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## Canine Conundrums: Eurasian Dog Ancestor Myths in Historical and Ethnic Perspective

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Canine Conundrums:  
Eurasian Dog Ancestor Myths in Historical and Ethnic Perspective

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A *cynic* may be pardoned for thinking that this is a dog's life. The Greek word *kunikos*, from which *cynic* comes, was originally an adjective meaning "doglike," from *kuōn*, "dog." The word was most likely applied to the Cynic philosophers because of the nickname *kuōn* given to Diogenes of Sinope, the prototypical Cynic. He is said to have performed such actions as barking in public, urinating on the leg of a table, and masturbating on the street.

*The American Heritage Dictionary* (1992), p. 466a;  
bold emphasis added.

*ch'üan-ju hsüeh-p'ai* {1}, approximate  
Early Middle Sinitic reconstruction:  
*k'wän-nyuh ghæwk-p'äy* (Chinese  
translation of "Cynics").

Note: Numbers in braces refer to the glossary of sinographs and hieroglyphs at the end of the paper.

## PREFACE

When Donald Sutton first invited me to write this paper, he gently gibed at me by saying that I would probably bring in Egypt and India. My ready reply was that I had no such intention. Before I embarked on the research for this paper, I thought that the subject was restricted wholly to the South of China, thus writing about it would be short, sweet, and simple. Little did I expect that following up all the loose ends would take me not only to India and Egypt, but to almost everywhere else in between!

## INTRODUCTION

Bottle gourd (calabash) symbolism is ubiquitous in Chinese popular religion. It may be traced back to southern, originally non-Sinitic, cosmogonic and anthropogonic myths having to do with chaos, creation, the flood, and the peopling of the world. In particular, Tai and Tibeto-Burman peoples such as the Dai and the Ne (Modern Standard Mandarin Yi{2}; traditional designation Lolo [currently considered to be pejorative by many authorities]) regard the bottle gourd as central to the genesis of the universe and themselves. Thus, the pervasive cucurbitic symbolism of Chinese culture is testimony to the gradual absorption by the Han people of southern, essentially, non-Han myths.

On the other hand, there is a widespread myth that many southern peoples were the descendants of a dog named P'an-hu{3}. It is curious that the second graph of the most common form of this name is that for bottle gourd. The source of this dog-ancestor myth is obscure, but it appears initially to have been perpetuated largely among the Han people and only gradually did it become adopted by some of the southern peoples themselves.

It is well known, of course, that the dog is a common device throughout Eurasia for ascribing lowly, bestial origins to the "other". Thus, the conjunction of the dog-ancestor and the calabash in the context of the southern encounter between Han and non-Han attests a curious inversion in which the Han exchange "other" for "self" and the non-Han exchange "self" for "other".

## BOTTLE-GOURD MYTHS

This section may be kept mercifully brief by referring the reader to a recent article of the author entitled "Southern Bottle-Gourd (*hu-lu*{4}) Myths in China and Their Appropriation by Taoism" and to the extensive bibliographical references included therein.<sup>1</sup> Here it is necessary only to point out that, south of the Yangtze, bottle-gourd myths are

coherent, integral, consistent, ritually powerful, and widespread, whereas, north of the Yangtze, they are fractured and often dimly understood. This is just the opposite with mythical accounts of southern dog-ancestors which are fragmented and frequently incoherent in the south, whereas in the north they are prone to be lengthy, involved, and in general highly historicized. On the basis of these initial impressions, we may hypothesize that the bottle-gourd myths are the authentic heritage of the non-Han peoples living south of the Yangtze, whereas the dog-ancestor myths have primarily been initiated, elaborated, and fostered by Han peoples stemming from north of the Yangtze. The goal of the present investigation is to examine the evidence for and against this hypothesis.

### DOG-ANCESTOR MYTHS

Since the second century, Chinese sources have made sporadic reference to an ethnogonic myth which asserts canine ancestry for various peoples living to the south of the Yangtze River. The dog-ancestor myth finds its first full and more or less complete expression in Kan Pao's{5} *Sou shen chi*{6} (*Records of Searching for the Supernatural*), the first story in scroll 14. Kan Pao (fl. 318) firmly believed that the "spiritual" or "supernatural" (*shen*{7}) was just as important a part of the historical record as the mundane, if not more so, and it was this conviction which spurred him to record as many manifestations of the spirit world as he could. Here is the story of the dog-ancestor, P'an-hu, as narrated by Kan Pao:

#### Origins of the Marn{8}<sup>2</sup> Barbarians

In the time of Kao-hsin{9} an elderly woman attached to the palace suffered from an earache for some time. The physician treated her and removed an insect the size of a silkworm cocoon. When the woman left, the physician placed the insect in a gourd pot (*hu*{10}) and covered it with a dish (*p'an*{11}). In no time it turned into a dog, mottled with colorful patches. This is why the dog was called P'an-hu, and it was reared by the physician.

At that time the Wu barbarians{12} had become numerous and strong and several times penetrated the borders. Generals were sent against them but could not gain victories. A declaration was sent throughout the kingdom: "Anyone bringing in the head of the Wu leader will be rewarded with a thousand catties of gold, an appanage of ten thousand households, and the hand of the emperor's youngest daughter."

Sometime later P'an-hu appeared carrying a head in its mouth and went straight to the palace. The king examined the head and concluded that it belonged to the Wu leader. What was he to do?

His officers all said, "P'an-hu is a domestic animal: he cannot be allowed to join the ranks of officials and certainly cannot be given your daughter to wed! Though he has achieved this merit, he cannot be given that reward."

When his youngest daughter heard this, she addressed the king: "Since Your Majesty promised me to anyone in the world and P'an-hu brought you the head, ridding your kingdom of danger, we have here the will of Heaven. This is not something P'an-hu's intelligence could have contrived. Kings must keep promises, rulers must be believed. You cannot repudiate your word, clearly given to the world, for the sake of my humble person; that would result in calamity for your kingdom."

The king feared she was right and ordered her sent to P'an-hu.

The dog took the girl into the southern hills where the undergrowth was so dense the feet of men never trod. There she discarded her court robes, donned those of a common freeman, and bound herself to P'an-hu as his servant. He then led her over mountains and through valleys until they reached a cave in the rocks.

Now, the king sorely missed his daughter, and he often sent men forth in search of her. However, the heavens would always rain, the mountain peaks would shake, and clouds would so darken the sky that his men could not reach her.

Nearly three years passed. The princess had given birth to six boys and six girls when P'an-hu died. Their offspring married one another. They wove cloth from the bark of trees dyed with the juices of berries and fruits -- for they loved colorful garments -- and they cut the cloth to fit their tails.

Later, their mother returned to the palace, and the king sent envoys to welcome the children -- this time the heavens did not rain. But their clothes were outlandish, their speech barbaric,\* they squatted on their haunches to eat and drink and preferred mountain wilds to cities. The king acceded to their wishes and gave them famed mountains and broad swamps for their home. They were called Marn barbarians.

The Marn barbarians appear stupid but are in fact crafty. They are contented in the lands they inhabit and set store by their old ways. They believe they were given strange capacities by the will of Heaven, and therefore they act under laws not common to others. They farm and they trade, but have no documents to show at borders, no identifications or tallies -- nor do they have rents or taxes of any sort. They live in small villages where the headmen are given tallies and wear crowns of otter skin, for the Marn secure their food from the waters.

Presently the Commanderies of Liang, Han, Pa, Shu, Wu-ling, Ch'ang-sha, and Lu-chiang{13} are all inhabited by Marn. They eat rice gruel mixed with the flesh of various fish, they pound on containers and howl to honor P'an-hu with sacrifices. This custom has lasted until the present day. The above are the reasons for our saying:

Bare buttocks, yellow trousers do  
Reveal descendants of P'an-hu.<sup>3</sup>

\*One annotator says the nonsense compound *chu-li*{14} indicated how their speech sounds to Han Chinese.

Kan Pao's fascination with P'an-hu was repeated in his now-lost *Chin-chi*{15} [*Annals of Chin*] where he declared that various groups of Yi living in the south were descendants of P'an-hu and described the sacrifices that they made to him.<sup>4</sup>

Kao-hsin, also known as Kao-hsin shih{16} ("of the clan name Kao-hsin"), is Ti-k'u{17} ("Emperor K'u"), the mythical great-grandson of Huang-ti{18} ("Yellow Emperor"), allegedly surnamed Kung-sun{19} ("Ducal Grandson"), the supposed founder of Chinese civilization and of the first Chinese state. If it is possible to assign any sort of historicity to the Yellow Emperor, he would have to be placed around the middle of the third millennium BCE and in the northwest of China.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is highly unlikely that Kao-hsin (if he himself ever existed) could have had anything whatsoever to do with the southern peoples whom the Han people were making contact with during the late second and early third centuries CE and who were the inspiration for the cynanthropomorphic stories about P'an-hu and his descendants. Thus, almost from the beginning of the P'an-hu myth, our suspicions concerning its authenticity as a self-expression of the southern nan-Han peoples are aroused.

The story about P'an-hu occurred already in the *Feng-su t'ung-yi*{20} [*Comprehensive Connotations of Customs*] by Ying Shao{21} (fl. 190),<sup>6</sup> but it was lost and had to be restored from the *Hou Han shu*{22} (*History of the Later Han*). Despite the patently fantastic nature of the story about P'an-hu in *Feng-su t'ung-yi*, Fan Yeh{23} (398-445) adopted it wholesale for his "Nan Man chuan{24} (Biography of the Southern Marn)," scroll 116 in the *History of the Later Han* :

Formerly, in the time of Kao-hsin, that emperor was troubled over the banditry and depredations of the Dog Jung, but his attacks on them were unsuccessful. A chieftain of this tribe named General Wu{25} was especially formidable. So volunteers were solicited from all

over the empire: whoever could obtain the head of a certain General Wu, a leader of the Dog Jung, would be given a thousand *yi* of gold, a portion of land large enough to support ten thousand families, and the emperor's youngest daughter.

Now at that time, the emperor had a domesticated dog whose fur was of five colors, called P'an-hu. After this proclamation had been given, P'an-hu, holding a human head in his mouth, came up to the imperial palace. The courtiers all wondered at it, and when they examined it, they found it to be General Wu's head. The emperor was greatly pleased. His intention was to reward the dog, but he did not know how to do so appropriately, since P'an-hu could not very well be given a girl as wife or granted rank and emolument. But when his daughter heard of all this, she felt that the emperor could not go back on what he had proclaimed, so she asked permission to put the command into effect. The emperor then had no choice but to give his daughter to P'an-hu. P'an-hu, having obtained a wife, bore her on his back to Nan-shan{26} ["Southern Mountain," in the Lu-chih{27} district of Hunan province], stopping at a stone chamber. That place was extremely treacherous: no human tracks went up to it. There the girl took off her clothes, made a *p'u-chien*{28} (dog-coiffure) hair arrangement, and donned a *tu-li*{29} (dog-tailed) dress. The emperor was sorrowful and missed her, and sent envoys to search for her, but these met with winds, rains, earthquakes, and darkness, and could advance no farther. Three years after this marriage, the girl gave birth to twelve children, six of each sex. Then P'an-hu died. These children then took each other as husbands and wives. They wove tree bark and dyed it with vegetable juices; they liked five-color clothing, and the fashion and cut of their clothes always left a tail at the end. Their mother later returned to court, in order to present an appeal to Kao-hsin, the White Emperor, whereupon he summoned his grandchildren to his court. Their clothing was of variegated color, and their speech sounded like *chu-li*. They preferred living in mountain and ravine areas and did not care for flat, open country. The emperor acceded to their wishes, bestowing upon them spacious mountains and wide marshes. Their descendants multiplied, and have since been known as *Marn-yi*, or barbarians. They are cunning but appear silly; they are conservative regarding the old customs and love to stay at home. Because their ancestral father [P'an-hu] achieved merit and their ancestral mother was an emperor's daughter, they are exempt from taxation even though they make commercial use of their fields. They have villages and lords and chieftains; all of the latter are given [or: bestow to their own ministers] seals of office. Their caps are made of otter skin. Their great leaders are called *ching-fu*{30} (spirited fellow); they call each other *yang-r'u*{31}.<sup>7</sup>

The Marn people of present day Wu-ling in Ch'ang-sha [Hunan] are a branch of these.<sup>8</sup>



This is actually the manner in which the "Biography of the Southern Barbarians" in the *History of the Later Han* begins. Fan Yeh provides no additional contextualizing information and offers no indication of any sort that this account is purely mythical. For the innocent reader of his "Biography", the account is simply presented as a sequence of historical facts. Thus, with the de facto imprimatur of the Chinese empire, the canine ancestry of the southern "barbarians" was sanctioned by its historiographical apparatus and enshrined in a succession of official dynastic histories which repeated it.

By the late T'ang period, the P'an-hu myth was firmly accepted as historical fact. In the much-quoted *Man shu*{32} (*Book of the Marn*) of Fan Ch'o{33}, who had served as a secretary of Ts'ai Hsi{34}, the Chinese Governor of Tongking (N.B.), the account of P'an-hu from the beginning of the "Biography" in the *History of the Later Han* is quoted matter-of-factly. The *Man shu* was completed shortly after the beginning of the Hsien-t'ung{35} ("Total Comprehension") reign period (860-873), in 863. It is worth noting, however, that Fan Ch'o follows up his quotation of the P'an-hu story from the *History of the Later Han* with another fantastic tale, which itself would seem to be a somewhat distorted variant of the one in the "Biography":

According to the *Kuang yi chi*{36} [*Extensive Records of Extraordinary Things*]<sup>9</sup> of Wang T'ung-ming{37}, it is said: In the time of Kao-hsin, a dog was born in a man's family. At first it was like a young bullock (*t'e*{38}). Its master considered the dog to be monstrous (*kuai*{39}) and abandoned it by the road. After seven days it was not dead. The animals suckled it. Its form grew bigger and bigger day by day. Its master took it back. At the time when he first abandoned it by the roadside, he had covered it with a plate (*p'an*) containing leaves (*or*: contained it in a plate and covered it with leaves).<sup>10</sup> So regarding it as auspicious, he then offered it to the Emperor; and it was called P'an-hu ("Plate-Gourd").

Afterwards it achieved merit by successfully biting off the head of the Western Barbarian (*jung*{40}) bandit, General Wu. The emperor gave it in marriage the Imperial Princess, and enfeoffed P'an-hu as Marquis Pacifier of the Frontier (*Ting-pien-hou*{41}). The princess gave birth to seven lumps of flesh. On cutting them open, there were seven males. When they grew up, each acknowledged one surname. Nowadays, in the eastern part of Pa [eastern Szechwan], the surnames are T'ien, Lei, Tsai,<sup>11</sup> Hsiang, Meng, Min, and Shu-sun{42} families. Their posterity proliferated greatly. From Ch'ien-nan (i.e., the south of Kweichow), they overpassed the land of K'un (Yunnan?), Hsiang (Hunan), and Kao-li{43} [Korea!], and formed a kingdom of their own. King Yu{44} (fl. 781-769

BCE) was killed by Ch'üan-jung{45} ("Dog Barbarians"), that is to say, by their descendants.

The skin and bones of P'an-hu are still visible today in Ch'ien-chung{46} (the central part of Kweichow). The T'ien, Lei, and other families from time to time make sacrifice to them.<sup>12</sup>

By the very title of the work from which it is taken, this is a record of the "strange" or "extraordinary," yet Fan Ch'o accepts it as containing reliable ethnographic data for explaining the ancestry of the Southern Marn.

### THE IDENTITY OF THE MARN

Regrettably, the etymology of Marn is obscure. The earliest (bronze inscriptional) form of the graph used to write this name was without the "insect / bug / worm" radical that was added to the later seal forms by the Han period. The word that the early, "insect / bug / worm"-less graph stands for is now pronounced *luan*{47} and is said by most Chinese specialists on the script originally to have meant "chaotic".<sup>13</sup> This is purely because of chance similarity (but not identity<sup>14</sup>) of sound with the word for "chaotic" now pronounced *luan*{48} and the desire to disparage the Marn by intimating that they were unruly.<sup>15</sup> In Chou times, however, the phonophore in the graph used to write Marn would have had an initial labial-liquid cluster, probably *ml-*, which devolved into separate series of words now pronounced *luan* or *lian* and *man*. A few other graphs with the same phonophore are now pronounced *pien*, *wan*, and *shuan*. While it is difficult to determine what the root meaning of this phonophore originally was, judging from the meanings of the two dozen or so graphs that it is now a part of, it would appear to have signified "tied up neatly / tightly > cramped, contracted, mincing, tiny."

