

THE PERCEPTION OF EXOTIC FEATURES IN SOME ANIMALS, MENTIONED BY
ZHOU QUFEI IN THE *LINGWAI DAIDA* (1178)

Victoria Almonte - University of Tuscia, Viterbo

Abstract: *Questo articolo si propone di analizzare le descrizioni di due animali che Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1133-1189) presenta nella sua opera geografica, Lingwai Daida 岭外代答 (Note sui Paesi oltre confine) (abbreviato in LWDD). Zhou non ebbe mai la possibilità di viaggiare oltre i confini dell'impero Song, la maggior parte delle sue fonti furono di seconda mano, di conseguenza quasi tutti gli animali stranieri che descrive sono permeati da un'aura di mistero e simbolismo. Grazie al confronto con altre fonti cinesi e non, risalenti dalla dinastia Han ai primi anni del XVII secolo, si rinviene, inoltre, un uso frequente di metafore e riferimenti mitologici. Il presente saggio non solo si focalizza sulla terminologia e sulle immagini esotiche che le descrizioni di taluni animali evocano, ma dimostra anche quanto sia rilevante lo scambio di idee tra culture diverse e lontane.*

Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to give new insight into the perception of two animals as presented in Zhou Qufei 周去非's (1133-1189) geographical work, *Lingwai Daida* 岭外代答 (Notes from the lands beyond the Passes hereafter LWDD): the *dapeng* 大鹏, a kind of giant bird, and the *yuán* 猿, a kind of ape or monkey. In this preliminary work, I have chosen these two animals because of their distinctive and unconventional characteristics, and because thanks to certain descriptive elements they stand out as the strangest and the most exotic.¹

The LWDD, written by imperial official Zhou Qufei during the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) in 1178, can be associated with the *lishi dili* 历史地理 literature, that is to say, it is an historical geography work. It is based on both original data (often second-hand information) and knowledge drawn from earlier sources.² Original data here stands for what Zhou personally saw and heard. Although he never travelled abroad, he collected a great deal of information relying on what travelers and merchants told and showed him (suffice it to say

that Zhou worked six years in the Guangxi province in close contact with travelers and merchants). This kind of information could be considered original data as he did not read it in earlier sources. Even though he did not go abroad and had probably never seen many of the animals he described, he was able to personally select and collect data and give reports about what he heard. In other words, he was an eyewitness. On the other hand, for this very reason this kind of information in some cases must be considered second-hand information. The second category (knowledge drawn from earlier sources) differs from the original data because that kind of information consists of what Zhou read in previous sources (such as the sections copied from the work written by Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193)). In neither case (original data and knowledge from earlier sources) one could state without any doubt that the information provided in the text are truly accurate, the only way that scholars can better understand the level of reliability of an ancient text is by comparing it with other sources (even in other languages), with a cross-cultural perspective in order to distinguish what the author really saw or heard from what he invented or even from what he misunderstood. My attempt here is to provide new insight into Zhou's work, since it is a remarkable source for Chinese geographical knowledge during the Song dynasty. Starting from his descriptions of the two animals, I have provided a list of occurrences from earlier and later sources to underline Zhou's new contribution to the Chinese geographical concept during the Song dynasty.

Using a diachronic approach, I studied the word *peng* (or *dapeng*) and compared Zhou's description with that provided in an Arabic source two centuries earlier. In the second case-study, I analyzed how the word *yuán* has been used and has developed and how the description of the gibbon has changed through Chinese history. The use

of the word *yuan* in combination with other words and the level of accuracy of the descriptions are strictly linked to the kind of source and to the experience of the author. As I explain below, in both cases the analysis reveals Zhou's taste for exoticism, meaning any aspects depicted as foreign in the author's perspective.

Since every animal is strictly linked to its habitat and to a specific territory, this kind of study (of words indicating foreign animals and of descriptions related to the animal kingdom) can help scholars to better identify territories and to better understand what kind of geographical knowledge Chinese people had, how thorough this knowledge was and, last but not least, how the Chinese imagined and perceived the *ecumene* in ancient times.

In Zhou's work, the treatment of information about animals is twofold. In certain cases, the geographical section of a specific territory also includes a description of local animals (as in the case of the *dapeng*, described in the section focused on Kunlun Cengqi 崑崙層期 country); in other cases, he described animals in specific sections entirely dedicated to them. In these cases, Zhou provided a large amount of information about them, including the place of origin (as for the *yuan*, described in an *ad hoc* section). In both cases, we can deduce that there is a close relationship between knowledge of animals and knowledge of places.

Furthermore, although this is not the right place in which to discuss this topic, I believe that this kind of research must also investigate animal terminology from another perspective (other than the philological aspect): the cross-linguistic study of loanwords. In this context, we should take into consideration that according to Haspelmath, the animal kingdom represents one of the most suitable semantic fields for linguistic loans.³ We can then assume that it is highly likely that a word indicating a foreign animal comes from the language spoken in the

place of origin of that animal. Consequentially, studying the description of that place (including the description of animals) could lead scholars to discover remarkable analogies and correspondences, even loanwords. Studying the translation of the names of foreign animals for a language is as important as studying the names of foreign places.⁴ The growth of knowledge of foreign animals is directly proportional to the growth of knowledge about foreign lands. Studying further descriptions of the same territory (even in other languages) written earlier or in the same century could be useful in order to gain knowledge about that territory or animal. Even when the description is imprecise and unclear, comparing the list of local animals could be a valid way to identify that territory more precisely. Few systematic studies have been carried out.⁵ This gap of knowledge, together with my interest in ancient geographical works, led me to look into Chinese sources and, where possible, to check the influence of other languages over terms for animals not native to China.

The *LWDD* is divided into 10 volumes (*juan* 卷), 21 chapters (*men* 門) on various topics, organized into 294 sections (*tiao* 条).⁶ The ninth volume contains the seventeenth chapter, entitled “Qinshou men” 禽獸門 (Birds and Beasts), it is one of the longest chapters of the work, since it includes 38 sections focused on as many animals.⁷ In addition, we should bear in mind that throughout his work, Zhou mentions numerous terms linked to strange, foreign animals which were quite unknown in China. In some cases, especially in the sections “Waiguo men shang” 外國門上 and “Waiguo men xia” 外國門下 (Foreign Countries part one and Foreign Countries part two), Zhou provides a fairly accurate description of these animals. This choice demonstrates that Zhou's knowledge of animals often depends on his geographical knowledge: the wider his geographical knowledge of the country he

describes, the more detailed the description of the animals becomes. It follows that in some cases, the further away the country he describes is, the more exotic and the more mysterious the descriptions of the animals are. For example, the descriptions of the *luotuobe* 駱駝鶴 (literally camel - crane)⁸ and of the *dapeng* 大鵬 (giant bird) in the section on Kunlun Cengqi country, Kunlun Cengqi guo 崑崙層期國, or that of the *huyang* 胡羊 (a kind of goat or sheep) in the section on Mulanpi country, Mulanpi guo 木蘭皮國, all reflect a certain number of unconventional elements and undoubtedly deserve further investigation. Due to word limit, I will not discuss all the animal entries of *LWDD* one by one. In this article, I chose to approach just two animals, as already mentioned: the *dapeng* 大鵬 described in the geographical chapter “Waiguo men xia” 外國門下, and the *yuán* 猿, listed and extensively described in the chapter of animals “Qinshou men” 禽獸門.

Dapeng 大鵬

I have chosen to further analyze the animal known as the *dapeng* because Zhou's description reveals some aspects never previously mentioned in earlier Chinese sources and, maybe even more importantly, there is a correspondence between Zhou's description and an Arabic source written during the tenth century.

Two kinds of explanation could then justify my choice. First, the *dapeng*, as mirrored in Zhou's description, is permeated by an aura of myth: one of its strange characteristics (gathering water in its feathers) certainly deserves more investigation. Secondly, here, Zhou's taste for exoticism is more emphasized. Exoticism in this case meaning the quality of being unusual, coming from far away. The giant bird, as described by Zhou, comes from a very distant country, almost unknown to Chinese people in that century, and reveals many aspects unknown to the

(Chinese) imagination. For these reasons, the *dapeng* stands out from all other animals mentioned in the *LWDD*.

