

PART 3

CULTURE

CHAPTER 10

CULTURE IN AFRICA

10.1 EATING OF RHINOCEROS MEAT

Andersson 1856:395. Baines 1864: 348. Baker 1890: 95 (Sudanese Arabs). Barrington 1803: 261 (Hottentots). Burchell 1824, 11: 74. Cameron 1877: 212 (Tanzania). Fitzsimons 1920: 212. Fonck 1924: 113 (Tanzania). Foster 1960: 35. Grant 1872: 328 (Tanzania). Hughes 1933: 229 (Zambia). Lichtenstein 1811, 1: 154. Martin 1980b: 25 (Malawi, Kenya). Neumann in Bryden 1899: 47 (Swahilis, liver a delicacy). Peel 1900: 299 (Somaliland, meat not eaten). Potocki 1900: 106 (Somalia). A.H. Straker in Bryden 1899: 49 (Ogaden tribe). Swayne 1894: 322 (Somaliland).

10.2 FOLK TALES

Bulphin 1955: 81 (Rhodesia, tale to explain dung scattering). Findlay 1903: 192 (Zululand, antipathy of fire). Letscher 1911: 121 (Zambia, loss of third horn). Molloy 1950 (Sudan, tale to explain dung scattering). Muoki 1979 (Kenya, Kamba tale). Stockley 1948: 35 (Kenya, dung scraping). Walker 1971 (Kikuyu tale to explain dung scattering).

10.3 ROCK DRAWINGS

General: Leakey & Leakey 1953: 49 (paintings linked with magical fertility rites).

Northern Africa: Arkell 1937: 284, pl. 15 (Sudan). Brentjes 1965: 93 (Sahara, hunted animal), 1978: 153-154 (N. Africa, Egypt). Breuil 1923: 159 (E. Algeria, 2 figures of *C. simum*). Frobenius 1933: 109-110, fig. 1, pls. 10, 25 (Habeter III, Fezzan, central Sahara, middle paleolithic). Frobenius & Obermaier 1925: 44, pls. 106-108 (N.E. Africa, possibly *C. simum*). Godbey 1939: 266 (N. Africa). Gowers 1950: 62, 63 (Egypt, Lybia, Sudan). Joleaud 1931: 685 (Central Sahara, Morocco: review of *C. simum* paintings). Keimer 1937 (relief in Deir el-Bahari), 1938a (relief in Silwah, near Edfou). Lavauden 1934, fig. 44 (S.W. Algeria). Mauny 1956: 250-252, 258, 271 (N.W. Africa, map and list of places). Winkler 1938: 30, pls. 20, 21 (southern upper Egypt).

Southern Africa: Brentjes 1978: 154. van Bruggen 1965b: 78 (S. Rhodesia, Matopos, *C. simum* and *D. bicornis*). Cooke 1964: 17-18 (S. Rhodesia, *C. simum* and *D. bicornis*). Gregory 1896: 267, fig. 17 (Bushmen, *C. simum*). Joleaud 1931: 685 (Bushmen, *C. simum*). Joubert 1971: 37 (Namibia). Lang 1923: 159. Péringuey 1909 (Cape Province, *C. simum*). Roth 1967: 217, 219 (S. Rhodesia, *C. simum*). Schaurte 1960: 390-391 (South Africa, Rhodesia). Summers 1959: 4, 24, 91 (Rhodesia). Tongue 1909, pls. 3, 46, 51, 53 (Southern Africa).

10.4 HUNT

Guérin 1980: 183-187 (general observations). See also relevant sections in 5.9 and 6.9.

10.5 USE OF BLOOD

Barrington 1803: 261 (Hottentots, dried blood as medicine). Levaillant 1795, 11: 91 (S. Africa, blood as medicine). Pitman 1943: 94 (Zululand, bathing in blood to gain strength and courage).

10.6 USE OF HORN

Baker 1890: 90 (Sudanese Arabs, cups detect poison). Browne 1799: 261 (Sudan, sabre-hilts). Bruce 1790: 93 (Ethiopia, dagger hilts). Burton 1860, 11: 413 (Abyssinia, medicine; Arabs, sword-hilts, dagger-hafts, tool-handles etc.). Fonck 1924: 114 (decoration). Foster 1960: 35 (Zulus, medicine). Godbey 1939: 272 (Ethiopia, sword-hilts). Gromier 1934: 358 (aphrodisiac). Hartmann, 1868: 366 (Ethiopia, antipoisonous). Hilzheimer 1935: 1502 (Caffers, Massai, different uses). Hobley 1931: 21 (Massai, sticks, whips). Lang 1920: 89-90. Lichtenstein 1811, 1: 318 (S. Africa, antipoisonous, imported from S.E. Africa). MacKenzie 1953 (Sudan, clubs, rings, medicine and to refresh old beer). Martin 1980b: 21, 25 (absence of use in medicine). des Murs et al. 1850: 26 (Ethiopia, sable). Parkyns 1854: 20 (Abyssinia, sword-handles). Sutcliffe 1952: 21 (Sudan, clubs). Swayne 1895: 148 (Abyssinia, important people may possess horns, used as sword-handles and drinking cups).

