

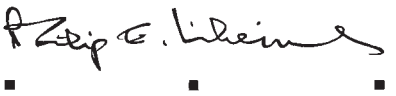
A CHINESE BESTIARY

Strange Creatures from the 山海經 GUIDEWAYS THROUGH MOUNTAINS AND SEAS

Edited, with an introduction, by

RICHARD E. STRASSBERG

A



BOOK

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A CHINESE BESTIARY

Strange Creatures from the  GUIDEWAYS THROUGH MOUNTAINS AND SEAS

Edited and Translated with Commentary by

RICHARD E. STRASSBERG

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For all strange creatures
and
in memory of the late Yvonne Linnemayer
and
for Caroline W. Hall

A thing is not strange in itself; it depends on me to make it strange.

GUO PU

Preface to the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*

Contents

List of Illustrations xi
Preface xiii
Editorial Notes xvii
Introduction 1

PLATES I TO LXXVI FROM THE
Guideways through Mountains and Seas
81

Notes 229
Selected Bibliography 273
Glossary Index to Plates 293

Illustrations

FIGURES

Perusing the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* ii

1. *The Nine Bronze Vessels* 5
2. Painted image of a *wu*-shaman 7
3. The first page from the 1180 printed edition of the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 19
4. Painted illustration of a Man with Long Ears from *Marvels of the East* 21
5. Wu Rujun, *A Kind of Xingtian* 27
6. The Luo River diagram 31
7. *The Five Dependencies of Yu the Great* 32
8. "General Map of the Four Seas, China, and the Barbarians" 34
9. The world according to the *Guideways through Mountains* (chapters 1–5) 35
10. Modern map of mountains in the *Guideways through Mountains* (chapters 1–5) 37
11. Reconstructed version of the garrison map from Mawangdui 38
12. The world according to the *Guideways through Seas* (chapters 6–13) 40
13. The world according to the "Great Wilds" and the "Lands within the Seas" (chapters 14–18) 41
14. Detail from *Illustrated Scroll of Tributary Peoples* 56

15a. Reconstructed side view of the inner coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng 59

15b. Detail of a guardian figure on the side of the inner coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng 59

16a. Reconstructed version of the Chu Silk Manuscript 66

16b. Individual gods from the reconstructed version of the Chu Silk Manuscript 61

17. Detail of *Divination Scroll of Astronomical and Weather Forms* 62
18. Drawing of a flying tiger 63
19. Reconstruction of ominous strange creatures engraved in the Wu Liang Shrine 64
20. Detail from "Illustrations of Auspicious Anomalies" 65
21. Detail from *The Beast of the White Marsh's Illustrations of Strange Creatures* 66
22. Detail from *The True Appearances of the Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations* 67
23. Illustrations of strange creatures from *Approaching Refinement* 68
24. *The Ba-Snake Swallowing an Elephant* 69
25a. Woodblock of the Heluo-Fish from *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 71
25b. Woodblock of the Heluo-Fish from *An Expanded and Illustrated Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* 71
26a. Woodblock of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People from *Illustrations and Records of Foreign Regions* 72
26b. Woodblock of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People from *Collected Illustrations of Heaven, Earth, and Man* 72
26c. Woodblock of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People from the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* 72
26d. Woodblock of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People from *An Expanded and Illustrated Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* 72
27. Lithographic reproduction of painted illustrations from *A Preserved Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 74
28. Portrait of the god Yuer from *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 75
29. Xingtian [no. 233] from *The Imperially Sponsored Collection of Past and Present Illustrations and Texts* 76
30. Plate LXV from the Haiqinglou edition of the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 77
31. Lithographic illustrations of strange creatures from the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Illustrations and Explanations* 78

PLATES

From the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 81

Preface

The *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing*) is a unique and enduring record of a wide range of beliefs held by the ancient Chinese about their world, encompassing religion, mythology, geography, flora, fauna, minerals, and medicine. An encyclopedic cosmography mostly compiled from the Warring States period to the Western Han dynasty (c. 4th–c. 1st cent. B.C.E.), it has been repeatedly hand-copied, reprinted, and re-edited through the centuries into our own time. Since the nineteenth century, it has also attracted the attention of foreign scholars and in recent years has been translated into at least five di erent languages. The early *Guideways* may well have been illustrated, but if so, these images have all been lost, as have those known to have existed during the Six Dynasties, Tang, and Song periods. The earliest surviving set of woodblock illustrations is from a rare edition dated 1597, during the late Ming dynasty, and this set is reproduced here for the first time in its entirety. The modern reader can now survey representations of some 350 gods, heroes, demons, foreign peoples, and other strange creatures from among the more than 550 that the book records. When the *Guideways* was edited and presented to Emperor Ming of the Western Han dynasty in 6 B.C.E., it was already regarded as a compendium of lost knowledge. Today, only a small number of these creatures are familiar to the Chinese, although the animistic and demonological worldview they represent survived throughout the country well into the twentieth century and is still embraced by some.

In titling this present volume a "bestiary," my intention is to suggest a general similarity to works from other premodern cultures in which examples of living anomalies were collected for purposes of instruction, curiosity, and delight. Strictly speaking, the *Guideways* di ers from the bestiaries of the late medieval period in Europe in that these strange creatures were almost never allegorically construed as vehicles of theological virtues or evils. Rather, they were regarded as actual entities found throughout the landscape. A part of the ecology within the cosmos of heaven and earth, they dwelled elusively alongside humankind, which was obliged to learn how to recognize them and to employ the appropriate strategies for coexisting with them. Preserving and transmitting such knowledge was undoubtedly one of the original purposes of the anonymous

compilers of the *Guideways.* It is my hope that this way of presenting a selection of its content in conjunction with these images can enable the modern English-language reader to gain a broader understanding of an important worldview in ancient China. These panoramic images, like dioramas in a *Wunderkammer* or natural history museum, are unique windows opening onto vistas that simulate a sacred geography filled with strikingly unusual denizens. In contrast to the better-known philosophical and historical texts that have survived from early China and mostly propound the ideological concerns of intellectuals, officials, and rulers, the *Guideways* preserves a perspective more characteristic of the beliefs of most traditional Chinese, regardless of social level.

This particular set of illustrations was designed by the artisan Jiang Yinghao (fl. late 16th cent.) and intended for a broad reading public. Though they may have been derived from earlier pictorial traditions, they predominantly reflect a later, more naturalistic style favored by many of the illustrators and commercial engravers of Jiang's time. Jiang, who remains otherwise unknown, clearly had his imagination sparked by reading the text, with the aid of the accumulated commentaries of scholars. Despite a few anacronisms and errors of interpretation, on its own his work represents an aesthetic achievement and is a worthy representative of the art of popular book illustration in late traditional China. This volume brings together versions of this edition from two great libraries. Most of the seventy-six plates are taken from the one preserved in the National Library of China in Beijing. However, damage to parts of plates XLIII and XLIV have made it necessary to substitute these pages from another edition in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. May the restoration of these images, like the joining of two halves of a tally, serve as a symbol of the continuing process of cultural collaboration between China and the United States.