Actually, all of this etymologizing of the phonophore in the graph used to write Marn should be irrelevant, since Marn was initially the Sinitic transcription of the sound of the ethnonym and would have had nothing to do with the meaning of the native term. Yet the urge to ascribe a pejorative connotation to the transcription was visually and semantically reinforced by the addition of the "insect / bug / worm" radical. The *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*{49} [*Explanation of Simple and Compound Graphs*] (c. 100 CE) states succinctly the reason for affixing the "insect / bug / worm" radical to the graph: "The Southern Marn belong to the race of serpents, hence *man* is composed of the 'insect / bug / worm' signific and the *luan* > *man* phonetic{50}."<sup>16</sup> Linguistically, of course, both the semantic interference of the phonophore and the addition of the "insect / bug / worm"

radical are entirely specious, but they are vital clues to studying the history of Han attitudes toward their southern neighbors. The contemptuous intention of the name Marn, **as used by the Han**, is evident from the Sinitic compounds and phrases in which it is found, most of which signify such notions as "savage, rude, unreasonable, brutal," and so forth.

Regardless of the pseudoetymological attempts to distort its meaning, Marn was undoubtedly the Sinitic transcription of the ethnonym of some southern people, but what that originally was is not now clearly known. I suspect that it may have been Mon, an ethnonym having ancient roots (written inscriptions in Old Mon exist already from the sixth century<sup>17</sup>) that ranges from northeastern India through Burma to Cambodia and Thailand. Less likely (in terms of the probable linguistic affinities, geographical distribution, and historical development of the Marn peoples), the Sinitic transcription may have derived from Mien, a native name for the Yao.

Another widely and indiscriminately used name for southern non-Hannic peoples, Miao{51} (often in combination with Marn as Miao-Marn{52}), is derived from a form of the ethnonym Hmong and originally had nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "sprouts," which is purely a deceptive transcriptional artifact.<sup>18</sup> That did not deter the Han-Chinese from inventing all sorts of quaint stories about how it was necessary to tend the Miao as a farmer cultivates the plants in his fields. Here again, we witness the formidable power of the sinographic script to concretize adventitious semantic overtones.

Not only is the etymology of the ethnonym Marn obscure, its usage is highly perplexing. In the first place, it has both a broad and a narrow meaning. The broad meaning is applied in the same way as the broad meaning of Miao, viz., to all the various non-Han ethnic groups of South China. Before the T'ang period, this was more or less the manner in which the name Marn was used. After the Sung, however, the term Miao or Miao-Marn in combination was regularly used to cover all the tribal peoples of the south. In the narrow sense of the name, Marn continued to be used in reference to those peoples calling themselves the descendants of P'an-hu or what might be termed the P'an-hu group. During the twentieth-century, these included the Yao (in Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan), the She{53} (or Hsia) (of Fukien and Chekiang), and the Marn or Yao (of northern Tongking).<sup>19</sup>

Who were these people supposedly claiming descent from the dog-ancestor P'an-hu? Chungshee Hsien Liu has published claims that the four transcribed terms in the account of the Southern Marn from the *History of the Later Han* are actually Thai ("Siamese") words.<sup>20</sup> Despite considerable effort, using both the Modern Standard Mandarin pronunciations and early medieval reconstructions of the Sinitic transcriptions, I have not been able to confirm that these words actually exist(ed) in any modern or ancient

Thai language or dialect.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, many otherwise reputable scholars (whose names, out of respect, I shall not mention here) have uncritically accepted Liu's claim. This has led to the widespread assumption that the P'an-hu myth has its roots among Thai peoples. But Liu was hopelessly vague on this point, stating that the majority of the "ten tribal groups in Southern China, if not more," the best known of whom are "the Miao, the Yao, the Lolo, the Li, the Shan, the Shaka, etc." "are said to be akin to the Nesiots [*sic*]... and others to the Proto-Malay. Culturally they belong to the Indonesian [*sic*] school of civilization with considerable Chinese influence." Liu was also egregiously wrong about the languages involved, regarding "Siamese, Burmese and so on" as "belong[ing] to the same linguistic family". Furthermore, Liu gullibly takes almost all the details of the numerous P'an-hu myth variants more or less at face value and readily applies them to historical and ethnographic research.

There is evidence which leads me to believe that the four Marn terms cited in the *History of the Later Han* may actually be Vietnamese or a language closely akin to Vietnamese.<sup>22</sup> For example, *ching-fu* (said by Fan Yeh to refer to the leaders of the Marn; roughly reconstructed as *\*tsiayngpooeh* for the fifth century) closely matches Vietnamese *trưởng-phổ* ("precinct head"), *hang-t'u* (said by Fan Yeh to mean "we"; --> *hang-t'u* [see note 7]; roughly reconstructed as *\*kyangduh* for the fifth century) strongly resembles Annamite *kyung-tôi* ("we"),<sup>23</sup> and *p'u* (said by Fan Yeh to be part of a word meaning "dog-coiffure"; roughly reconstructed as *\*bawk* for the fifth century) is almost identical to Vietnamese *buộc* ("to tie, bind up"; e.g., *buộc gút* ["to tie a knot"]). It would seem, therefore, that the four supposedly Marn words recorded by Fan Yeh in the story about P'an-hu from the *History of the Later Han* are most likely of Austroasiatic (specifically Mon-Khmer) origin, not Austro-Tai or Tibeto-Burman.<sup>24</sup> This conforms to the suggestion made above that the Chinese transcription Marn may have been derived from the name Mon.

## GENESIS OF THE P'AN-HU MYTH

We must now attempt to determine where and when the embryonic form of the P'an-hu story entered the consciousness of Chinese authors so that they could begin to elaborate it and gradually (perhaps unconsciously) impose it upon their southern neighbors. A key to clarifying these issues is the *Shan-hai ching*{54} [*Classic of Mountains and Seas*] and its use of the name "Ch'üan-jung (Dog Jung)". The Jung were a supposedly war-like people living to the west and northwest (N.B.!) of the Chinese. While other texts such as the *Tso chuan*{55} [*Tso's Chronicle*] and *Kuo-yü*{56} [*Conversations of the States*] had

already used the term Ch'üan-jung, they in all likelihood meant no more by the first element of it than "ferocious, wild, bellicose". The *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, however, comes right out and states that the Ch'üan-jung resemble dogs ([ch'i] *chuang ju ch'üan*{57}).

The *Classic of Mountains and Seas* also mentions, in tandem with the Ch'üan-jung, a Ch'üan-feng kuo{58} ("Dog-Fief Kingdom") that they inhabit.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, dogs and dog-like monsters or people with canine features (voices [i.e., barks], bodies, tails, heads [the cynocephali], etc.) are mentioned at least 35 times in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*.<sup>26</sup> All of this canine fantasy must have made a profound impression upon the Chinese psyche during the late classical and early medieval periods when the P'an-hu myth was being devised.

Chinese scholars from the days of Kuo P'u{59} (276-324) to the present have invariably related the P'an-hu myth to the Ch'üan-jung.<sup>27</sup> By the time Fan Ch'o wrote his *Book of the Marn*, the Ch'üan-jung were being identified explicitly as the descendants of P'an-hu (see the quotation above). As we attempt to unravel the intricacies of the P'an-hu myth and its variants, we must bear in mind that, whereas the Ch'üan-jung were located to the northwest, the Marn and other peoples who are alleged to be the descendants of P'an-hu were all situated far away in the south. The P'an-hu myth, therefore, contains a disturbing discordancy at its very core

Once the actual caninity of the Ch'üan-jung is established, this leads to even more fantastic mythical musings which involve Huang-ti (the Yellow Emperor). In scroll 12 of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, after an entry dealing with Hsi-wang-mu{60} (Mother Queen of the West), there occurs the following declaration: "The Dog-Fief Country is called Dog-Jung Country. Its people have the appearance of dogs."{61} Kuo Pu's note, commenting on the second sentence, states as follows: "The Yellow Emperor's descendant, Pien-ming, begat two white dogs, one male and one female, whence arose this country which is called the Hound Country."{62}<sup>28</sup> This is an amazing statement, since it connects the Yellow Emperor, father of the Chinese nation, with the Dog Jung ("[North]western Barbarians"). Like the P'an-hu myth for the Marn, it also attributes incest to the Dog Jung. This is a common theme in Han myths about peripheral peoples.

Kuo P'u's note about the Hound Country was probably derived from another passage in scroll 17 of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*: "In the Great Wasteland, there are the Jung-fu Mountains into which flows the Shun River. There is a man there called 'Dog Jung'. The Yellow Emperor begat Miao-lung, Miao-lung begat Jung-wu, Jung-wu begat Nung<sup>29</sup>-ming, and Nung-ming begat a white dog. The white dog was hermaphroditic, thus giving rise to the Dog Jung<sup>30</sup> who are meat eaters."{63}<sup>31</sup>

In his *So-yin*{64} [*Tracing the Hidden Meanings*] commentary to the "Hsiung-nu chuan"{65} [Biography of the Huns]" from the *Shih-chi*{66} [*Records of the Scribe*], Ssuma Chen{67} (eighth century), further distorts the gist of this story by misreading and misciting it as follows: "The Yellow Emperor begat Miao ("Sprout"), Miao begat Lung ("Dragon"), Lung begat Jung ("Ferocious"), Jung begat Wu ("I"), Wu begat Ping-ming ("Conjoined Brightness"), Ping-ming begat Pai ("White") and Pai begat a dog. The dog had two stout [offspring?].<sup>32</sup> These were the Dog Jung."{68}<sup>33</sup>

Still more intriguing is the assertion elsewhere in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, scroll 18, that the Yellow Emperor was also the ancestor of a horse: "The Yellow Emperor begat Lo-ming ('Camel Bright') and Lo-ming begat a white horse. This white horse was Kun."{69}<sup>34</sup> This is an astonishing and very risky proposition, for it declares that Kun, the father of Yü{70}, was quite literally an equine. Since Yü (mythic tamer of the Yellow River) was the founder of the hypothetical Hsia Dynasty, this calls into question the paternity of the entire Chinese nation. If, however, we accept the thesis of Tsung-tung Chang that the Yellow Emperor was an Indo-European nomad of the steppes, it would make perfect sense that one of his descendants would have been identified with a horse and another with a dog. What would be more natural totemic devices for cattle-herding nomads than horses and dogs?

The dating of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, which would appear to be the chief source of much of this intricately interwoven fantasy, is extraordinarily vexed. Some parts of it may derive from as early as the fourth or fifth century BCE, but the main redaction was most likely carried out during the Han period (roughly the two centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era), and there appear to have been substantial interpolations from still later periods.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the portions of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* in which reference is made to the canine barbarians of the west are recognized by the majority of scholars to be among the later additions to the text. We may assume that they were composed not long after the beginning of the Common Era. This is not to deny, however, that the Ch'üan-jung ("Dog Jung") were unknown until that time. Indeed, they are frequently mentioned in oracle shell and bone inscriptions of the Shang period (c. 1200 BCE).<sup>36</sup>

This rough dating is significant in two respects: 1. it is situated just after the tempo of Chinese contacts with the West increased dramatically; 2. it comes just before the earliest stories about P'an-hu begin to appear in China. We have already been exposed to the evidence for the latter phenomenon above. As for the former, when confronted with an impressive body of comparative evidence assembled by F. de Mély, Wang Yi-Chung, H. Maspero, and B. Laufer, Needham admitted<sup>37</sup> that many of the fabulous beings mentioned

in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* were virtually identical with those found in Greek and Latin authors (Herodotus [5th c. BCE], Strabo [mid 1st. c. BCE-early 1st c. CE], Pliny [23-79], Gaius Julius Solinus [*Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 3rd c. CE], *et al.*). What is more, the illustrations for the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* assembled by Kuo P'u and later editors were often reminiscent of illustrations of strange creatures in Solinus and other Western sources. These depictions of the fantastic surely had an enormous impact upon the Chinese imagination. This is made quite plain in a famous poem by T'ao Ch'ien{71} (365-427), who was born just four decades after Kuo P'u was executed for a failed prophecy:

On Reading the *Seas and Mountains Classic*

In early summer when the grasses grow  
And trees surround my house with greenery,  
The birds rejoice to have a refuge there  
And I, too, love my home.  
The fields are plowed and the new seed planted  
And now is time again to read my books.  
This out-of-the-way lane has no deep-worn ruts  
And tends to turn my friends' carts away.  
With happy face I pour the spring-brewed wine  
And in the garden pick some greens to cook.  
A gentle shower approaches from the east  
Accompanied by a temperate breeze.  
I skim through the *Story of King Mu*  
And view the pictures in the *Seas and Mountains Classic*.  
A glance encompasses the ends of the universe --  
Where is there any joy, if not in these?<sup>38</sup>

We should observe that by far the largest proportion of these extraordinary beings depicted in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* were thought of as inhabiting the heart of Eurasia, that vast unknown space to which the inquisitive souls of East Asia have perennially been drawn. This was the jade-producing K'un-lun{72} of the Chou period, the intoxicating abode of the Queen Mother of the West from the Warring States and Han periods, the exotic Western Regions during the T'ang period, and the fabled land of the Silk Road (Japanese *Shiruku Rodo*) in modern times. We may also note that T'ao Ch'ien's other

favorite book, the *Story of King Mu*, was also about the Han-Chinese fascination with the fables of Central Asia in antiquity.<sup>39</sup>

Early Chinese maps which attempted to locate the phantasmagoria of the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* in the context of geographic realia put the land of the Dog-Men to the northwest.<sup>40</sup> The earliest Chinese records concerning the Jung place them in the west during the Shang and Chou periods (hence they are often also referred to collectively as the Hsi-jung{73} ["Western Jung"]). Later, various branches of the Jung appear to have spread farther to the northwest, north, and other peripheral areas of China. Modern geographers and historians place the Dog-Fief Country in the T'ai-hang mountain region of Shansi, but recognize an earlier and more distant association with the Minusinsk Basin.<sup>41</sup> This location is highly suggestive, since it was the center of the Andronovo and Afanasievo cultures, Neolithic outposts of what were most likely Indo-European nomads.<sup>42</sup> We may further remark that, both in Chinese and in Western sources, the cynanthropomorphized Central Asian peoples were often juxtaposed with an Amazonian race of women who are now being archeologically substantiated by Jeannine Davis-Kimball.<sup>43</sup>

#### P'AN-HU AND P'AN-KU

As if the vagaries surrounding the origins and identity of P'an-hu were not daunting and disconcerting enough, they are compounded by massive confusion with another cosmogonic and anthropogonic mythical figure, P'an-ku{74}, who emerged (probably not inconsequentially) at about the same time as P'an-hu. According to Bodde, the latter is China's "only clearly recognizable creation myth."<sup>44</sup> The earliest tellings of the myth about P'an-ku date to the third century CE:

Heaven and earth were in chaos like a chicken's egg, and P'an Ku was born in the middle of it. In eighteen thousand years Heaven and earth opened and unfolded. The limpid that was Yang became the heavens, the turbid that was Yin became the earth. P'an Ku lived within them, and in one day he went through nine transformations, becoming more divine than Heaven and wiser than earth. Each day the heavens rose ten feet higher, each day the earth grew ten feet thicker, and each day P'an Ku grew ten feet taller. And so it was that in eighteen thousand years the heavens reached their fullest height, earth reached its lowest depth, and P'an Ku became fully grown. Afterward, there were the Three Sovereign Divinities. Numbers began with one, were established with three, perfected by five, multiplied with seven, and fixed with nine. That is why Heaven is ninety thousand leagues from earth. (*San Wu li chi*{75} [*A Calendrical Record of the*



