II

Metamorphoses

Like their Greco-Roman counterparts, many Chinese mythical figures become metamorphosed into plants, birds, and animals, or objects such as a dead tree or stone. As Daphne turned into laurel and the sisters of Phaeton into amber-dropping trees, so Ch'ih Yu's fetters turned into a grove of maple trees and Yi Yin's mother turned into a dead and hollow mulberry tree. As Ganymede (or Deucalion) and Orion turned into the constellations of Aquarius and Orion, so Fu Yueh became a star, and the two quarreling brothers Yen Po and Shih Ch'en became stars that never crossed paths. As the nymph Psamathe turned into a seal, so Ch'ang O became a toad on the moon. Birds are the most frequent form of metamorphosis, possibly because their winged flight more vividly suggests aerial divinity. Semiramis, who became a dove, Ceyx and Alcyone, who turned into birds, Leda, who metamorphosed into a swan, Nemesis, who became a goose, and Philomela, who turned into the nightingale—all have their counterparts in Chinese gods and goddesses: Ching Wei and Tan Chu became birds, and the emperor of Shu, Tu Yü, was associated with the nightjar's call.

The correlation between deity and metamorphosed state in the Greco-Roman tradition is often wittily realized. Syrinx turns into a reed as she flees from Pan, who makes a musical instrument from her new form. Narcissus turns into a delicately beautiful water flower, the

narcissus, after he drowns while admiring his reflection in the water. To Philomela is given a nightingale's poignant eloquence to requite her muteness when Tereus raped her and cut her tongue out to prevent her from denouncing him. Such symbolic correlations are not always present or so clearly expressed in Chinese myths of metamorphoses, perhaps partly because the meaning of the metamorphosed state is not yet known. There are some parallels, however, such as the metamorphosis of Ch'ih Yu's (? bloodstained) fetters into a red-leafed maple tree, or the girl who was turned into a silkworm jointly with the horse she had promised to marry but did not, and the pregnant mother who became a hollow mulberry tree floating her infant on a river.

The theme of punishment occurs in many Chinese myths of metamorphosis. Ch'ih Yu was punished by the Yellow Emperor, Tan Chu by his father, Yao. Yi Yin's mother was punished because she disobeyed the command of a spirit in her dream not to look back on her flooded city, and Ch'ang O because she stole the Queen Mother of the West's drug of immortality given to Yi the Archer. Tu Yü, Emperor Wang of Shu, was punished because he had ravished his prime minister's wife, and Kun was executed because he stole from God. Although the significance of maple, a hollow tree, a bird, and a toad is known in these instances, more often it is not. For example, the meaning of the metamorphosis of Kun and Yü into a bear is unclear because their ursinity and, in the case of Yü, his bestiovestism have yet to be convincingly interpreted. It could well be that ursinity may be deciphered in terms of the bear cult to be found among Siberian tribes or the Ainu of Japan, but a specific link has yet to be established (Bodde 1975, 78, 81, 122). The link between bestiovestism and totemism in archaic times, moreover, has been rejected by Karlgren (1946, 251).

P'an Ku Is Transformed into the Universe

The clearest correlation between the nature of the god and his metamorphosed state is to be seen in the late myth of P'an Ku, which is a major etiological myth of the cosmological human body. The significance of this correlation has been analyzed in chapter 1, utilizing the terminology of Doty (1986, 115–17) and Lincoln (1986, 5–20).

> When the first born, 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 be-

came 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. (*Wu yun li-nien chi,* cited in *Yi shih,* PCTP 1.2a)

The Monster Fish Changes into the Monster Bird

The K'un fish, the mythical creature that turned into the P'eng bird, belongs to a very early mythological tradition predating the fourth-century B.C. text *Chuang Tzu.* This is evident because the central passage of the next reading was cited by Chuang Tzu from a preexisting book, *Tall Stories from Ch'i* (*Ch'i hsieh*), a book of marvels originating in the northeastern state of Ch'i (Shantung province). That book has not survived, but the vestigial myth is preserved in Chuang Tzu's philosophical work, in the first of seven chapters known to be authentic. The myth of the K'un fish become P'eng bird remained vestigial and was not developed in the later tradition. Perhaps this is because the myth became fixed in amber by being incorporated into the conceptual framework of this original and witty philosopher of the school of Taoism. Chuang Tzu uses the device of changing visual perspective, when the P'eng bird high in the sky looks down at miniscule objects in the world below, to propound difficult concepts of relativity, subjectivity, and objective reality. That Han exegetes glossed *k'un* as 'fish roe', thus accentuating the dichotomy between the miniscule, k'un, and the gigantic, P'eng, between the microcosm and the macrocosm, adds a further dimension to the interpretation of the myth.