In addition to many colleagues who generously shared their knowledge with me, I would like to particularly thank all those who aided me in obtaining the illustrations and helped make possible their reproduction, especially Ms. Sun Beixin, vice director, and the librarians of the Rare Book Collection, National Library of China, Beijing; Dr. Chi Wang and Mr. David Hsu, Chinese Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Mr. James Cheng, East Asian Library, U.C.L.A. and Harvard-Yenching Institute Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Ms. Daisy Hu and Mr. Jin Shen, Harvard-Yenching Institute Library; Ms. Amy Tsiang, East Asian Library, U.C.L.A.; Ms. Jean Han, East Asiatic Library, U.C. Berkeley; Mme. Monique Cohen, Manuscrits Orientales, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Ms. Frances Wood, Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library, London; Mr. Charles Aylmer, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge; Mr. Martin Heidjra, Gest Oriental Library, Princeton University, as well as Professor Noel Barnard for permission to reproduce the drawings of the Chu Silk Manuscript. I should also like to thank professors Cyril Birch and Suzanne Cahill for their helpful comments on the manuscript as well as, at the University of California Press, Sheila Levine, executive editor; Sue Heinemann, project editor; Mimi Kusch, copy editor; Caralyn Bialo, editorial assistant; and Barbara Jellow, designer. The Center for Chinese Studies at UCLA also provided funds to support the drawing of the maps and the compilation of the index.

Undoubtedly, as the *Guideways* continues to be read in an increasingly global culture, there will emerge a greater appreciation of its uniqueness, a deeper understand-

ing of its content, and new solutions to its many textual problems. Some day, archaeologists may even unearth an early edition from the Warring States period that will either confirm our present knowledge or thoroughly surprise us. Until then, it is hoped that readers will experience the same degree of fascination with these strange creatures and their world that I have felt in the process of assembling this volume.

Editorial Notes

ON THE TRANSLATION

For a complete English translation of the *Guideways,* general readers may wish to consult the recent version by Anne Birrell (1999) despite her highly imaginative rendition of the names of places and things. Another English version by Hsiao-Chieh Cheng et al. (1985) may be useful but is also problematical in many places. Specialist readers will probably prefer the more reliable Italian version by Riccardo Fracasso (1996) or the one in French by Rémi Mathieu (1983). The latter two are sinological in style, however, with all names romanized instead according to the phonology of modern standard Mandarin.

While this approach is sufficient for the scholar, it presents two problems for nonspecialists. First, almost all Chinese graphs possess one or more meanings, and the natural tendency when reading is to register their significant references as much as possible in addition to recognizing their sounds. The names of places and things in the *Guideways* can be seen to fall into three categories: those that convey fairly comprehensible meanings that can often be related to the accompanying descriptions; those that register an ambiguous meaning or multiple meanings that may or may not be related to the descriptions; and those that cannot be understood with any certainty even if the graphs may function semantically in other contexts. Romanizing the names conveniently avoids the many problems that arise with translation, but, for the English-language reader, it obscures the native experience of the text by suppressing much of its imagery.

Second, it is certain that the original readers and most later ones before the rise of modern standard Mandarin never pronounced these names exactly as they are romanized today due to di erences in historical phonology and dialect variations. The earliest commentator, Guo Pu, already noticed these problems in the early fourth century C.E. and sought to include his own suggestions, but it is not always clear just how accurate or helpful they are. Although the tradition of reading the text takes note of these suggestions in the absence of other aids, it has not yet been possible to locate a single origin of the text in time or place. Nor are the principles of Guo's phonological methods always obvious: often, he merely states how a graph should be pronounced. Thus, at present there is no reliable means to recover the authentic early pronuncia-

tions as they might have been spoken by an ancient Chinese during the period when the text was first compiled.

Since the focus of this book is on presenting the strange creatures for English-language readers, certain compromises have been inevitable. Regarding pronunciation, I have followed contemporary Western scholarly practice by providing romanizations of all names using the pinyin system. Most are in accord with modern standard Mandarin, but in certain cases as noted, I have, like Fracasso and Mathieu, followed the suggestions of Guo Pu and later Chinese commentators. Though these are probably anachronistic, for the most part, they remain the closest indications we have. In addition, I have undertaken the risky venture of providing translations whenever possible of the names of creatures, places, and things. Though well aware of the risks involved in the more polysemous cases, I o er these translations as reasonable significations that would have occurred to traditional Chinese readers both to facilitate the reader's contact with this difficult text and to stimulate further consideration among specialists of what these names might have meant. In a few cases, I have decided to follow existing translations of names in Birell (1993, 1999) and other previously published works in the hope of contributing to a common nomenclature for Chinese mythology. Nevertheless, I have refrained altogether from translating when the meaning is genuinely undecidable or nonsensical or where the graphs appear to have been solely a transliteration.

To give a more concrete idea of the problems, there is a bird whose name, Qiezhi [no. 199],* can mean "stealing-fat" and a mountain, Lema [see no. 210], whose name can mean "happy-horse." On the other hand, the creature called Conglong [no. 35], if translated, would literally be known as "Onion-Deaf," even though it has no connection with onions or deafness. Some creatures are said to be named after the sound they make, and these can be signified either by meaningful graphs or by onomatopoetic ones. As for ambiguous cases, the graph *ying* in Ying River may be translated as "eminent," "brave," "flower," "heroic," "beauty," "handsome," and so forth. Here, I must admit that my choice may appear subjective in the absence of supporting evidence, and I o er such preferences only as hypotheses awaiting further confirmation.

Classical Chinese does not always indicate whether a noun is singular or plural. In the *Guideways,* it is sometimes stated that many creatures of a type can be found in a place or that such a creature can be found in a number of places. In many cases, it is not certain from the text whether the creature is a type or whether it exists only as an individual. Thus, I have tended to present each creature in the singular, reserving the plural for when the text specifically indicates or clearly implies it.

This book presents translations of sections of the original text relevant to the illustrations of the strange creatures in bold type. These are based on the standard edition, the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Supplementary Commentaries* (*Shanhaijing jianshu,* 1809) by Hao Yixing, which includes Guo Pu's commentary as well as his own. Others, such as those of Bi Yuan, Wang Fu, Wu Renchen, and Wang Chongqing, have also been consulted along with the more recent editions of Yuan Ke, Fracasso,

*Numbers in brackets refer to the creatures in the illustrations (see plates).

Mathieu, Cheng et al., and Birrell. Following the translations is additional information that I have gathered and that I hope can shed further light on these strange creatures. Considerable later material about early Chinese mythology has been preserved, though its historicity is often difficult to assess. I have tried to present the *Guideways* as both an early text and one that has continued to be read through two millennia under changing conditions of reception. Regrettably, considerations of time and space have prevented me from adding as much later material as I would have liked.