*Three Kings and Five Emperors*] of Hsü Cheng{76}, cited in *Yi-wen lei-chü*{77}  
[*Categorized Gathering of Belles Lettres*], compiled in 642, Chung-hua edition, 1.2a)

When the firstborn, P'an Ku, was approaching death, his body was transformed. His breath became the wind and clouds; his voice became peals of thunder. His left eye became the sun; his right eye became the moon. His four limbs and five extremities became the four cardinal points and the five peaks. His blood and semen became water and rivers. His muscles and veins became the earth's arteries; his flesh became fields and land. His hair and beard became the stars; his bodily hair became plants and trees. His teeth and bones became metal and rock; his vital marrow became pearls and jade. His sweat and bodily fluids became streaming rain. All the mites on his body were touched by the wind and were turned into the black-haired people. (Hsü Cheng, *Wu yün li-nien chi*{78} [*A Chronicle of the Five Cycles of Time*], cited in *Yi shih*{79} [*Surmises about History*], preface dated 1670, *Pi-chi ts'ung pien*{80} [*Collectanea of Brush Records*] edition, 1.2a)<sup>45</sup>

Later, as so often happens, the P'an-ku myth was profusely elaborated in Ko Hung's{81} fourth-century *Shen hsien chuan*{82} [*Biographies of Deities and Transcendents*] and other texts. Furthermore, all sorts of intricate and fanciful etymologies ("coiled oldness," "basin-secure," "eggshell-solid," "research antiquity," "aboriginal abyss," etc.) were invented to justify the initially nonce and arbitrary sinographic transcription of the hero's name. Be that as it may, there is no mistaking the close parallels between the P'an-ku myth and the myth about Puruṣa, the cosmic man first mentioned in the celebrated ancient Indian hymn known as "Puruṣa-sūkta" (*Ṛgveda*, X.90) and described as pervading or equivalent to the universe.<sup>46</sup> Since most careful and critical scholars would date the *Ṛgveda* to around 1300 BCE on linguistic, literary, archeological, and historical grounds,<sup>47</sup> and since there is a whole succession of other early Indian texts on the same theme dating from that time down to the rise of the P'an-ku myth, there can be little doubt concerning the priority of Puruṣa over P'an-ku.<sup>48</sup>

As Frederick Mote has perceptively observed, the P'an-ku myth not only surfaces late in China, it is also antithetical to the traditional organismic Chinese view of "the world and man as uncreated, as constituting the central features of a spontaneously self-generating cosmos having no creator, god, ultimate cause or will external to itself."<sup>49</sup>

Aside from the cosmic hero himself, other Indian elements associated with the Puruṣa myth that have obvious analogs in Chinese mythology and cosmology are

*brahmāṇḍa*, the cosmic egg which the Purāṇas describe as an envelope or shell containing *manas* ("mind"), *prāṇa* ("breath", similar to *ch'i*{83} [vaporous material energy] in Chinese cosmology), and the *pañcabhūta* ("five elements", comparable to the *wu-hsing*{84} [five phasic elements] in Chinese metaphysics). How and when the Puruṣa myth made its way to China is not precisely known, but it may not necessarily have come from India, since the same myth is found in other branches of the Indo-European family (e.g., the dismemberment of the giant Ymir in Scandinavian mythology).<sup>50</sup>

In chapter 1 (pp. 1-40) of his *Myth, Cosmos, and Society*, Bruce Lincoln surveys a large body of myths which explain the genesis of the world and all that is in it as the result of the sacrificial dismemberment of a giant man. Lincoln offers three tables (3, 4, and 5) which show the correspondences between macrocosm and microcosm, with alloforms in Germanic, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Slavic versions of what is basically the same Proto-Indo-European myth. Clearly, the Chinese myth of P'an-ku is an adaptation of the Indo-European myth, even down to many telling details that are identical: the cosmic man's flesh becomes the earth, his hair becomes plants, his breath the wind, and so forth.<sup>51</sup>

It is remotely conceivable that the name P'an-ku (approximate Han period pronunciation *\*ban-kah*) constitutes a distant phonological transformation of the name Puruṣa or some cognate thereof. Whatever its source, once the sinographic transcription for P'an-ku became fixed, it was almost inevitable that it would be invoked in association with P'an-hu (approximate Han period pronunciation *\*ban-gah*).<sup>52</sup> As Wen Yi-to has impressively shown,<sup>53</sup> the string of sinographically generated mythic (mis)identifications can be extended almost indefinitely: P'an-ku || P'an-hu || P'ao-hu{85} (=hu-lu) || Pao-hsi{86} = P'ao-hsi{87} = Mi[properly Fu]-hsi{88} = Fu-hsi{89}, who -- if we submit to the dangerous seduction of taking the sinographs at their face value -- was thus not only the very first legendary emperor of China, but also the first sacrificial dog-man. That way, however, lies true chaos -- in more senses than one -- so we had best not pursue it any further.

The irony of this sort of misidentification is that the names P'an-ku and P'an-hu were both undoubtedly transcriptions of foreign (non-Sinitic) words and that the myths to which the names refer were originally totally separate and unrelated. All that has led to the partial fusion of the two myths is the similarity of their sinographic transcriptions, the fact that the former is cosmogonic and anthropogonic while the latter is anthropogonic,<sup>54</sup> and the coincidence that one was almost certainly derived by the Hans from southwestern or northwestern peoples while the other was quite likely applied by the Hans to southern and southwestern peoples.

## CYNANTHROPOMORPHIZATION

The ascription of canine attributes to humans from groups other than one's own is a convenient way to classify and partially dehumanize them. The people whom one cynanthropomorphizes are still human beings, but they are human beings of a very peculiar sort; they are dog-humans.

The initial Chinese experiments in cynanthropomorphization were directed toward neighbors living to the north and the west. The Dog Jung are only the most obvious and best-known example, but the same tendency is reflected in the characters which the Chinese used to transcribe the names of people such as the Ti, the Yün, and the Hsün{90} (three "barbarian" tribes living in the north during ancient times). It is significant that the earliest ascription of caninity to peripheral peoples was to groups located to the north and west of the Chinese heartland. Along with the other evidence for dog imagery cited elsewhere in this paper, this reinforces the notion that the Chinese picked up the idea of cynanthropy and canine totemism from the northern and western peoples themselves. This affection for and attachment to dogs is easily comprehensible for peoples to whom these animals were so important in daily life and after death (see section entitled "Human Beings and Dogs: Deep Linkages" below).

For the Chinese, however, the dog during the last two millennia and more has represented something altogether different. Far from being "man's best friend," the dog, according to proverbial Chinese wisdom, was fawning, worthless, craven, foolish, or vicious -- the antithesis of the kind, gentle, resourceful, courageous, watchful, loyal, and helpful companion of the Indo-Europeans and other largely nomadic peoples who occupied Central Asia in antiquity. Thus, once the Chinese adopted the notion that human beings could be cynanthropomorphized, they invoked it according to their own propensities. Shifting their focus from the north and the west whence the original dog imagery derived, they applied it to numerous peoples who lived in the south.

In terms of the expansion of the Han people from their Yellow River homeland south of the Yangtze, it is understandable that this surge of cynanthropy would take place precisely when and where it did, since it was just around the end of the Han Dynasty when the migration of northern peoples to the south vastly increased its tempo. From 280 to 464 CE, the increase in the Han-Chinese registered population south of the Yangtze was more than five-fold. The causes of these massive and prolonged migrations were numerous and included constant wars and frequent famines. In the year 310, a terrible drought-induced famine led to the ironically named Panic of Yung-chia{91} ("Eternal Felicity") in which

Tatar invaders pushed starving Han-Chinese masses southward. The result was that 60-70 percent of the Han-Chinese population of the central provinces crossed the Yangtze in the wake of that monumental panic.<sup>55</sup>

Given these enormous demographic movements from the north, it is not at all surprising that the Han people -- who were coming into contact with non-Han groups south of the Yangtze **on a large scale** for the first time -- would devise names and narratives to account for the unfamiliar peoples and customs that they encountered. It was in this very atmosphere of cultural shock and alienation that the P'an-hu myth first surfaces and is elaborated. As the Han infiltrated the south, often pushing the indigenes out of the fertile flatland up into the mountains and a state of montagnardism,<sup>56</sup> they transcribed their names, usually with characters either having a "bug / insect / worm-serpent" radical or a "dog" radical. Among the southern peoples whose names were transcribed with characters having a dog radical were the Kuo-lo (a tribe spread over Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan), the Yao (in Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Hunan, Yunnan, etc.), the Mu or Mu-yao (in Kwangtung), the Liao (in various parts of the southwest), the T'ung{92} (in Kwangtung and Kwangsi), and so forth. The inclusion of dog radicals in the characters used to transcribe the names of neighboring peoples was certainly intended to stigmatize them as inferior, since the vast majority of all characters in the Chinese script that have dog radicals convey characteristics of the following sort: mercilessness, heartlessness, cruelty, cunning, craftiness, viciousness, irascibility, gluttony, wildness, madness, narrow-mindedness, impudence, ferocity, wickedness, and so forth.

### SHEN OR SHIH: MYTH OR HISTORY?

Kan Pao wanted to preserve for posterity what Ssu-ma Ch'ien{93}, author of *Record of the Scribe*, and the other historians missed. In his Preface to *Searching for the Supernatural*, he compares his work to that of historical research and declares that "the spirit world is not a lie." {94}<sup>57</sup> It would appear that Kan Pao's wish was granted: *shen* (*shen-hua* ["myth"]) became *shih* (*li-shih*{95} ["history"]). Judging from the evolution of the P'an-hu story, it would seem that most Chinese scholars did not make a sharp distinction between myth and history. Indeed, myth (insofar as it survived in its often fragmented condition) was generally subsumed under history or geography.

Let us examine the process whereby myth becomes history. The "Man chuan{96} [Biography of the Marn]" in the *Wei shu*{97} [*History of the Northern Wei*] of Wei Shou{98}, scroll 101 (KM ed., p. 2126c),<sup>58</sup> begins with the following sentence: "The different types of Marn are in all likelihood the descendants of P'an-hu. Their origins are

ancient."{99} The key word in this formulation is *kai*{100}, which I have translated as "are in all likelihood." Some may wish to render *kai* simply as "are," but it is not merely an equational or copulative verb. Instead, it usually implies a sense of conjecture or surmise and can even evince skepticism or the nuance of a rhetorical interrogative.<sup>59</sup> Thus, while the author of this passage endorses and perpetuates the notion that the Marn were descended from a dog-ancestor, he expresses a degree of reservation through his use of the word *kai*.

In the next century, Wei Shou's refrain (without its slight skepticism) is taken up by a bevy of historians and becomes a veritably *de riguer* introduction to any discussion of southern peoples. Hence, in the *Chou shu*{101} [*History of the Northern Chou*], scroll 49 (KM ed., p. 2338c), we read, "The Marn are the descendants of P'an-hu."{102} The *Pei shih*{103} [*History of the Northern Dynasties*], scroll 95 (KM ed., p. 3035d), begins its account of the Marn exactly as did Wei Shou. And, in the *Sui shu*{104} [*History of the Sui*], scroll 31 (KM ed., p. 2441a), we find, "The various Marn ...are descendants of P'an-hu."{105}

It should be noted that the unrestrained elaboration of the P'an-hu myth did not go unchallenged. The eminent historiographer, Liu Chih-chi{106} (641-721), in his *Shih t'ung*{107} [*Comprehending History*], made the following rather harsh comments:

Fan Yeh selected materials widely from numerous books and crafted them into an account of the Han. When we look at what he has adopted, it is quite a remarkable achievement. However, as for his chapter on occultism (*fang-shu*{108}) and his biography of the various "barbarians" (*man-yi*{109}), he has made records of such figures as Wang Ch'iao,<sup>60</sup> Tso Tz'u,<sup>61</sup> Lin Chün{110} ("Lord of the Granary"),<sup>62</sup> and P'an-hu. His words are absurd and the content is preposterous. One may say that these chapters are blemishes in a beautiful nephrite, flaws in a fine jade. Alas, there is nothing about these chapters that we can affirm.<sup>63</sup>

Elsewhere, Liu censures authors who repeat such ridiculous stories as the descent of the Southern Marn from P'an-hu and the building of a bridge made of turtles by the Koreans, stories -- according to Liu -- which may be found in almost every book throughout the ages. What is more, these authors not only are ignorant of the original composition of such unlikely tales, they embellish and perpetuate them.<sup>64</sup>

Liu Chih-chi's negative views were enthusiastically seconded by the celebrated encyclopedist, Tu Yu{111} (735-812):

Fan Yeh's biographies of the "barbarians" (Marn-Yi) in the *History of the Later Han* are all weird and the accounts of the "barbarians" all around (*ssu-yi*{112}) by others are also mostly of this sort. Without making clear their origins, they simply follow along and discuss them. It has been said that Kao-hsin sought to enlist the services of someone who could bring him the head of the general (*chiang-chün*{113}) of the Dog Jung and that he would reward the one who did so with a thousand *yi*{114} of gold, a fief of ten thousand households, and his daughter for a wife.

Note of Tu Yu: Before the Chou Dynasty, gold was measured in *chin*{115} while in the Ch'in there were twenty ounces per *yi*. Before the three dynasties of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou, it was land that was divided up, while after the Ch'in and Han, division was made to individuals. Furthermore, it was only at the end of the Chou that the position of *chiang-chün*<sup>65</sup> was established and the surname Wu{116} properly existed only after the naming of clans by the Chou. Yet Fan Yeh believed that all of these things could be dated to the time of Kao-hsin. This is being much too imprecise! Furthermore, according to the *Sung shih*{117} [*History of the Liu Sung*], after Fan Yeh was arrested [on charges of treason], he wrote to his nieces and nephews from jail, explaining himself with these words: "The writing style of my pieces on the Six 'Barbarians' (*Liu-yi*{118}) is quite unrestrained. Truly, they are rare among all the works under heaven! Those among them that hit the mark are invariably not inferior to Chia Yi's{119} (201-169 BCE) 'Kuo Ch'in lun{120} [Disquisition on the Faults of Ch'in].' If I were to compare myself with Pan Ku{121} (32-92 CE, main author of *Han shu*{122} [*History of the Han*]), I really wouldn't be ashamed."<sup>66</sup>

Note of Tu Yu: When Pan Ku and Chia Yi recounted affairs, did they ever speak of such strange things? When he makes as many blunders as this, how can Fan Yeh claim not to be inferior to Chia Yi and not to be ashamed in comparison with Pan Ku?!

Although a minority dissenting opinion continued to be voiced in such careful and critical works as Wang Hsien-ch'ien's{123} (1842-1918) *Hou-Han-shu chi-chieh*{124} [*Collected Explanations of the History of the Later Han*],<sup>68</sup> most commentators have not only automatically repeated the P'an-hu myth as history, they have embellished it and interwoven it with other myths that were originally unrelated. If myth were simply recognized as myth, this would not pose a problem. The difficulty arises when such myths and fantasies work their way into history.