In North Gloom there is a fish. Its name is K'un. K'un is countless thousand leagues big. It changes into a bird, and its name is P'eng. P'eng's back is countless thousand leagues broad. When it is aroused and flies, its wings are like clouds suspended in the sky. When the seas roll back their waves, this bird migrates to South Gloom. South Gloom is the Pool of Heaven. The book *Tall Stories from Ch'i* is about wonders. *Tall Stories* says, "When the P'eng bird migrates to South Gloom, the water is dashed up across three thousand leagues. Rolling

> on the whirlwind, it rises ninety thousand leagues high." Only when it has gone for six months does it rest. Are those horses of the wild? Or is it fine dust? Or is it just creatures blown into one another by the bird's breath? The blue, blue sky—is that its real color, or is it because it is so distant and infinite? From where this bird looks down, it must look just like that. (*Chuang Tzu, Hsiao-yao,* SPPY 1.1a–2a)

The Death of Ch'ih Yu

Myths of Ch'ih Yu in his function as the god of war and the warrior-god who challenged the Yellow Emperor for supremacy have been presented and discussed in chapters 2 and 6. It is sufficient here to draw attention to the major mythic motifs surrounding the death of the god. First there is the analogous metamorphosis of his wooden fetters into a grove of maple trees. The maple motif may signify the color of the god's blood following his execution, and it may be emblematic of his function as the god of war. The first reading is from a first-century A.D. chapter of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* and is the earliest expression of the god's metamorphosis. It is elaborated in the second reading, a T'ang version of the myth, in *Seven Tomes from the Cloudy Shelf* by Wang Ch'üan. The color motif predominates in later versions. Shen Kua of the eleventh century mentions red salt known as "Ch'ih Yu's Blood" in his miscellany *Essays Written from Dreaming Pond* (the third reading below), whereas the fragmentary third-century A.D. text *Imperial Survey* refers to a scarlet vapor known as "Ch'ih Yu's Banner." This fourth reading records antiquarian information concerning mythical sites and the supposed burial place of the god.

> In the middle of the vast wilderness . . . there is Sung Mountain, and on it there is a scarlet snake named Birth Snake. There is a tree growing on the mountaintop called the maple. The maple tree is the wooden fetters and manacles left behind by Ch'ih Yu, and that is why it is called the maple tree. (*Shan hai ching, Ta huang nan ching,* SPPY 15.3b–4a)

> The Yellow Emperor killed Ch'ih Yu on the mound of Li Mountain. He threw his fetters on the summit of Sung Mountain in the middle of the vast wilderness. His fetters later turned into a grove of maple trees. (*Yun chi ch'i ch'ien, Hsien-yuan pen chi,* SPTK 100.18b)

Hsieh-chou is a salt marsh. The color of the salt is bright red. The popular name for it is "Ch'ih Yu's Blood." (*Meng-ch'i pi-t'an chiao cheng,* CH 3.127)

The mound of Ch'ih Yu is in T'ung-p'ing commandery in Shou-ch'ang county in the city of K'an-hsiang. It is seventy feet high. The people always worship at it in the tenth month. There is a scarlet vapor from it like the roll of blood-red silk. The people call it "Ch'ih Yu's Banner." Shoulders-and-Thighs Mound is in Shan-yang commandery in Chü-yeh county in the city of Chung-chü. It is the same in size as the K'an mound. Legend has it that, when the Yellow Emperor fought with Ch'ih Yu at the Cho-lu wilderness and the Yellow Emperor killed him, his body changed places, and that is why he was buried in another place. (*Huang lan, Chung-mu chi,* TSCC 1.3)

The Myth of Yao's Son Tan Chu

Several fragments narrating the myth of Tan Chu, Cinnabar Crimson, illustrate the phenomenon in mythography of the tendency toward a tenuous, and spurious, linkage between one mythical figure and several unrelated ones. In this case the mythical Tan Chu, who was also known as Yao's unworthy son, is linked through color motifs in his name to the Land of Huan-chu, Rousing Crimson, and to the mythical bird Chu (a phonetic pun), and also by extension to Huan Tou, an official of Yao, and to the land of Huan-t'ou. The readings present the myth of Tan Chu, Cinnabar Crimson, besides these tenuous connections. This law of mythographic fallacy is typical of the false associations that are sometimes adduced to a famous mythical figure.