Measures

The following measures appear in the *Guideways.* There was considerable local variation throughout China during the premodern period as well as di erent official standards through the centuries. Those listed below are approximate equivalences based on data from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century.

1 *bu* 步 = 5 Chinese feet (*chi* 尺) or 60.5 inches
1 *chi* 尺 = a Chinese foot or 14.1 inches (linear), 12.1 inches (itinerary)
1 *li* 里 = 1/3 of a mile or 1821.15 feet
1 *ren* 仞 = 7 Chinese feet or 98.7 inches
1 *xun* 尋 = 8 Chinese feet or 112.8 inches
1 *zhang* 丈 = 10 Chinese feet or 141 inches
1 *jin* 斤 = 1.33 lbs.
1 *shi* 石 = 160 lbs. (weight), 23.4 gallons (volume)

CHINESE DATES AND DYNASTIES

Traditional dates of reigns and events for the Xia and Shang kings and for earlier thearchs are generally indicated based on Legge's translation of *The Bamboo Annals* (1966 ed.) when possible. The reader is advised, though, that these are not to be taken as accurate. Nivison has pointed out that many of the later dates are often a year late (Loewe [1993], 46). The earlier dates are not based on firm historical evidence but are provided simply to suggest how these periods and events were chronologically arranged according to one example of traditional Chinese historiography. For Chinese commentators such as Guo Pu and others up until the modern period, this chronology was sometimes relevant to their understanding of the text. Dates for the Zhou dynasty kings follow Shaughnessy in Loewe (1993), 509. Later dates follow the tables in volume 2 of *Cihai* (Hong Kong, 1979), Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), and Loewe and Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28–29. The following are generally accepted dates for the more important dynasties and feudal states. However, the historical existence of the Xia dynasty is still a matter of scholarly debate, as are the exact dates of the Shang, the founding of the Zhou, and the origins of many of the feudal states of the Zhou.

Chinese Dynasties

Xia	trad. c. 20th cent.–c. 16th cent. B.C.E.
Erlitou period	c. 1900–1350 B.C.E.
Shang	c. 1600–c. 1045 B.C.E.
Zhou	c. 1045–256 B.C.E.
Western Zhou	c. 1045–771 B.C.E.
Eastern Zhou	770–256 B.C.E.
Spring and Autumn period	770–476 B.C.E.
Warring States period	475–221 B.C.E.
Qin	?–206 B.C.E.
Wei	445–225 B.C.E.
Han	424–230 B.C.E.
Zhao	475–222 B.C.E.
Chu	11th cent.–223 B.C.E.
Yan	11th cent.–222 B.C.E.
Jiang Qi	11th cent.–379 B.C.E.
Tian Qi	410–221 B.C.E.
Jin	?–369 B.C.E.
Qin	221–206 B.C.E.
Han	206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.
Western Han	206 B.C.E.–8 C.E.
Xin (Wang Mang Interregnum)	9–23 C.E.
Eastern Han	25–220 C.E.
Three Kingdoms	220–280
Wei	220–265
Shu-Han	221–263
Wu	222–280
Western Jin	265–316
Eastern Jin	317–420
Six Dynasties	222–589
Sixteen Kingdoms	304–439
Southern Dynasties	420–589
(Liu) Song	420–479
Southern Qi	479–502
Liang	502–557
Chen	557–589
Northern Dynasties	398–581
Northern Wei (Tuoba)	386–534
Eastern Wei	534–550
Western Wei	535–556
Northern Qi	550–577
Northern Zhou	557–581
Sui	581–618
Tang	618–907

Five Dynasties	907–960
Latter Liang	907–923
Latter Tang	923–936
Latter Jin	936–946
Latter Han	947–950
Latter Chou	951–960
Ten Kingdoms	902–979
Wu	902–937
Former Shu	903–925
Wu-Yue	907–978
Chu	927–951
Min	909–945
Southern Han	917–971
Jingnan	924–963
Latter Shu	933–965
Southern Tang	937–975
Northern Han	951–979
Song	960–1279
Northern Song	960–1126
Southern Song	1127–1279
Liao (Qidan/Khitan)	907–1125
Northern Liao	1122–1123
Western Liao	1124–1211
Western Xia (Dangxiang/Tangut)	1032–1227
Jin (Nüzhen/Jirchen)	1115–1234
Yuan (Menggu/Mongol)	1279–1368
Ming	1368–1644
Qing (Manzhou/Manchu)	1644–1911
Republic of China	1912–
Taiwan, ROC	1949–
People's Republic of China	1949–

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes and bibliography.

B	Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*
Bbcs	*Baibu congshu jicheng*
C	Birrell, trans., *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*
Csjc	*Congshu jicheng chubian*
F	Fracasso, trans., *Libro dei monti e dei mari*
G	Ma, *Guben shanhaijing tushuo*
H	Hao Yixing, ed., *Shanhaijing jianshu*
Hwcs	*Han Wei congshu*

HY	*Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*
ICS	*The Chinese University of Hong Kong the ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series*
M	Mathieu, trans., *Étude sur la mythologie et l'ethnographie de la Chine ancienne: Traduction annotée du Shanhai jing*
Qszcs	*Qiushuzhai congshu*
S	Cheng et al., trans., *Shan hai ching: Legendary Geography and Wonders of Ancient China*
Sbby	*Sibu beiyao*
Sbck	*Sibu conkan chubian*
Skqs	*Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu*
Ssjzs	*Shisanjing zhushu*
Y	Yuan Ke, ed., *Shanhaijing jiaozhu*
Zzjc	*Zhuzi jicheng*

Introduction

One day Duke Huan of Qi (r. 685–643 B.C.E.) was out riding beyond the city walls with his renowned prime minister, Guan Zhong (c. 730–645 B.C.E.). Suddenly, he noticed that a tiger lying in ambush had set its sights on him, but inexplicably the tiger refrained from attacking. When the duke questioned Guan Zhong about this unusual behavior, he replied that the duke's gallant mount must have resembled a strange creature known as the *Bo* [nos. 82, 251].* According to the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing,* c. 4th–1st cent. B.C.E.), the *Bo* resembles a horse with a white body, a black tail, a single horn, and the teeth and claws of a tiger.[1] It is said to devour tigers and leopards. Thus, Guan explained, the tiger was probably avoiding the duke's horse out of fear.[2]

This apocryphal story from the *Master Guan* (*Guanzi,* c. 5th–1st cent. B.C.E.), an encyclopedic compendium on statecraft, articulates the importance of recognizing the *guaiwu,* or "strange creatures," that dwell throughout the landscape. Duke Huan, who had become legendary as the first of the five great hegemons of the Zhou dynasty, is shown displaying his control over the wild periphery. The tiger not only represents a threat to man still feared in many areas of China at that time but, symbolically, other nobles who occasionally challenged the duke's rule. The duke's preeminence among men is matched by his horse's resemblance to one of the more fearsome strange creatures, and the duke's supremacy appears only momentarily threatened before he is cleverly reassured by his prime minister. The original readers of this anecdote were mostly members of the literate elite with political ambitions as officials or advisors in the courts of the feudal states. They understood Guan Zhong's timely reply as an example of his legendary success as an official and read the story as a recommendation that they, too, equip themselves with such useful knowledge of the strange.