10.7 USE OF SKIN

Baker 1890: 95 (Sudan, shields). Bayer 1924: 6 (W. Kenya, shields). Cox 1900: 93 (Somali, whips, shields). Delegorgue 1847: 421 (whips). Drake-Brockman 1910: 106 (Somali, shields, whip-handles). Fonck 1924: 114 (whips, sticks, belts etc.). George 1946: 138 (Chad, shields). Lang 1920: 89-90. Lichtenstein 1811, 1: 154 (S. Africa, whips). Lugard 1893: 519 (whips; shields in Sudan). Meyer 1909: 386 (E. Africa, elastic sticks). Myers 1876: 115 (Sudan, shields and sandals; Arabs against poison). Peel 1900: 299 (Somaliland, whips, shields). F.C. Selous in Bryden 1899: 55 (S. Africa). A.H. Straker in Bryden 1899: 49 (Somali, 15-25 shields from one animal). Swayne 1894: 322 (Somaliland, shields).

CHAPTER II

CULTURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

11.1 REVIEW

Brentjes 1978. Keimer 1948.

11.1 ARMANT (rhinoceros relief in procession on north face of east pylon wing, 1570-1085 B.C.)

Godbey 1939:266. Helck 1955. Mond & Myers 1940: 26-27, 159-160, pls. 9, 93.

11.3 ARMANT (stela of Thutmosis III, ca. 1450 B.C.)

Brentjes 1978:153 (as *C. simum*). Keimer 1937, 1938a, 1948: 49, fig. 1 (first occurrence of rhinoceros determinative, $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}}\text{kb}$). Mond & Myers 1940: 183-184, pl. 103 (hunt in Nubia).

11.4 KERMA, Sudan (figures in bone and rawhide, 2000-1700 B.C.)

Brentjes 1978: 153. Hilzheimer 1931: 41 (identified as *C. simum*). Keimer 1948: 48. Reisner 1923, pls. 55, 60.

11.5 SAQQARA, Hor-Aha (pottery objects in shape of rhino horn, 1st dynasty)

Brentjes 1978:154. Emery 1939: 71-73, pls. 16-17, fig. 50. Keimer 1938b: 71-73.

11.6 STELA C. 14 (in Louvre, Paris, 11th dynasty)

Keimer 1948: 52, fig. 5. Sottas 1914: 164.

11.7 DOUBTFUL REPRESENTATIONS OF RHINOCEROS

Brentjes 1967:241 (Beni Hassan, one horn). Hilzheimer 1926:166 (Beni Hassan, 2500 B.C., museum Berlin), 1931:42 (Beni Hassan, king Ne-usur-re).

CHAPTER 12

CULTURE IN NEAR-AND MIDDLE EAST

12.1 REVIEW

Ettinghausen 1950: 12-72 and passim (Muslim texts on "unicorn", partly on rhinoceros).

12.2 SOURCES

Devic 1975: 182-184 (Arab authors on properties of rhinoceros horn). Laufer 1914: 88-89 (Persian book, 13th century). al-Qazwini 1928: 18, 25 (properties of Sinad and Karkaddan, written 1281). Reinaud 1845, I: 28-30 (Arab MS., 9th century, kerkedenn in India, description). el-Masudi 1841, I: 391-392. le Strange 1912: 27 (ms. of Ibn-al-Balkhi, 12th century, describing figures of Jamshid with lion, wild ass or unicorn or rhinoceros).

12.3 ART

Brentjes 1978: 159 (seal in Teil Asmar, Irak). Layard 1849: 434 (Indian rhinoceros on obelisk at Nimrud, N. Irak). Schmökel 1957: 138 (seal of Teil Asmar, imported from India).

Merissa rock tombs, Israel: Briggs 1931: 279 (3rd century). Ettinghausen 1950: 78 note. Gowers 1950: 64 (ca. 200 B.C.). Peters & Thiersch 1905: 26, pl. 10. Scullard 1974, fig. VIIIb. Toynebee 1973: 125 (2nd century B.C.).

12.4 EXHIBITION IN CAPTIVITY

Rookmaaker 1978b: 33, 35 (Near East, 16th-17th century). Varthema 1928: 22 (Mecca, rhino from Ethiopia). See also 9.15.5

12.5 NAME

Benveniste 1929: 374-376 (etymology of kargaddan). Blyth 1862b: 198. Carbou 1912: 66-67 (Arabic, Egyptian). Delitzsch 1874: 56 (Assyrian "kur-ki-za-an-nu" from Ethiopian). Hansen 1955: 167-168 (kergerdan in Persian and Russian). Hommel 1879: 327-329 (etymology of word for rhinoceros in south Semitic languages, suggesting an African origin). Sinor 1960 (names for rhinoceros and unicorn). Unbegaun 1956 (etymology of kergerden)

12.6 USE OF PARTS

Martin 1980a, b: 15-17, 1981b: 14 (Yemen, horn as dagger handles and medicine, possibly a recent development).