The basic narratives of the Tan Chu myth occur in *Chuang Tzu* and *The Classic of History,* which form the fifth and second readings respectively. These relate that Yao killed his eldest son and that Tan Chu was a degenerate youth. The Tan Chu myth fits the recurring pattern in early texts of myths relating to Yao and Shun, who are both said to have passed over their eldest son in favor of a man unrelated to them and to have ceded him succession to the throne. In these cases the eldest son is labeled "unworthy" or "worthless," and it is not only he but also their many other sons who are passed over in the succession. This myth has traditionally been presented in socioethical terms as a eufunctional paradigm of the sage-ruler ceding to an unrelated man on the basis of merit. The most recent exposition of this interpretation, bolstered with

Lévi-Straussian structural analysis, is Sarah Allan's work *The Heir and the Sage* (1981, 27–68).

If the myth is subjected to an alternative mode of analysis, however, it suggests a quite different underlying pattern. Taking what Malinowski termed the "sociological charter" as a conceptual framework, the myth of Tan Chu sent into exile, or even killed by his father, Yao, allows of a fresh interpretation. The myth might represent the vestige of a social custom in archaic society of transmitting succession outside the lines of kinship. As such, the motif of the "unworthy eldest son" who has to be punished by exile or death would constitute a rationale for what may have been an unpopular custom. It is significant that the mythologem of passing over the eldest son to an unrelated heir, the unworthy displaced by the worthy, died out with the succession of Yü's son after Yü died. The myth survived, however, as a potent element in ethical philosophy in the sociopolitical debates of the late Chou period.

> Yao took the daughter of the San-yi clan as his wife and gave her the name Nü-huang. (*Ta Tai Li chi,* SPTK 7.5b)

> There was nothing to match the pride of Tan Chu. All he did was take an insolent delight in frivolity and behave as an arrogant tyrant. He did not care whether it was day or night—it was all the same to him. He would go boating even when there was no water. He and his friends would indulge in sexual frolics in his house, and so his line of succession was abolished. (*Shang shu, Yi Chi,* SPPY 5.6b)

> Yao's son was not a good son. Shun had him banished to Cinnabar Gulf to serve as overlord of it, which is why Yao's son was called Tan Chu, Cinnabar Crimson. (*T'ai-p'ing yü-lan,* citing *Shang shu yi p'ien,* SPTK 63.3b)

> Yao fought a battle on the bank of Cinnabar River, and as a result he subjugated the Southern Man tribe. (*Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu, Chao shu,* SPTK 20.9b)

> Yao killed his eldest son. (*Chuang Tzu, Tao chih,* SPPY 9.22b)

> The land of Huan-t'ou is to the south of it. The people there have human faces and a bird's wings, and a bird's beak, which is useful for catching fish. One idea is that it is east of Pi-fang. Another that it is the Land of Huan-chu [Rousing Crimson]. (*Shan hai ching, Hai wai nan ching,* SPPY 6.2a)

Huan Tou was Yao's official. He committed a crime and threw himself into the South Sea and killed himself. Yao felt pity for him and made Huan Tou's son live in South Sea and offer sacrifice to his father. In paintings he is represented as an immortal. (Kuo P'u's commentary on *Shan hai ching, Hai wai nan ching,* SPPY 6.2a)

Chü Mountain looks out over Liu-huang country to the west, faces Mount Chu-p'i to the north and Mount Ch'ang-yu to the east. Ying River flows out from it and runs southeast to Scarlet River. There is a great amount of white jade and cinnabar grains on Chü Mountain. There is a beast on it which looks like a sucking-pig. There is an ogre on it which makes a noise like a dog barking; its name is Li-li. The district where it appears will achieve great things. There is a bird on it. In appearance it is like an owl with human hands, and its call sounds like "Bee!" Its name is Chu. It is named after its own call. The district where it appears always drives away its good men. (*Shan hai ching, Nan tz'u erh ching,* SPPY 1.4b–5a)