Zhou mentions the *dapeng*, a giant bird, only in section 45, titled “Kunlun Cengqi guo” 崑崙層期國, in English “The country of Kunlun Cengqi” (most likely identifiable with Madagascar, Zanzibar and the Eastern coast of Africa).⁹ The main features of this bird are: its large dimensions, Zhou states that if it opens its wings it could cover the sun for quite a while; killing and eating big animals, like camels; its strange ability to gather water in its feathers;¹⁰ it lives on the Eastern coast of Africa.¹¹

Among earlier Chinese sources, we find a reference to the *dapeng* even in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子.¹² In the chapter “Xiao yao you” 逍遙游 (Wandering Far and Unfettered), in the “Neipian” 內篇 (Inner Chapters), the author also mentions what we assume was the same kind of bird mentioned in *LWDD*, using the same term *peng*, and talks about its big wings, like clouds all around the sky.¹³ In the *Zhuangzi* text, there is no evidence of its ability to collect and conserve water in its big wings, but the author describes a strange correspondence between the *peng* and the large legendary fish inhabiting the Northern Ocean, the *kun* 鯤: according to this description the fish named *kun* can change into a bird named *peng*.¹⁴

We find a reference to the *peng* also in the fifth chapter of the *Liezi* 列子 (*The Book of Liezi*, fifth century BC), when the author mentions a bird, whose wings are as big as clouds.¹⁵ The *Qian Han Ji* 前漢紀 (*Annals of the former Han*, third century AD) quotes this word in the chapter titled “Xiao Wu Huangdi ji” 孝武皇帝紀 (Emperor Xiao Wu), second volume, section 11 and remarks on its boundless body (夫鷦鷯已翔於寥廓。而羅者猶視於藪澤).¹⁶

There is no entry for *peng* or *dapeng* in other early sources, as *Youyang Zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (*Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*),¹⁷ *Beihulu* 北戶錄 (*Records of the Northern Seats*),¹⁸ *Jiu*

Tangshu 舊唐書 (*The Old History of the Tang Dynasty*),¹⁹ *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (*The New History of the Tang Dynasty*).²⁰ In later texts, there are a few references, but none describe in detail what kind of bird it was.

In the *Songshi* 宋史 (*History of the Song dynasty*) we find the expression *dapengyi* 大鵬翼 as a gift in many diplomatic missions to the Chinese court.²¹ The fact that foreign countries sent the wings of this giant birds is evidence of the importance of its ability to gather water.

A reference to the *dapeng* also appears in the *Dong Xi Yang Kao* 東西洋考 (*On the Countries in the Eastern and Western Oceans*), chapter 9, “Zhoushi kao” 舟師考 (On Fleet and Navigation).²² The passage reads as follows: “Da Xing Jian belongs to the eastern part of Guangzhou administrative county. The *dapeng* lives in this territory.”²³

Zhou is probably referring to the *rokb*, the giant bird that ancient Arab geographers describe as inhabiting the area of the Eastern coast of Africa. According to Buzurg ibn Shahriyār al Ramhormuzi (ca. 900- ca. 950), in his *Ajā'ib al-Hind* (*The Marvels of India* or *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*),²⁴ this type of bird lived in the territory of Sofala in the country of Zenji (Eastern coast of Africa); it had six big feathers on each of its two wings, and each feather contained two tanks of water. There are numerous references to the *rokb* and its presence between the Island of Qomr and the East China Sea.²⁵ The giant bird described by Zhou has the same characteristics as the *rokb* mentioned in Arabic sources. The most evident similarities are its ability to collect and conserve water in one of its feathers and to eat large animals (such as elephants).²⁶ In particular, Zhou claims that it was able to store several tanks of water. Buzurg Ibn Shahriyār al Ramhormuzi writes every feather functioned as a tank holding a lot of water. The two writers use the same words to describe this special ability of the huge bird.

Although the word *peng* occurs in many

ancient Chinese works earlier than Zhou and although Chinese people were aware of the existence of this kind of large bird many centuries before him, the description provided by Zhou deserves more attention. Its value consists in the fact that thanks to Zhou's details the *peng* acquires a new meaning. The *peng* as described in the *LWDD* distances itself from traditional descriptions in earlier sources. Zhou was the first to deal with its strange, almost mythological characteristics. This was possible because of the contacts between different cultures and of the exchange of knowledge and goods through merchants and travelers.

Going beyond the symbolic value attributed to this animal (which has nothing to do with geographical texts on foreign lands),²⁷ it should be noted that there is undoubtedly a correspondence between the *LWDD* and the Arabic source written by al Ramhormuzi two centuries before Zhou. Zhou did not go abroad and certainly could not read Arabic, but he had surely heard of this giant bird. The comparison with previous Chinese sources and with Arabic sources led me to believe that the mythological and exotic aspects related to the *peng* come from some unspecified foreign travelers or merchants, who were well acquainted with the description of that animal provided by al Ramhormuzi.

Furthermore, both authors (Zhou and al Ramhormuzi) locate the *peng* in the same territory: the Eastern coast of Africa. This point can also help scholars to gain a better awareness of Chinese geographical knowledge during the twelfth century.

Yuan 猿

I have chosen to focus on the animal known as the *yuan* because its description consists of a combination of earlier knowledge about it and new information and data provided by Zhou, collected during his work in the Guangxi province, very close to the

habitat of the gibbon.

Even if the *dapeng* and the *yuan* are very different animals, the approach I have adopted in my choice matches up. According to various earlier sources, both these animals were widely known by the Chinese, but Zhou gave some valuable new insights into their characteristics. Thanks to Zhou's description, the *yuan* also assumes new meaning: some of its aspects are very similar to the characteristics of a human being, in fact Zhou highlights a particularly strong attachment between cub and mother.

As I have underlined below, other earlier sources, such as Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451) in the fifth century, quote this kind of attachment between the young gibbon and its mother, but Pei's description is focused on the hunting of gibbons and on men's reaction to the gibbon's behavior. Zhou, on the other hand, gives a better description of the characteristics of the gibbon and only touches on the activity of hunting.

Another possible objection that could lead to the importance of Zhou's work being overlooked is that it is well known that gibbons and apes are strictly linked to human evolution, and they all show similar aspects (as several recent studies of zoology have extensively demonstrated).²⁸ However, this paper intends to underline that it is surprising to find such words in a twelfth century's work. Zhou provides an innovative description, permeated by an aura of myth and exoticism, since these aspects were most likely out of Chinese common imagination during that century.

In the seventh section of the chapter "Qinshou", Zhou describes gibbons, *yuan* 猿.²⁹ In his description, he introduces three types of gibbons: "golden haired" (*jin xian zhe* 金線者), "jadelike face" (*yumian zhe* 玉面者) and "pure blacks" (*chunhei zhe* 純黑者). This section is partially copied from his predecessor's work, *Guibai Yubeng Zhi* 桂海虞衡志 (*Treatises of the Supervisor and Guardian of Cinnamon Sea*, hereafter GHYHZ), written

by Fan Chengda, friend and supervisor of Zhou.³⁰ In particular, Fan used less than 80 characters in describing the gibbons,³¹ while Zhou provides a more detailed description with more than 140 characters. The passage reads as follows:

Gibbons come in three varieties: "golden hairs" which are yellow, "jadelike face" which are black, and "pure blacks" the faces of which are also black. The golden hair and jade-face varieties are both difficult to find. Some say the pure blacks are male, while the golden hairs are female. It is also said that the male can whistle, while the female cannot.³² The young gibbon holds its mother, so tightly that it cannot be removed. When or if someone removes it, first the mother should be shot and then the baby can be removed. The baby clings on to the mother's skin and nothing can detach it from this embrace. Gibbon hunters take this into account. Gibbons by nature are not able to endure touching the ground. If they touch the ground, without fail they will develop diarrhea and die. But if one brews a concoction of monkshood juice (*fuzi zhi* 附子汁)³³ and gives it to the gibbon, it will get better immediately.³⁴ To climb a tree, they skillfully use their arms to grasp the branches and use their feet very little. Throughout the whole day they (usually) hang around in groups.³⁵