CHAPTER 13

CULTURE IN INDIA AND NEPAL

13.1 REVIEW

Briggs 1931. Ettinghausen 1950: 94-101 (influence of Indian folklore on Muslim ideas about unicorn). Rao 1957: 256 (Vedic period, 2000-600 B.C.).

13.2 EATING OF RHINOCEROS MEAT

Alberuni 1910, I: 203 (Brahmins). Baker 1887: 250 (Assam). Chakravarti 1906: 370 (Piyadasi). Gee 1964: 153. Inglis 1878: 214. Laufer 1914: 84 note 1. Schinz 1824. Street 1961: 101 (Brahmins).

13.3. EXHIBITION IN CAPTIVITY

Bernier 1699: 42 (Delhi, fights between rhinos). Brentjes 1965: 93 (kept in temples in Indus culture, 3rd century). Butler 1847: 29 (tamed animals herded in Assam). I. Geoffroy 1842-43: 69 (N. India, used for agriculture). Guggisberg 1966a: 130 (taming, battles). Heber 1843: 213 (tamed in Lucknow; could carry burthens). Jennison 1937: 55 (Indian courts). Knighton 1900: 161-164 (Lucknow, males fight elephant, tiger and other rhinos). Laufer 1914: 97 note 2 (taming, fights). Laurie 1978b: 4 (taming). Loisel 1912, III: 18, 21 (menageries of Rajahs). Lydekker 1909 (Nepal, 3 animals tamed and trained for racing). Majupuria 1977: 128 (Nepal). Petis de la Croix 1723: 106 ('Histoire de Timur-Bec' (1409), rhino in procession in Deli). Rousselet 1877: 123-124 (fight between 2 rhinos in Baroda—*Note*: figure shows armour-plated rhinos with two horns). Schlagintweit 1880 (fights with elephants). Yule & Burnell 1903: 363 (use in army).

13.4 FOLK TALES

Gee 1964: 155-156 (how the rhino got its armour plating).

13.4.1 *Emmity with elephant*

Alberuni 1910, I: 204. Butler 1847: 29. Coomaraswamy 1912: 30. Ettinghausen 1950: 83-84 (no early references to fights). Schlagintweit 1880.

13.4.2 *Ekaçringa legend*

Beal 1875: 124 (legend is prototype of unicorn stories). Ettinghausen 1950: 95-97 (Rsyasrnga sage prototype of unicorn-woman story). Laufer 1914: 109, 110. Lüders 1897: 113-115 (example of medieval legend that unicorn can be caught by virgin). Wadagaki 1898 (Japan: version of legend).

13.5 HUNTS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Alberuni 1910, I: 203-204 (appearance). Ali 1927a: 859, 861 (Babur, Jehangir). Babur 1922: 489-490 (appearance, distribution, temperament). Laurie 1978b: 5 (Babur, Jehangir).

13.6 ICONOGRAPHY

Brentjes 1969 (R. sondaicus on Indian miniature, 17th century), 1978 (R. sondaicus on 17th century miniature; seal in Teil Asmar (Iraq) imported from India; Mohenjo Daro seals). Cockburn 1883 (petroglyph in Mirzapur dt.). Conrad 1968: 253 (Mohenjo Daro). Coomaraswamy 1912: 30, pl. 22 (drawing 'Rhinoceros charging elephant', Rajput (Jaipur) late 19th century-cf. Ettinghausen 1950: 82 note 40). Krumbiegel 1960: 19 (Mohenjo Daro). Lang 1961b: 369 (Mohenjo Daro). Majupuria 1977: 128 (Kathmandu: Bhaktapur temple). Marshall 1931, I: 205, 348, II: 387 (Mohenjo Daro). Schmökel 1957: 138 (Sumerian stamp in Teil Asmar, imported from India).

13.7 SACRED ANIMAL

Anon. 1935: 89 (Nepal, flesh and blood acceptable to manes; horn as charm against ghosts, spirits and diseases). Briggs 1931 (review). Chakravarti 1906: 370 (Piyadasi, flesh gives pleasure to fathers). Conrad 1968: 253 (sacred in Indus culture). D. 1933: 769 (Nepal, Sadhra ceremony, ideal offering to forefathers is warm blood drawn from stomach immediately after death). Ellison 1925: 35 (Nepal, flesh and blood are pure and acceptable to manes; charm against ghosts and spirits). Keller 1909: 388 (symbol of virtue). Krumbiegel 1960: 19 (Mohenjo Daro). Majupuria 1977: 128 (Hindus). Prater 1965: 230 (Nepal, pleasing to manes; India, value to Hindus and Gurkhas). Ripley 1966: 148 (ceremony of cleansing). Roy 1945: 126 (religious awe of all Hindus of northern India). Shebbear & Roy 1948: 91 (sacred to all Hindus of northern India). Strehly 1893 (law of Manou 272: flesh gives eternal satisfaction to manes).