For China, "mythology" is a modern, Western epistemological category. There is now a Sinitic term, *shen-hua*{125}, that is recognized as functionally equivalent to

"mythology". However, like the words for "philosophy" (*che-hsüeh*{126}, Japanese *tetsugaku*), "religion" (*tsung-chiao*{127}, Japanese *shūkyō*), "literature" (*wen-hsüeh*{128}, Japanese *bungaku*), and so many other Western intellectual categories, it was probably transferred to Chinese from Japanese (*shinwa*) as a convenient neologism. In antiquity, China certainly had gods and spirits aplenty, but no "myth" (*shen-hua* ["god / spirit-talk"]) as such. Still less did it have "mythology" (*shen-hua-hsüeh*{129} ["study / learning about gods / spirit"]).<sup>69</sup>

While the existence of myth(ology) in ancient China is problematic for various reasons, it is hardly to be doubted that it possessed the equivalents of both "history" and "historiography". There were certainly an abundance of many notable *shih*{130} ("chronicles, annals" and the "scribes"<sup>70</sup> who wrote them). And ancient China surely was concerned with history in the sense of "the branch of knowledge dealing with past events,"<sup>71</sup> which is not a neologism.<sup>72</sup> Ancient Chinese also had "history" in the sense of "a continuous, systematic narrative of past events as relating to a particular people, country, period, person, etc., usually written as a chronological account; chronicle."<sup>73</sup> That ancient China amply possessed "history" in this latter sense is born out both by praxis and by the vast amount of extant written materials which can be so characterized.<sup>74</sup>

After this brief excursus on mythology and history, we may aver that the ancient Chinese were relatively weak in the former and strong in the latter. Consequently, the former was liable to be subsumed or consumed by the latter. Such was the case with P'an-hu, who began as deified totem but ended up as reified datum. In a riot of reverse euhemerization, both P'an-ku and P'an-hu come to be accepted as real people who once lived and walked, not merely as mythical deities. We have seen how P'an-hu is written into the standard histories without the slightest reservation or qualification, whereas Giles even goes so far as to award P'an-ku a place in his *Biographical Dictionary* (no. 1607, pp. 613-614). Several individuals even adopted the syllable P'an as their own surname,<sup>75</sup> whether from P'an-ku or from P'an-hu remaining a moot point. This is all part of a process that I would characterize in Literary Sinitic as *chung shih ch'ing shen*{131} ("value scribes, despise spirits") or, in Mandarin, *chung-shih li-shih ch'ing-shih shen-hua*{132} ("take history seriously, but make light of myth"). It may well be that this pervasive attitude among the literati was one of the main causes of the much-lamented decimation and distortion of Chinese myths.

#### HUMAN BEINGS AND DOGS: DEEP LINKAGES

As one would expect, the daughter languages of the Indo-European family share a common word for "dog." From Proto-Indo-European *\*kwon-* are derived Greek *kuōn*, Latin *canis*, Italian *cane*, French *chien*, Spanish *can* (mostly obsolete in favor of *perro*, which is of obscure origin), Portuguese *cão*, Rumanian *cîine*, Tocharian A *ku* (oblique *kon*), Irish *cū*, Welsh *ci*, Breton *ki*, German, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish *hund* (from the dentally enlarged, suffixed zero-grade form *\*kwn-to-* in Germanic *\*hundaz*), Yiddish *hunt*, Dutch *hond*, English "hound", Sanskrit *śvan-* (the *k > s* sound change is regular in satem languages), Avestan *span-*, Lithuanian *šuo*, Lettic *suns*, Russian *sobaka*, and Armenian *šun*.<sup>76</sup> What is surprising, however, is that the ancient word for "dog" is cognate in many languages reaching far beyond Indo-European. This has been conclusively demonstrated, first by Illich-Svitch<sup>77</sup> and recently by Bomhard.<sup>78</sup> Illich-Svitch would extend the meaning of the earliest known root of the word to include the notion of "wolf" as well as that of "dog," but Bomhard is more cautious and restricts the meaning to "dog" alone. A few examples of the languages they cite are Dangla *kanya* and Jegu *kany-* from East Chadic, Mogogodo *kwehen* and Fyer *kʷeeŋ* from West Chadic, Ka[ɸ]fa and Mocha *kunano*, Ome[to] *kana*, *kanaa*, Dime *keenu* and Mao *kano* from Omotic, and Guanche *cuna* from Berber. Indeed, as I shall momentarily point out, even the Sinitic word for "dog" is essentially the same as the common word for that animal in most Indo-European languages. How can we account for this identity of usage in such a vast variety of languages? There are two possible, credible explanations: 1. all of the languages which share the same word for "dog" were derived from a single parent language; 2. the common word for "dog" spread with the domestication of the animal.<sup>79</sup> I believe that the correct explanation for this remarkable phenomenon is a combination of the two possibilities.

Dogs were first domesticated from wolves in Iraq and Palestine around 12,000 years ago<sup>80</sup> and dog bones have been found in association with the earliest known Indo-European settlements (north of the Black Sea) around 4500 BCE. European peoples were well disposed toward and relied upon dogs already by the Epipaleolithic or Mesolithic period (in Europe c. 9000-6000 BCE) which is characterized by the appearance of the dog as the first domesticated animal, of the bow and arrow, and of pottery. "The burial of dogs in Mesolithic cemeteries, generally of animals like German shepherd dogs, indicates that these had been domesticated and were held in much esteem." The treatment of dogs at Skateholm (southern tip of Sweden) was unusually lavish. "Certain dogs have been found buried individually and with very rich grave goods, such as antlers and flint blades, positioned as if the dog had been a human."<sup>81</sup> Thus we see that dogs were valuable to the



Old Europeans already before the Neolithic and before the rise of Indo-European languages.

Given the great affection of the prehistoric Indo-Europeans for dogs and their reliance upon them for hunting and herding, it is not surprising that some Central Asian nomads would have adopted this animal as a tribal totem. Indeed, the existence of lycanthropy (wolfmanism) among certain Central Asian peoples would seem to indicate that esteem for this animal had developed even before it was fully domesticated.

These archeologically determined time-depths are significant in helping us to understand the origin and spread of both the word for dog and the domesticated dog itself. First of all, we should note that the hypothetical root for "dog", viz. *\*k[h]w n* or *\*k[h]wan*, has not been securely established as genetically pertinent to all of the families normally placed within the Nostratic macrofamily; it is germane only in Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic, but not in Kartvelian, Uralic, Dravidian, and "Altaic".<sup>82</sup> In Afro-Asiatic, furthermore, the common hypothetical root for "dog" is firmly established only in the Hamitic branch, but not in the Semitic branch.<sup>83</sup> This affords an approximate idea of the time-depth at which the common word for domesticated dog (*\*k[h]w n* or *\*k[h]wan*) arose and was shared by speakers of the languages enumerated just above: closer to 6000 BCE than to 10,000 BCE, but before 4000 BCE by which time Indo-European had established itself as an independent family.

For reasons which are too complex to go into here, I do not accept Sinitic as part of the Nostratic superfamily.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the words for domesticated dog in Sinitic, viz. *ch'üan*{133} (approximate Old Sinitic pronunciation *\*k<sup>h</sup>iwən*) and *kou*{134} (approximate Early Middle Sinitic pronunciation *\*kəu*), must have been borrowings. I view *ch'üan* (*\*k<sup>h</sup>iwən*) as the primary (early) borrowing and *kou* (*\*kəu*) as a secondary (late) borrowing, probably from Tocharian. Korean *gae* is most likely traceable to similar roots.

The archeological evidence for domesticated dogs matches well with the linguistic evidence just cited. At the Pan-p'o neolithic village (beginning c. 5000) dogs were buried under the posts and elsewhere around the foundations of dwellings, although domesticated dogs were probably already present in North China approximately a thousand years before that time and in Central China (between Hang-chou Bay and the estuary of the Yangtze) slightly later.<sup>85</sup> By the time of the Shang Dynasty (roughly 18th c.-12th c. BCE), dogs were being extensively sacrificed and interred in royal burials along with oxen, sheep, horses, and human victims.<sup>86</sup>

It was with the Indo-Europeans, however, that the dog seems to have taken on especial importance in society. There can be no doubt that dogs played an important role in the Indo-European community from its very beginning and that the word for "dog"

(\**kwon-* ) was part of the earliest layer of Proto-Indo-European vocabulary.<sup>87</sup> At Sredny-Stog, in the very heart of the Pontic-Caspian homeland, dogs were buried together with horses in graves<sup>88</sup> (as in Shang tombs at An-yang) and were also sometimes found buried under the posts of houses or around the foundations as at Pan-p'o.

McCone argues that we have sufficient evidence to prove Indo-European age-grades with the youngest group of military age forming war-bands who assumed dog or wolf totems, dress, etc. They lived off the land by raiding and constitute the shock troops of Indo-European warfare (something like Cheyenne dog-soldiers). It is not altogether clear how this would have worked with respect to pastoral nomads, but it is likely that they formed dog-related sets or some type of hound sodalities.<sup>89</sup>

### DOGS AND "THE OTHER"

In a brilliant book entitled *Myths of the Dog-Man*, David Gordon White has shown that three different cultures (European, Indian and Chinese) share the same cynanthropic image of Otherness, "a phenomenon that could be explained by some sort of Jungian, or even Eliadean, assumption of universality," as pointed out by Wendy Doniger in her "Foreword" to his book. The bizarre thought that the Other is a dog might simply also be ascribed to pure chance. Yet, through the most meticulous and detailed scholarship, White

has gone on to demonstrate that these three cultures refract, in a negative inversion, the mythological self-image of one, single, actual culture that existed on the border of all three (a phenomenon that can be explained through the more accessible assumptions of history and anthropology). He argues for a central source for all three sets of myths, in Central Asia.<sup>90</sup>

Chapters 6.3, 7, and 8 of *Myths of the Dog-Man* deal with the various Chinese sources for cynanthropic myths about peripheral peoples. These sources reveal a tangled web of indigenous totemic myths, Chinese elaborations of these myths, and the borrowing back of the reworked myths by different groups of autochthons. In some cases, the P'an-hu myth as refracted by the Chinese is further reworked by the indigenes, often for an implicit political purpose. A good example of this process is the subtle manipulation of the P'an-hu myth by the Yao, who emerged into history only in the eleventh century, against the Marn whom they gradually displaced.<sup>91</sup>

White has pointed out the prevalence, in a wide spectrum of Indo-European mythologies, of a pair of canine psychopomps (conductors of souls to the other world) and

hellhound guards of the infernal gates all bearing similar names and functions.<sup>92</sup> As such, dogs are seen as liminal creatures who are capable of transmuting back and forth from one one realm to another. White has also called our attention to the universal identification of the star Sirius with a celestial dog-star responsible for the burning heat of the dog days throughout the northern hemisphere.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, the dog days also have funerary associations in many traditions and are identified with the opening of the gates of the infernal regions and the temporary release of the dead into the world of the living.

In China, the dog days are called *fu-t'ien*{135} or *san-fu[-t'ien]*{136}. These are the three ten-day periods of the hot season.<sup>94</sup> They are roughly equivalent to the period from the middle of July to the latter part of August.<sup>95</sup> We should note that, in Roman times, the six or eight hottest weeks of summer (usually falling in July, August, and early September) were known colloquially as *dies caniculares* ("days of the dog"). This usage originated with the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians. The main reason the dog days were called such (aside from the empathy of sweltering humans with furry, tongue-hanging-out canines suffering under the blistering sun) was because it was thought that the dog star Sirius added its heat to that of the sun during this period (roughly July 3-August 11 as reckoned astronomically [when Sirius' rise coincides with that of the sun]). Sirius, located in the constellation Canis Major ("Bigger Dog"), is the most brilliant star in the sky. Its Latin name derives from Greek Seirios, which means "burning". It is also called the Dog Star, Sothis, from Egyptian *spdt*{137}.<sup>96</sup>

The realized form of the Egyptian word is Septit.<sup>97</sup> The rising of  $\Sigma\omega\theta\iota\varsigma$  Sothis (i.e., Septit) marked the beginning of the Egyptian year. Why was the heliacal rising of Sirius so important to the Egyptians that they marked the beginning of their New Year with its occurrence?<sup>98</sup> The most straightforward answer is that it coincided with the rising of the Nile River around July 19 (of the Julian calendar) each year. Around that time, Sirius was observed in the sky shortly before sunrise, after having been invisible for a prolonged period. The proper coordination of agricultural activities depended on "reading" Sirius accurately.

It is most likely not merely a coincidence that the Chinese, already from at least the time of the "Chiu ko{138} (Nine Songs)" (early third century BCE?) in the *Ch'u tz'u*{139} [*Elegies of the South*], referred to this very same star as the Wolf (*Canis lupus*) of Heaven (T'ien-lang{140}).<sup>99</sup> There is, however, an even closer connection between the canicular days of the West and the *fu-t'ien* or *san-fu-t'ien* of China. Namely, *fu*{141} means "to prostrate, yield; hide, lie in ambush"; these are all actions typical of dogs. The caninity of *fu* is evident in the visual form of the graph used to write the word. The character for *fu* is of the *hui-yi*{142} ("combined meaning") type; it consists of a man on

the left and a dog on the right, neither of which is a phonophore. *Fu* in the sense of "period of extremely hot days" was first used in the "Ch'in pen-chi { 143 } [Basic Annals of Ch'in]" of the *Shih chi (Records of the Scribe)*, completed c. 90 BCE under the second year of Duke Te (676 BCE).

There is a great deal of archeological evidence connecting western Yunnan to the steppes where Indo-European-speaking nomads were already present during the Neolithic and Bronze Age.<sup>100</sup> It would have been natural for dog imagery, dog totems, and dog myths to enter southwest China along these routes. It is even possible that the Indo-European word (or cognate from another Nostratic language) for "domesticated dog" entered Tibeto-Burman languages following the same paths.

The reconstruction of the Proto--Burmish word for "dog" is roughly *\*khwei*<sup>2</sup>, that for Proto-Lolo-Burmese is roughly *\*k<sup>w</sup>iy*<sup>2</sup>, and the Proto-Loloish for dog is *\*kwe*<sup>2</sup>.<sup>101</sup> These reconstructions conform to the word for dog in most Tibeto-Burman languages of southwest China and the Himalayan region.<sup>102</sup> Exceptionally, however, the Common Lahu word for dog is *hpui*. The Lahu word superficially appears to have nothing to do with *\*kwe*<sup>2</sup>, but the shift from a labiovelar to an (aspirated) labial is a regular reflex which occurs in at least three other instances in Lahu<sup>103</sup> and is also met with in Greek (e.g., *hippo* || Proto-Indo-European *\*ekwo* ["horse"]; *-poiesis* ["poetry"] || Proto-Indo-European *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei-* ["pile up, build, make"]). Burmese, interestingly, has what appears to be essentially a phonologically intermediary form, *hkwei*.<sup>104</sup> Loloish consists of a Northern branch (Yi or Lolo), a Central branch (Lahu and Lisu), and a Southern branch (mBisu, Phunoi, Mpi, Akha). The cladistics of Lahu (working from the bottom upward) are as follows: Lahu > Akha cluster > Southern Lolo subgroup > Loloic group > Burmese-Lolo subbranch > Burmese-Moso branch > Burmic subgroup > Tibeto-Burman group > Tibeto-Karen branch > Sino-Tibetan family (the latter still somewhat hypothetical).<sup>105</sup>

It is conceivable that the peculiar phonological configuration of the Lahu word for "dog" might have been the source of the name P'an-hu. Bisyllabification is a typical Sinitic maneuver for coping with unfamiliar consonant clusters, while nasalization is equally common in Chinese loan words. The distribution of the Lahu along the routes by which the domesticated dog, the word for dog, and canine imagery most likely entered southwest China would also appear to reinforce such a speculation (see maps). I am inclined, however, to reject it, because the vowel qualities of P'an-hu and *hpui* (or *phî*, *phu*, *phuy* -- the Lahu word for "dog") do not match very well. Furthermore, the earliest version of the P'an-hu myth which provides linguistically significant data (that of Fan Yeh in the *History of the Later Han*) would seem to indicate that it was first identified with Austroasiatic-speaking Mon rather than Tibeto-Burman-speaking Lahu. Finally, the Lahu were by no

means fond of dogs. Quite the contrary, of the more than three dozen expressions that include the word "dog" (*phɿ*<sup>3</sup>) given by Matisoff in his hefty *Dictionary of Lahu*,<sup>106</sup> all but a few neutral terms are vile in nature and the largest proportion have to do with copulation or excrement. A people who harbors such thoroughly negative attitudes about dogs would not be apt to consider themselves the descendants of a dog-ancestor.