Ch'ang O Becomes a Toad in the Moon

The myth of Ch'ang O's metamorphosis into a toad in the moon will by now be familiar from earlier chapters. The brief passage is rich in motifs: the trickster figure, theft from a god, punishment by metamorphosis, the regenerative powers of the toad and the moon, the drug of immortality, and the related mythical figures of Yi the Archer and the Queen Mother of the West.

Yi asked the Queen Mother of the West for the drug of immortality. Yi's wife, Heng O, stole it and escaped to the moon. She was metamorphosed on the moon and became the striped toad Ch'an-ch'u, and she is the essence of the moon. (Subcommentary of *Ch'u hsueh chi,* citing *Huai-nan Tzu,* SPCY 1.4a)

Yi Yin's Mother Changes into a Hollow Mulberry Tree

The myth of Yi Yin has been discussed in chapter 5. The narrative is full of important motifs: miraculous birth; an abandoned baby boy; a hollow mulberry, which has links with the motif of the cosmic tree, Leaning Mulberry; the mother's prophetic dream; the mortar bowl, which replicates the image of the floating hollow tree and presages Yi

Yin's upbringing and early career as cook; metamorphosis as a punishment for disobeying the spirit world; and the naming of the foundling after the river where he was discovered. These motifs conjoin to create the major motif of the hero.

> A daughter of the Yu Shen clan was picking mulberry [leaves] when she found a baby in a hollow mulberry tree. She presented it to her lord. The lord ordered his cook to bring the child up. When he inquired how this had happened, someone said that the baby's mother had lived near Yi River and that after she became pregnant a spirit told her in a dream, "If your mortar bowl leaks water, hurry to the east, but don't look back." Next day she did see her mortar bowl leak water, so she told her neighbors, and hurried ten leagues to the east. But she looked back at her city—there was nothing but water. Her body then transformed into a hollow mulberry tree, which is why they called the baby Yi Yin. (*Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu, Pen wei,* SPTK 14.3b–4a)

Fu Yueh Turns into a Star

The mythical figure of Fu Yueh is first mentioned in the fourth-century B.C. text *Chuang Tzu,* as a sage who became a minister to the historical Shang emperor Wu Ting (ca. 1200–1181 B.C.) and then turned into a star as a reward for his wise and humane government (the second reading below). The third-century B.C. Confucian philosopher *Hsun Tzu* notes Fu Yueh's strange appearance in his chapter entitled "Against Physiognomy" (the first reading). With Ssu-ma Ch'ien's account in the third reading, mythic motifs give way to legendary embellishment as Fu Yueh becomes the archetypal unknown man who is selected by an omen to lead the kingdom to greater glory. The same pattern is noticeable in the myths of Shun, Yi Yin, and the Great Lord Chiang.

> In appearance, Fu Yueh's body was like an erect fin. (*Hsun Tzu, Fei hsiang,* SPPY 3.2b)

> Fu Yueh achieved the Way and became prime minister for King Wu Ting, and his rule extended over the whole world. He ascended to East Tie, mounted Winnower Star and Tail Star, and joined the ranks of the countless stars. (*Chuang Tzu, Ta tsung shih,* SPPY 3.6a–b)

> Wu Ting dreamed one night that he had acquired a sage called Yueh. Taking note of the appearance of the person he had seen in his dream, he then scrutinized all his assembled ministers and all his officials,

but none of them was the man in his dream. So he ordered all his officers to conduct a search in the outlying areas of his realm, and they found Yueh on Fu Gorge. At that time, Yueh was part of a prisoners' chain gang doing construction work on Fu Gorge. He appeared before Wu Ting. Wu Ting said, "This is the man I dreamed of." He took him aside and had a discussion with him, and it turned out that Yueh was a sage. He promoted him to the rank of prime minister and the Yin [Shang] kingdom enjoyed excellent government. (*Shih chi, Yin pen chi,* SPPY 3.7a–b)

Tu Yü and the Call of the Nightjar

The narrative of Tu Yü may be said to be a singular expression of classical mythic motifs: the descent of the Shu ancestral kings from the god of sericulture, Ts'an Ts'ung; the metamorphosis of Shu kings into immortals; the descent of Tu Yü from Heaven to rule the world below; the appearance of his bride-to-be from a well; the resurrected corpse of Pieh Ling, who became Tu Yü's minister; a flood; the crime of adultery; abdication in the manner of Yao (but for a different reason); and self-punishment by exile.