13.8 USE AS MEDICINE

Anon. 1935: 89 (Nepal, horn as charm against diseases). Chakravarti 1906: 370 (Piyadasi: flesh as medicine, dung against vomiting). Ellison 1925: 35 (Nepal, urine antiseptic, horn as charm against diseases). Gee 1948a: 107 (Assam, urine antiseptic), 1964: 152 (horns medicinal, assistance in childbirth, elixir of life). Inglis 1878: 214 (Nepal, horn lessens pain of maternity). Majupuria 1977: 128 (medicinal value). Prater 1965: 230. Sumati 1976a: 12.

13.9 USE AS SHIELDS, CUPS, AND UTENSILS

Beavan 1865: 174 (Bhutan, skin for shields). Born 1939: 69 (horn cup from Kashmere, 17th century, in Hapsburg collection, Vienna). Inglis 1878: 214 (Nepal, skin for whips and shields). Martin 1980b: 12 (knife handles, shields). Oldfield 1880: 236 (Nepal, horn as cups, handles for kookeries, hide for waterbuckets). Polo 1956: 291 (Gujarat, manufacture of shields from rhino hide). Rao 1957: 270. H. Wood 1930: 62 (Assam Marwaris, cups; Nagas, hide as shields).

13.10 VARIOUS USES

Ansell 1947: 253 (horn as aphrodisiac to Hindus). Crooke 1926: 257 (Lhota Nagas bury piece of rhino bone near the fields to make the crops grow). Hooper 1910: 518 (horn against poison). Kinloch 1885: 62 (Hindus, detection of poison). Laufer 1914: 112 note 2 (absence of antipoisonous virtues). Marshall 1931, I: 72 (Lhota Nagas, as Crooke 1926). Martin 1980a, b, 1981b: 15 (horn as aphrodisiac to Gujarati, Bengali). Mills 1922: 169 (Lhota Nagas, as Crooke 1926).

CHAPTER 14

CULTURE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

14.1 REVIEW

Borner 1979a: 32 (Sumatra). Hubback 1939a: 595, 615-616 (Malaya). Rookmaaker 1977b (Borneo). Sody 1959: 224-231. van Strien 1974a: 57-58.

14.2 GENERAL REPORTS

Bruton 1963: 9. Goldsmith 1840: 530 note. Hobley 1931: 20 (superstitions rooted in 'a form of sympathetic magic'). McKie 1965: 183. Morice 1875: 20. Reynolds 1971: 12. Seshadri 1969: 95-96.

14.3 BEZOAR STONE

Burkill 1935: 1893-1894 (Malaya). Rumphius 1705: 294 (stone from brain against fever).

14.4 EATING OF PARTS

Buddingh 1859: 61 (Java). Couperus 1887: 305 (Java). von Ende 1889: 10 (Java, Baduwis). Harrison 1961b: 91 (Borneo). Higginson 1890: 70 (Chinese in Java, skin). Ho-Van-Cam 1947 (hide). Hubback 1939a: 615 (Malaya, skin roasted like pork cracknel). Gervaise 1688: 35 (Thailand). Kerkhoven 1926: 326 (Java, skin as kroepoek). Meyer 1891: 380 (skin as kroepoek). Moura 1883: 66 (Cambodia, skin). Pallegoix 1854: 156 (Thailand). Pollok 1879, 1: 97 (Burma). Shekarea 1832: 314 (Burma). Tillema 1936: 45 (Borneo, skin in soup).

14.5 EXHIBITION IN CAPTIVITY

Moura 1883: 66 (Cambodia, royal palace, fights between rhinos). See also 7.13.2 and 8.12.3.

14.6 FAKE HORNS

Alfred 1961 (Malaya). Grassé 1955: 1109, fig. 1050 (as real). Harrison 1962 (reasons for fake horns). Hooijer 1959a, b, 1974. Hubback 1939a: 615 (trade in Malaya, made from buffalo horn). Neuville 1927: 191-194, pl. 3 (as true *R. sondaicus* horn).

14.7 FOLK TALES

Borneo: Lumholtz 1921: 386 (tale: 'leaves that baffled Antoh')

Burma: Ansell 1947: 254 (mother throws wood over back killing baby; a bad omen to kill a rhino). Evans 1905: 555 (eating of fire.) Fytche 1878: 104 (eating of fire). Peacock 1933: 74 (mothers toss young over back). Smith 1935: 48 (devours fire and its foes).

Indo-China: Chochod 1950: 94 (rhino cannot be shot with gun; horn gives light in dark). Giran 1912: 104, 105 (Annam, rhino horn made to resemble a fish makes swimming without danger; finding a horn of 3 thiroc length makes finder amphibic; a "conngoc"-e.g. end of rhino horn-makes invulnerable and invisible). de Monestrol 1925: 21.

