# of Samarkand

A STUDY OF T'ANG EXOTICS

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The Golden Peaches

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the rings of the "Mother who is King in the West," a dim and hoary figure associated with dreams of immortality in the mountains at the summit of the world. They resemble other magic rings well-known in folklore. Their possessor could expect with confidence the submission of all peripheral nations.[234]

Again, from Tongking came a piece of rhinoceros horn, as yellow as gold. This was set on a golden plate in the basilica, and the envoy who brought it explained that it had the virtue of dispelling cold—and indeed warm air radiated from it all around.[235] Similar were the hundred sticks of charcoal called the "charcoal of good omen," said to have been sent from the Western Liang, an ancient state in the Kansu area. These were as hard as iron, and would burn without flame for ten days, unapproachable because of the intensity of the heat.[236]

A royal gift from Kucha was a pillow coarsely wrought from a glossy stone much like agate. The fortunate head which slept on it was blessed with dreams of voyages through all lands and seas, even those unknown to mortal men. The tale tells that the head proved to be that of the upstart statesman Yang Kuo-chung, twice fortunate in being the favored cousin of the Precious Consort of Hsüan Tsung.[237]

The perennial demand for beautiful jade, the most magnificent of minerals, underlies the following story: Hsüan Tsung, midway in his reign, marveled that there was no artifact made from the almost legendary five-colored jade among the gifts recently received from the West, though he had in his treasury a belt decorated with plaques of this handsome stone, and a cup carved from it, both submitted long before. He commanded his generals in charge of the "Security of the West" to reprimand the negligent (but anonymous) barbarians who were responsible. The delinquent savages may have been natives of Khotan, the inexhaustible source of jade, and savages they seemed to the Chinese, despite the refinement of their music and the charm of their women. Whoever they were, they did not fail to start a shipment of the pretty polychrome stuff on its way to Ch'ang-an. Alas, the caravan was attacked and robbed of its cargo by the people of Lesser Balūr, turban-wearing lice-eating marauders from the frigid and narrow valleys on the fringes of the snowy Pamirs.[238] When the bad news reached the sacred palace, the Son of Heaven, in his wrath, sent an army of forty thousand Chinese and innumerable dependent barbarians to lay siege to the capital of the marauders and recover his jade. The king of Lesser Balūr quickly surrendered his booty and humbly sought the privilege of sending annual tribute to T'ang. This was refused, and his unhappy city of Gilgit was pillaged. The victorious Chinese general, leading three thousand survivors of the sack, set out for home. He was followed by a prediction of doom, pronounced by a barbarian soothsayer. And indeed the whole multitude was destroyed in a great storm, except for a lone Chinese and a single barbarian ally. The unfortunate Hsüan Tsung, thus finally deprived of his treasure, sent a party to search for the remains of his host. They found an army of transparent bodies, refrigerated prisoners and soldiers of ice, which melted immediately, and were never seen again.[239]

rejoiced in the epithet of "Aromatic Elephant," are typical examples; they must have been represented in painting as well as in pious prose.[43] Indeed, with the Gajarāja, the *Hsiang Wang* of the Chinese, we bridge the gap between the Enlightened One, the Buddha, and the imposing figures of the Indochinese kings, who also partook of the essence of elephants.

Rhinoceroses

The rhinoceros, like the elephant, was a familiar animal in north China in prehistoric and perhaps early historic times, but was already a rarity by the time of the ages illuminated by books. It is likely that two of the three Asian species of rhinoceroses were familiar to the archaic Chinese: we have small sculptures of both a one- and a two-horned kind surviving from Shang, Chou, and Han times; these must represent the Javanese (or Sunda) rhinoceros and the Sumatran rhinoceros respectively, both once widespread on the mainland and in the islands, but now restricted to remote parts of Indonesia, and on the verge of extinction.[44]

In China during T'ang times, the rhinoceros was confined to a rather broad area south of the Yangtze, comprising most of western and southern Hunan, and adjacent corners of neighboring provinces.[45] Two-horned rhinoceroses also survived in remote parts of Lingnan, contiguous with their main range in Indochina.[46]