As the above description shows, Zhou wrote a rather detailed report of this well-known animal in China. As I will present in the following paragraphs, ancient Chinese scholars had already distinguished gibbons (*yuan* 猿) from monkeys (*hou* 猴) more than 2000 years before. Gibbons were treated as charismatic animals.³⁶ They are not geographically distant from the territories frequented by Zhou. Gibbons were recorded in many local gazetteers, with a much wider range compared to modern-day China: they were found as far north as Qingyang Prefecture in Gansu Province and east to Ningbo city, in Zhejiang Province.³⁷

The genus *Hylobates*, to which the three kinds of gibbons mentioned by Zhou seem to belong, is native of the area from Yunnan province, across Burma, Laos, Vietnam and Eastern Bangladesh. In particular, Yang identifies the three types of gibbons mentioned in Zhou's (and Fan's) entry with *Hylobates hooleck* (white-cheeked gibbon), *Hylobates concolor* (crested gibbon) and *Hylobates lar* (white-handed gibbon) respectively.³⁸

In my opinion, the portions that are not so greatly influenced by Fan's work are more interesting and worthy of further investigation. Except for the scientific identification and the taxonomy, Zhou also provides precious information regarding the emotional sphere of gibbons as well as their feelings about the relationship between mother and child. For several thousand years the ancient Chinese accumulated abundant knowledge on the non-human primates widely distributed in China. As Robert Hans Van Gulik (1910-1967) states, the gibbon has a long tradition in Chinese written literature. His last monograph, *Changbi yuan kao* 长臂猿考 (*The Gibbon in China: an essay on Chinese Animal Lore*), completed in 1967, systematically analyzed how the gibbon was considered in traditional Chinese culture, from the early period (Shang dynasty) until the Qing dynasty. He argued that the gibbon is depicted as taking a position of moral leadership among the monkey clans and other animals in the forests of the mountainous areas. It is considered as having a gentle attitude, similar to traditional Chinese scholar-officials, *shidaifu* 士大夫.³⁹ In this role, the gibbon shows its feelings towards its mother, embracing her even after death without letting go, considered a clear example of its love and sorrow. Other early evidence of how Chinese literature describes the noble character of the gibbon and its strong attachment (sometimes dependence) to its mother is the quotation of Pei Songzhi, in his annotations to the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*), chapter "Deng zhi zhuan" 鄧芝傳

(Biography of the official Deng Zhi).⁴⁰ Pei Songzhi mentions an extract of the *Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 (*Chronicles of Huayang or Annals of Huayang country*), chapter "Ba zhi" 巴志 (On the territory of Ba).⁴¹ The passage reads as follows:

When Zhi (the official Deng Zhi) saw a gibbon embracing its baby on a tree, he stretched his crossbow to kill them, aiming at the mother. Her baby pulled the arrow (from the wound) and using the leaves from a tree, staunched the wound. (At this point) Zhi sighed and threw the crossbow in the water, he was aware that he deserved to die (because of his action).⁴²

In his description Zhou does not provide any information about the gibbon's call. But in early sources many authors frequently refer to the gibbon's sad call.⁴³ Due to space limit, I have provided only a few examples of ancient sources in which the gibbon's call is reported.

In the *Beibulu*, section 12 titled "Feiyuan" 緋猿 (The red gibbon),⁴⁴ we find quite a detailed description of the red gibbon and its call. The passage reads as follows:

Gonglu (name of the author), during the tenth year of Xiantong (in the reign of emperor Yizong, 869), toward Gaoliang, named also as city of Qingshan. In these mountains there are a lot of gibbons: bright yellow and red gibbons, this type is the biggest one, the color of their coat is rich (brilliant) and fresh (vivid), which is why they are called marvelous beasts. Gibbons belong to the category of *jujue naoyou* 狙獲獠猿 (狃) (a kind of large monkey of West China). They are white (*qingbai* 青白), black or yellow (*yuanhuang* 元黃). How can they compare with those of the same clan? This kind of gibbon could subdue (*fu* 伏) mice, they (usually) move in groups. Some gibbons have a sad, sorrowful and mournful cry (*qi ru gan pi* 妻入肝脾).⁴⁵ It sounds like a lament, and it can be compared to the call of a lone frog!⁴⁶

Another relevant example of the gibbon's call (or hoo) and the sadness it evokes, can be found in various poems written by Li Bai 李白 (701–762), the greatest poet of the Tang dynasty (618–910), in which he uses the animal's call to recall the emotions and spiritual insights of life. In the poem “Xun shan seng buyu zuo” 尋山僧不遇作 (Looking for a monk without finding him), Li Bai accentuates the imagery of the poet in a lonely place, a place in which everything seems to be in vain and at the end of the poem he mentions the gibbon's grief (*yuan ai* 猿哀).⁴⁷

There is no entry for *yuan* 猿 (the same character used by Zhou) in the *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (hereafter *SWJZ*).⁴⁸ But it reports the character *yuan* 猿 twice, first in the section number 10, titled “Shubu” 鼠部 (Radical of Mouse), second in the section number 13 titled “Chongbu” 虫部 (Radical of Insect). In the first case, the animal is described like a mouse, but it is a kind of gibbon, with a black coat and white belly, with long white hair on its hands as if it were holding a plate.⁴⁹ The description contained in section 13 is shorter and states that *yuan* 猿 can climb and belongs to the category of *yu* 禺, literally spider-monkey.⁵⁰

The *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the grand Historian*), written by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (circa 145–86 BCE) during the Western Han (206 BCE–8 CE) mentions the character *yuan* 猿 twice. In the chapter “Li Jiangjun Liezhuan” 李將軍列傳 (Biographical treatise on Li Guang), the author mentions the long arms of the gibbons, he says that Li Guang is tall and has long arms like gibbons, and he can shoot arrows.⁵¹ In the Biography of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如列傳 (Biographical treatise on Sima Xiangru), section “Zixu fu” 子虛賦, Sima Qian in describing a place and its mythological and legendary animals says that there is also a red gibbon (*chiyuan qu(jue) ru* 赤猿蠟蜎).⁵² This expression *qu(jue)ru* 蠟蜎 brings to mind the terms used by Duan Gonglu in the *Beibulu*: *jujue naoyou* 狙獲獠猱.

The character *qu(jue)* 蠟 – denoting several words such as a kind of macaque (*mibou* 獼猴) or a kind of insect called *qu* 蠟蜎, i. e. earwig⁵³ – shares the *ju* (or *qu*) 瞿 element, i. e. double eye (*mu* 目) and short-tailed bird (*shui* 隹), with the character *jue* 獲. While *ru* 蜎 and *nao* 獠 are different only for the radicals: respectively *chong* 虫 (worm) and *quan* 犴 (dog). This topic deserves to be investigated further, but this is not the right place to analyze it.

Duan Chengshi 段成式 (? – 863) in his *YYZZ* mentions the character *yuan* 猿⁵⁴ many times but in my opinion the most interesting entries are in chapter 1, “Zhongzhi” 忠志 (Loyalty) and in chapter 4, “Jing Yi” 境異 (Oddities of the Borders). In the first case he describes the tribute presented by foreign countries to the Tang emperor, highlighting the unusual qualities of the tribute items. He mentions the gibbon when dealing with Guligan country, Guligan guo 骨利干國.⁵⁵

In the second case, in part one of chapter 4 he describes different customs or unusual ancestry of various non-Chinese peoples and mentions the gibbon when referring to Pomilan country, Pomilan guo 婆弥烂国. The author says that in the country of Pomilan there is a mountain, and on this mountain, there are many gibbons (*yuan* 猿), which are very large. After the beginning of the spring period, this country collects military equipment, and fights against gibbons.⁵⁶

The *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 (*Imperial overview from the Taiping reign, 976–983*)⁵⁷ mentions *yuan* 猿 in chapter 53 and the author Li Fang uses the expression: “yuan ming san sheng 猿鳴三聲” referring to the call of the gibbon. The passage reads as follows: “then the fisherman's song says: ‘in the territory of Badong in the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River, the Wu Gorge is the longest one, there you can hear the gibbon's call three times, their (desolate or sorrowful) call makes people cry until their clothes get wet’”. The above passage has been extracted from the work *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注 (*Commentary on the*