14.8 ICONOGRAPHY

Brentjes 1978: 157 (Thailand 'Faltbuch' ca. 1880, *R. sondaicus*; Cambodia, Angkor Vat, rhino carries Agni). Steinmann 1934: 89 (Java, relief on Borobudur). Stönnner 1925 (Agni seated on rhino in Angkor Vat, Cambodia, 12-13th century), fig. 2 (Agni in Thai manuscript, ca. 1880).

14.9 SACRED ANIMAL

Ansell 1947: 253 (Burma, killing of rhino results in death of a family member). Brentjes 1978: 158 (Cambodia, Angkor Vat). Harrison 1957: 164, pl. Pb, 1961b: 91 (Borneo, Niah, ritual pillow). Neese 1975: 9-11 (Laos, rhino connected with bad spirits), 1976a: 410 (Laos, hunt taboo).

14.10 USE AS CHARM

Borner 1979b (Sumatra). S. Flower 1900: 366. van Hien 1896, 11: 38 (Java, horn against accidents). Kops 1919: 94 (Sumatra, horn). Kreemer 1923, 11: 597 (Sumatra, horn put in water against witchcraft). Roorda van Eysinga 1843: 95 (Dutch Indies, horn). Veth 1873: 709 (Sumatra, horn against accidents).

14.11 USE AGAINST POISON

Anon. 1872: 318 (horn). Beddard 1902: 255. Burkill 1935: 1893 (Malaya). Cabaton 1914: 94 (Cambodia). Gervaise 1688: 34 (Siam). Gimlette 1929: 186 (Malaya, recipe of horn against poison). Kloppenburg-Versteegh 1915: 300. Marsden 1811: 116 (Sumatra). Müller & Schlegel 1845: 189 (horn). Redi 1671: 98 (rejection of virtues). Talbot 1960: 169. Turpin 1811 (Thailand). Veth 1873: 709 (Sumatra).

14.12 USE AS APHRODISIACUM

van Bemmelen 1969: 69 (Indonesia). Borner 1979b (Sumatra). Harrison 1956: 270 (Borneo, palang). Jongejans 1922: 176 (Borneo, water poured through rhino penis above head of woman to induce child conception). Martin 1980b: 25 (N. Thailand, penis rarely used). Skeat 1900: 150 (Malaya). Street 1961: 101. Tillema 1936: 45 (Borneo).

14.13 USE AGAINST SNAKE-BITES

Bleeker 1858: 313 (cure not proven). Bock 1881: 279 (Sumatra). van der Burg 1885: 211 (Java). van Hasselt 1861: 130-131 (horns cannot cure snake bites, experiments on dogs failed, only sympathetic medicine). van Hien 1896, II: 38 (Java). Higginson 1890: 70 (Java, horn against bites of snakes and scorpions). Hofland 1846 (horn cured snake-bite in 5 cases). Kops 1919: 94 (Sumatra, horn against bites of snakes and scorpions). Lamster 1930. Ludeking 1860: 122 (Dutch Indies, soenga badak). Mandt 1857 (Dutch Indies). Perelaer 1867: 553 (Java). Thepass 1860: 575 (Dutch Indies, experiments on dogs failed).

14.14 USE AS MEDICINE

van Andel 1909: 133 (rachitis). Ansell 1947: 253 (Burma, blood and other parts). van Bommel 1969: 69 (Indonesia). Blyth 1862a: 168 (Thailand, effluvia dangerous to health causing cholera etc.). Bock 1881: 276 (Sumatra, horn), 1884: 294-295 (Laos, dried blood). Borner 1979b (Sumatra, many diseases). van der Burg 1885: 211 (Java, against exhausting diseases, lung cancer, tetanus, proctitis, haematemesis; teeth against fever). Burkill 1935: 1893-1894 (Malaya). Cabaton 1914: 94 (Cambodia, heart, horn, skin, blood, teeth and left toenail as medicine). Dammerman 1929a (Indonesia, horn). Fytche 1878: 106 (Burma). Gervaise 1688: 34-35 (Thailand, all parts, especially horn and blood). Grim 1677 (successful use of horn against acid elements in knee by R. van Goens in Nagapatnam, S. India). Harrison 1974: 278 (Malaya). Hazewinkel 1936: ii (horn). van Hien 1896, II: 38 (Java, horn curing mad dog bites, vegetable poison and scurf). Ho-Van-Cam 1947 (horn). Hooper 1910: 518 (Burma, urine against enlarged spleen, dried blood medicinal). Hijmans van Anrooij 1885: 276 (Sumatra). Kloppenburg-Versteegh 1915: 300 (tranquilliser). Kreemer 1915: 77 (Java, horn curing mad dog bites, vegetable poison, scurf and to strengthen body). Kruij 1906: 127 (Java, teeth to help remove splinters, bullets, fish bones etc.). Lekkerkerker 1916: 109 (Sumatra). Low 1850: 427 (Malaya, horn). Lumholtz 1921: 59 (Borneo). Martin 1980a, 1980b: 17-26 (horn, skin, hoofs etc. in traditional medicine). Maxwell 1906: 36 (Thailand, 'medicine to make an elephant fat' using rhino skin). Metcalfe 1961: 186 (Malaya). Meyer 1891: 380 (Java, horn against diseases of the breast, bruises; skin against insects). de Monestrol 1925: 20 (Indo-China). Pollok 1879, I: 97 (Burma, dried tongue). Ripley 1966: 148. Talbot 1960: 169. Tillema 1936: 45 (Borneo). Turpin 1811 (Thailand, blood against breast disorder in women).