The graph *guai* was later glossed in *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* (*Shuowen jiezi,* 100 C.E.), China's oldest dictionary, as simply *yi* or "portentous anomaly," reflecting the contemporary interest in interpreting omens in the politics of the Han dynasty.[3] In earlier texts, *guai* more broadly denoted nonnormative, suprahuman phenomena as well as the typical psychological responses of awe and fear to such things. The cast of

*Numbers in brackets refer to the creatures in the illustrations (see plates).

strange creatures included animate figures (gods, heroes, demons, monsters, exotic animals, foreign tribes), celestial phenomena (winds, rains, rainbows, stars, comets, brilliant lights), impressive geographical formations (mountains, rocks, minerals, rivers, lakes, seas) as well as unusual flora (plants, trees, flowers). Many of the latter objects were often personified as gods and spirits. It is a characteristic of the traditional Chinese worldview that such creatures were regarded as an intimate part of the natural environment rather than as supernatural or otherworldly. Though elusive and often mobile, they might manifest themselves to people if they desired—for better or worse. In this mechanistic universe, the higher gods, like government officials, were assumed to be responsive to sacrifices and entreaties, provided they were o ered under the correct ritual conditions, while demons might be exorcised with the help of charms, spells, and shamanistic mediums. Some beneficial creatures were enlisted by the culture to aid in conveying departed souls to the next world or in transporting those on spirit-journeys to heaven. Others were of medicinal value if consumed or worn as a talisman. It is possible that some ancient rulers engaged in collecting strange creatures and displayed them as a sign of royal power over the natural world. One legend in the philosophical text *Master Shi* (*Shizi,* 4th cent. B.C.E.) tells of King Yan of Xu (fl. c. 10th cent. B.C.E. or 7th cent. B.C.E.), the ruler of a feudal state in central China. He was said to have personally captured strange fish by diving underwater and to have obtained strange animals by venturing into deep mountains. He then displayed these beasts in the hall of his residence in what must have been an ancient Chinese example of the later *Wunderkammer* of the European Renaissance.[4] Strange creatures were also much in evidence as decorations. They could be found on weapons, ritual bronze vessels, musical instruments, jewelry, textiles, household objects, coffins, and the walls of tombs and as tomb figurines. They were depicted as well in folk art and on murals found in temples, government buildings, and private residences. Despite such attempts to appropriate their power through visual representations, the predominant view of them was that in actuality they were largely indi erent to human concerns. If encountered, especially by travelers through the mountains, they could be unpredictable, threatening, and beyond the limits of rational understanding or control. Thus, strange phenomena were among the subjects that Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.) was said to have avoided speaking of even as he and other philosophers recognized the pervasive presence of gods and spirits and urged a properly respectful attitude toward them.[5]

In ancient China, the population of these strange creatures throughout the landscape was so abundant and their names, natures, and appearances so numerous that it was beyond the capacity of any individual to know every one of them. Nor were the many local deities of ancient Chinese religion fully organized into a stable, universal pantheon. Official cults, ancestral worship, and the propitiation of nature gods and local spirits overlapped, while beliefs periodically underwent metamorphoses because of a variety of changing social and political circumstances. Official religion was limited in its focus and practiced only by those of appropriate lineage, rank, or profession, while the majority of people regardless of their status were motivated by private concerns of personal welfare in their relations with spiritual beings.[6] One can find stories in early texts in which rulers like Duke Huan must consult visitors, courtiers, scholars, official scribe-astrologers, diviners, and shamans, among others, to discover which god is caus-

ing a disturbance and why. Most early Chinese beliefs about particular strange creatures remained localized and were not widely understood. Thus, people were generally dependent on a variety of figures who might happen to possess such information.[7]

The *Guideways* was probably compiled in part to fulfill the need for a reference work that could answer these and other questions about the denizens of both the Chinese and non-Chinese worlds. In its present form, it records more than 500 animate creatures in addition to some 550 mountains, 300 rivers, 95 foreign lands and tribes, 130 kinds of pharmaceuticals (to prevent some 70 illnesses), 435 plants, 90 metals and minerals, as well as specific forms of ritual sacrifice to various mountain gods, all organized within a geographical framework. It is actually composed of several books that were later stitched together by bibliographers and scholars, while each of these sections is itself an aggregate of various strata of information. So diverse is its content that readers for two millennia in China and the West have characterized it in many fashions. It has been called "a legacy of sages and worthies clearly stated in ancient graphs,"[8] "an ancient geography book containing practical help for worldly projects and not just fabulous talk,"[9] "the ancestor of all discussions of the strange,"[10] "the oldest work of fiction,"[11] "a geographic survey and folkloric compendium of the ancient world,"[12] "the garden of Chinese mythology,"[13] "a frightful *mixtum compositum,*"[14] "une sorte d'encyclopédie avant la lettre,"[15] "a catalog of the natural and supernatural fauna and flora,"[16] "a travel guide for the upper classes,"[17] "a voluminous corpus of protoscientific, magico-religious and mythological notions arranged on a cosmological 'support' halfway between reality and fancy,"[18] and "an ancient book of the shamans."[19] Although each of these characterizations has some basis in the text, the book clearly defies ready classification. Traditionally regarded as divinely transmitted, the obvious combination of fact, unverifiable data, the fantastic, and the fabricated has fascinated, puzzled, and repelled readers for centuries.

How, when, where, and by whom the *Guideways* was first created is obscured by legend and remains the subject of much debate among textual scholars.[20] It is probably best understood today as a summary of the knowledge of certain kinds of pragmatic experts in what has been called "natural philosophy and occult thought."[21] Its linguistic style and underlying thought suggest that parts of it first took shape during the Warring States period, perhaps as early as the fourth century B.C.E., when a range of technical literature had already begun to be developed by the exponents of various schools. Though some of its content can also be found in other early texts, the loss of a great deal of the literature and oral traditions of this period over the centuries makes it difficult to identify its prototypes or to compare it to other works of its genre known to have existed. Nevertheless, it is possible to consider its origins by reflecting on the common beliefs of early China, the kinds of governmental activity that required such information, and the intellectual milieu that gave rise to this and other encyclopedic visions of the world.

ORIGINS OF THE *GUIDEWAYS*

It was a supreme god-king of antiquity or thearch who was among those credited in mythology with disseminating knowledge of strange creatures among the population.