Eberhard holds that the P'an-hu myth occurred only among Yao peoples or their relatives.<sup>107</sup> Neither the linguistic nor the historical evidence supports such a view. The P'an-hu myth is ascribed to a wide variety of southern peoples, among them the Man, Pa, Miao (i.e., Hmong), Yao, T'ung{144}, She, and other non-Han groups living south of the Yangtze. The linguistic affiliation of these groups is enormously complicated. Obviously, the groups who are said to believe in the P'an-hu myth do not all belong to a single language family. Indeed, some of the groups are themselves composed of speakers from different language families. For example, a little less than half of the Yao actually speak Yao, an Austric language, while approximately one third speak a variety of Miao (Hmong), another Austric language, about one percent speak a Tai language known as Lakya, about 11 percent speak an unusual variety of Sinitic, and the remainder presumably speak still other languages.<sup>108</sup>

What is even less clear than the linguistic affinities of those who are said to believe in the P'an-hu myth is the question of ascription versus subscription. Namely, did the southern, non-Han peoples initiate, shape, and subscribe to the P'an-hu myth themselves? Or was the myth created, elaborated, and ascribed to the southern peoples by the Han-Chinese? I believe that the totality of the evidence tilts toward the preponderance of ascription over subscription, although both factors were operative. The P'an-hu myth, even supposing that it had its ultimate origins among the Miao peoples themselves (which is highly doubtful, if not impossible, in light of the overall evidence adduced above),

...is one which borrows heavily from Chinese "barbarian genres" in the Chinese (re-)telling of it. ...[H]owever, there is much of the barbarian in China's self-identity, in spite of the voluminous evidence that Chinese tradition musters to the contrary.<sup>109</sup>

In ascribing caninity to the southerners and then enveloping them within its empire, China has absorbed the myths and ethos that go along with the assumptions about their dog-nature.

## CONCLUSION

The variants of the P'an-hu myth that have come down to us have all been substantially shaped by Han conceptions of the Other. There is not a single extant P'an-hu myth that can be demonstrated to reflect accurately the ethos of any of the southern peoples themselves. Individually and as a fragmentary corpus, the P'an-hu myth variants reported in Chinese sources from the late Eastern Han Dynasty through the end of the Ch'ing period are confused and contradictory. Furthermore, they are not confirmed by independent ethnographic observation. All of this is in stark contrast to the bottle-gourd myths which have been transmitted orally and in writing among the southern peoples for centuries. What is more, elements of the bottle gourd myths have been actively adopted by the Han peoples as part of their own world-view. Even if there may originally have been a germ of self-identity in the P'an-hu myth, it has come down to us primarily in Sinitic texts from the Han period on. Fundamentally, the P'an-hu myth has been adumbrated within Han culture as a way of categorizing a disparate body of alien neighbors.

What we find in the Chinese material are at least two levels of "indigenous barbarian" traditions refracted through the lens of this tradition's particular interpretive apparatus. In this way, central Asian and southern Chinese ancestry myths are often transformed into cosmogonic myths or mythic representations of various economic relationships between vassal and empire.<sup>110</sup>

Perhaps even more revealing about the nature of Han mythology, legend, and folklore concerning both Self and Other than its refractive and ascriptive qualities is the extent to which it is script-driven. The semantically potent sinographic script constantly generates narratives that originally have as their primary purpose the justification of folk etymologies that are essentially artifacts of transcription. In the first place, the name P'an-hu does not have the look of a native Sinitic name. Secondly, P'an-hu is a myth about non-Han people, so it is probable that its hero would have a non-Sinitic name. Third, there are at least five different sinographic forms of the name P'an-hu, thus it is likely that they are variant orthographic transcriptions of a non-Sinitic word. Once the name P'an-hu was written down in characters, literate Chinese were ineluctably tempted to invent a narrative to explain the meaning of the transcription. It does not matter that the choice of characters used to write the name P'an-hu was almost certainly originally determined primarily by phonological considerations and thus essentially meaningless in terms of semantic content.

Kan Pao, being a literatus, succumbed to the temptation. Thus he begins his account of the origins of the Marn with the old woman in the palace having an earache. To recapitulate, an object the size of a cocoon is removed from her ear and placed in a gourd (*hu*), then covered with a basin (*p'an*). The little lump soon grows into a dog, thus explaining not only the origins of the dog-ancestor P'an-hu, but ultimately of his descendants -- the Marn -- as well. As a matter of fact, Kan Pao did not himself invent this false-etymologically driven narrative, for we find it in a note of the early T'ang commentator, Li Hsien{145}, where it is identified as deriving from the *Wei-lüeh*{146} [*Historical Sketch of the Wei*]. The *Historical Sketch of the Wei* was an account of the Wei Dynasty, one of the Three Kingdoms (San-kuo{147}) that succeeded the Eastern Han Dynasty, written by Yü Huan{148} around the middle of the third century.<sup>111</sup> Li Hsien's note citing the now-lost *Historical Sketch of the Wei* version of P'an-hu's supernatural origin is found in, of all places, the beginning of his commentary to the "Biography of the Southern Marn" in the *History of the Later Han*. It would appear that the much maligned Fan Yeh passed over this fantastic birth story, which was available to him both in Yü Huan's *Historical Sketch of the Wei* and in Kan Pao's *Record of Searching for the Supernatural*, perhaps because he found it too unbelievable. Instead, he plunges directly into the story without regard for the god's origins, concentrating instead on P'an-hu as the ancestor of the Southern Marn. This leaves Fan Yeh's biography of the Southern Marn truncated at the top: he simply begins by telling about the troubles the emperor was having with the Dog Jung and the fact that a multicolored domesticated dog named P'an-hu was living in his palace. Unlike Yü Huan or Kan Pao, Fan Yeh does not tell us how such a miraculous dog came into being. While Fan Yeh may have been striving to preserve a shred of historical credibility for his biography of the Southern Marn by removing its most patently fatuous component, his excision of P'an-hu's birth story renders his account both unsatisfying and unsatisfactory. If Fan Yeh could accept the canine ancestry of the Southern Marn as historically reliable and thus worthy of inclusion in the official *History of the Later Han*, then it behooved him to explain the pedigree of P'an-hu. It would appear, however, that he consciously avoided that subject, especially since it was conspicuously present in the accounts of both Yü Huan and Kan Pao.

A more believable scenario for the early filiation of the story may be the following:

1. Ying Shao (or a contemporary) writes down the P'an-hu story, sans any explanation of P'an-hu's own origins, around the end of the second century;
2. Yü Huan finds Ying Shao's account unsatisfactory because it fails to explain where P'an-hu came from, so he adds the pseudoetymologically inspired tale of the miraculous dog's birth at the beginning;
3. Kan Pao embellishes Yü Huan's account;
4. Fan Yeh adopts the original myth as

presented by Ying Shao. In any event, the basic rationale of the *Historical Sketch of the Wei* story is to explain the most common orthographic form of the name. The openings of the P'an-hu myth variants as narrated by Yü Huan and by Kan Pao are excellent examples of the generative power of the morphosyllabic Chinese script in folklore, popular narrative, myth, and legend. All cultures have far-fetched stories for justifying false etymologies, but Chinese culture is inundated with them because of the semantically robust genius of its script.

One of the most enduring lessons that may be learned from this preliminary investigation is the extent to which the sinographic script can shape the stories that it records. P'an-hu (the dog-man) originally had nothing to do with P'an-ku (the cosmic man), but because of the partial resemblance of their sinographic transcriptions, they have often been held by Chinese scholars to be a single myth. Similarly, P'an-hu (the dog-man) and *hu-lu* (the bottle gourd) had very different origins, yet once again, because of the semantic interference (P'an-hu = "plate-gourd") of the sinographic script when it is used for transcriptions of foreign words into Sinitic languages, they were frequently forced into a single mythic framework. Even such a distinguished scholar as Schafer<sup>112</sup> uncritically follows in the path of those who conflate the P'an-hu and bottle gourd myths into a single, grand supermyth which simultaneously attempts to account for all of their separate, constituent elements. The research of Wen Yi-to on Fu-hsi and the annotations of Yüan K'o on the *Classic of the Mountains and Seas* reveal how seriously jumbled P'an-hu, P'an-ku, King P'an (P'an Wang{149}), the *hu-lu* ("bottle gourd"), and a host of other mythic manifestations have become. One gains the same impression from the copious citations of pre-modern texts dating back to the Han period and the commentary upon them of Liu Ch'eng-huai who declares bafflingly that P'an-ku and P'an-hu are "two become one, one become two" (*erh erh yi te, yi erh erh te*{150}).<sup>113</sup> If the situation is so confused in the scholarly literature, it is even more confounded in legend.<sup>114</sup>

If we really want to understand the development of Chinese history, civilization, and culture, we have to **start** with philology so that we can get behind the characters to the words and the ideas. But that is not to assert that philology is where we should **end** our investigations. After diligently carrying out the necessary philological spadework, we must utilize every interpretive device at our disposal. Nor should we deceive ourselves into believing that there can ever be an end to our research. Therefore, my conclusion is an admission that the investigation of the P'an-hu / P'an-ku / *hu-lu* / *hun-t'un*{151} / ... mythic supercomplex, at least for me, has just begun.



## NOTES

I wish to acknowledge the inspiration and information I have received from the following sources: 1. an unpublished paper by Leo K. Shin entitled "Conceptualizing the Non-Han in South China during the Ming" which was prepared for the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies; 2. an unpublished paper by Sara Davis on Yunnan as a zone of contact between Han and non-Han cultures; and 3. the illuminating work of Laura Hostetler, Susan Blum, and other young scholars who have directed our attention to the important question of ethnographic encounters in southwest China. I would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to register my gratitude to Frank Proschan for supplying me with offprints of three difficult-to-obtain articles concerning Southeast Asian myths.

1. Since writing that article, two new references dealing with gourd myths in Southeast Asia have come to my attention: Nguyen, "Deluge Legend" and Nathalang, "Tai Creation Myths," p. 298.

2. Here and throughout this paper, I have altered the spelling of the name of the Man (< Marn) "barbarians" in translated titles or passages to ensure that there is no possibility of confusion with the English word and to indicate that it is pronounced in the second tone of Modern Standard Mandarin.

3. Translated by DeWoskin and Crump, *Search of the Supernatural*, pp. 160-162 and cf. Kao, *Fantastic*, pp. 79-81 for another complete translation by Michael Broschat. Kan Pao's account is also partially translated by Birrell in her *Chinese Mythology*, pp. 119-120. Because her translation brings out certain nuances that are absent from the complete translation of DeWoskin and Crump, it is worth citing (changing P'an Hu to P'an-hu and Kao Hsin to Kao-hsin):

Kao-hsin had an old wife who lived in the royal palace. She developed an earache. After some time the doctor cleared her ear out to cure her and he removed a knob-worm as big as a cocoon. After the wife had gone out, she put it in a gourd basket and covered it with a plate. Soon the knob-worm changed into a dog and it had five-color markings. So it was named P'an-hu, Plate-Gourd, and she looked after it.

At the time the Jung-wu were powerful and successful and frequently invaded the border region. So he [Kao-hsin] dispatched generals to attack and quell the invasion but

they could not capture or defeat them [the invaders]. So [Kao-hsin] issued a proclamation that if anyone in the world could capture the head of the commander in chief of the Jung-wu, he would be rewarded with a thousand catties of gold and would have the fiefdom of ten thousand households, and he would have the hand of his own daughter in marriage. Some time later, P'an-hu carried in his jaws a head he had captured and he carried it to the tower of the royal palace. The king examined it, and it turned out to be the very head of the commander of the Jung-wu. What was to be done about it? His courtiers all said, "Plate-Gourd is an animal, so he cannot have an official rank or a wife. He should not have the reward, even though he deserves it." His youngest daughter heard them and entreated the king, saying: "Your Majesty did promise me to him before the whole world! Plate-Gourd came with the head in his jaws and saved your kingdom from disaster. This was decreed by Heaven. How can it just be due to the wisdom and power of a dog? The king must weigh his words carefully; the chief earls must attach importance to their good faith. You cannot cancel an agreement that was pledged before the whole world just because of a girl's body -- that would mean catastrophe for your kingdom." The king became alarmed and agreed with what she said. He ordered his youngest daughter to be a dutiful wife to Plate-Gourd.

Plate-Gourd led the girl up South Mountain. The grass and trees were thick and bushy and there was no trace of human footprints. Then the girl took her clothes off and became bonded to him as his servant, wearing clothes that she made as best she could, and she followed Plate-Gourd up the mountain.

4. Quoted in *Hou Han shu (History of the Later Han)*, scroll 106 (K'ai-ming edition), p. 897c.

5. For a fascinating hypothesis on the possible Indo-European antecedents of the Yellow Emperor, see Chang, "Indo-European Vocabulary," pp. 35-36. This will be relevant for many of the findings touched upon later in this paper. For a no-nonsense examination of the textual sources concerning Kao-hsin and the Yellow Emperor, see Karlgren, "Legends and Cults," pp. 206, 207, 211, 212-214, 218, 221, 222, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 233, 242, 243, 247, 255, 260, 265, 271, 274, 278, and 283-285.

There are no firm grounds for the actual existence (as historical personages *per se*) of the Yellow Emperor, Kao-hsin, and the other pre-Shang rulers whose supposed genealogy and stupendous feats have been sketched out in texts of the Warring States, Ch'in-Han, and later periods. They are essentially mythical gods and legendary heroes who evoke dim memories of the distant past. Consequently, they may reveal important

clues about the origins of Chinese civilization and the psyche of the Chinese people, but they are not to be taken literally as building blocks for a foundation upon which to construct a history of early China.

This has not prevented Chinese devotees and genealogists of the Yellow Emperor, who consider him to be the "primal ancestor" of their nation, from concocting a complete biography for him. According to this account, the Yellow Emperor was born in Shou-ch'iu (not far from Ch'ü-fu, the hometown of Confucius [N.B.]), Shantung Province; died at Ching-shan, Honan; and was buried on the summit of Mount Ch'iao-shan (about a kilometer from Huang-ling district town) in Shensi, where millions go to visit his "remains." See Xiao, ed., *China's Cultural Heritage*, pp. 26-27.

6. *Op. cit.*, scroll 3, p. 109. The *Feng-su t'ung-yi* originally consisted of 30 scrolls, but the extant edition has only 10 scrolls with some lost portions supplemented from quotations in later sources.

7. Against all other available phonological evidence, a note in the *History of the Later Han* asserts that this word should be read *hang-t'u*{152}. As we shall see when trying to discover what non-Sinitic word it may reflect, the *hang-t'u* reading (which may have a dialectical source), matches the available comparative evidence better than does the customary *yang-t'u*{153} reading.

8. Translated by Robert Campany in White, *Dog-Man*, pp. 141-142. I have written P'an Hu as P'an-hu and made a few other minor changes. For another translation of this passage, see Laufer, "Totemic Traces," pp. 419-420.

9. This is not the same *Kuang yi chi* as the collection of strange tales edited by Tai Fu{154} and studied by Dudbridge in his *Religious Experience and Lay Society in T'ang China*.

10. The character for "leaves" (*yeh*{155}) would seem to be a corruption of *hu*{156} ("gourd").

11. I do not know of Tsai{157} as a surname and suspect that this may be an orthographical error for Jan{158}.

12. Fan Ch'o, *Man shu*, pp. 256-257; translation extensively modified from Luce, *Man Shu*, pp. 100-101.

13. See *Han-yü ta tzu-tien [Great Dictionary of Chinese Graphs]*, vol. 5, p. 3461b. Other, secondary glosses they offer are "order" (N.B.: the opposite of "chaos"!), "unbroken," and "connect," but these are all just wild or desperate guesses.

14. Even in Modern Standard Mandarin the two words differ in tone and in Old Sinitic their pronunciations would have been much further apart. The *luan* which evolved into the Sinitic transcription of the ethnonym Marn (as well as numerous other words written with graphs sharing the same phonophore) and the *luan* meaning "chaotic" are totally separate words deriving from unrelated etymons.

15. Kao Shu-fan, *Cheng-chung hsing yin yi tsung-ho ta tzu-tien*, p. 1618c.

16. I suspect that the view of the Marn as reptilian was already in place before the dog-ancestor myth was devised for them. Otherwise, it would have been just as easy to attach a dog radical to the character used to transcribe their name.