14.15 USE FOR UTENSILS

Banks 1978: 224 (Borneo, knife handles, sword hilts). Couperus 1887: 305 (Java, whip). Lekkerkerker 1916: 109 (Sumatra, whip). Turpin 1811: 620 (Thailand, shield). Veth 1873: 709 (Sumatra, whip).

14.16 VALUE OF RHINO TEETH

van der Burg 1885: 211 (Java, milk teeth of lower jaw against fever). Gimlette & Burkill 1930: 351, 464 (Malaya, to cure ulceration of vagina). Kerkhoven 1926: 326 (Java, rudimentary incisors as charms). Knebel 1898: 502 (Java, amulet). Koningsberger 1902: 61 (Java, incisors as amulet). Martin 1980b: 78 (use of teeth

not found). Medway 1958 (Borneo, teeth in human grave at Niah, possibly valued as charms). Meyer 1891: 380 (Java, incisors as charm).

14.17 GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Borneo: Banks 1931: 20-21, 1937, 1978: 224. Harrison 1956: 268, 270, 1957: 164, 1961b: 91. Jongejans 1922: 176. Lumholtz 1921: 386. Medway 1958. Pfeffer 1958: 128. Rookmaaker 1977b. Tillema 1936: 45.

Burma: Ansell 1947: 254. Evans 1905: 555. Fytche 1878: 104-106. Hooper 1910: 518. Peacock 1933: 74. Pollok 1879, I: 97. Shekarea 1832: 314. Smith 1935: 48.

Indo-China: Bock 1884: 294. Cabaton 1914:94. Chochod 1950: 94. Giran 1912: 104. de Monestrol 1925: 20. Morice 1875: 20. Moura 1883: 66. Neese 1975: 9, 1976a: 410.

Java: Buddingh 1859: 61. van der Burg 1885: 211. Couperus 1887: 305. Dammerman 1929a. von Ende 1889: 10. van Hien 1896, II: 38. Higginson 1890: 70. Kerkhoven 1926: 326. Knebel 1898: 502. Koningsberger 1902: 61. Kreemer 1915: 77. Kruij 1906: 127. Meyer 1891: 380. Perelaer 1867: 553. Steinmann 1934.

Malaya: Alfred 1961. Burkill 1935: 1893. Gimlette 1929: 186. Gimlette & Burkill 1930: 351, 464. Harrison 1974: 278. Hubback 1939a: 615. Low 1850: 427. Metcalfe 1961: 186. Skeat 1900: 150.

Sumatra: Bock 1881: 279. Borner 1979a: 32, 1979b. Kops 1919: 94. Kreemer 1923, II: 597. Lekkerkerker 1916: 109. Marsden 1811: 116. Veth 1873: 709.

Thailand: Blyth 1862a: 168. Brentjes 1978: 157. S. Flower 1900: 366. Gervaise 1688: 34. Maxwell 1906: 36. Pallegoix 1854: 156. Stönnner 1925. Turpin 1811.

CHAPTER 15

CULTURE IN CHINA

15.1 REVIEW

Giles & Giles 1915. Imbert 1921. Jenyns 1955. Laufer 1914.

15.2 GENERAL REPORTS

Hirth 1894 (Shan-hai-Ching mentioned presence of white rhinoceros in Kin-ku, possibly Annam). Laufer 1914: 146-147 (rhino without joints; regular shedding of horn). Sowerby 1939: 8 (legends of chi-lin originate in, but cannot identified with, the rhinoceros). Symes 1811: 454 (emperor in 1795 had never seen a rhinoceros).

15.3 ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

Bishop 1933: 325 (bronze vessel of Shang period). Bland 1926 (statuette from Honan, Chou dynasty 1100-250 B.C., Eumorfopoulos collection). Brentjes 1973: 252, fig. 4 (bronze statue of *D. sumatrensis* from Shang-Yin time, 2nd century B.C., possibly captive specimen), 1978: 155, fig. 8 (bronze vase with double-horned rhinoceros, Shang period 12th-11th century B.C.). Bushell 1874: 154 (stone drums of Chou dynasty), 1904: 91 (vase in form of rhinoceros, Chou dynasty). English 1977 (statue from Shensi province). Harrison 1956: 269 (statuette of double-horned rhinoceros, 11th century B.C.). Hopkins 1939 (bone figure of Honan province, Shang Yin time). Jenyns 1955: 38-39, 44-49 (review; objects made from hide and horn). Laufer 1914: 106-109, 129-132 (review). Schefer 1895: 10 (rhino on belt buckles, 11th century). Sowerby 1934 (double-horned rhino on belt buckles, T'ang dynasty). Sullivan 1973: 44, pls. 14-15 (ritual vessel in form of double-horned rhino, Shensi province, 3rd-2nd century B.C.).