The myth of metamorphosis became attached to the figure of Tu Yü; it was said that when he left his kingdom in shame and went from Shu into exile, the call of the *tzu-kuei* bird was heard, and so the deposed king became identified with the bird. Some translators render the name of the bird as the cuckoo. But although the cuckoo has the connotation of cuckoldry in Western lore and the theme of cuckoldry is present in the narrative, it has not been used to render *tzu-kuei* here for the reason that the punning intention of cuckoo-cuckoldry is not present in the Chinese text. The name *nightjar* has been used instead. This semantically neutral name also has the virtue of coinciding with the sympathetic attitude of traditional writers toward the figure of Tu Yü.

This motif-bound text contains no fewer than three metamorphoses: the kings and their people, who become immortal; the corpse of Pieh Ling, which comes back to life; and the transference of Tu Yü's spirit to the nightjar.

The text of the first reading below, *Basic Annals of the Kings of Shu,* is attributed to Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.–A.D. 18), who was a native of Shu, but it more probably belongs to the category of pseudepigraphic literature. It is almost certain, however, that the anonymous author either was a native of Shu in the post-Han era or lived there and viewed the

mythology of the region with great sympathy. The second reading is from the renowned dictionary of the Han era, *An Explication of Written Characters* by Hsu Shen (ca. A.D. 100).

> The first ancestor of the Shu kings was called Ts'an Ts'ung. In the next era his descendant was called Po Huo, and in the era after that his descendant was called Yü Fu. Each of these three eras lasted several hundred years. In each era they became gods and did not die, and their people followed their kings, taking another shape and vanishing like them. The king was out hunting when he came to Mount Yü, then he vanished as an immortal. Today he is worshiped in a temple to him in Yü. In those days the population of Shu grew very sparse. Later on, a man named Tu Yü descended from Heaven and alighted on Mount Chu-t'i. A girl called Li emerged from a well in Chiang-yuan and became Tu Yü's wife. Then he proclaimed himself King of Shu, with the title of Emperor Wang. He governed a city called P'i near Mount Min. The other people who had become transformed gradually reappeared. When Emperor Wang had reached an era of over a century long, there was a man in Ching called Pieh Ling whose corpse completely disappeared. People in Ching searched for it but could not find it. Pieh Ling's corpse reached Shu, where it came to life again. Emperor Wang made Pieh Ling his prime minister. At that time a huge body of water poured out of Jade Mountain, like the floods in the era of Yao. Emperor Wang was unable to control the flooding, so he ordered Pieh Ling to dredge Jade Mountain so that the people could go back to their houses free from worry. After Pieh Ling had left to control the floods, Emperor Wang had an affair with his wife. But when he realized that his virtue was not equal to the task of ruling and that he did not measure up to Pieh Ling, he abdicated the throne and handed power over to him, and then he went away (just as Yao did when he resigned in favor of Shun). When Pieh Ling came to the throne, he took the title of Emperor K'ai-ming. A son was born to Emperor Ch'i named Lu Pao, who also took the imperial title of K'ai-ming. (*T'ai-p'ing yü-lan,* citing *Shu wang pen chi,* SPTK 888.2b–3b)
>
> Emperor Wang of Shu committed adultery with his prime minister's wife, and then, full of shame, he went into voluntary exile. He became the *tzu-kuei* bird [nightjar]. So when the people of Shu hear the call of the nightjar, they always say it is Emperor Wang. (*Shuo-wen chieh-tzu,* SPTK 1.4.5a)

The Silkworm Horse

Horse myths are not very numerous in the Chinese tradition. The counterpart of Pegasus, the winged messenger of Zeus, is the dragon that wings through the air and dives into the deep. The most famous early account of mythical horses occurs in the story of King Mu of Chou, who drove a team of eight horses to visit the Queen Mother of the West. His fabled team is described with the same fond hyperbole as the legendary Bucephalus, the favorite horse of Alexander the Great, who had the city Bucephalus built in honor of his horse after it died in battle in 326 B.C. In the Han era the myth of the horse of Heaven and the golden horse of the west seized the imagination of emperors, who sent emissaries to obtain them from Ferghana (Loewe and Hulsewé 1979, 42–43, 132–35; Birrell 1993, 40–42, 183 nn. 41–51).