17. See Shorto, *Dictionary*.

18. This has now been recognized by modern Chinese ethnographers who have provided a more accurate transcription, He-meng{159}, than the misleading traditional rendition as Miao. See, for example, *Chung-kuo ta pai-k'e ch'üan-shu [Great Chinese Encyclopedia]*, Min-tsu [Ethnography] vol., p. 175a.

19. Wiens, *China's March*, pp. 35-36.

20. "Dog-Ancestor Story," pp. 366-367.

21. Among nearly a dozen sources consulted are F. K. Li, *Comparative Tai* and Haas, *Thai-English Student's Dictionary*. I also wish to express my gratitude to the following Thai-speaking individuals for verifying that, to the best of their knowledge, none of the four terms in question call to mind a Thai, Chuang, Dai, or Tai word: William J. Gedney, Jerold A. Edmondson, LUO Yongxian, Donald K. Swearer, Joyce White, Lisa Skinner, and Nongpoth Sternstein.

22. I am grateful to Thai van Nguyen, William C. Hannas, and Marilyn Larew for looking over the Vietnamese evidence cited in the text.

23. It may only be coincidental that a Burmese word for "we" is *kywan taw* (see Bradley, *Proto-Loloish*, pp. 336-337, no. 442 and Hunter, *Comparative Dictionary*, p. 51: *nga-to*), although this may also reflect Mon influence which was both ancient and pervasive in Burma. Cf. Shorto, *Dictionary*.

24. There is, however a Lisu word *du<sup>4</sup>trgh<sup>1</sup>* meaning "skirt" (see Bradley, *Proto-Loloish*, pp. 316-317, no. 231).

25. Fracasso, tr., *Libro*, pp. 176 and 228; Cheng, Cheng, and Thern, tr., *Shan Hai Ching*, pp. 195 and 248-249; Mathieu, *Étude*, vol. 1, pp. 483-484, 618-619.

26. Lau and Chen, *Concordance*, p. 197; Mathieu, *Étude*, vol. 2, p. 1107; Yüan, *Shan hai ching*, index, pp. 8-9.

27. Cf. the extensive notes in Yüan, *Shan hai ching*, pp. 307-310 and 434-435, esp. 435, where the most frequently cited contemporary authority on the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* and on Chinese myth in general explicitly identifies the notices on the Ch'üan-jung in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* as perhaps being variants of the P'an-hu myth (*Ch'üan-jung shen-hua kai P'an-hu shen-hua chih yi-wen*{160}).

28. Yüan, *Shan hai ching*, p. 309. I have purposely translated *kou* as "hound" to distinguish it from *ch'üan* ("dog"). Below, I shall attempt to demonstrate that both *kou* and *ch'üan* ultimately derive from the same etymon which was probably a borrowing from Indo-European or an earlier language belonging to a West Asiatic linguistic superfamily.

29. Kuo P'u notes that, for "Nung," one text has "Pien."

30. More literally, "this was [none other than] the Dog Jung."

31. Yüan, *Shan hai ching*, p. 434.

32. The text is corrupt; *chuang*{ 161 } ("stout") is almost certainly an orthographic error for *mou*{ 162 } ("male [of quadrupeds]").
33. *Shih-chi*, scroll 10 (KM ed.), p. 244ab.
34. Yüan, *Shan hai ching*, p. 465.
35. Fracasso, "*Shan hai ching*," pp. 359-361; Fracasso, tr., *Libro*, pp. xx-xxiv and xxxiv-xxxvi; Karlgren, "Legends and Cults," pp. 204-205.
36. Průšek, *Statelets*, pp. 19, 42-46, citing Ch'en, *Tsung-shu*, pp. 286, 291, and 294. The Shang inscriptions actually do name the Ch'üan ("Dog") people fairly frequently. It is Ch'en's assumption that they are possibly the same people as the Ch'üan-yi, K'un-yi, and Ch'üan-jung{ 163 } of Warring States period texts. The phonology of the initial syllables of all three names is close enough to each other and to the reconstructed pronunciation of the Ancient Sinitic word for "dog" (*ch'üan*) that they may well be variant transcriptions of the same (totemic?) tribal ethnonym.
37. *Science*, vol. 3, p. 505.
38. Translated by James Robert Hightower in Mair, ed., *Columbia Anthology*, pp. 182-183.
39. T'ao Ch'ien's addiction to the exotic is also signaled by the attachment to his name of a book entitled *Sou-shen hou-chi*{ 164 } [*Later Records of Searching for the Supernatural*]. This is, however, a forgery, because it contains references to events which took place a decade after his death.
40. See, for example, Harris, "Treasure Maps." (Harris belongs to the well-attended Henriette Mertz school of *Classic of Mountains and Seas* studies which places the Fu-sang{ 165 } tree [whence the sun rises] in America. I am not qualified to comment on this view. A more sober treatment of the same subject may be found in Nakamura, "Old Chinese world maps.") Some of the old Chinese maps giving the names of places mentioned in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* orthographically transform Ch'üan-feng kuo to Ta-feng kuo ("Great-Fief Country") or Liu-feng kuo ("Six-Fief Country").

41. See Mathieu, *Étude*, vol. pp. 483-484, especially note 4. The home of the Jung mentioned in various Chinese historical texts would appear to lie in the upland region of Shensi, which places it to the northwest of the Chinese central plains.

42. Fitzgerald-Huber, "Contacts."

43. Davis-Kimball, "Warrior Women." Liu, "Dog-Ancestor Myth," notes many examples from Asia and Europe of legends about women copulating with dogs and thus not needing human males in order to become pregnant. Often, they are said to give birth to beautiful girls and dog-headed males. Such legends were responsible for tales about countries inhabited only by women.

44. Bodde, "Myths," p. 383 (emphasis in original).

45. Birrell, tr., *Chinese Mythology*, pp. 32-33 and 190-191, changing P'an Ku to P'an-ku.

46. Embree, *Indian Tradition*, pp. 18-19 (first edition, pp. 15-17); MacDonell, *Vedic Reader*, pp. 195-203.

47. MacDonell, *Vedic Reader*, pp. xi-xii.

48. Hoàng-sy-Quý, "Le mythe indien," esp. pp. 136-139.

49. *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 18-19.

50. Polomé, "Zoroastrianism," p. 283.

51. I thank C. Scott Littleton for the following valuable communication which suggests that the roots of the Puruṣa myth are deeper and broader than the Indo-European family alone:

Regarding the P'an-ku business, the idea that creation comes from the body parts of a primeval being was first suggested by the late Adolf E. Jensen (e.g., *Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples* [Chicago, 1965]) from his work with the Wemale of Ceram. Jensen, who called such figures (e.g., the Wemale "goddess" Hainuwele, who has, by the way, some curious

Japanese counterparts [e.g., Uemochi, who is dismembered by Susano]) demas, suggested that they might be very widespread in cosmogonic myths, and both Bruce Lincoln and Jaan Puhvel later followed this up regarding the ancient Indo-European tradition (see Puhvel's *Comparative Mythology* [Johns Hopkins, 1987]). Indeed, it was Puhvel who first pointed out that the killing of Remus fit the same pattern as found in the killing of Ymir (*Rig Veda* 10.90), etc. (I allude to this matter in a long paper called "The 'Kingship in Heaven' Theme," in Puhvel, ed., *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans* [University of California Press, 1970] and in "Is the 'Kingship in Heaven' Theme Indo-European?" in George Cardona, *et al.*, eds., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970]).

52. Han reconstructions adapted from Coblin, *Handbook*, pp. 225 no. 70, 256 no. 342, 162 no. 1221, 179 no. 769, 213 no. 433, and 182 no. 877.

53. "Fu-hsi k'ao," pp. 55-62, esp. 61.

54. Campany, *Strange Writing*, p. 222n38, calls P'an-ku "the cosmic progenitor" and P'an-hu "the tribal progenitor". In Eberhard's classification (*Typen*), these two myths are properly separated, P'an-hu being no. 41 (pp. 71-76) and P'an-ku being nos. 55-56 (pp. 96-98) and no. 70 (pp. 114-115).

55. Wiens, *China's March*, chapter V, "Han-Chinese Population Movements and Migrations," pp. 97-107, esp. p. 103.

56. Here we may recall Fan Yeh's endearing and solicitous statement about the Southern Marn that "they preferred to go to the mountain valleys and disliked level land." According to Fan Yeh, the Chinese emperor acceded to their wishes and generously bestowed upon them "famous mountains and broad marshes"(!).

57. Translated by James I. Crump and Kenneth DeWoskin in Mair, *Anthology*, pp. 772-773.

58. The *History of the Northern Wei* was completed by Wei Shou (505-572) in the year 554.



59. See Couvreur, *Dictionnaire classique*, p. 790ab, who renders *kai* as "in effect; perhaps; it would seem" and provides ample illustrative examples to substantiate his interpretation.

60. This name refers to at least five different legendary figures from the Han period and earlier, all of whom are noted for their transcendental powers. In some cases, their names may also be written as Wang Tzu-ch'iao{166}.

61. A man of transcendental powers who lived at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century.

62. Lord Lin, ruler of a primitive group of Marn in Pa (eastern Szechwan and western Hupeh) who had a white tiger (reminiscent of the Yi / Lolo) as their totem.

63. *Op. cit.*, "Shu shih{167} [Writing of Affairs]," section 29, 8.9a (p. 62b).

64. *Op. cit.*, "Tuan hsien{168} [Breaking Limits]," section 12, 4.10a (p. 27b).

65. Hucker, *Dictionary*, no. 694, gives no indication of the earliest use of this title. Li Ch'eng-hua, comp., *Chung-kuo ku-tai chih-kuan tz'u-tien*, p. 302ab, cites texts which show that it was used from the Ch'un-ch'iu (Spring and Autumn) period (770-476).

66. This quotation may be found, with a few minor differences, in the *Sung shu*, scroll 69 (KM ed.), p. 1600b.

67. *T'ung-tien*, scroll 187, p. 997ab.

68. See, for example, the trenchant remarks of the early Ch'ing scholar, Shen Te-ch'ien{169} (1673-1769), on the P'an-hu story ("This is the height of nonsense!" [*pu-ching chih shen*{170}]) quoted by Wang Hsien-ch'ien at the beginning of Fan Yeh's chapter on the Southern Marn, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 3125.

69. Incidentally, the Greek word *mýthos* ("a word, speech, tale, legend") is of obscure origin, but that is another **story**, as it were. Because we are used to the familiar categories of "myth" and "mythology", I have employed them freely in my discussions of ancient Chinese phenomena. At the same time, I recognize that -- in so doing -- I am analyzing

those phenomena with explanatory tools that are, in a very real sense, imposed and would be imposed even if I were carrying out my analysis in modern Chinese or modern Japanese.

70. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. and his colleagues are to be applauded for the decision to render the title *Shih chi* as *Records of the Scribe* instead of as *Records of the [Grand] Historian*. This was not an easy decision, but it marks a fundamental change in the way we look at the process of writing history in ancient China.

71. First definition in *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd ed., unabridged.

72. See *Han-yü ta tz'u-tien* [*Great Dictionary of Sinitic*], vol. 3, p. 51b.

73. Second definition in *The Random House Dictionary*.

74. It does not matter that the use of the modern bisyllabic word for "history" (*li-shih*) does not seem to emerge until the late Ch'ing period. See Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* [*Great Sino-Japanese Dictionary*], vol. 6, p. 6431c, no. 16340.38. Prior to that time, *li shih* (note the intentional absence of the hyphen) seems to have meant "annals / chronicles of successive eras" and seldom was used as a fixed collocation. Cf. *Han-yü ta tz'u-tien*, vo. 5, p. 362b.

75. Wang Wan-pang, *Hsing-shih tz'u-tien*, p. 263a.

76. Drawn from Buck, *Indo-European Languages*, pp. 178-179, no. 3.61 and other standard sources.

77. *Nostraticheskikh yaz'ikov*, vol. 1, pp. 361-362, no. 238: *\*\*k<sup>h</sup>uōn / k<sup>h</sup>un-*.

78. *Nostractic*, p. 233, no. 652: *\*k<sup>h</sup>wān* or *\*k<sup>h</sup>wan*

79. There are, of course, many other possible explanations, such as that people in widely scattered parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa naturally and spontaneously uttered the same word when they first saw a dog because of the innate nature of the dog and due to the common neurolinguistic capabilities of humans, or that so many different peoples share the

same word for dog because names of animals are basically onomatopoeic. Such intuitive explanations, which run counter to rational linguistic analysis, are not convincing. If they were correct, then everyone in the world would use the same words for "dog," "cat," "horse," "bird," and every other animal. Since this is patently not the case, we are obliged to seek for an explanation that better accords with the actual, historical development of peoples and their languages.

80. Calder, *Timescale*, pp. 196b-197a, 225b.

81. Cunliffe, *Prehistory of Europe*, pp. 107 and 121.

82. I suspect that there is a less direct relationship with Finnish *koira*, Hungarian *kutya*, Turkish *köpek*, etc.

83. Here again, I suspect that Arabic and Ethiopian *kalb*, Hebrew *kelev*, Ugaritic *klb* (masculine) and *klbt* (feminine), Akkadian *kalbu*, and so forth, may be tangentially related to the core Nostratic root for "dog".

84. See Mair, ed., *Bronze Age and Early Iron Age* and Mair, "Language and Script: Biology, Archeology, and (Pre)history."

85. Chang, *Archaeology*, pp. 93, 201, and 211.

86. Li, *Anyang*, pp. 106-108. Katheryn M. Linduff (personal communication of April 9, 1997) has generously provided much additional information indicating that dogs played an important role in Late Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Bronze Age society in China, at least among the royal, aristocratic strata. In the Central Plain, dogs were sacrificially buried both at Erh-li-t'ou and Cheng-chou. At Erh-li-t'ou (*K'ao-ku* 1983.3: 210) dog bones are found in what appears to be a Shang burial and one dog was buried in a lacquer coffin. In another report, a dog was placed in a kiln-like structure (*K'ao-ku* 1953.3: 300). At Cheng-chou, dogs are found in several capacities: in waist pits -- as they are in Lung-shan in the largest tombs -- and in pits with sacrificed human beings, all together 130 dogs in 8 pits set out in rows over 17 gold pieces (10 large and 7 small) (*K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* 1957.1: 72). At Yen-shih, dog bones were found under the gate of a site (*K'ao-ku* 1984.10: 873). The evidence for sacrificial dog burials at An-yang (Shang period) is particularly rich. Different types of dog sacrifices are reflected in sites outside of the Central Plain, but in places where

contact was regular. For instance, in Lower Hsia-chia-tien (Inner Mongolia) sites dogs are a regular part of burials, and in Yen-ch'ing County, Peking District, at the Shan-jung cemeteries many dogs were sacrificed (Nan-sheng-en, M101, *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* 1973.2: 27-39).

87. Mallory, *Indo-Europeans*, pp. 111, 113, 119, 187, 191, 198-199, 203, 214, 220, 228, and 275. Melchert, "PIE 'dog' in Hittite?", cites the term  $L\acute{U}kuwa(n)-$  ("dog-man") in Hittite, the oldest attested Indo-European language, where *kuwa(n)-* is almost certainly related to Proto-Indo-European *\*k̑won-* ("dog," cf. English "canine, hound"). Hsü and Ward, *Ancient Chinese Society*, pp. 73-74, emphasize the privileged position of the dog in Shang society. Among the functions of the dog they mention are its excellence for hunting, smelling, military operations, and guarding houses. The "fondly-loved companions" were often buried in a manner that is strikingly similar to that of the Indo-Europeans. This is in contrast to the later attitude of Chinese toward dogs which is almost uniformly negative.