15.4 CLASSIFICATION

Bishop 1933: 322 (ssu and hsi both denote rhinoceros after Han times; earlier meaning uncertain, ssu probably bovine animal). Brentjes 1973: 252 (two species known). Chavannes 1898: 502 (Se-ma ts'ien probably mentioned two species). Giles & Giles 1915 (criticise Laufer 1914, hsi and ssu both translated as 'some bovine animal', not rhinoceros). Jenyns 1955: 31-35 (ssu is bovine animal, hsi is rhinoceros; after Han times both denote the rhinoceros). Laufer 1914 (meaning of se and si), p. 109-111 (rhinoceros with cervine character), p. 116-124 (Tibetan name). de Paravey 1848 (Chinese knew 5 kinds: with 3 horns; with 2 horns; with 1 nasal horn; with 1 horn on forehead; with 1 horn on head). Pelliot 1902: 167 (T'cheou Ta-kouan, Yuan dynasty, mentioned 2 kinds of horns in Cambodia: white (good) and black).

15.5 EXHIBITION IN CAPTIVITY

Brentjes 1965: 93 (Yin period). Hirth 1894 (Peking, 84 A.D. from Annam). Imbert 1921: 222 (Peking, 2nd, 8th and 13th centuries). Loisel 1912, I: 39 (Ciandu). Laufer 1914: 80 note 2 (tributes of living rhinos to China). Needham et al. 1971: 442 (in A.D. 2). Reynolds 1971: 13.

15.6 HORN CUPS

Born 1939: 69 (cups in Hapsburg collection, Vienna, 17th century). Bretshneider 1910: 153. Bushell 1904: 119 (carving of rhino horn in Canton, from Han dynasty). Casal 1938, 1940 (use, date, artists). Harrison 1956: 272-273, 1962 (reason for fake cups). Imbert 1921: 223-230 (use and importance of horn in China). Jenyns 1953: 20 (4 carved cups Sloane collection, British Museum), 1955: 49-57 (review, most existant specimens described). Lamster 1930 (carved cup in Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam). Martin 1981b: 12. Sody 1959: 224 (cup in Ethnographisches Museum, Mülhausen). Thoma & Brunner 1964: 221-222 (2 cups of 16th century in Munich collection). Williams 1856: 154.

15.7 PROPERTIES OF RHINOCEROS PARTS

Bishop 1933: 328 (detection of poison in post-Han times). Bretshneider 1875: 19 (anti-poisonous properties of horn, mentioned by Then nung pen ts'ao 2700 B.C.; not imported from India), 1910: 153 (horn against poison, mentioned by Shen nung in 2700 B.C. and later). Clement 1907: 20, 24 (Japan, horn in medicinal folklore, against fever; rhino pills cure every disease). Ettinghausen 1950: 101-142 (influence of Chinese ideas about "unicorn" on Muslim literature). Harrison 1962. Imbert 1921: 223-230 (importance of use of horn). Jenyns 1955: 39-43 (use of hide and horn, development of supernatural powers of horn). Laufer 1914: 136-153 (use in materia medica), 166-172 (use of horn), 153-155 note 2 (development of antipoisonous virtues of horn), 159-161, 175-183, 257 (use of hide as armour). Marquart 1903: 87 (golden horn as amulet, S. China, 10th century). Martin 1981b: 12. Needham et al. 1971: 673 (horn enables to breath in the water). Regnault 1902: 185 (hide and "petite corne du rhinocéros bicorne" used as medicine). Rookmaaker 1977b: 295 (beliefs of Chinese in Borneo). Schefer 1895: 9-10 (Chinese beliefs mentioned by Mesopotamians). Soubeiran & de Thiersant 1874: 47 (horns used as cups and medicine; jelly of skin and bones and bone-scrappings as medicine). Sowerby 1939: 8-9 (horn against poison, as medicine, against demon possession and giving strength and courage).

15.8 TRIBUTES

Chavannes 1904: 51, 76 (after Tch'e fou yuen koei 1013, king of Persia gave rhino horns to Chinese in 730 and 746). Deveria 1880: 41, 88 (king of Annam visited Peking in 1790, took rhino horns as tribute). Duyvendak 1949: 10 (tribute from Huang-chich, 2 A.D., not Ethiopia, possibly India). Herrmann 1913 (tribute from Huang-tsch'i, 2 A.D., possibly from Abyssinia). Hirth 1885: 42 (after Hou-hon-shu, horn from Annam as tribute to China in 166), 1894 (white rhinoceros as tribute from Annam to Peking in 84). Jenyns 1955: 38 (tribute in 2 A.D.). Needham et al. 1971: 442, 444 (in 2 A.D. and sent to Ethiopia).

CHAPTER 16

TRADE

16.1 REVIEW

Martin 1980b, c 1981b (see IUCN 1980). Parker & Martin 1979. Stonehouse 1981: 58.