The Chinese probably never captured their indigenous pachyderms for training: performing rhinoceroses were, like performing elephants, exotic marvels. Indeed, Tuan Ch'eng-shih, a great collector of marvels, wrote with astonishment of the wooden traps used to catch rhinoceroses in the homeland of a certain sea captain, who had described them to a physician in Canton. The doctor in turn had brought the story to Ch'eng-shih.[47]

Tamed rhinoceroses, then, came as astonishing royal gifts from the great nations south of China to the T'ang emperor, like the one sent by "the *Man* of the South" in 854, which was promptly sent back.[48] It is no surprise to learn that Champa was the most important source of them: the Chams sent a tame rhinoceros to Ch'ang-an early in the seventh century,[49] then eleven of the kind called "Heaven-communicating" (probably the great one-horned Indian rhinoceros) in 640,[50] and still another in 793.[51] This last was displayed in the Grand Shrine, for the delight of the dead sovereigns as well as the living. And then there were trained rhinoceroses from *Źi̯ăm-pâk (a country unknown to us) in the seventh century,[52] the Khmer kingdom of Chinrap in the eighth,[53] and Kalinga (along with the famous black girls) in the ninth.[54] Less expected were gifts of rhinoceroses from some Western state still calling itself "Persia" early in the eighth century, one in the company of a royal prince.[55] And one came from the Tibetans, with other wild animals, in 824.[56]

These tropical monsters did not always find the climate of north China

congenial: one brought to the capital in 796 died of the cold in the imperial park the following winter.[57] Some of the beasts, however, managed to survive, and they performed, along with elephants, in the great palace entertainments of Hsüan Tsung. Perhaps one of these was the model for the two-horned Sumatran rhinoceros shown in mother-of-pearl inlay on the back of a mirror in the Shōsōin.[58]

But as an exotic image the rhinoceros was unimportant—the animal was rather an emblem of China's antiquity, a kind of classical behemoth surviving among the barbarians. It was its horns and their magic virtue which had a significant role in the history of exoticism, as we shall see later.

Lions

The history of the Asiatic lion is a tale of lamentable decline. The great cat was a familiar animal in ancient India, Persia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Asia Minor, and was even to be found in Macedonia and Thessaly in classical times.[59] Since then its range and numbers have steadily decreased; in the nineteenth century it could still be found in parts of Mesopotamia, in Persia south of Shīrāz, and in Gujerat, but it has now disappeared from all of these places except the last; a few lions still survive precariously on the Kathiawar Peninsula.[60]

Many specimens of this lordly animal were brought to China both in antiquity and in medieval times. Two words for "lion" followed the animal into China. The first, a word sounding like **suangi*,[61] obsolete except as an intentional archaism during T'ang, came from India to China before the Christian era. The second, a word like *śiśāk*,[62] came some centuries later from Iran; it was the common medieval name for the beast. It is curious that the latter form occurs most commonly in medieval literature as the name of the country we now call Ceylon. The island (once manless, inhabited by ghosts) was also known to be ". . . abundant in rare jewels,"[63] having "a mountain of jargoon and diamonds,"[64] the fame of which gave it the ancient Indic name of Ratnadvīpa, "Island of Gems," and the ninth-century Arabic name Jazīrat al-Yaḳūt, "Isle of Rubies,"[65] but despite the fame of its gems in China, no like name for Ceylon was adopted there. But there was an old native name, Sinhala, "Lions' Abode," from which came, it seems, the name given it by mariners from the Persian Gulf, Sarandīb (from Sinhala-dvīpa?).[66] The Chinese name for Ceylon was "Country of Lions," because there, it was said, ". . . they are able to tame and raise lions."[67] This name must derive directly from the Singhalese name itself, or from some legend on which it is based, as the one in which ". . . the daughter of the Vanga King cohabited in the forest with a lion,"[68] for lions were not actually known on the island.