88. Anthony, "Shards," p. 37ab describes the Copper Age burial of a seven- or eight-year-old stallion near the village of Dereivka. At the edge of a settlement belonging to the Sredni Stog culture (middle Dnieper, lower Don area) and dating to between 4200 and 3800 BCE, the horse's hide, with its head and the bones of one foreleg attached, was ritually interred along with the heads and pelts of two dogs. Aside from the unmistakable signs of bit wear on the horse's premolar teeth, which would make it the earliest direct evidence of the practice of horseback riding in the world (c. 4000 BCE, about 500 years before the wheel was invented [apparently in the same general area inhabited by Indo-Europeans]), the Dereivka stallion is noteworthy for the present discussion because of its close association with domesticated dogs which were obviously highly valued. Similar ritual burials have been found at Bronze Age sites from Denmark to the Tarim Basin associated with peoples who were most likely Indo-Europeans. (Note: In a letter of September 9, 1998, David Anthony states that new dates on the actual bit-worn teeth from the Dereivka stallion with bit wear are from the Iron Age. This does not invalidate, however, the close association among horses, dogs, and the Indo-European peoples. Furthermore, there is still good evidence for horseriding before 3000 BCE at Botai in northern Kazakhstan.)

89. McCone ("Hund, Wolf und Krieger bei den Indogermanen") argues that we have sufficient evidence to prove Indo-European age-grades with the youngest group of military age forming war-bands who assume dog or wolf totems, dress, etc. They live off the land by raiding and constitute the shock troops of Indo-European warfare (something like

Cheyenne dog-soldiers). It is not altogether clear how this would work with respect to pastoral nomads, but it is likely that they formed dog-related sets or some type of hound sodalities. I wish to thank J. P. Mallory for this reference.

90. Doniger, "Foreword", in White, *Dog-Man*, p. xi.

91. White, *Dog-Man*, pp. 150-156.

92. *Dog-Man*, pp. 14 and 215n49, citing Schlerath, Lincoln ("Hellhound"), and Afshar. It is particularly noteworthy that, before the advent of Islam, Iranians had an extremely high regard for the dog. According to Liu ("Dog-Ancestor Myth," p. 283), in the *Avesta* the dog is sacred and inviolable. The dog also played a pivotal role in ancient and medieval Iranian funeral ritual. This is in stark contrast to the lowly position of the dog in Iranian society after the arrival of Muhammadanism.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

94. This period is technically described as lasting from the third *keng*{171} (in the cycle of ten celestial stems) day after the summer solstice to the day before the second *keng* day which comes after the advent of the solar period designated as Li-ch'iu{172} ("Autumn Begins," usually falls around August 7).

95. *Han-yü ta tzu-tien*, vol. 1, p. 120a.

96. For extensive information concerning names for Sirius in many ancient languages, see Allen, *Star Names*, pp. 117-134. This nearly a century old text must be used critically and checked against other sources.

97. Budge, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 664a; Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 589b.

98. Gardiner, *Grammar*, pp. 204-205.

99. The *Classic of Mountains and Seas* mentions a T'ien-kou{173} ("Heaven Hound") and a T'ien-ch'üan{174} ("Heaven Dog"), but these are fabulous beasts and are not relevant to the Dog Star. See Yüan, *Shan hai ching*, scroll 2, p. 53 and scroll 16, p. 407.

100. Chiou-Peng, "Steppe Affinities."

101. Burling, *Proto Lolo-Burmese*, p. 78; Matisoff, "Mpi," p. 6; Bradley, *Proto-Loloish*, pp. 294-295, no. 18.

102. Hunter, *Comparative Dictionary*, p. 116; Huang Bufan, *Tsang-Mien yü-tsu*, p. 97, no. 289; *Tsang-mien-yü yü-yin he tz'u-hui*, p. 489, no. 119.

103. I am grateful to James Matisoff for this information.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Ruhlen, *World's Languages*, pp. 331-333.

106. *Op. cit.*, pp. 919-921. I am grateful to Paul Rakita Goldin for loaning me his personal copy of this outstanding work of lexicographical scholarship.

107. Eberhard, *Local Cultures*, pp. 44-46, 193, 364, and 446.

108. Ramsey, *Languages*, p. 285.

109. White, *Dog-Man*, p. 140.

110. *Ibid.*

111. Chavannes, "Les pays d'occident," pp. 519-520, 521n6; Bodde, "Tales of the Supernatural," p. 357.

112. *Bird*, p. 108.

113. *Chung-kuo shang-ku shen-hua*, pp. 199-205 and 526-535, esp. 200 and 534-535. Some of the texts cited by Liu declare outright that the descendants of P'an-hu are of the "dog race" (*kou-chung*{175}) or are "wolfmen" (*lang-jen*{176} [N.B.]); *op. cit.*, p. 532. Such texts also often appear to collapse into the P'an-hu myth activities surrounding the consumption of dog meat. What probably began as canine totemism in Central Asia and may have evolved into dog worship among certain groups in south China culminates as a

set of Han assumptions and narratives about the canine ancestry and nature of non-Han people.

114. For examples of the scattered, intertwined myths, legends, tales, songs, temples, and rituals dedicated to P'an-hu, P'an-ku, and King P'an south of the Yangtze, see the nearly three dozen entries under these headings in *Chung-kuo ke min-tsu tsung-chiao yü shen-hua ta tz'u-tien*. My thanks to the Huanming Qin of the T'ang Studies Hotline for providing this material.

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## SINOGRAPHS AND HIEROGLYPHS

1. *ch'üan-ju hsüeh-p'ai* 犬儒學派
2. Yi 夷
3. P'an-hu 盤瓠/槃瓠/盤護/槃護/獬豸
4. *hu-lu* 葫蘆
5. Kan Pao 干寶
6. *Sou shen chi* 搜神記
7. *shen* 神
8. Man || Marn 蠻
9. Kao-hsin 高辛
10. hu 瓠
11. *p'an* 盤
12. Wu barbarians 戎吳
13. Liang, Han, Pa, Shu, Wu-ling, Ch'ang-sha, Lu-chiang 梁 漢 巴 蜀 武陵 長江 盧江
14. *chu-li* 侏儻
15. *Chin-chi* 晉紀
16. Kao-hsin shih 高辛氏

17. Ti-k'u 帝嚳/佺
18. Huang-ti 黃帝
19. Kung-sun 公孫
20. *Feng-su t'ung-i* 風俗通義
21. Ying Shao 應劭
22. *Hou Han shu* 後漢書
23. Fan Yeh 范曄
24. "Nan Man chuan" 南蠻傳
25. General Wu 吳將軍
26. Nan-shan 南山
27. Lu-chih 六枝 (in Kuei-chou?)
28. *p'u-chien* 僕鑒
29. *tu-li* 獨力
30. *ching-fu* 精夫
31. *yang-t'u* 殃徒
32. *Man shu* 蠻書
33. Fan Ch'o 樊綽
34. Ts'ai Hsi 蔡襲
35. Hsien-t'ung 咸通

36. *Kuang yi chi* 廣異記
37. Wang T'ung-ming 王通明
38. *t'e* 特
39. *kuai* 怪
40. *jung* 戎
41. *Ting-pien-hou* 定邊侯
42. T'ien, Lei, Tsai, Hsiang, Meng, Min, Shu-sun 田 雷 再 向 蒙 旻 叔孫
43. Ch'ien-nan, K'un, Hsiang, Kao-li 黔南 昆 湘 高麗
44. King Yu 幽王
45. Ch'üan-jung 犬戎
46. Ch'ien-chung 黔中
47. *luan* 縹
48. *luan* 亂
49. *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 說文解字
50. 南蠻，蛇種。從虫，縹聲。
51. Miao 苗
52. Miao-Marn 苗蠻
53. Yao, She 瑤 畬
54. *Shan-hai ching* 山海經

55. *Tso chuan* 左傳
56. *Kuo-yü* 國語
57. [*ch'i*] *chuang ju ch'üan* [其]狀如犬
58. *Ch'üan-feng kuo* 犬封國
59. *Kuo P'u* 郭璞
60. *Hsi-wang-mu* 西王母
61. 犬封國曰犬戎國，狀如犬。
62. 黃帝之後卞明生白犬二頭，自相牝牡，遂爲此國，言狗國也。
63. 大荒之中，有山名曰融父山，隕水入焉。有人名曰犬戎。黃帝生苗龍，苗龍生融吾，  
融吾生弄明，弄明生白犬，白犬有牝牡，是爲犬戎，肉食。
64. *So-yin* 索隱
65. "Hsiung-nu chuan" 匈奴傳
66. *Shih-chi* 史記
67. *Ssu-ma Chen* 司馬貞
68. 黃帝生苗，苗生龍，龍生融，融生吾，吾生並明，並明生白，白生犬，犬有二壯，是  
爲犬戎。
69. 黃帝生駱明，駱明生白馬，白馬是爲鯨。
70. *Yü* 禹
71. *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛

72. K'un-lun 崑崙
73. Hsi-jung 西戎
74. P'an-ku 盤古
75. *San Wu li chi* 三五歷記
76. Hsü Cheng 徐整
77. *Yi-wen lei-chü* 藝文類聚
78. *Wu yün li-nien chi* 五運歷年記
79. *Yi shih* 繹史
80. *Pi-chi ts'ung pien* 筆記叢編
81. Ko Hung 葛洪
82. *Shen hsien chuan* 神仙傳
83. *ch'i* 氣
84. *wu-hsing* 五行
85. P'ao-hu 匏瓠
86. Pao-hsi 包羲/犧
87. P'ao-hsi 庖羲/犧
88. Mi[properly Fu]-hsi 宓羲/犧
89. Fu-hsi 伏羲/犧
90. Ti, Yün, Hsün 狄 獫 狁

91. Yung-chia 永嘉
92. Kuo-lo, Yao, Mu or Mu-yao, Liao, T'ung 猓 獠 獠 獠 獠 獠 獠
93. Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷
94. 神道…不誣
95. *shen shen-hua shih li-shih*  
神 神話 史 歷史
96. "Man chuan" 蠻傳
97. *Wei shu* 魏書
98. Wei Shou 魏收
99. 蠻之種類，蓋盤瓠之後，其來自久。
100. *kai* 蓋
101. *Chou shu* 周書
102. 蠻者盤瓠之後
103. *Pei shih* 北史
104. *Sui shu* 隋書
105. 諸蠻…承盤瓠之後
106. Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾
107. *Shih t'ung* 史通
108. *fang-shu* 方術

- 109. *marn-yi* 蠻夷
- 110. Wang Ch'iao, Tso Tz'u, Lin Chün 王喬 左慈 糜君
- 111. Tu Yu 杜佑
- 112. *ssu-yi* 四夷
- 113. *chiang-chün* 將軍
- 114. *yi* 鎰
- 115. *chin* 斤
- 116. Wu 吳
- 117. *Sung shih* 宋史
- 118. Liu-yi 六夷
- 119. Chia Yi 賈誼
- 120. "Kuo Ch'in lun" 過秦論
- 121. Pan Ku 班固
- 122. *Han shu* 漢書
- 123. Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙
- 124. *Hou-Han-shu chi-chieh* 後漢書集解
- 125. *shen-hua* 神話
- 126. *che-hsüeh* 哲學
- 127. *tsung-chiao* 宗教



128. *wen-hsüeh* 文學
129. *shen-hua-hsüeh* 神話學
130. *shih* 史
131. *chung shih ch'ing shen* 重史輕神
132. *chung-shih li-shih ch'ing-shih shen-hua* 重視歷史輕視神話
133. *ch'üan* 犬
134. *kou* 狗
135. *fu-t'ien* 伏天
136. *san-fu[-t'ien]* 三伏[天]
137. *spdt* 𤝵
138. *Chiu ko* 九歌
139. *Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭
140. *T'ien-lang* 天狼
141. *fu* 伏
142. *hui-yi* 會意
143. "Ch'in pen-chi" 秦本紀
144. *T'ung* 侗
145. *Li Hsien* 李賢
146. *Wei-lüeh* 魏略

147. San-kuo 三國
148. Yü Huan 魚豢
149. P'an Wang 盤王
150. *erh erh yi te, yi erh erh te* 二而一的，一而二的
151. *hun-t'un* 混沌//渾沌
152. *hang-t'u* 音胡朗反
153. *yang-t'u* 殃徒
154. Tai Fu 戴孚
155. *yeh* 葉
156. *hu* 瓠
157. Tsai 再
158. Jan 冉
159. He-meng 赫蒙
160. *Ch'üan-jung shen-hua kai P'an-hu shen-hua chih yi-wen* 犬戎神話蓋盤瓠神話之異聞
161. *chuang* 壯
162. *mou* 牡
163. Ch'üan 犬 Ch'üan-yi 吠夷 K'un-yi 昆夷 Ch'üan-jung 犬戎
164. *Sou-shen hou chi* 搜神後記
165. Fu-sang 扶桑

166. Wang Tzu-ch'iao 王子喬/僑
167. Shu shih 書事
168. Tuan hsien 斷限
169. Shen Te-ch'ien 沈德潛
170. *pu-ching chih shen* 不經之甚
171. *keng* 庚
172. Li-ch'iu 立秋
173. T'ien-kou 天狗
174. T'ien-ch'üan 天犬
175. *kou-chung* 狗種
176. *lang-jen* 狼人
177. CH'EN Meng-chia 陳夢家
178. *Yin-hsü pu-tz'u tsung-shu* 殷墟卜辭綜述
179. *Chung-kuo ke min-tsu tsung-chiao yü shen-hua ta tz'u-tien* 中國各民族宗教與神話大詞典
180. FAN ch'o 樊綽
181. *Man shu chiao-chu* 蠻書校注
182. HSIANG Ta 向達
183. HO Yi-hsing 郝懿行
184. *Shan han ching chien-shu* 山海經箋疏

185. HUANG Bufan 黃布凡
186. *Tsang-Mien yü-tsu yü-yin tz'u-hui* 藏緬語族語音詞匯
187. KAN Pao 干寶
188. *Sou shen chi* 搜神記
189. Hu Huai-ch'en 胡懷琛
190. KAO Shu-fan 高樹藩
191. *Cheng-chung hsing yin yi tsung-ho ta tzu-tien* 正中形音義綜合大字典
192. LI Ch'eng-hua 李成華
193. *Chung-kuo ku-tai chih-kuan tz'u-tien* 中國古代職官辭典
194. LIU Chih-chi 劉知幾
195. *Shih t'ung* 史通
196. LIU Ch'eng-huai 劉城淮
197. *Chung-kuo shang-ku shen-hua* 中國上古神話
198. *Tsang-Mien-yü yü-yin ho tz'u-hui* 藏緬語語音和詞匯
199. TU Yu 杜佑
200. *T'ung-tien* 通典
201. *Wan-yu wen-k'u* 萬有文庫
202. WANG Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙
203. *Hou-Han-shu chi-chieh* 後漢書集解

204. *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* 國學基本叢書
205. WANG Wan-pang 王萬邦
206. *Hsing-shih tz'u-tien* 姓氏詞典
207. WEN Yi-to 聞一多
208. "Fu-hsi k'ao" 伏羲考
209. *Shen-hua yü shih* 神話與詩
210. YING Shao 應劭
211. *Feng-su t'ung-yi, fu yi-wen* 風俗通義附佚文
212. *Chung-Fa Han-hsüeh yen-chiu-so t'ung-chien ts'ung-k'an* 中法漢學研究所通檢叢刊
213. YÜAN K'o 袁珂
214. *Shan hai ching chiao chu* 山海經校注
215. CHANG Ming-hua 張明華



Fig. 1. Cynocephalic wearing striped trousers, Raby kirke, Raby, Denmark, 1510. Photograph by David White. From David Gordon White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, Plate 8.



Fig. 2. The P'an-hu people. From Book XII of the illustrated encyclopedia entitled *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* (*Illustrations of the Three Powers*), as reproduced in Chungshee H. Liu, "The Dog-Ancestor Story of the Aboriginal Tribes of Southern China," Plate XXXIII.