Yu the Great (trad. r. 1989–1981 B.C.E. [no. 345]) was later historicized and regarded as the progenitor of China's first dynasty, the Xia.[22] He had been chosen for his virtue by his predecessors, the thearchs Yao (trad. r. 2145–2046 B.C.E.) and Shun (trad. r. 2042–1993 B.C.E.), and empowered to travel throughout the known world to quell the Deluge. He was also credited with establishing a national order by dividing the land into nine provinces and five dependencies as well as facilitating the circulation of local products and tribute to the court. Yu was thus regarded as the divine fountainhead of knowledge about the geography of the natural world as well as a model ruler who brought it and its denizens under control. In a myth dated 606 B.C.E. in *Zuo's Narratives to the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu zuozhuan,* c. late 4th cent. B.C.E.), Yu is cast as an early culture hero:

> In the past when the Xia dynasty still possessed virtue, the distant lands presented images of their strange creatures and the heads of the nine provinces contributed bronze so that vessels were cast which illustrated these creatures. Every kind of strange creature was completely depicted in order that the common people would know the gods and the demons. Thus, when people went to the rivers, lakes, mountains, and forests, they did not encounter these adverse beings nor did the Chimei-Hobgoblins [see no. 287] in the hills and the Wangliang-Goblins in the waters accost them. As a result, harmony was maintained between those above and those dwelling on Earth below while everywhere, the people received the protection of Heaven.[23]

In the historical tradition, Yu's Nine Bronze Vessels also became a symbol of political legitimacy and were later said to have been passed down among rulers through the Shang and Zhou dynasties until they disappeared sometime during the Qin. Although the vessels have remained an enduring artistic motif (fig. 1) of a united Chinese polity, no archaeological evidence has yet surfaced to confirm their existence. And it seems unlikely to, judging from the simplicity of the bronze vessels uncovered from the Erlitou period, which some scholars consider the Xia. The stories of their later disappearance, moreover, imply that humankind in general reverted to greater ignorance about strange creatures than they did during the golden age of Yu.[24]

Yu the Great has traditionally been credited with the origin of the *Guideways* as well as other early cosmographies. Almost every major editor and commentator before the modern period considered him to be the creator of the text, either singly or in conjunction with his officials Yi and/or Boyi (fl. c. 2000 B.C.E. [no. 345]), who are said to have accompanied him on his epic travels.[25] Internal evidence alone would dispute this, but given Yu the Great's lofty cultural status, ascribing the book to him or his officials was a characteristic way of creating authority for the text. Such a genealogy must have also signified the primary professional community that served as a source of much of its earliest information just as the *Ru*-Confucian school traced the origins of many canonical works to Confucius himself or the *yi*-physicians credited Divine Farmer (Shennong) and the Yellow Thearch (Huangdi, both trad. c. 3rd millennium B.C.E.) with having written important medical and pharmacological treatises. Yu appears to have been particularly revered by mediums, shamans, and other occult practitioners,



FIGURE 1. *The Nine Bronze Vessels.* Woodblock illustration of the Nine Bronze Vessels of Yu the Great. A design for an ink cake from a catalogue by the late Ming dynasty artisan Fang Yulu (fl. 1570–1619). From Fang, *Fangshi mopu* (1588). Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.

some of whom performed a magical dance known as the "Paces of Yu" used to protect travelers as well as to exorcise demons as early as the Warring States period.[26] The modern writer and literary scholar Lu Xun (1881–1936) suggested in the early 1920s that the *Guideways* originated with the shamans of early China, a view recently elaborated by the contemporary mythologist and commentator Yuan Ke (1916–).[27] It certainly presents a worldview reflecting animistic and demonological beliefs about strange creatures that are often expressed mythologically in a style that utilizes repetitive formulae designed to magically name and enumerate elements of the natural world. Some of its content can be traced back to Shang-dynasty beliefs, and some may even predate this period. Moreover, the *Guideways* appears closely related in some of its religious concerns to the genre of daybooks only recently discovered by archaeologists. These early guides and almanacs addressed popular concerns such as choosing auspicious days for travel and avoiding danger from gods and demons.[28] Thus, Lu Xun's instinctive assessment may well point to the *Guideways*' most distant origins, for when this book is more closely scrutinized, not only are shamans themselves found to be recorded to a greater extent than in any other surviving writing from early China but the range of their expertise in antiquity is probably consistent with much of the book's content.

Most scholars today affirm that the cultures of the many local Chinese ethnicities in antiquity were probably shamanistic in nature and that shamanism was either identical with kingship or closely allied with political authority. In some of the more than 150,000 oracle-bone inscriptions from the late Shang dynasty (c. 1200–1045 B.C.E.), the earliest examples of extended Chinese writing, a form of the graph now read as *wu* appears in connection with the divinations of the royal house. This is generally believed to have denoted people with special vision who possessed various techniques of communicating with spiritual beings. The names of a few individuals such as Shaman Xian [see no. 235] have been recorded, but the evidence from this period is still too sparse to precisely indicate their social identity or the full range of their activities. During the ensuing Zhou dynasty, however, it is clear from texts that among the many skills attributed to the *wu* were spirit-journeying and the invocation of gods through ecstatic trance, thus justifying to some extent the conventional identification of them as "shamans."[29] Despite their presence at the Shang court and later indications that they have generally played a distinct role in local cultures until the modern period, the *wu*-shamans were largely ignored by the literary traditions of the Eastern Zhou philosophers, historians, and other intellectuals who were in competition with them for aristocratic patronage. Hence, the portrait of them that can be constructed is often a fragmented one with largely negative overtones. Further confusion is created by the lack of an inclusive name for the many other varieties of occult practitioners in ancient China and by the anachronistic application of such designations by writers of later times. It is not even clear what these people looked like, although some modern scholars believe that painted figures on a zither excavated from a Warring States tomb in the state of Chu may be depictions of *wu*-shamans engaged in various ritual activities (fig. 2).

The most detailed description of their official religious functions emerged in the course of a purported conversation between King Zhao of Chu (r. 515–489 B.C.E.) and his official Guan Yifu (n.d.) recorded in the *Conversations from the Feudal States* (*Guoyu,* late 5th–4th cent. B.C.E.). Guan stated:

> In antiquity, humans and gods did not maintain direct contact. Those among the people whose essential spirit was capable of absolute concentration and who were, moreover, reverential and serious, whose awareness could correctly distinguish the signs of the realms above and below, whose divine sagacity enabled them to penetrate that which is distant, whose luminous discernment was capable of comprehending this, and whose perception was able to achieve a deep understanding of it—into such people did the gods descend. The men were known as "*xi*" and the women, as "*wu.*" It is they who were charged with determining the dwelling-places of the gods, the proper positions in sacrificial rituals, and the hierarchical order among them so that the descendants of the ancient divine ones would be blessed. They also knew the names and locations of the important mountains and rivers, the ancestors of the ruling house, the management of the a airs of its ancestral temple, as well as the family lineage generation by generation. . . . Thus, the gods bestowed benefits while the people o ered up sacrifices for them to enjoy. Disasters were averted and there was nothing that the people were in want of.[30]



FIGURE 2. Painted image of a *wu*-shaman. Detail of decorative images on a zither excavated from a Warring States–period tomb in Chu (modern Changtaiguan, Xinyang, Henan) in 1957. Henan Provincial Museum.