The lion made a profound impression on the Chinese imagination, as the most powerful and terrible of all animals. In the year 635, the emperor T'ai Tsung

Ivory was sometimes used for small sculpture: we have a statue in that material of the goddess Hariti, suckling a nude, curly-headed child, apparently made in the eighth or ninth century. It shows the T'ang taste for a rather thick figure and swaying posture, but also the influence of the Gandhāran style.[200] We also have an ivory statuette of a dancing girl, painted in polychrome, apparently the work of a T'ang craftsman.[201]

Rhinoceros Horn

The horn of the rhinoceros played a role in the minor arts of T'ang very similar to that of ivory, and indeed the two substances were regularly linked in language, particularly in parallel verse. The demand for rhinoceros horn was very great, so that, although many rhinoceroses still lived in Hunan, as we have seen, and their horns were submitted to the court as tribute, it was also necessary to import them. From close at hand, they were obtained in Nan-chao[202] and Annam;[203] more remotely, they came to the port of Canton from the Indies, and in such quantities that the near extinction of the Indochinese rhinoceroses in modern times can in large part be attributed to the China trade of T'ang.[204] It was reported that the rhinoceros was accustomed to bury a shed horn, which a hunter might obtain safely by substituting an artificial one,[205] but this story seems to be an adaptation of the same tradition applied to elephant tusks. The most desirable and costly horn was handsomely patterned and grained, sometimes showing, after being polished, the outlines of a living creature or some other interesting picture.[206]

Rhinoceros horn was important in medieval Chinese medicine, especially as an antidote for all kinds of poisons. Belief in its efficacy goes back to the fourth century, and may have originated in China, to spread to Western Asia and the Roman empire.[207] In T'ang, the horn was taken as a powder (it was believed that the raw material could be softened to make it easy to grind, by carrying it, wrapped in paper, in the bosom),[208] or even burned to ashes and swallowed in water.[209] It may be that in former times, when the horns were hollowed out to make medicinal cups, they copied the shape of archaic buffalo horn cups, which were naturally hollow,[210] but most known horn cups of T'ang age are small, round, and conventionally shaped,[211] and it cannot be said with certainty that these were expected to nullify the effects of poison. But there is a horn cup shaped like a short curved horn in the Shōsōin.[212]

The horn was in itself treated as a precious substance, suitable for the jeweler's art, and could be transformed into little boxes, bracelets, paperweights, knife hilts, and chopsticks, all objects which were also made from ivory.[213] Horn was also used to make decorative weights for curtains,[214] and we read of ". . . an ivory bed with gauze-like curtains and rhinoceros horn weights."[215]

Courtiers and high officials wore girdles decorated with plaques of rhinoceros

horn, like black-veined amber, which they valued equally with jade and gold, to imperial audiences and banquets.[216] The enormous value of these belts was even noised about the harbors and bazaars of Islam,[217] and one belt, with mottled plates on black-lacquered leather, may be seen in the Shōsōin.[218] The Tu-yang Miscellany reports that the ninth-century emperor Ching Tsung had such a girdle, which shone by night.[219]

Another special use of rhinoceros horn was to make long, flat, "wish-fulfilling" wands, with curved tips, which were held by Buddhist priests in a dignified manner while expounding the holy scriptures.[220] There are many examples of these religious scepters in the Shōsōin; one is set with colored glass balls and lines of gold, and adorned with ivory pierced to show flowers and birds.[221] Another is painted with birds, butterflies, and clouds in silver, and has a handle of sanders inlaid with ivory.[222]

Fish Tusks

Several times during the eighth century the T'ang palace received gifts of "fish tusks" from Silla.[223] And from the Tungus peoples of Manchuria came a substance called **kuttut*[224] by the Chinese. These names correspond respectively to Persian *dandān māhī,* "fish tooth," and Arabic *khutu,* both of which designate walrus ivory, and sometimes also fossil mammoth ivory from Siberia.[225] But the **kuttut* sent as tribute from Ying-*chou,* the chief Chinese garrison town in south Manchuria, and the "fish teeth" of Silla, though mostly walrus ivory, may also have included fossil narwhal ivory from the Siberian shores of the Pacific.[226]

Pearls

The power and wonder of pearls was very great. But it seemed to the men of T'ang that their magical beauty was only fully understood and appreciated in distant lands. In those mysterious realms men knew how to exploit their special virtue, which was to control the watery element whose essence they contained. Therefore pearls led to wells in the desert, or to the treasures of dragon kings under the seas. Such a pearl was the "superior clarifying pearl" sent (or so it was reported) to Hsüan Tsung by the king of Kapiśa:

> Its light radiated through the whole chamber, and quivering and moving within it were sylph men, and jade women, and cloud cranes. Should there be calamities of water, or drought, or men-at-arms, or dispossession, if devoutly prayed to, it would not fail to respond with the hoped-for results.[227]

rich embellishments of costume and household furniture, and their beadlike shape made them especially suitable for screens and curtains. To judge from tales written in the ninth and tenth centuries, a fine pearl, whether rounded or a baroque jewel in the form of a divine being, was regarded as a proper gift to a Buddhist temple.[245]

Pearls, like other substances fair and foul, did not escape the mortars of the T'ang pharmacist. In medicine, or rather in imitative magic, as we would say, they were taken for cataracts and other eye disorders, since they were shaped like the eye, and were as clear and luminous as the full moon. They were regarded with special favor by the Taoists, who counted them among the life-extending drugs. Before compounding an unpierced pearl in a medicine, it was necessary to grind it to powder.[246]

Tortoise Shell

The men of T'ang got tortoise shell,[247] for making ladies' hairpins and headdress ornaments and inlays in expensive household objects, from Lu-*chou* in Annam.[248] In addition, in 818 a shipment was brought, along with two Zenj girls and a live rhinoceros, with a mission from Kalinga.[249] A beautiful tortoise-shell plectrum for a five-stringed lute, in the Shōsōin, has the figure of a lute-playing Westerner, mounted on a camel, inlaid in mother-of-pearl.[250] This and other tortoise shell probably came to China from the warm seas of the South.

The shell also supplied a maculated image for the poets, as in these verses:

> The pond water—berylline pure,
> The garden flowers—tortoise-shell spotted.[251]

Neptune's Cradle

The giant clam called Neptune's cradle[252] lends the stuff of its glossy white, deeply furrowed shell to the uses of the lapidary. In ancient China this "mother-of-pearl" (and perhaps others) was regarded as a stone, its source being unknown, and it was polished like jade. It was especially popular in early medieval times for making wine cups and other drinking vessels. Under the T'ang emperors nacre was reputed to be a product of Rome,[253] and it was known to be one of the Seven Precious Substances, the *Saptaratna,* of Indian tradition.[254] The chances are that the shell of this great scallop was still being imported in T'ang times, but the available texts are not conclusive.

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decades of T'ang—that of Li Shang-yin, Tu Mu, Wen T'ing-yün, and others.

[232] Only slightly less favored in reminiscent literature of the ninth century is the reign of Tai Tsung, late in the eighth, regarded as something of a revival.

[233] *Ting kuo pao.*

[234] YYTT, 1, 3–4, for the reign of Tai Tsung. This story, despite the fantastic details and supernatural embroidery, was based on an historical event. The tale *Su Tsung ch'ao pa pao* (quoted in TPKC, 404, 12a–3a) gives a wonderful account of the jewels given to a Buddhist nun by a divine being, which brought peace and prosperity to the nation in the 760's. This moved the emperor to adopt the era name "Responsive to the Jewels" (*Pao ying*). The same story appears in shorter form in YYTT, the source of my present story of the rings. Now these jewels or treasures were actually presented to the throne in the manner described. See CTS, 10, 3090c; Yeh Te-lu (1947), 101–103.

[235] KYTPIS (TTTS, 3, 42b–43a). See also Laufer (1913), 315–370, for the wonderful properties of rhinoceros horn.

[236] KYTPIS, 45a.

[237] KYTPIS, 41b–42a.

[238] In Chinese the country is called "Little Po-lü." The king of the country resided at Gilgit. See Chang Hsing-lang (1930), 5, 160.

[239] YYTT, 14, 109–110.

[240] *Tu-yang tsa pien.*

[241] See Su O's own preface in CTW, 813, 27a–27b. The author describes himself as a youthful admirer of such old wonder books as *Shih i chi* and *Tung ming chi,* who came to believe, even after the study of more serious works, that "within heaven and earth there is nothing which does not exist." The book is preserved in TTTS, 2, and has been briefly discussed in Edwards (1937), 83–85. Dr. Edwards has in turn quoted Alexander Wylie (1867), 194, to the effect that the book was "written after the style of the *Shu i chi,* and many of the statements have the appearance of being apocryphal." A remarkable understatement! Nonetheless, Po Shou-i (Po, 1937), in his study of the importance of aromatics during T'ang and Sung, quotes anecdotes from this book of wonder as if they were historical. Happily, Su O's tales remained in circulation and were still drawn upon by writers of fantasy many centuries later, as by Yang Yü, for his *Shan chü hsin hua* in the fourteenth century. See Franke (1955), 306.