Water Classic), chapter “Sanxia” 三峡 (Three Gorges) written by the geographer Li Dao-yuan 郦道元 (ca 470-527) during the Northern Bei dynasty.⁵⁸

In the *Xin Tangshu* the author uses the term *yuan* 猿 several times, in combination with the word *bi* 臂 (arm) or the word *you* 狷 (狷): *yuanbi* 猿臂 to indicate the long arm, a typical characteristic of the *yuan*, *yuanyou* 猿狷 (狷) on the other hand, indicates a kind of animal, more specifically a type of black, long-tailed ape. In detail, in the *Liezhuan* 58 (列传第五十八), we find the description of the famous general of the Tang dynasty, Guo Zhiyun 郭知运 (667-721), known also as Feng Shi 逢时, who came from the territory of Guazhou, Jinchang, today Gansu province, Suoyang city. The author also describes his physical appearance, saying that he is 7 *chi* tall, has long arms like a gibbon and, literally, a tiger’s mouth. The expression “*yuan bi hu kou* 猿臂虎口” could refer to a sturdy, strong, resolute and brave person.⁵⁹

In addition, in the *Liezhuan* 93, portion focused on the Tang poet Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 (772-842), we find the reference to the place where the *yuanyou* lives. The assistant of the censor-in-chief (*yushi zhongcheng* 御史中丞)⁶⁰ Pei Du 裴度 (765-839) explains that the territory of Bo 播, in today’s Guizhou province), where the *yuanyou* lives, was extremely far away.⁶¹

Another interesting reference to the *yuanyou* can be found in the *Liezhuan* 列传 147 (second part), titled “Nan Man xia” 南蠻下 (Southern Barbarians part two), where the author describes the non-Han people known as *Dong Xie* 東謝 (due to their chief’s surname Xie), living in today’s north-eastern border of Guizhou province. In describing the clothes of this non-Han people, he says that their men usually wear a short shirt, flared trousers, with a belt hanging from the right shoulder, variously decorated with shells, tiger or leopard, *yuanyou* (big gibbon).⁶²

The *Songsbi* also refers to the *yuanbi* 猿

臂, when describing the general Jie Yuan 解元 (1098-1142), known as Shan Chang 善长, who launched a military action from the camp of De Qing 德清 in Bao’an Jun (a city founded in 977 in today’s Shanxi province Zhidan county). According to *Songsbi*’s description, he had sparse eyebrows and handsome eyes, the arms of a gibbon, and was able to ride a horse and shoot arrows.⁶³

In the *Songsbi* we find the term *yuan-nao* 猿獠 twice, probably to indicate a type of monkey. In both cases, the animal term has been used in a comparative phrase: in the *Liezhuan* 列传 252, “Man Yi Yi” 蛮夷一 (Barbarian people part one) there is the simile: agile as a monkey. In the *Liezhuan* 列传 255, “Man Yi Si” 蛮夷四 (Barbarian people part four) the author compares the dark complexion of the non-Han people with the dark color of the monkey.⁶⁴

It would be interesting to investigate the difference between *yuanyou* (as found in the *Xin Tangshu*) and *yuanna* as written in the *Songsbi*, but due to space limit I cannot deal with this topic in the present article.

In the *Yuanshi* 元史 (*History of the Yuan dynasty*) the term *yuan* 猿 occurs many times.⁶⁵ The description of Mukhali (1170-1223), in Chinese Mu Huali 木華黎, the Mongol general who became a trusted and esteemed commander under Genghis Khan, deserves attention. The compilers of the dynastic history wrote that Mukhali was 7 *chi* tall, with a tiger’s head, curly beard, and a dark complexion. He was calm, clever, had the arms of a gibbon and could shoot arrows.⁶⁶ The same phrase is also quoted many centuries earlier in the *Shiji* when Sima Qian describes Li Guang. Sima Qian writes that Li Guang is tall and has long arms like a gibbon and that he can shoot arrows.⁶⁷

In later sources, as the *Ben cao gang mu* 本草綱目 (*Compendium of Materia Medica*) (hereafter BCGM)⁶⁸ and the *DXYK*, although the term *yuan* 猿 appears many times, neither Li Shizhen 李时珍 (1518-1593) nor Zhang Xie 張燮 (1574-1640) focused on it

or provided further details. There is only an interesting occurrence that, in my opinion, is worth mentioning. In the second chapter on Beasts in the *BCGM* (*Shou zhi er* 獸之二), Li Shizhen writes that some people say otters (*ta* 獺) do not have females, they use gibbons as females, then it is said that as soon as otters hear the gibbon's lament they start looking (for the female).⁶⁹ The above passage shows that in the XVI century there was still misleading and vague information about gibbons.

From the above sources it is clear that the term *yuan* 猿 has often been used in combination with the word *bi* 臂, arm, as characteristic of a person, and having *yuan-bi* 猿臂 for a person involves being able to shoot arrows. Two other aspects related to gibbons are frequent in the above sources: its climbing ability and the sound of its (sad) call or hoo. However, the more recent the source, the less frequent become the references to the sad call of the gibbon.

The gibbon is not the only kind of ape (or monkey) that Zhou mentions in his work, in the chapter *Qinshou* section 213, he describes the monkey called *wei* 雌 (鵙).⁷⁰ Due to page limitations, a more detailed study of this animal will not be given here. However, since Zhou's description reveals fascinating aspects of this animal,⁷¹ I will certainly study its origin and its use in other ancient sources.

The taste for exoticism demonstrated by Zhou's descriptions of animals is two-fold: on the one hand it shows a sort of attraction for what is different and almost incomprehensible to Chinese readers, coming from foreign countries, far away from the Chinese empire, as in the *dapeng* case-study; on the other hand, it demonstrates a growing consciousness of new aspects of a well-known animal, which take on new and uncommon characteristics more and more similar to that of a human being, as in the *yuan* case-study.

In addition, Zhou's descriptions reveal

a notable aura of myth: first, the *dapeng* bird has two unbelievable abilities (gathering water and eating large animals) typical of mythological creatures. We do not know whether Zhou believed this information, but we can assume that he was ready to believe it, given his lack of knowledge about remote countries. Second, the *yuan* is described as having both animal and human aspects. It is not a mythological creature, but Zhou introduced unusual and odd details in his description, not typical of animals. In this way, the *yuan* becomes a sort of fabulous creature halfway between man and animal.

Hence, it is essential to bear in mind that when Zhou and other ancient Chinese writers mention an animal not native to China, they may not always be talking about that animal *per se*. Every piece of information is permeated by a veil of mystery, myth and peculiarity, since few ancient writers had the opportunity to travel abroad and to see these animals with their own eyes. However, this point should not detract from the value and the authority of Zhou's work, as it remains one of the most relevant works as regards the geographical and zoological knowledge of the Chinese during the Song empire. Although it is full of inconsistencies, it provides us with elements never written before, which deserve to be analyzed and compared with other sources.

Main Bibliographical References

Almonte, Victoria, "The Arab influence on Zhou Qufei: Bosiguo and Kunlun Cengqiguo", in *Journal of Asian History* 54, 1 (2020), pp. 63-105.

Almonte, Victoria, *The historical value of the Lingwai Daida*, Canterano, Aracne, 2020.

Bocci, Chiara and Roderich Ptak, "The Entries on Birds in Liu Xun's Lingbiao lu yi", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 102 (2016), pp. 297-352

Duan Chengshi 段成式, Du Cong 杜聰, *Yonyang* 酉阳杂俎, Lishi Biji ming-

zhu congshu, Jinan, Qishu shushe, 2007.

Geissmann, Thomas “Gibbon paintings in China, Japan, and Korea: historical distribution, production rate and context”, in *Gibbon Journal* 4 (2008), pp. 1–38.

Liu Liang, “Luntan shi zhongde ‘yuan’ yixiang” 论唐诗中的“猿”意象 (Image of apes in poems of Tang Dynasty), in *Journal of Chinese Verse Studies* 22 (2008), pp. 41–46.