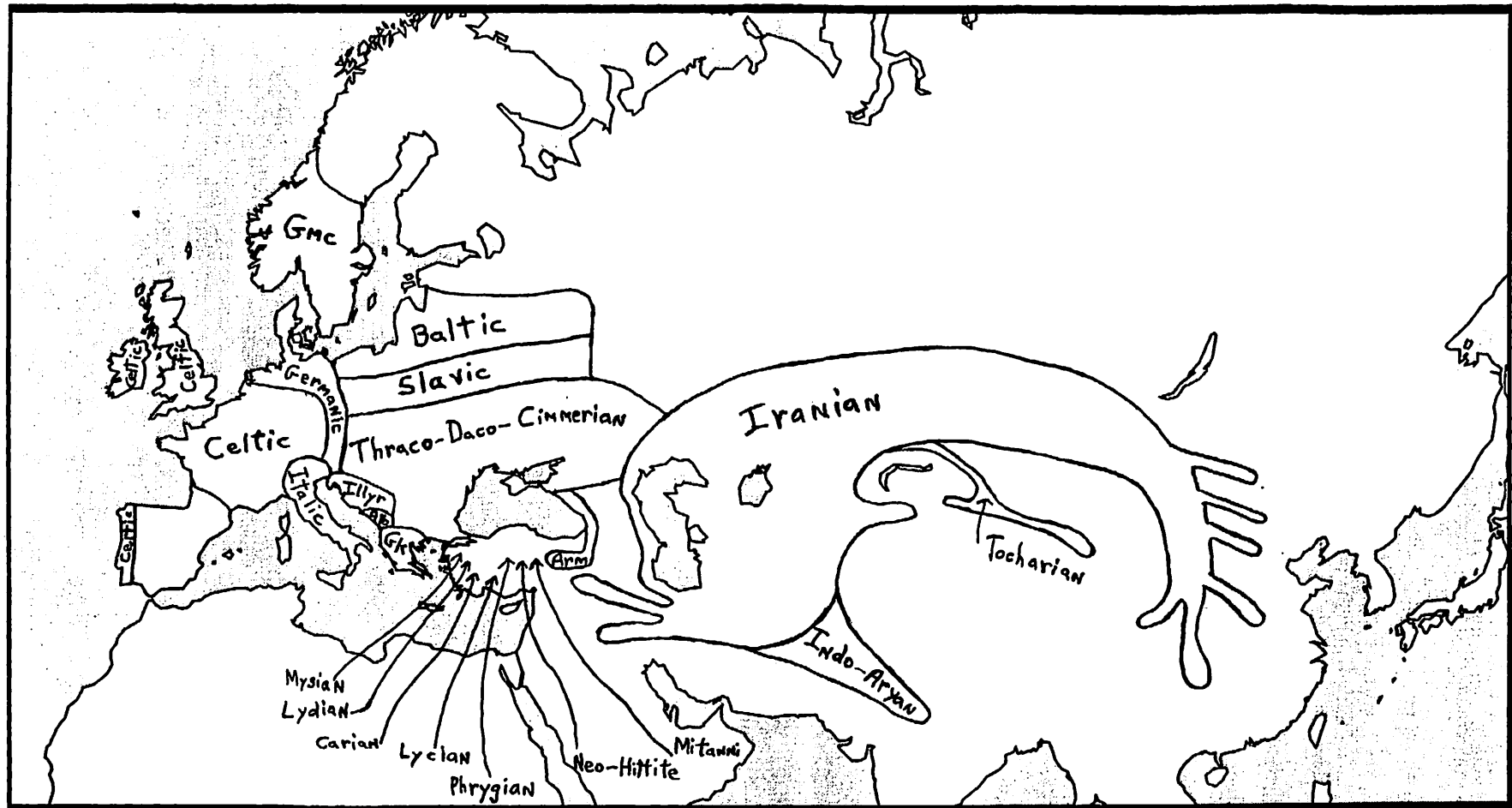


Fig. 3. Distribution of Indo-European linguistic groups c. 1000 BCE. From Victor H. Mair, "Die Sprachamöbe," Map VIII.



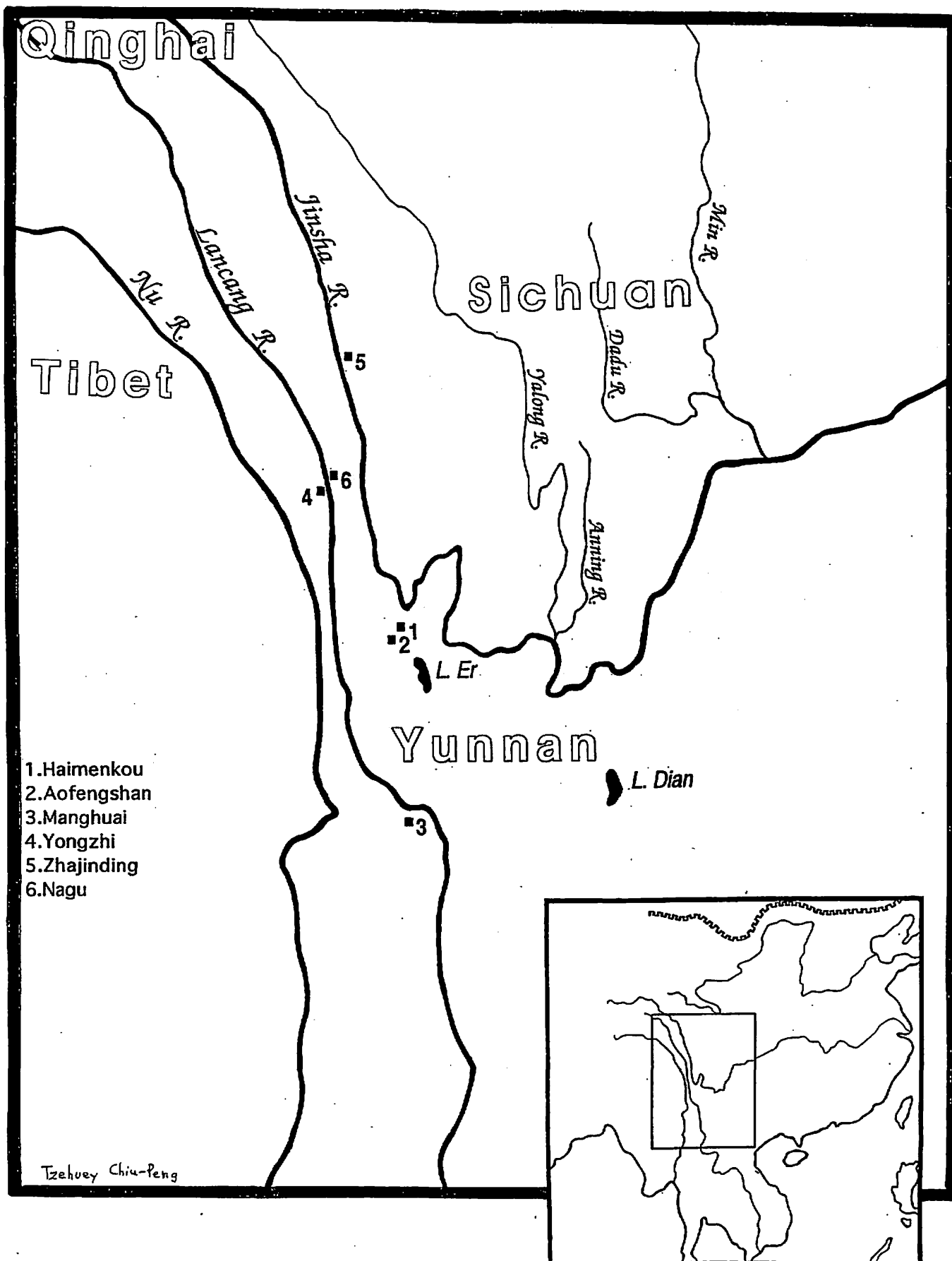


Fig. 4. Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in Southwest China. From Tzehuey Chiu-Peng, "Western Yunnan and Its Steppe Affinities," Map 1.

## Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in Southwest China

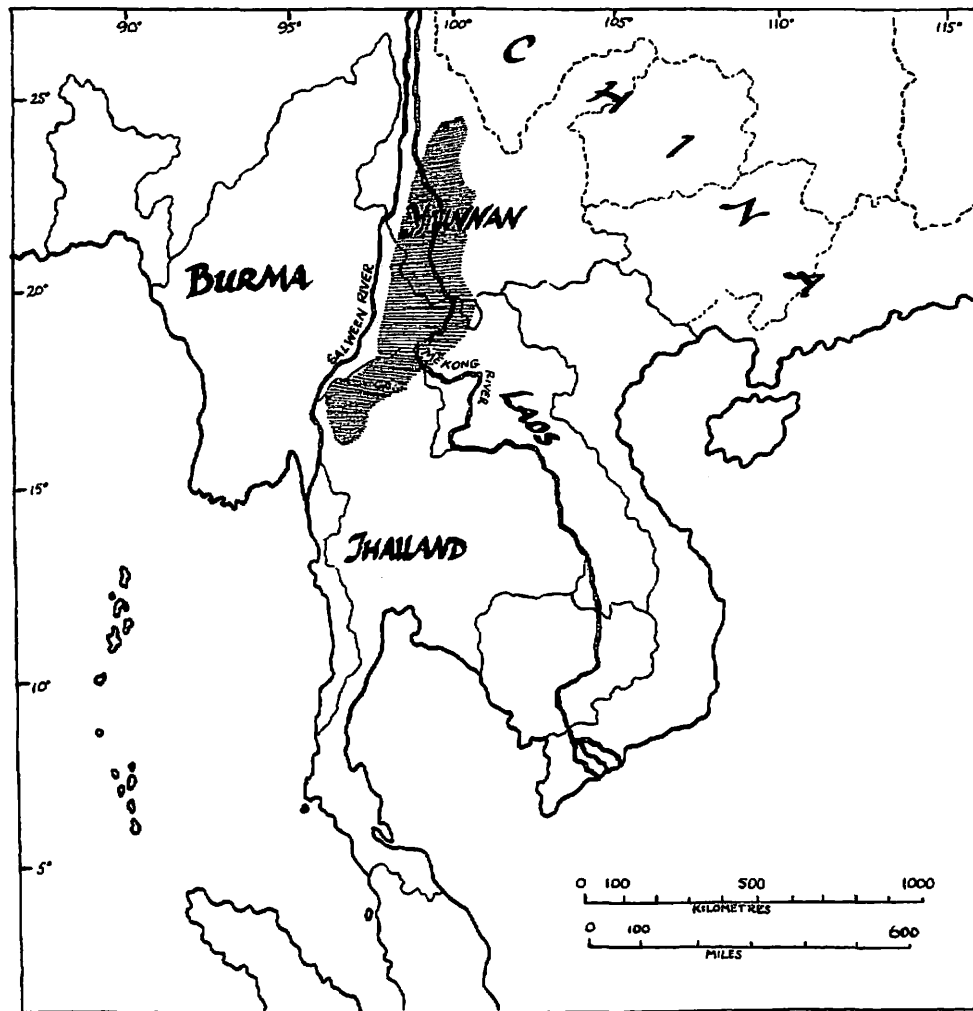


Fig. 5. Northern Southeast Asia showing approximate limits of Lahu settlement (shaded). Map courtesy of A. R. Walker. Redrawn by Narca DeWoskin. From James Matisoff, *Grammar of Lahu*.

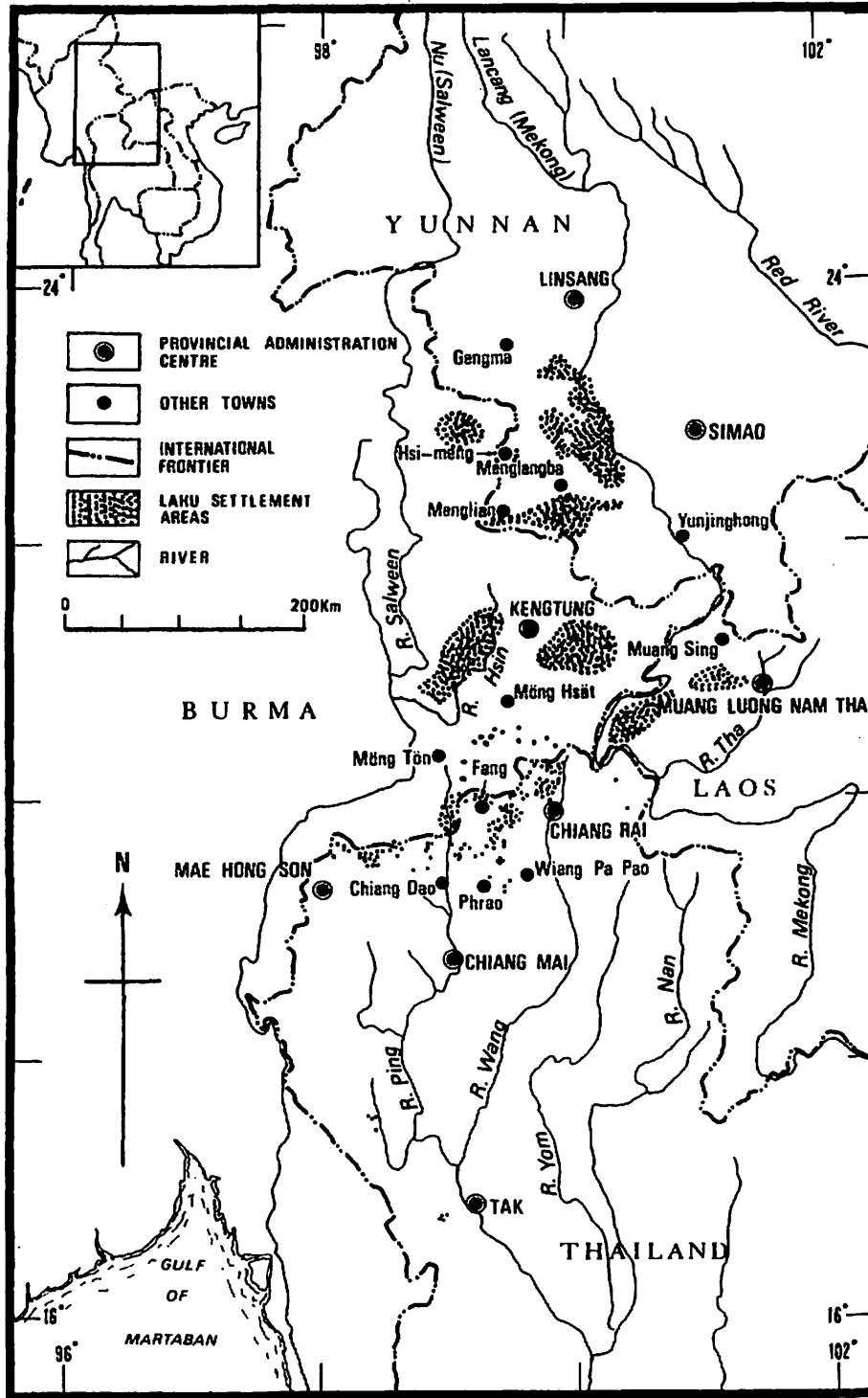


Fig. 6. The distribution of Lahu settlements, between the Salween and Mekong rivers. Map courtesy of Anthony R. Walker. From James Matisoff, *Dictionary of Lahu*.

While this paper was in press, the author received an e-mail message (dated December 1, 1998) from Sandra Olsen concerning canine remains at Botai, a mid-fourth millennium to early third millennium (3400-2700) BCE archeological site in northern Kazakhstan. Olsen, who has been intensively studying the faunal evidence at Botai for several years, informed me that the remains of 14 dogs have been identified, mostly buried in pits in houses or just outside houses. Dogs almost never appear in kurgans, except, as at Sintashta (a Bronze Age fortification and large burial plus ritual complex in Chelyabinsk Province of Russia dating to c. 2000-1600 BCE and related to the Andronovo Culture), in the overburden, but rarely in the fill in the burial chamber near the human remains. The Botai dogs are sized and proportioned just like Samoyeds. This means that they would have been well-suited to cold winters and could have been used for pulling sleds or sledges or for packing things. The Samoyed people use dogs for these purposes but also use them for guarding their dwellings. Olsen believes that the Botai people did likewise, since they buried dogs in their houses. It should be noted that hundreds of thousands of horse bones have been discovered at Botai. Furthermore, there is evidence of horseriding at the site, as demonstrated by Dorcas Brown and David Anthony in their "Bit Wear, Horseback Riding and the Botai Site in Kazakhstan," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 25 (1998), 331-347. For these and other cultural reasons, it would appear that Botai has strong Indo-European affinities.

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