[242] *Ling kuang tou.* There is an English version of this whole passage in Edwards (1937), 1, 84–85.

[243] *Jih-lin,* maybe to be emended to *Jih-pen.* The name of the country and the story of the wonderful rock were taken by Su O from the fifth-century book of Jen Fang, SIC, b, 12b.

[244] The X-ray rock was said to have been known in the third century B.C. but in China, not abroad, and named by the First Emperor "Bone-Reflecting Treasure." YYTT, 10, 73. The native name for the beans was "**k'jĕt-tâ* beads."

[245] This creature and its product will be discussed in chap. xii on "Textiles."

[246] *Lung chüeh ch'ai.*

[247] See CTS, 52, 3281d.

[248] *Lü shui chu.*

[249] *Ch'üeh huo ch'üeh.*

[250] Laufer (1915), 320–321. Quennell (1928), 148, describes the *samandal* of Wāq-wāq, "like a green woodpecker, its plumage being speckled with red, white, green and blue." But our Chinese firebirds were black.

[251] *Ch'ing feng* and *Fei luan.* The Persian *simurgh* should cause no more astonishment as an equivalent for the fanciful Chinese *luan,* which is thought by some to be an enriched version of the Argus pheasant, than the more conventional equation of the Occidental phoenix with the Chinese *feng.*

[252] *Ch'ang jan ting.*

[253] *Ch'ang chien ping.*

[254] *Pien chou ts'ao.*

[255] *Wu ts'ai ch'ü-shu.* The epithet "in the five colors" denotes "in all colors," or "rainbow-hued."

[256] *Wan fo shan.*

[257] Artifacts of this intricate sort were actually very popular in T'ang and Sung times.

[258] *Chu-lai niao.*

[259] The green magpie (*Kitta chinensis*) of Indochina has red bill, green plumage, and a green and blue tail with a white fringe. There are other species of magpie which would fit as well. The clever manner and raucous voice, along with the colors, all suggest this bird.