Guan went on to note the various government positions occupied by *wu*-shamans, indicating that some of them not only played a role in official cults but were also incorporated into the political structure. There was undoubtedly much diversity in the styles of their magical practices and beliefs, reflecting not only hierarchical di erences among them but also the considerable variations of local cultures. Little is known of their social organization, however. Their roles may have been largely, though not exclusively, hereditary, while only the names and myths about a few individuals have been preserved. Although images, charms, demonological texts, and almanacs have recently begun to be excavated from tombs, suggesting an abundant pragmatic literature at the time, no theological texts have survived that can be directly connected with them. Most of the shamans' esoteric expertise was probably transmitted orally and only began to be written down during the Warring States period. Perhaps the *wu*-shamans and other occult practitioners are best defined by the range of their cultural functions. Among the things they were skilled in were herbal medicine, divination, dream interpretation, exorcism, omenology, genealogy, mythology, geography, calendrical and astronomical calculation, sacrifices, sacred performance, rainmaking, as well as certain rites of resurrection. The reader will find that practically all these elements appear in the *Guideways*.[31]

However, developments beginning in the Eastern Zhou and accelerating during the Warring States period suggest that the actual commitment of this information to an organized, written form may have been carried out in connection with others. In a centuries-long process that ultimately undermined the political authority of shamanistic culture, the power of the central Zhou court unraveled as new aristocrats and local clans assumed control in the feudal states and competed with one another for dominance. To aid the most ambitious of these rulers seeking to reunify China under their hegemony, groups of literate intellectuals arose and sought to gain patronage by advocating various schools of text-based knowledge.[32] The diversity of these exponents as well as their interschool rivalry is suggested by the traditional term Hundred Schools of Philosophy, while their predominant social roots in the lower ranks of the military aris-

tocracy are often signified by the term *shi.* Both are imprecise designations, but collectively these literate thinkers did represent a new, highly mobile class proferring a range of ideas throughout the feudal states in response to the challenges of the times. The role of the elite *wu*-shamans in official cults may have been tied to earlier aristocratic social structures, for they appear to have become increasingly subordinated to bureacratic ritual officials and priests connected to the newly dominant families, who often arose from among the ministerial or gentry class. The latter groups sometimes adopted the gods and divine ancestors of those they displaced and usurped the exclusive rights of previous rulers to sacrifice to the important nature gods on behalf of the state, activities which the *wu* sometimes resisted.[33]

In an explosion of writing that could genuinely be called a "textual revolution," the members of the intellectual schools disseminated systems of thought that appropriated or superseded the traditional areas of shamanistic expertise. The Mohists notably continued to champion demonological theology, but others selectively abandoned these older beliefs as new dualistic formulations such as the ethereal and earthly souls gained credence.[34] Legalists such as Han Fei (c. 280–c. 233 B.C.E.) criticized the use of deity imagery in calendrical calculation. The early Daoists of the *Master Zhuang* (*Zhuangzi,* late 3rd–1st cent. B.C.E) refashioned mythology in literary fables to argue for impersonal natural laws and mystical approaches to statecraft. Later scholars of the *Ru*-Confucian school not only followed Confucius in distancing themselves from discussing strange phenomena, but, as in the case of Xun Qing (c. 335–c. 238 B.C.E.), they were also skeptical of those who claimed to know the workings of heaven. All these groups, as well as the author(s) of historical works such as *Zuo's Narratives,* were active in selectively humanizing gods and thearchs to promote them as model political rulers.[35]

Beginning in the fourth century B.C.E., eclectic schools created various blends and more organized, "correlative" cosmological systems based on such archetypes as yin and yang and the Five Agents that were extended in subsequent centuries to become the most influential paradigms especially during the Qin and Han dynasties.[36] Around the third century B.C.E., the *fangshi*-wizards gained credibility as a new, highly competitive breed of charismatic magical practitioners with an alternate cosmology of their own and more sophisticated techniques for achieving longevity.[37] Even in the field of medicine long dominated by herbal and exorcistic methods, new concepts of the body and management of disease began to be practiced. The *yi*-physicians incorporated correlative cosmology and the flow of vital energy into a system that evolved into the "traditional Chinese medicine" known today.[38] In practice, the kinds of distinctions made by new schools of philosophers did not necessarily create a sharp break between earlier beliefs and the newer forms of knowledge. Mythology and deity imagery continued to be adapted to their systems, and many of the texts transmitted by these schools actually became repositories that preserved certain shamanistic traditions. However, the e ect of committing hitherto esoteric orally transmitted knowledge to writing enabled nonspecialists among the literate elite to practice many of these techniques as well as to freely develop them in new directions. Inevitably, the prestige of elite *wu*-shamans eroded. By the end of the second century C.E. the *Ru*-Confucian school and its canon of classical texts had become established as the orthodox ideology of the imperial state. Its members, drawn largely from gentry families, filled the expanding bureaucracy of

the central government, which gradually extended its control into local areas. In the face of relentless political hostility from officials, the *wu* were finally legally proscribed from becoming officials themselves, and henceforth the government sought to confine them, though not always successfully, to a substratum of the popular culture. Finally, the new, more universalistic religions of Daoism and Buddhism, with their superior magical techniques, organized priesthoods, and sacred texts, were beginning to spread among all classes. In particular, the Celestial Masters School of Daoism absorbed many of the occult practices and directly challenged the local authority of the *wu* and the *fangshi,* who appeared increasingly unsophisticated and less efficacious by comparison.[39]

With this new reliance on texts as a basis for authority, one important genre of writing appearing during the Warring States period was the encyclopedic compilation that included the cosmography.[40] These works sought to organize diverse information about the world in an e ort to define a more systematic pattern of totality as a model for a centrally unified China. Earlier works such as the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing,* c. 9th cent. B.C.E.–Han) and the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing,* c. 11th cent. B.C.E.–Han) were joined by the *Government Organization of the Zhou Dynasty* (*Zhouli,* late Warring States period), the *Master Guan, The Compendium of Mr. Lü* (*Lüshi chunqiu,* c. 239 B.C.E.), the glossary *Approaching Refinement* (*Erya,* c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.), "The Tributes of Yu" (*Yugong,* late Warring States), the mythical itinerary *The Chronicle of King Mu* (*Mutianzi zhuan,* Warring States–c. 4th cent. C.E.) and, later, the summary Daoist compendium *Master of Huainan* (*Huainanzi,* c. 139 B.C.E.).[41] Most of these texts were clearly collective e orts by many scholars and in some cases were compiled under official sponsorship. They tended to bring together both existing texts and oral traditions, often organizing their data for handy reference by using cosmological frameworks such as numerical systems, the lunar calendar and the four seasons, and spatial structures. The *Guideways,* China's earliest surviving cosmography, reflects this last tendency by being organized according to a central region surrounded by territories and seas extending in the four directions.