Ptak, Roderich, *Birds and Beasts in Chinese Texts and Trade: Lectures Related to South China and the Overseas World*, Maritime Asia 22, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2011.

Song Lian 宋濂, and Wang Yi 王禕, *Yuan-shi 元史 (History of the Yuan dynasty)*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1976.

Steerckx, Roel, Martina Siebert, and Dagmar Schäfer, *Animals through Chinese History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Tuo Tuo 脱脱, *Songsbi 宋史 (History of the Song dynasty)*, Shanghai, Zhonghua Shuju, 1977.

Van Gulik, Robert Hans, *The Gibbon in China: an essay in Chinese animal Lore*, Leiden, Brill, 1967.

Yang Wuquan 杨武泉, *Lingwai Daida jiaozhu 岭外代答校注*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1999.

Zhang Peng, “Good gibbons and evil macaques: a historical review on cognitive features of non-human primates in Chinese traditional culture”, in *Primates* 56 (2015), pp. 215–225.

Zhang Xie 张燮, Xie Fang 谢方, *Dong Xi Yang Kao 东西洋考*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 2000.

Notes

¹ The present paper can be considered a sort of continuation of the previous article, published on the *Selected Papers 4*, after the XVII Conference of Italian Association of Chinese Studies (AISC), held in Venice in September 2019. Victoria Almonte, “Investigation on some animals as mentioned

by Zhou Qufei in the *Lingwai Daida* (1178): the perception of exotic features” (Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2022), forthcoming. In this paper I presented and discussed at some length on *buyang* 胡羊, a kind of sheep/goat, and on *tianma* 天馬, the celestial horse. Both these papers should be inserted into a wider research field, related to the study of Chinese geographical knowledge during the Tang and the Song dynasties, and to the investigation of the way in which contacts between Chinese and non-Han people have led to an outstanding growth of the Chinese knowledge. See Angela Schottenhammer, “Guangzhou as China’s Gate to the Indian Ocean: The Importance of Iranian and Arab Merchant Networks for Long Distance Maritime Trade during the Tang-Song Transition (c. 750–c.1050)”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 76 (2016), pp. 155–172.

² For a detailed discussion on Zhou’s sources see Yang Wuquan 杨武泉, *Lingwai Daida jiaozhu 岭外代答校注* (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1999), pp. 7–10. Victoria Almonte, *The historical value of the Lingwai Daida* (Canterano, Aracne, 2020), p. 38.

³ See Martin Haspelmath, and Uri Tadmor, *Loanwords in the world’s languages: a comparative handbook* (Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton, 2009). He also states that: A) lexical items are more likely to be borrowed than grammatical items; see Edith A. Moravcsik, “Reduplicative Constructions”, in J. H. Greenberg, et al. (ed.), *Universals of Human Language*, Volume 3: Word Structure (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1978), pp. 297–334; B) nouns (such as animal names) are borrowed more than any other grammatical form due to their greater referential power; see Carol Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002) and Roeland Van Hout, Pieter Muysken, “Modeling Lexical Borrowability” in *Language Variation and Change* 6, 1 (1994), pp. 39–62; C) high-frequency items (known as basic vocabulary or core vocabulary) are

resistant to other types of language change. See Martin Haspelmath, *Language Typology and Language Universals an International Handbook 1* (Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton, 2008).

⁴ Other systematic cross-linguistic study of loanwords, as that yielded by Brown for 292 Native American languages (Cecil H. Brown, *Lexical Acculturation in Native American Languages*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999) or the *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* compiled by Tyron (Darrel T. Tyron, *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary*, Berlin and New York, Mouton De Gruyter, 1995), highlighted that terms for animals tend to show greater loan scores compared to any other word.

⁵ For bibliographical details see Federico Masini, *The formation of modern Chinese lexicon and its evolution toward a national language: the period from 1840-1898* (Berkeley, University of California, 1993); Chiara Bocci, *Bibliographie zur Tierwelt im alten China* (Institut für Sinologie Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2010); Chiara Bocci and Roderich Ptak, “The Entries on Birds in Liu Xun’s *Lingbiao lu yi*”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 102 (2016), pp. 297-352; Roderich Ptak, *Birds and Beasts in Chinese Texts and Trade: Lectures Related to South China and the Overseas World* (Maritime Asia, 22, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2011); Roel Sterckx, Martina Siebert, and Dagmar Schäfer, *Animals through Chinese History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁶ For a more accurate overview on *LWDD*’s content apparatus and structure see Almonte, *The historical value*, p. 58.

⁷ The section titled “Qinshou” 禽獸 (Birds and Beasts) contained 38 entries, as follows: 1. *Xiang* 象, 2. *Hu* 虎, 3. *Tianma* 天馬, 4. *Manma* 蠻馬, 5. *Guoxiama* 果下馬, 6. *Manquan* 蠻犬, 7. *Yuan* 猿, 8. *Bailu* 白鹿, 9. *Wei* 雉, 10. *Renxiong* 人熊, 11. *Shanzhu* 山豬, 12. *Huayang* 花羊, 13. *Mianyang* 綿羊, 14. *Dali* 大狸, 15. *Fengli* 風狸, 16. *Yangshu* 仰鼠, 17.

Xiangshu 香鼠, 18. *Shishu* 石鼠, 19. *Shexiang* 麝香, 20. *Lanfu* 懶婦, 21. *Shanta* 山獺, 22. *Shanfenghuang* 山鳳凰, 23. *Kongque* 孔雀, 24. *Yingwu* 鸚鵡, 25. *Wufeng* 烏鳳, 26. *Qinjiliao* 秦吉了, 27. *Feicui* 翡翠, 28. *Yan* 鴈, 29. *Lingwu* 靈鶻, 30. *Guzao* 骨噪, 31. *Zhen* 鳩, 32. *Chunchong* 春虫, 33. *Chunzi* 鶉子, 34. *Donji* 鬪雞, 35. *Changmingji* 長鳴雞, 36. *Chaoji* 潮雞, 37. *Zhenji* 枕雞, 38. *Fanmaoji* 翻毛雞. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, pp. 345-383. Throughout the whole article I used the Chinese version edited by Yang Wuquan, as mentioned in note 3.

⁸ I do not deal with this animal in the present article. For references see Victoria Almonte, “The Arab influence on Zhou Qufei: Bosiguo and Kunlun Cengqiguo”, in *Journal of Asian History* 54, 1 (2020), pp. 92-93. Here I dealt with some remarkable aspects that demonstrate how Zhou Qufei was influenced by the Arab geographical concept during the ancient times. See also Roderich Ptak, *Birds and Beasts*, p. 47.

⁹ Yang, *LWDD*, p. 113. Also Zhao Rukuo 趙汝适 (1170-1231) mentions this animal. His description is entirely copied from Zhou’s description. Zhao Rukuo describes the territory to the east of the Indian Ocean in more detail. In his work there are four sections focused on the Eastern coasts of Africa: Cengba, Pibaluo, Zhongli and Kunlun Cengqi. The last section is a complete copy of Zhou’s section, with only a few changes. The first section, Cengba, is the main island of the present-day Zanzibar archipelago, while Pibaluo and Zhongli both indicate the Somali coast from north to south. See Friedrich Hirth and William Woodville Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1966), p. 149. Feng Chengjun 冯承钧, *Xiyu Diming* 西域地名 (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1980), p. 107, under the entry Zanzibar. Feng Chengjun, *Zhufanzhi Jiaozhu* 诸蕃志校注 (Quanzhou Wenku,

Shanghai, Shanghai Cishu chubanshe, 2011), p. 55. Idrīsī states that Zenj people used to adore the Arabs coming from Yemen and Oman. Arab sailors and merchants usually took advantage of this veneration, enticing them and then selling them as slaves in their ports. Amédée Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi I* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1836), pp. 58-59.

¹⁰ Literally Zhou says: if you happen to find the wing of a great bird, you can make water buckets by cutting off its quills.

¹¹ The Chinese text reads as follows: 常有大鵬飛，蔽日移晷。有野駱駝，大鵬遇則吞之。或拾鵬翅，截其管，堪作水桶。 See Yang, *LWDD*, p. 113.

¹² It is hard to say when the *Zhuangzi* was written, probably between the fourth and the third century BC.

