or **καρύξωνος*, the Persian *kargadān*, the Arabic *karkadann* or *karkaddan* (both meaning "rhinoceros"; see n. 36), the Sanskrit *khadga-dhenu*-, and the Chinese **kark tuân*. From the linguistic point of view, it is not easy to reconstruct the original form for a "Kulturwort" and designate its place

of origin. For instance, there have been attempts to refer the Arabic *karakdann* and the Skt. *khadga-dhenu*- to the Akkadian form *kurkizānu* (meaning "swine"), which, as Bruno Meissner and Manfred Mayrhofer argue, is, perhaps, not the case.⁹⁵ Presumably, this wide-spread "Kulturwort" must have once travelled with the traffic along the ancient "Silk Roads" connecting Ch'ang-an in the east to Samarkand, Persia, Syria, and the Mediterranean. Once this word was introduced into China, it struck the imagination of the poets and left its mark on literature, in works such as the "Shang-lin-fu" by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, the poem by Chang Tsai, and other *fu* poems mentioned in the present study. Nevertheless, the legend of the so-called "*chüeh-tuan*" remained a product in literary and historical sources only. The very rare occurrence of the term *chüeh-tuan* even in the above mentioned sources seems to imply that the common people were ordinarily not aware of the real animal, and it is therefore unlikely that a living parallel of the *chüeh-tuan* legend could survive in oral tradition.

⁹⁴ For an excellent documentation on *hsi* and its related animals see Berthold Laufer, "History of the Rhinoceros," *Chinese Clay Figures Part I, Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor* (Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 117, Anthropological Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2, Chicago, 1914), pp. 73–173.

⁹⁵ See Bruno Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch I* (Reprinted from *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XLVII, No. 3, The University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 40; MM, I, 299.

Glossary

- a 角端 b 晉書 c 後漢書 d 慧琳
 e 一切經音義 f 獅谷白蓮社刊本
 g 漢書 h 孔子家語 i 百衲本
 j 史記 k 四部備要 l 四部叢刊
 m 說文解字 n 許慎 o 釋元應
 p 玄應 q 海山仙館叢書 r 潘仕誠
 s 冊 t 大正新修大藏經，高楠順次郎
 u 文選，蕭統 v 元史 w 惠谷俊之
 x 佛教大學研究紀要
 y 元史の角端，説話とその背景
 z 耶律楚才 aa 成吉思汗 ab 司馬相如
 ac 列傳 ad 上林賦 ae 麒麟 af 乾
 ag 月氏 ah 祁連 ai 麒麟 aj 羅願
 ak 釋獸 al 爾雅翼 am 董作賓
 an 獲白麟解 ao 安陽發掘報告第二期

- ap 角端 ay 駒駝 ar 駃騠 as 驪驤
 at 橐駝 au 韋昭 av 蛩蛩 aw 山海經
 ax 說文 ay 徐廣 az 史記集解 ba 驢
 bb 驪 bc 端 bd 休多 be 清
 bf 嚴可均, 姚文田 bg 休屠 bh 地理志
 bi 武威郡 bj 說文校議 bk 涼州 bl 角
 bm 端 bn 鮮卑 bo 魏書 bp 三國志
 bf 端牛 br 王沈 bs 晉 bt 角端牛
 bu 郭璞 bv 切韻 bw 羯伽 bx 伽
 by 祛謁 bz 犀牛 ca 佉伽婆沙 cb 佉伽
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dt 繁弱 du 夏后氏 dv 禹

dw 王圻, 儀制, 三才圖會 dx 黃帝 dy 列子

dz 鵬, 鷗, 鷹, 鳶 ea 角端旗 eb 白澤

ec 李時珍, 本草綱目, 合肥, 張氏味古齋重校刊

ed 虬 ee 虬虎鳴也一曰師子 ef 兕

eg 唐六典 eh 李林甫, 廣雅書局 ei 金史

ej 志 ek 張載 el 張孟陽集

em 四愁詩, 張衡 en 隴原 eo 宋書

ep 沈約 ep 梁書 er 瑞應圖記

es 孫柔之 et 觀古堂所著書, 葉德輝

eu 隋書經籍志, 八史經籍志, 張壽榮, 振新書社

ev 梁 ew 騏驎 ex 騂騮 ey 莊子

ez 南華真經 fa 千里馬 fb 穆天子傳

fc 澤獸 fd 賢君明德幽遠則來 fe 賢君明德則至

ff 瞿曇悉達, 大唐開元占經, 恒德堂刊本

fg 賢君德及幽遐則出 fh 麋 fi 春秋

fi 春秋經傳集解 fk 左傳 fl 拾遺記

fm 稗海, 商濬 fn 王嘉 fo 周靈王

fp 魯襄公 fg 徵在 fr 孟皮, 伯尼 fs 顏

ft 仲尼 fu 顏氏之家

fv 通志, 莫樵, 圖書集成局 fw 五老

fx 五星之精 fy 竹書紀年 fz 劉向, 說苑

ga 歲星, 熒惑, 鎮星, 太白, 辰星 gb 闕里

gc 步 gd 曲阜 ge 顧炎武, 日知錄集釋

gf 水星之子孫 gg 哀周而素王 gh 殷湯

gi 咸 gj 商 gk 顓頊 gl (周) 敬王

gm 魯定公 gn 魯哀公十四年 go 年表

gp 鋤商 gq 叔孫 gr 叔牙 gs 魯莊公

gt 大澤 gu 鉅野 gv 水經注

gw 中書令耶律公神道碑 gx 宋子貞

gy 元朝名臣事略 gz 蘇天爵

ha 輟耕錄 hb 陶宗儀 hc 明史

hd 鐵門關 he 西域傳 hf 涸石

hg 國朝文類 hh 太祖 hi 文 hj 文正公

hk 南村 hl 甲申 hm 元子 hn 宗源