As found in various forms in many premodern cultures, cosmographies typically blend empirical fact, hearsay, and fantasy within a geographical framework, purporting to be accurate descriptions of the world.[42] They assemble a variety of disparate information inscribing prevailing assumptions about normative and anomalous phenomena and often seek to domesticate through discourse what may lie beyond the boundaries of a culture's actual understanding or control. Cosmographies project the possibilities of a totalizing perspective by seamlessly mapping the near and the distant, the known and the unknown, the visible and the hidden, the verifiable and the imaginary. The reader willingly consumed an illusion that all the important objects of reality had been collected and ordered according to a fundamental taxonomy and that these things were now manageable and available for exploitation. Cosmographies have thus proven particularly useful as guides facilitating imperialistic expansion, since they chart strategies for encountering and successfully incorporating the foreign "other." To later readers, they have also revealed the conceptual strategies of power that operated within the dominant culture both internally and in its foreign relations.

Both official and private libraries during the Warring States period possessed various kinds of cosmographies that utilized words and probably images as well. The discourse that they employed to name and describe strange creatures undoubtedly reflected

early Chinese cultural archetypes of centrality and di erence as well as more universal psychological fears of the unknown. It has been noted that the tendency in the West since the ancient Greeks has been to create evolutionary schemes that project such di erences into earlier, less civilized times or onto less technologically advanced, "primitive" peoples. The Chinese, however, attempted to manage the strange by what has been called "the systematic attempt to spatialize all the categories of 'otherness.' "[43] That is, fact and fantasy combined in works such as the *Guideways* to distribute a diverse population of strange creatures throughout a vast, sacred geography where they dwell in the eternal present of mythological time. Although historical events and genealogical sequences may be included, this kind of ordering is essentially beyond linear temporality and is subordinated to the repetitive rhythms of natural processes, myth, and ritual. These books were continually evolving as new intelligence about the world was gathered. Those used in the major feudal states must have particularly grown in scope, detail, and organization, creating totalizing visions that mirrored their political aspirations to achieve hegemony and national reunification.

Certain government activities related to the necessities of statecraft also resulted in the production of written data, some of which found its way into the *Guideways.* Metal, especially copper, was increasingly necessary for the weapons needed by the massive armies of the Warring States. The *Master Guan* urged rulers to survey mountains, take note of those that yielded valuable metals, and even proscribe the common people from trespassing—on pain of death.[44] A more detailed description of the bureacratic organization of the landscape for military purposes including the measurement of distances can be seen from a passage in *Zuo's Narratives,* dated 548 B.C.E.:

> Wei Yan was made marshal of Chu, and Zimu [the chief minister] commissioned him to regulate the government levies and count the number of cuirasses and weapons each fief had to contribute . . . Wei Yan made a register of arable lands, measured the mountains and forests, calculated the area of marshlands, distinguished the highlands and the downs, listed salt tracts, enumerated the borders of flooded areas, measured the area of diked reservoirs, regularized balks to divide the plains between embankments, assigned low wetlands for pasturage, divided fertile land into units shaped like the graph "*jing*" 井 [well]. He determined the levies due, fixing the number of chariots and horses to be contributed, and assessing the numbers of chariot drivers, foot soldiers, and armored soldiers with shields that had to be mustered. He presented the results to Zimu. They were all proper.[45]

The first five chapters of the *Guideways* provide measurements of the distances between each mountain in addition to the location of useful trees, plants, and minerals. The presence of metals including copper is noted in over two hundred places, while a few mountains are specifically prohibited from being climbed.

As geographical knowledge expanded through increased travel, military campaigns, and government-sponsored expeditions, heightened diplomatic relations led to greater contacts with neighboring as well as more distant foreign peoples.[46] *The Bamboo Annals* (*Zhushu jinian,* c. 299 B.C.E.) records strange peoples such as the People with Per-

forated Chests [no. 220] and the Long-Thighs People [no. 240] as visiting the Chinese court as early as the time of the Yellow Thearch.[47] Painted scrolls with extensive colophons that survive from the Six Dynasties period indicate that records were kept of such peoples, including images of their appearance, a practice that may have begun much earlier (see fig. 14, page 56). *Zuo's Narratives,* in an anecdote dated 559 B.C.E., describes one of the Jiang-Rong tribes dwelling in the northwest and details the complex relations between them and neighboring Chinese states after they were displaced by the expanding state of Qin.[48] The sections of the *Guideways* on foreign peoples, though containing much that is fantastic, record information that also appears in these and other early sources as well.

Last, the *Guideways* can be related to an important group of texts that lie somewhat outside the mainstream of those mentioned above. The various performance pieces that were later grouped together in the *Songs of Chu* (*Chuci,* c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.) anthology strongly reflect shamanistic cultural elements, although they were probably written down by poets or other literary figures. Chu was the major feudal state in what is now central and southern China and a strong contender during the Warring States. Its culture was regarded by the other Chinese states, especially those of the Central Plains and to the northeast, as only partially civilized and was characterized by its strong faith in shamanistic religion. Among these texts are "itineraria" such as the poems "On Encountering Sorrow" (*Lisao*) and "The Far-O Journey" (*Yuanyu*) in which the purported author, the disgraced aristocratic official Qu Yuan (c. 339–c. 278 B.C.E.), embarks on spirit-journeys. After losing his influence at court, he goes into exile, visiting mythical realms, and meets gods, goddesses, and strange creatures as well as shamans. Both "The Summons of the Soul" (*Zhaohun*) and "The Great Summons" (*Dazhao*) enact the ritual of recalling the soul back to the recently dead body in the hope of e ecting a resurrection, a common practice carried out by spirit-mediums. "The Nine Songs" (*Jiuge*) is perhaps the most closely related to shamanistic religious performance. Most of its pieces celebrate eroticized encounters with a range of high gods and nature deities who are invoked to appear. But the work that most closely matches the encyclopedic impulse of the *Guideways* is the "Questions of Heaven" (*Tianwen*), a veritable Chinese *Theogony* that extensively records the origins of the world and numerous myths in the form of riddles. After the *Guideways,* this song is the second greatest repository of ancient mythology and often confirms its content. It is worth noting that the earliest commentator, Wang Yi (c. 89–c. 158 C.E.), believed that it was Qu Yuan's ironic commentary on murals in the ancestral temple of the kings of Chu that depicted mythic scenes and strange creatures.[49]

Modern scholars doubt that the *Songs of Chu* were produced by a single author and, more important, see these pieces as literary transformations of religious ideas and practices that could have also functioned as entertainment. This suggests that the *Guideways* may have been similarly committed to writing not by *wu*-shamans themselves but by others. It is not impossible that certain strata of the *Guideways* could have been transcribed by literate *wu*-shamans who, in the era of competing, text-based schools, wished to preserve their knowledge or reinforce their oral authority with a written work of their own. But it is more likely that a broader spectrum of experts including occult philosophers in what was later collectively called the School of Techniques and Calculations

and other, private scholars may have compiled this as a reference text. Scribes in private aristocratic or feudal court libraries could have also contributed to piecing the book together from these and other sources both written and oral. Gradually, it was expanded for purely pragmatic purposes related to government administration as well as to fulfill the needs of patrons to know more about the world and its strange creatures. What does seem clear is that the *Guideways* took form over some time and that its diverse content served a variety of purposes.