¹³ Please see the English translation provided by Brook Ziporyn, *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, (Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis, 2019), p. 3.

¹⁴ See the English translation by Ziporyn, in the note above. And James Hargett, “Whales in Ancient China”, in R. Ptak (ed.), *Maritime Animals in Traditional China: Studies in Cultural History*, Maritime Asia 21 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2010), p. 97. The Chinese version is the following: 北冥有魚，其名為鯤。鯤之大，不知其幾千里也。化而為鳥，其名為鵬。鵬之背，不知其幾千里也；怒而飛，其翼若垂天之雲。 For the Chinese extract, see Sun Tonghai 孫通海, *Zhuangzi 莊子*, (Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 2007), p. 4.

¹⁵ See the English translation provided by Angus Charles Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu, A Classic of the Tao*, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1990), p. 98.

¹⁶ I did not find an English translation of this portion. For the Chinese see Xu Yue 荀悅, *Qian Han Ji - sanshi juan 前漢紀 - 三十卷*, Sibū congkan chubian 四部叢刊初編, Shanghai shangwu Yinshuguan 上海商務印書館, Suoyin Wuxi Sunshi Xiaolu

Tian Cangming kanben 縮印無錫孫氏小綠天藏明刊本, volume 11, *Xiao Wu Huangdi ji* (chapter 2) 孝武皇帝紀 (二卷), dishiyi (section 11) 第十一, p. 83.

¹⁷ The *Youyang Zazu* (hereafter *YYZZ*) was written in 850 ca by Duan Chengshi (died 863), an erudite scholar and traveler who lived during the Tang dynasty (618-907). The work includes over thirteen hundred entries about varied topics regarding the world that Duan had heard of, read about, or observed in first person. See Carrie E. Reed, “Motivation and Meaning of a ‘Hodge-podge’”: Duan Chengshi’s *Youyang Zazu*”, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, 1 (2003), pp. 121-145. See also Carrie E. Reed, *A Tang Miscellany, an Introduction to Youyang Zazu* (New York, Peter Lang, 2003).

¹⁸ The *Beibulu* (*Records of the Northern Seats*) is a description of plants, animals, and local customs of Southern China, in particular the region called Lingnan 嶺南, written by Duan Gonglu (ca. 768- ca. 888) in 871. It is 3 chapters (scrolls) long and contains information about more than 20 different plants and more than 20 animals, typical of the Beixianghu 北嚮戶 region, the area of five mountains between the provinces of Hunan, Jiangxi, Guilin and Guangdong.

¹⁹ The *Jiu Tangshu* (hereafter *JTS*) is the first official dynastic history of the Tang dynasty, compiled during the rule of the Later Jin *Hou Jin* (936-946), one of the Five Dynasties *Wudai* (907-960). It is 200 chapters long. The name *Jiu Tangshu* was given after the publication of the *Xin Tangshu*, completed in 1060.

²⁰ The *Xin Tangshu* (hereafter *XTS*) is the second official dynastic history of the Tang dynasty. It was written in 17 years by a team under the supervision of Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) and Song Qi (998-1061) and was submitted to the throne in 1060. It is 225 chapters long.

²¹ The *Songsbi* is the official dynastic history of the Song dynasty (960-1279). It consists of 496 chapters (scrolls) and was

compiled by a team headed by Tuotuo 脫脫 (1314-1356), from 1343 to 1345. The sections in which the term *dapengyi* 大鵬翼 occurs are: *Benji* 5本紀第五, *Liezhuan* 18列傳第十八, *Liezhuan* 19列傳第十九, *Liezhuan* 31列傳第三十一, *Liezhuan* 34列傳第三十四, *Liezhuan* 82列傳第八十二. See Tuo Tuo 脫脫, *Songsbi* 宋史 (*History of the Song dynasty*) (Shanghai, Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), pp. 75, 8997, 9013, 9303, 9367, 10455.

²² The *Dong xi yang kao* (*On the Countries in the Eastern and Western Oceans*) (hereafter *DXYK*) is a geographical work of 12 volumes written by Zhang Xie (1574-1640), during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Its importance lies not only in his description of foreign countries but also in the precise information about taxes and tributes coming from these countries through overseas trade. I consulted the following version: Zhang Xie 張燮, Xie Fang 謝方, *Dong Xi Yang Kao* 東西洋考 (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 2000).

²³ The Chinese version as follows: 大星尖屬廣州東管縣。其內為大鵬所。See Zhang Xie, *DXYK*, p. 172.

²⁴ Buzurg Ibn Shahriyār al Ramhormuzi was a Muslim traveler of the 10th century, who is said to have completed a collection of narratives from Muslim sailors based in Siraf, Oman, Basra and elsewhere. The collection is titled *Ajā'ib al Hind* (*Wonders of India*). See Louis Marcel Devis, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde, par le capitaine Bozorg fils de Chabriyār de Rambormoz* (Leiden, Brill, 1883-1886), French edition of *Kitab al-'ajā'ib al-Hind*, with Arab text ed. By P.A. van der Lith, p. 178. I read the French and the Arabic text provided by Devis, this is the reason why I inserted the French translation of the title. Unfortunately, the more recent English translation of this work, translated by Freeman and Greville, was not available to me. Grenville Freeman and Stewart Parker Greville, *The Book of the Wonders of India: Mainland, Sea, and Islands* (London, East-West, 1981).

²⁵ Marco Polo mentions this bird and

states that it comes from Madagascar. See Louis Marcel Devis, *Le pays des Zendjs, ou la Côte orientale d'Afrique au Moyen-Age: géographie, mœurs, productions, animaux légendaires d'après les écrivains arabes* (Paris, Hachette, 1883-1886) translation edited by Alberto Arecchi, 2008, p. 143.

²⁶ For the Arabic account, please see Devis, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 178.

²⁷ Following a useful suggestion of a reviewer I read Schuessler, Axel, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 238 and 410-411. *Peng* has been related to 風 (OC **plum*, “wind”). And also to 鳳 (OC **bums*, “male fenghuang”) by Wang Li's *Tongyuan zhi dian* 同源字典 (*Dictionary of Word Families*), Beijing, Commercial Press, 1982, pp. 408-409. The phonophoric 朋 (OC **bu:ŋ*) was erroneously associated by the *Shuowen jiezi* to an ancient form of 鳳 “phoenix”. Ziporyn, indeed, in his translation of the *Zhuangzi* states that the name *peng* 鵬 is cognate (phonophoric, sound bearing) with *feng* 鳳, meaning “phoenix”, a mythical bird of enormous proportions. Ziporyn affirms that the phonetic of the form used by *Zhuangzi* is the character *peng* 朋, meaning “friend” or “peer”. If we wished to render the visual pun, we might translate the name as “peer phoenix”. Ziporyn, *Zhuangzi*, p. 3.

²⁸ Just two examples of some references: K. Semendeferi et alii, “The Evolution of the frontal lobes: a volumetric analysis based on three-dimensional reconstructions of magnetic resonance scans of human and ape brains”, in *Journal of Human Evolution*, vol. 32, 4 (1997), pp. 375-388. Or Wendy Dirks, “Histological reconstruction of dental development and age at death in a juvenile gibbon (*Hylobates lar*)”, in *Journal of Human Evolution*, vol. 35, 4-5 (1998), pp. 411-425.

²⁹ Yang, *LWDD*, p. 352.

³⁰ Fan Chengda was a poet and a government official of the Song dynasty, he was considered an academic authority on geogra-

phy, especially of China's southern provinces. For a detailed overview on Fan's life and work see James M. Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor and guardian of the Cinnamon Sea* (Seattle, University of Washington, 2010), introduction, pp. XV and XXX. This work had a strong influence on Zhou's work. For a comparison between Zhou's and Fan's geographical works see Almonte, *The Value*, pp. 72-82.

³¹ Fan's section reads as follows: 猿，有三种：金丝者黄，玉面者黑，纯黑者面亦黑。金丝、玉面皆难得。或云纯黑者雄，金丝者雌。又云雄能啸，雌不能也。猿性不耐著地，著地辄泻以死，煎附子汁饮之即愈。For the English translation see Hargett, *The Supervisor*, p. 76.