16.2 EXTENT OF TRADE

Anon. 1969c (from Mombasa). Banks 1978: 224 (Borneo, trade to China since 1918). Borner 1981 (present trade). da Cruz 1979 (suggestion to lessen slaughter of rhinos). Dammerman 1929a (export from Indonesia 1919-1927). Eekhout 1900: 545 (China trade with Java in T'ang dynasty). Faunthorpe 1924b: 206 (demand in S.E. Asia). Godbey 1939: 262, 273 (Romans traded horns from Africa to China; China was source of demand for rhino horn in Roman times). Groeneveldt 1880: 13 (T'ang dynasty. Java produced rhino horn). Gromier 1933: 268 (Chad, ca. 5000 killed in 2 years). Harrison 1956: 264, 268, 273 (rhino parts no value to Borneans; trade from Borneo to China in T'ang dynasty). Hillman & Martin 1979 (Kenya, export 1972-76). Jenyns 1955: 36, 43 (trade of China with Africa, after 10th century). Lamster 1930 (early trade between Africa and China). Laufer 1914: 165 note 3 (Chinese trade in horns). Martin 1980b, c (extent of present trade in Africa and Asia, statistics). Monks 1977 (export from Kenya 1969-1976). Needham et al. 1971: 444, 496, 537 (Chinese trade with Borneo and Africa). Rookmaaker 1980c. Seshadri 1969: 101 (Calcutta, 5000-20,000 horns). Swara & Hillman 1979 (recent trade figures). Wheatley 1959: 77, fig. 6 (Sung dynasty in China, import of horn from India, N. Malaya, Indo-China, Java and Africa). Williams 1856: 154 (import to China from Cochinchina, India and possibly Africa, price and quantity).

16.3 PRICES OF RHINO PARTS: AFRICA

Baker 1890: 95 (in 1860). Blancou 1935b: 59 (in 1928). Burton 1860, II: 413. Christy 1923: 63 (Sudan). Fonck 1924: 114 (export to China). Heymans & Colyn 1981: 163. Hillman & Martin 1979: 131. MacKenzie 1953: 5 (Sudan). Meyer 1909: 386 (E. Africa). Monks 1977 (Kenya).

16.4 PRICES OF RHINO PARTS: ASIA

General: Hiltzheimer 1935: 1502 (Antwerp 1914-1928). McKie 1965: 183 (horn, blood, skin). Martin 1980b: 30-33. Williams 1856: 154 (horn).

Borneo: Banks 1931: 20. Lumholtz 1921: 59 (horn). MacKinnon 1970 (Sabah). Medway 1958: 637. Pfeffer 1958: 129. Tillema 1936: 45.

Burma: Ali & Santapau 1959. Milton 1961: 106. Pollok 1879, I: 96.

India: Das 1969: 790. Gee 1964: 152. Hobley 1931: 20. Martin 1981a. Roy 1945: 125. Shebbecare 1935: 1229 (Assam). Shebbecare & Roy 1948: 90 (horn, blood, urine, skin, meat). Street 1961: 101. Wood 1930: 20.

Indo-China: Bock 1884: 295 (Laos, blood). Cheminaud 1939: 78. Millet 1930: 193 (Laos). Morice 1875: 20. Reinach n.d.: 271 (Laos).

Java: Appelman 1930: 586. Couperus 1887: 305. Higginson 1890: 70. Kerkhoven 1926: 326 (skin). Meyer 1891: 380.

Malaya: Hubback 1939a: 615. Koffend 1974: 10.

Nepal: Daukes 1934. Smythies 1953: 219.

Sunatra: Bock 1881: 279. Hijmans van Anrooy 1885: 276. Kops 1919: 93. Kreemer 1922, I: 193. Milton 1964c: 183. Schneider 1906: 125. Street 1961: 111.

CHAPTER 17

CULTURE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

17.1 ART

Note: Rhinoceros representations made before 1800 were included in chapter 3. Clarke 1976: 15 (ceramics after 1800). S. Dittrich 1977 (drawing by Walter Ritzenhofen, 1975). Reynolds 1963a: 103 (black rhinos used in movies). Rieth 1974: 85 (litho Bernhard Jäger, ca. 1974). M. Ryhiner 1952: 69 (Blechr relief Erich Müller, 1927). Weber 1942: 201, fig. 6 (sculpture of *R. unicornis* by Joseph Pallenberg).

17.2 LITERATURE, PLAYS AND STORIES

Damjan n.d. (children's story). Fleming 1956: 9-13 ("My aunt's rhinoceros", short story). Ionesco 1959 (play with rhinoceros). Kearney & Vyvyan 1965 (story of hand-rearing in Kenya). Kipling 1921: 27-36 ("How the rhinoceros got his skin"). Koenig 1965 (children's story on rhino family in Kenya). Livingstone 1977 (play on rhinoceros). Phipson 1883: 113 (rhinoceros in Shakespeare). Silverstein 1972 (cartoon).

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