[260] *To hsin ching.*

[52] TFYK, 970, 15a. For the place, see n. 33 above.
[53] TFYK, 971, 18a; THY, 98, 1752.
[54] CTS, 197, 3610a; TFYK, 972, 7b; THY, 100, 1782.
[55] In 730 (TFYK, 971, 8a) and 746 (TFYK, 971, 15b).
[56] TFYK, 972, 8a.
[57] Yüan Chen's poem "Hsün hsi" ("Tame Rhinoceros"), YSCCC, 24, 6a.
[58] TCTC, 218, 17b; *Shōsōin* (1960), no. 5 in the south storehouse.
[59] Otto Keller (1909), 35, 37–38.
[60] *Derniers Refuges* (1956), 212.
[61] Ancient Chinese **suân-ngiei*, Archaic Chinese **suân-ngieg*.
[62] This is Tocharian A, after Pulleyblank (1962), 109.
[63] TS, 221b, 4155b.
[64] Quennell (1928), 154–155.
[65] Yule and Burnell (1903), 181.
[66] Yule and Burnell (1903), 181.
[67] TS, 221b, 4155b.
[68] Yule and Burnell (1903), 181.
[69] CTS, 198, 3614a; CTS, 2, 3068a; TFYK, 970, 8a; THY, 99, 1774.
[70] CTW, 138, 1b–2b. "Bear" for the mysterious *p'i* is misleadingly simplified; *szu* may once have meant "gaur," but its identity was lost by T'ang times; "boa snake" is arbitrary and whimsical for *"pa* snake."
[71] CTW, 398, 3a. I do not have the poet's dates; he was middle or late T'ang.
[72] In 657 (TFYK, 970, 15a); twice in 719 (the first time: TS, 221b, 4155c; CTS, 198, 3614c; TFYK, 971, 3a; THY, 99, 1779; the second time: TFYK, 971, 3b).
[73] TS, 221b, 4155c; CTS, 198, 3614c; THY, 99, 1779.
[74] TS, 221b, 41542; TFYK, 971, 7b.
[75] CTS, 8, 3082c; TFYK, 971, 5a.
[76] TS, 102, 3918b; CTS, 89, 3353b.
[77] Hastings (1927), I, 521.
[78] KSP, a, 2a.
[79] YYTT, 16, 131.
[80] YYTT, 16, 131; EYI, 18, 192.
[81] YYTT, 16, 131; PTKM, 51a, 25a.
[82] Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, quoted in PTKM, 51a, 25a.
[83] Translation from Soper (1958), 13.
[84] Soper (1958), 14.
[85] YYKYL, a, 23.
[86] YYKYL, a, 30.
[87] YYTT, 16, 131.
[88] YYKYL, b, 50.
[89] YYKYL, a, 30.
[90] One of Yen Li-pen's pictures of tribute lions was preserved in the Hsüan ho collection of Sung Hui Tsung. HHHP, 1, 60. It is not unlikely that it was one of those later described by Chou Mi.
[91] LTPWC, 7, 9a. "O-mei shan yüeh ko sung Shu seng yen ju chung ching."
[92] *Panthera pardus fusca* of India, Indochina, and south China; *P. p. fontanierii* of north China; and *P. p. orientalis* of Siberia and Manchuria.
[93] TLT, 24, 21a–21b.
[94] TS, 49a, 3747d.
[95] TS, 34, 3713b.
[96] TFYK, 971, 4a.
[97] TFYK, 971, 8a.
[98] TFYK, 971, 7b; THY, 99, 1777.
[99] TS, 221b, 4154d.
[100] TS, 221b, 4153d; TFYK, 971, 6b–7a. They were brought by two missions.
[101] TFYK, 971, 7a–7b; THY, 99, 1775. There were three missions with leopards.
[102] TFYK, 971, 16a.
[103] TFYK, 971, 16a.
[104] TS, 6, 3647d.
[105] TS, 48, 3746a.
[106] There are two kinds, the African cheetah, *Felis guttata* (or *Cynailurus guttatus*), and the Asiatic cheetah, *F. jubata* (or *C. jubatus*).
[107] Friederichs (1933), 31.
[108] Otto Keller (1909), 86.
[109] Werth (1954), 92. According to the Sacramento (California) *Bee* for October 2, 1959, an attempt is being made to introduce the African cheetah into India, where the native species has become extinct.
[110] O. Kelier (1909), 87.
[111] One in 619 (THY, 96, 1717), and one in 623 (CTS, 199b, 3618c).
[112] In 629. CTS, 199b, 3619b; TFYK, 970, 6b. The version of TFYK also refers to tribute of *"feng* leopard," a term whose interpretation depends partly on the solutions of the problem here under discussion.
[113] See, for instance, SuS, 12, 2373a, on the proper decorations for military caps, and especially the "Rhapsody on the Floriate Sable" ("Hua tiao fu") by the sixth-century poet Chiang Tsung, in CLCC, 1, 6a, which sums up all these associations.
[114] TS, 221b, 4155c; CTS, 198, 3614c;

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[170] Laufer (1915c), 58; Demiéville (1924), 289–292; Schafer (1952), 155, n. 8.

[171] Laufer (1915c), 69.

[172] TS, 219, 4146d; TFYK, 971, 4a; Laufer (1915c), 69.

[173] Compare the "*pivk* of Indigo Field" (actually a green marble), used, along with pearls and kingfisher feathers, as a decoration on gold (HS, 97b, 0615a); the "night-shining *pivk*" of Rome (HHS, 118, 0905a); and "*pivk*-colored silks" (IL, P'in li, comm. on *shu chin*, "tied silks").

[174] Hirth (1885), 243; E. Newton Harvey (1957), 19, 33–34, 372. Cf. Needham (1962), 76.

[175] Berthelot (1938), 271–274.

[176] *Ming t'ang*. I use Soothill's translation.

[177] CTS, 22, 3157b–3157c.