³² Until this point Zhou copied verbatim Fan's description.

³³ Hargett presumes that the *fuzi zhi* was produced from an extract of the root of the *fuzi* plant, mentioned by Fan and Zhou also in the section *chenshui xiang* 沉水香 (Sinking in water aromatic). See Hargett, *The Supervisor*, p. 76 n. 37 and p. 37 n. 12, and Yang, *LWDD*, p. 241. The term *fuzi* is used for the herbs of the genus *Aconitum*.

³⁴ From "Gibbon by nature" until this point, Zhou again copied verbatim Fan's section. But the following portion is directly provided by Zhou.

³⁵ The English translation is mine. The Chinese version as follows: 猿有三种：金线者黄，玉面者黑，纯黑者面亦黑。金线、玉面皆难得。或云纯黑者雄，金线者雌，又云雄能啸，雌不能也。子能抱持其母，牢不可拆，人取之，射杀其母，取其子，子犹抱母皮不释。猎猿者，可以戒也！猿性不耐著地，著地辄泻（泻）以死。煎附子汁与之，即止。登木好以两臂攀枝上，不甚用足，终日蒙蒙然。

³⁶ Zhang Peng, "Good gibbons and evil macaques: a historical review on cognitive features of non-human primates in Chinese traditional culture", in *Primates* 56 (2015), pp. 215-225.

³⁷ See Gao Yaoting, Wen Huanran,

He Yeneng, "The change of historical distribution of Chinese gibbons (*Hylobates*)", in *Zoological Research* 2 (1981), pp. 1-7. Zhang, R.Z., Quan, G.Q., Zhao, T.G., Charles H. Southwick, "Distribution of primates (except *Macaca*) in China", in *Acta Theriologica Sinica* 12, 2 (1992), pp. 81-95. Zhou Yunhui, Zhang Peng, "Distribution and vicissitude of gibbons (*Hylobatidae*) in China during the last 500 years", in *Acta Theriologica Sinica* 33 (2013), pp. 258-266. Samuel T. Turvey, Jennifer J. Crees, Martina M.I. Di Fonzo, "Historical data as a baseline for conservation: reconstructing long-term faunal extinction dynamics in Late Imperial-modern China", in *Proceedings of the Royal Society, Biological Sciences*, 2015, open access, available at <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2015.1299>. They have been able to analyze the historical distribution of gibbons in China. Also Fan Pengfei, "The past, present and future of gibbons in China", in *Biological Conservation* 210, part B (2017), pp. 29-39.

³⁸ See Yang, *LWDD*, p. 352 n. 1, Hargett, *The Supervisor*, p. 75 n. 36. Almut Nentolisky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'u-fei: e. Landeskunde Sudchinas aus d. 12 Jb* (Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1977), pp. 163-164. Mark Yuryevich (Марк Юрьевич Ульянов, tr.), *Za Khrebtami. Vmesto otvetov (Ling Wai Dai Da) Za Xrebtami. Vmesto otvetov (Лин вай дай да)*. (Moscow, Izdatelskaya firma "Vostochnaya literatura" RAN, 2001), p. 264. Van Gulik disagrees with this identification, see Robert Hans Van Gulik, *The Gibbon in China: an essay in Chinese animal Lore* (Leiden, Brill, 1967), p. 90.

³⁹ See Van Gulik, *The Gibbon*, p. 33. Van Gulik provided a very extensive study on the gibbon and its image in literature, he mentions several examples of poems and other literary genres in which the gibbon symbolizes and carries human sentiments such as anxiety or excitement, such as Bao Zhao's poem (ca. 415-466 CE), or Tao Qian's poem (365-427 BCE), (see Van Gulik, *The Gibbon* p. 52), or reflects the Dao-

ist adoration of nature as well as the sound of nature itself, especially in Li Bai's poems (701–62 CE) (see Van Gulik, *The Gibbon*, pp. pp. 60 and following).

⁴⁰ Yang, in his note on this section, reports this quotation. See Yang, *LWDD*, p. 353 n. 3. The *Sanguo zhi* is a Chinese historical work that covers the period from the late Eastern Han dynasty (184–220 CE) and the Three Kingdoms period (220–280 CE). It was completed in the third century by Chen Shou. During the fifth century Pei Songzhi edited and annotated Chen Shou's work using a large variety of other sources. The chapter *Deng zhi zhuan* was named after the government official and military general of the state of Shu Han (in the area of present-day Sichuan and Chongqing) during the Three Kingdoms period, Deng Zhi.

⁴¹ The *Huayang Guo zhi* could be considered the oldest gazetteer of Sichuan (Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀), a region of China, placed of the upper course of the river Han (Hanzhong 漢中) and south into the modern province of Guizhou (Nanzhong 南中). It was compiled by Chang Qu 常璩 (c. 291–361), during the Jin dynasty (266–420), and comprises 12 chapters, containing not only information about Sichuan's history, but also geography, customs and habits, administration and local tales. See Zhang Yong 张勇, "Chang Qu Huanyang Tongzhi yanjiu gaisu" 常璩《华阳国志》研究概述 (Summary of Research on *Huayang Kingdom Records* by Chang Qu), in *Zhongguo defang zhi* 中国地方志 (China Local Records), Sichuan Waiyuoyu Daxue Shehui xuexi 4 (2016), pp. 22–27.

⁴² The English translation is mine. The Chinese extract reads as follows: 芝見猿抱子在樹上，引弩射之，中猿母。其子為拔箭，以木葉塞創。芝乃嘆息，投弩水中，自知當死。The third character 猿 is different from that used by Zhou: *yuán* 猿 instead of 猿, with the same pinyin. See Chang Qu 常璩, commented by Liu Lin 刘琳, *Huayang Guozhi jiaozhu* 《华阳国志校

注》, (Ba Shu Shushe, Chengdu, 1984 and 2007), pp. 16–18.

⁴³ Van Gulik, *The Gibbon*, p. 52. He states the gibbon's call was often related to sadness and loneliness. The rhythmic loud songs can easily be detected by humans, and they were well documented in Chinese poetry (Liu Liang, "Luntan shi zhongde 'yuan' yixiang" 论唐诗中的"猿"意象 (Image of apes in poems of Tang Dynasty), in *Journal of Chinese Verse Studies* 22 (2008), pp. 41–46), paintings (Thomas Geissmann, "Gibbon paintings in China, Japan, and Korea: historical distribution, production rate and context", in *Gibbon Journal* 4 (2008), pp. 1–38) and local gazetteers (Gao, et al., "The change", pp. 1–7. Zhang, et al., "Distribution of primates", pp. 81–95. Zhou, et al., "Distribution and vicissitude", pp. 258–266. Turvey, et al., "Historical data", open access).

⁴⁴ Duan Gonglu uses the same character used by Zhou: *yuán* 猿.

⁴⁵ The expression *qi ru gan pi* 凄入肝脾 is a typical Chinese idiom, it comes from a song, titled *Yu Wei Wendi jian* 与魏文帝笺, written by the scholar Po Qin 繁钦 (?–218), known also as Xiu Bo 休伯, during the period of the Three Kingdoms (220–265). The Chinese text is the following: 咏北狄之遐征，奏胡马之长思，凄入肝脾，哀感顽艳。

⁴⁶ The English translation is mine. The Chinese extract reads as follows: 緋猿：公路，咸通十年，往高涼，程次青山鎮，其山多猿，有黃緋者，緋者絕大，毛彩般鮮，真謂奇獸。夫猿則狙獼獠狽（狽）之類，其色多傳青白元黃而已，今則豈可窮其族類與。其猿能伏鼠，多群行，猿善啼者，其音淒（淒）入肝脾。方知當一部鼓吹，豈獨蛙聲然哉！See the Chinese Text Project at <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=96524>.

⁴⁷ Li Bai was one of the most prolific poets of the Tang dynasty. See *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1985, volume 6, p. 1854. The whole text of the

poem is the following.