The following narrative of the horse and the girl is taken from the fourth-century A.D. collection of stories *A Record of Researches into Spirits.* In terms of the mythological tradition, this is a late work, and so the text should be classified as a fictional reworking of older legendary material. The fictional elements are evident in the consecutive narrative style; the characterization of the girl, her father, the horse, and the neighbor; naturalistic dialog; realistic detail; a dramatic climax; and the setting of the narrative in the days of yore. Despite its numerous fictional aspects, however, the story reveals some vestigial mythic motifs that suggest that the account may have originated in a local mythological tradition. As in the myth of P'an Hu the dog, the animal is male. The horse also possesses supernatural intelligence and the power to metamorphose and cause bodily transformation. The metamorphosis of the girl is again a punishment, for she reneged on her trickster promise to marry the horse and also tormented him in his desire. The narrative may be classified as a vestigial etiological myth since it explains the origin of the mulberry tree. A further comparison with the myth of P'an Hu the dog reveals the presence of a similar taboo against bestiality, voiced by the "Dad" in the narrative, when he tells the girl, "Don't say anything—I'm afraid we will disgrace our family." In the best tradition of myth, however, his worst fears are realized when his daughter is changed with the horse skin (after he killed and skinned the horse) to become a silkworm that spins a gigantic cocoon. This cocoon serves as a ribald sexual emblem, since the word for the prolific cocoon silk (*ssu*) is a pun for sexual desire (*ssu*). Derk Bodde has noted that this account by Kan Pao originated in Shu (1975, 271).

There is an old story that in the period of great antiquity, there was a grown man who traveled far away and left no other person at home except his young girl and a stallion, which she looked after herself. She lived in poverty in this dismal place and she longed for her father. Then she said to the horse, "If you can coax our Dad to come home, I will marry you." When the horse received this promise from her, he tore free from his bridle and left, heading in the direction of her Dad. When her Dad saw his horse, he was amazed and delighted. So he took hold of it to ride it. His horse looked in the direction it had come from and neighed sadly without stopping. Her Dad said, "This horse is not behaving like this for nothing—is there some reason for it at home or not?" Then he hurriedly mounted his horse and returned home. He was extremely fond of his horse, so he cut an extra generous amount of grass to feed it, but the horse refused to eat it. Every time he saw the woman going in and coming out he immediately burst into a paroxysm of rage and joy. This happened on more than one occasion. Her Dad was amazed by this and questioned the girl about it in private. The girl told her Dad all about it, and he was convinced that this was the reason for it all. Her Dad said, "Don't say anything—I'm afraid we will disgrace our family—and don't keep going in and out of here." Then he took cover and killed it with his bow and arrow and put the skin out in the garden to dry. Her Dad went on his travels. The girl and a neighbor's wife were playing with the skin when the girl kicked it with her foot and said, "You're just a domestic animal, yet you wanted a human as your wife, eh? It's all your own fault you've been butchered and skinned, so why should you feel sorry for yourself. . . ?" Before she had finished speaking, the horse skin rose up with one bound, wrapped the girl up, and went away. The neighbor's wife was so afraid and alarmed she did not dare to rescue her but ran off to tell her Dad. When her Dad got back home, he searched for her but he had long since lost track of her. Several days later they found that the girl and the horse skin had completely changed into a silkworm spinning thread in the branches of a big tree. The cocoon's threads were thick and large and different from an ordinary silkworm's. The neighbor's wife took it down and looked after it. It produced several times more silk than the normal silkworm. So she called the tree the mulberry—*mulberry* [*sang*] stands for "mourning" [*sang*]. Because of this everyone rushed to plant from it, and what is cultivated nowadays comes from this stock. (*Sou shen chi,* TSCC 14.93–94)