[178] CTS, 22, 3158a; TCTC, 205, 15a–15b; Needham (1958), 21.

[179] TCTC, 205, 14a; Needham (1958), 21.

[180] Ts'ui Shu, "Feng shih ming t'ang huo chu," ChTS, han 3, ts'e 2, 2b.

[181] TCTC, 205, 15a–15b.

[182] "Ts'ui Wei," in CC (TPKC, 34, 5b–6a).

[183] Chen Ch'üan, in PTKM, 51a, 26a.

[184] TLT, 22, 14b–15a.

[185] TS, 43a, 3733a; from Huan-*chou*.

[186] TS, 222a, 4157a.

[187] TFYK, 971, 17a. As "tribute" in 748.

[188] TFYK, 971, 17b; CTS, 197, 3610a.

[189] TFYK, 971, 17b.

[190] Laufer (1925), 67–68.

[191] Mosaku Ishida and Wada (1954), pl. 76.

[192] *Shōsōin* (1928–), I, 44.

[193] TLT, 22, 14a–14b.

[194] Ishida and Wada (1954), pl. 18.

[195] Called *hu*.

[196] PKLT, 12, 25a–25b.

[197] TS, 24, 3682a.

[198] TuT, 126, 659c.

[199] TS, 24, 3681b.

[200] Trubner (1957), 128.

[201] Jenyns (1954), 49.

[202] TS, 222a, 4157a.

[203] TS, 43a, 3733a.

[204] Jenyns (1957), 35 and 43. During Sung, the Chinese began to think the horn of the African rhinoceros superior to the Asian, and it appears that most horn objects of Ming and Ch'ing come from the former.

[205] YYTT, 16, 134.

[206] Ettinghausen (1950), 53. Po (1937), quotes a medieval source which lists "patterned rhinoceros" with "singular pearls, tortoise shell, and strange aromatics" as the rich products brought by sea to Canton.

[207] Jenyns (1957), 40–41.

[208] Li Hsün, in PTKM, 51a, 26b.

[209] Meng Shen, in PTKM, 51a, 27a.

[210] Jenyns (1957), 40–41.

[211] *Shōsōin* (1928–), I, 31, shows one from the Shōsōin; cf. Ettinghausen (1950), 102; Jenyns (1957), pl. 20.

[212] Jenyns (1954), 49.

[213] Ettinghausen (1950), 102; Mosaku Ishida and Wada (1954), pl. 67 (a knife); Tu Fu, "Li jen hsing," CCCCTS, p. 25, tells of horn chopsticks used by elegant court ladies.

[214] YHTC, 5, 34; cf. Jenyns (1957), 45.

[215] Jenyns (1957), 44 ff., quotes Li Shang-yin; he has other T'ang sources on this subject.

[216] Ettinghausen (1950), 54; Jenyns (1957), 47.

[217] Chou (1945), 16; Sauvaget (1948), 16.

[218] *Shōsōin* (1928–), VII, 33; cf. Jenyns (1957), 47.

[219] TYTP, 2, 10a.

[220] The modern form of the *ju-i* appears to have originated in early Sung times, when archaic belt hooks were misunderstood as primitive wands. Le Roy Davidson, quoted in Gray (1959), 49.

[221] Mosaku Ishida and Wada (1954), pl. 117.

[222] *Shōsōin* (1928–), XI, 55.

[223] THY, 95, 1712–1713.

[224] **Kuɔt-tuɔt*. Li Shih-chen has confused this with the sea animal, the source of a tonic drug to which I have given the Korean name *olnul;* see chap. xi on "Drugs," and see Laufer (1916), 373–374. But Laufer thought that *kuttut* might represent the beaver, and *olnul* the seal, though elsewhere (Laufer [1913], *passim*) he took the *kuttut* to be fossil narwhal ivory. Hirth and Rockhill (1911), 234, follow Li Shih-chen in confounding the two transcriptions.

[225] Laufer (1925), 32–33. Maqdisī lists "fish teeth" among the products distributed from Khwārizm (Barthold [1958], 235), and Laufer thought that though these were normally walrus tusks, they might sometimes be mammoth ivory, and might even have reached China.

[226] TS, 39, 3725a; Laufer (1913), *passim;* Laufer (1916), 369.