石径入丹壑，松门闭青苔。
闲阶有鸟迹，禅室无人开。
窥窗见白拂，挂壁生尘埃。
使我空叹息，欲去仍裴回。
香云徧山起，花雨从天来。
已有空乐好，况闻青猿哀。
了然绝世事，此地方悠哉！

⁴⁸ The *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 is the China's first comprehensive dictionary submitted to the throne in 121 CE by Xu Chong 許衡, son of its compiler Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 55 - ca. 149).

⁴⁹ The English translation is mine. The Chinese text reads as follows: (the first original character of the text is not printable. It is composed by *hu* 胡 and *shu* 鼠 together and is pronounced "hu"): 斬 hu 鼠黑身，白腰若帶；手有長白毛，似握版之狀；類蟻蚩之屬。从鼠胡聲。 See *Shuowen Jiezi Jifu Tongshi Er* 說文解字繫傳通釋 二, *juan shijiu* 卷十九, in *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字, *Sibu Congkan Chubian Diebu* 四部丛刊初編經部, Shanghai Shangwu Yinshuguan, p. 197.

⁵⁰ The English translation is mine. The Chinese extract reads as follows: 蟻：善援，禹屬。从虫爰聲。 See *Shuowen Jiezi Jifu Tongshi Er* 說文解字繫傳通釋 二, *juan ershiwu* 卷二十五, p. 255. For the entry *yu* 禹 see *Shuowen Jiezi Jifu Tongshi Er* 說文解字繫傳通釋 二, *juan shiqi* 卷十七, p. 182.

⁵¹ For the Chinese extract Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, *juan* 卷 109, *Li Jiangjun Liezhuan di sishijiu* 李將軍列傳第四十九 49, (Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 2003), p. 2867. It reads as follows: 廣為人長猿臂，其善射亦天性也。

⁵² For the Chinese extract Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, *juan* 卷 117, *Sima Xiangru Liezhuan di wushiqi*, 司馬相如列傳第五十七 57, p. 2999.

⁵³ See Luo Zhufeng, *Hanyu Dacidian* 汉语大詞典, Hanyu Dacidian Chubanshe, Shanghai, 1991, *di 8 juan* 第八卷, p. 1009 and 1915.

⁵⁴ See Reed, *A Tang Miscellany*, pp. 44-48.

⁵⁵ The Chinese extract: 隋内库有交臂玉猿，二臂相贯如连环。将表其轡。 See Duan Chengshi 段成式, Du Cong 杜聰, *Yonyang zazhu* 酉阳杂俎 (Lishi Biji mingzhu congshu, Jinan, Qishu shushe, 2007), p. 1. For the selected translations see Reed, *A Tang Miscellany*, p. 79.

⁵⁶ The Chinese extract: 上多猿，猿形绝长大。… 国中起春以后，屯集甲兵，与猿战。 See Duan Chengshi, *YYZZ*, p. 31.

⁵⁷ The *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 was the first large encyclopedia of ancient China, compiled during the Northern Song dynasty in 983 by a team of scholars headed by Li Fang (925-996).

⁵⁸ The Chinese version reads as follows: 故漁者歌曰：“巴東三峽巫峽長，猿鳴三聲淚沾裳！” The *Taiping Yulan* mentions the term *yuán* many times without going into details. See *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 (*yisi* 一四 volume 14), *Sibu Congkan* 四部丛刊, *Sanbian Zibu* 三編子部, *Yuebu shi* 樂部十, *wubai qishi'er juan* 五百七十二卷 (volume 572), *ge san* 歌三, sheet 5.

⁵⁹ The Chinese text reads as follows: 郭知運，字逢時，瓜州晉昌人。長七尺，猿臂虎口，以格鬥功累補秦州三度府果毅。 See *Xin Tangshu*, (Zhonghua Shuju, Shanghai, 1975), volume 15, *juan yibaisanshisan* 卷一百三十三, p. 4544.

⁶⁰ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of official title in imperial China* (Taipei, Taiwan Edition, 1987), p. 592, entry 8174.

⁶¹ The Chinese text reads as follows: 御史中丞裴度為言：播極遠，猿狖所宅，禹錫母八十餘，不能往，當與其子死訣，恐傷陛下孝治，請稍內遷。 See *Xin Tangshu*: volume 16, *juan yibailiushiba* 卷一百六十八, p. 5129.

⁶² The Chinese text reads as follows: 男子服衫襖、大口褲，以帶斜馮右肩，以螺殼、虎豹、猿狖、犬羊皮為飾。 See the *Xin Tangshu*, volume 20, *juan erbai ershi er xia* 二百二十二下, p. 6320.

⁶³ The Chinese text reads as follows: 保安军德清砦人。疏眉俊目，猿臂，善骑射。 See Tuo Tuo, *Songsbi* 宋史, *juan* 369 卷三百六十九 (volume 369), *Liezhuan* 128 列传第一百二十八, (Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1977), p. 11488.

⁶⁴ The Chinese extracts read as follows. First extract: 列傳第二百五十二蛮夷一: 至州日训练士兵, 得三千人, 皆能被甲渡水, 历山飞壑, 捷如猿猴。 Second extract: 列傳第二百五十五蛮夷四: 其使十数辈, 从者千余人, 皆蓬发, 面目黧黑, 状如猿猴。 See *Songsbi* 宋史, *juan* 493 卷四百九十三 (volume 493), *Liezhuan* 252 列傳第二百五十二, p. 14171 and *juan* 496 卷四百九十六 (volume 496), *Liezhuan* 255 列傳第二百五十五, p. 14223.

⁶⁵ The *Yuanshi* (*History of the Yuan*) is the first official dynastic history of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), it comprises 210 chapters (scrolls) and was compiled by Song Lian and Wang Yi. I consulted the edition of 1976. Song Lian 宋濂, and Wang Yi 王禕, *Yuanshi* 元傳 (*History of the Yuan dynasty*) (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1976).

⁶⁶ The description is contained in the *Liezhuan* 列传 6. The English translation is mine. The Chinese extract reads as follows: 身长七尺, 虎首虬须, 黑面, 沉毅多智略, 猿臂善射。 See *Yuanshi* 元史, *juan* *yibaiyishijiu* 卷一百一十九 (volume 119), *Liezhuan dilu* 列傳第六, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1976, p. 2929.

The *Yuanshi* cites the term *yuan* 猿 also in *Benji* 13 *Shizū* 10 (世祖十) and in *Benji* 33

Wenzong 2 (文宗二). Both in combination with the color “white”: *baiyuan* 白猿 (the white gibbon) is mentioned in a list of tributes that foreign countries give to the Yuan empire. See *Yuanshi*, *juan* *shisan* 卷十三, *Benji dishisan* 本紀 第十三, *Shizū shi* 世祖十, p. 263, and *juan* *sanshisian* 卷三十三, *Benji disanshisian* 本紀 第三十三, *Wenzong er* 文宗二, p. 727.

⁶⁷ The Chinese extract reads as follows: 廣為人長猿臂, 其善射亦天性也。 See above when I dealt with *Shiji* references.

⁶⁸ The *Ben cao gang mu* is the Chinese herbology volume written by Li Shizhen 李时珍 (1518-1593) over a period of 27 years. The first draft was completed in 1578 during the Ming dynasty.

⁶⁹ The English translation is mine. The Chinese text reads as follows: 或云獼無雌, 以猿為雌, 故云猿鳴而獼候。 See Li Shizhen, *Bencao Gangmu liu*, (volume 6), (Shangwu yinshuguan, Shanghai, 1954), *ershiwu* 二十五, *juan* *wushi* 卷五十 (chapter 50), *shoubu* 獸部 (section on Beasts), p. 58.

⁷⁰ Yang, *LWDD*, p. 355.

⁷¹ As mirrored in Zhou's section it seems an outstanding animal, due to the combination of *bao* 豹 (indicating leopard or panther) and *bie* 鼈 (鼈) (a kind of soft-shelled turtle). The Chinese extract reads as follows: 深廣山中有獸似豹, 常仰視, 天雨則以尾窒鼻, 南人呼為倒鼻鼈 (鼈) *bie*. 捕得則寢處其皮, 士夫珍之以藉胡牀, 今冕服所畫雌是也。夫獸能以尾窒鼻禦雨, 斯亦智矣, 其登於三代之服章, 厥有由哉! Yang, *LWDD*, p. 355.