Largely because of the unique light that the *Songs of Chu* shines on the spiritual beliefs of late Chu, and based on certain linguistic traces in the text, some scholars in recent years have argued that the *Guideways* itself is largely a product of Chu writers and reflects a worldview that is more characteristic of this feudal state than any other.[50] Chu was the largest of the Zhou feudal states as well as one of the most aggressive and expansionist. It ultimately absorbed more than sixty states and numerous tribal groups. There is still some debate over the origins of the Chu people and their early history. According to some scholars, the core ethnicities may have migrated from the north and eventually by the Eastern Zhou period established themselves in central China along the Han and middle reaches of the Long (Yangtze) River in modern Hubei, then regarded as the South. Among the ancestors claimed by its royal house were the Yellow Thearch, Zhuanxu, Old-Child (Laotong), and Zhurong, all of whom are mentioned in the *Guideways.* It was one of the first states to break away from the ritual authority of the central Zhou court and, over the course of more than five centuries, became a major contender to reunify the Chinese world. By the time it was defeated by Qin in 223 B.C.E., its borders had extended west into Ba-Shu (modern Sichuan), north into the Central Plains area (modern Shaanxi and Henan), east to Wu-Yue (modern Jiangsu and Zhejiang), northeast into Qi and Lu (modern Shandong), and southward into the *Man*-Barbarian areas (modern Hunan and Jiangxi). This area covered each of the five directions, and its government would have had particular need for a cosmography consistent with the framework of the *Guideways.* Although Chu maintained certain common cultural features with other Chinese states and the central Zhou court, it nevertheless also increasingly became di erentiated from them. During its greatest expansion in the Spring and Autumn period, it was highly successful in absorbing the beliefs and artistic styles of the many non-Chinese states on its periphery that it gradually engulfed so that others particularly associated it with shamanistic and demonological practices, the worship of nature gods, and the early Daoist philosophy expressed in such texts as the *Old Master* (*Laozi,* late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) and the *Master Zhuang.* Even during its gradual decline in the Warring States period, it still expanded eastward. After its military defeat, Chu continued to be a major cultural and political force well into the Han dynasty, whose imperial family also originated from this region. Thus, though conclusive proof is still lacking, there is some reason to regard Chu as the place where a critical shaping of the *Guideways* may have occurred, even though its content could also reflect the worldview of a more northern or western state such as Qin. Unfortunately, there is so far no clear indication of what precise form the text took during the Zhou dynasty, and there are no direct references to it among the other early surviving texts, despite instances of similar content. The book evidently escaped the various bibliocausts that occurred under the Qin and early Western Han dynasties, probably ow-

ing to its practical use, but it was not until the first century B.C.E. that it was mentioned by name and began to be edited into the form we now know.

READINGS OF THE TEXT

The first recorded reference to the *Guideways* is an unsympathetic one by the Grand Historian Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 B.C.E.) in his *Historical Records* (c. 90 B.C.E.). Notably opposed to the influence of *wu*-shamans and their culture, he compared the book's data on the origin of the Yellow River with the report of the Chinese emissary Zhang Qian (d. 114 B.C.E.), who had traveled to numerous kingdoms in Central Asia on a diplomatic mission from 139–126 B.C.E. on behalf of Emperor Wu of the Western Han (r. 141–87 B.C.E.). Sima Qian wrote that he considered the *Guideways* and a similar cosmography, the now-lost *Basic Annals of Yu* (*Yu benji,* n.d.), unreliable, for Zhang had made no mention of having found the site of Mount Kunlun, the mythological *axis mundi* that figures prominently in the *Guideways.*[51] This attitude reflected the beginning of a bifurcation between various genres of narrative with highly fabricated content on the one hand and official historiography, with its more stringent criteria for factuality, on the other. Such a distinction would grow in Chinese literature and lead some scholars in later centuries to also challenge the *Guideways* as an accurate description of the world. Nevertheless, Sima Qian's remark indicates that in his time, the text must have been an important source normally consulted for geographical matters.[52]

Despite this point of view and even though many of its strange creatures were no longer familiar to readers in the Han, the *Guideways* enjoyed a renewed popularity as a catalogue for interpreting omens.[53] Omenology had long played a role in Chinese politics, but it became particularly important during this period as imperial governments sought to interpret sightings of strange creatures as signs of heaven's will. Officials and private scholars who pursued the ideals of "universal learning" and "knowledge of things," a broad field of inquiry that often focused on natural phenomena and curiosities, regularly reported the appearance of anomalies to the court from as far away as distant provinces to support partisan positions as well as to promote themselves as men of sagely vision. During the reign of Emperor Xuan (r. 74–49 B.C.E.), the imperial court bibliographer Liu Xiang (c. 79–8 B.C.E.) identified a mysterious body found bound and shackled in a cave in Shang Commandery (modern Suide, Shaanxi) as that of the Minister of Erfu [no. 268] based on a passage in the *Guideways.*[54] His son, Liu Xin (46 B.C.E.–23 C.E.), who succeeded him as court bibliographer and edited the first known version of the text, wrote in his preface to it: "The emperor was greatly surprised. Since then, many court scholars have particularly esteemed the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* and the *Ru*-Confucian erudites have all studied it. They consider it a unique work, a means of investigating auspicious and strange phenomenon as well as of observing the customs of foreign peoples in distant lands."[55] Liu Xin was himself a proponent of omenology in connection with Five Agents cosmology. He also recorded an earlier incident involving Dongfang Shuo (154–93 B.C.E.), a charismatic scholar and *fangshi*-wizard at the court of Emperor Wu. One day, a strange bird was presented to the palace and refused to eat anything until Dongfang Shuo identified it and described its eating habits, claiming to have obtained the information from the *Guideways.*[56] Both

anecdotes reiterate the theme of the Guan Zhong story, suggesting that knowledge of strange creatures continued to be a useful component of political discourse at court, though with the additional element of citing a textual reference to support one's claims.

Liu Xin had been charged by the emperor with carrying on his father's work of recovering surviving texts from the pre-Qin period and assembling an imperial library that comprehended all the valuable knowledge of the time. Many of the Warring States texts that we have today passed through his hands and were substantially edited by him. As a leader in an intellectual and political faction among scholars later called the "Ancient-Text School," he and his associates challenged those in the so-called "New-Text School," whose cultural authority was more dependent on oral traditions and on other, later texts. This power struggle contributed to the collapse of the Western Han dynasty in 8 C.E. and the establishment of Wang Mang's (45 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) short-lived Xin dynasty in which Liu Xin and the Ancient-Text partisans played a major ideological role. When Liu presented his edited version of the *Guideways* to the Western Han imperial court in 6 B.C.E. during a period of intense power struggle between the two factions, he introduced it as a valuable vestige of a remote time, writing that "it contains the events of earlier sages and worthies clearly transcribed in ancient graphs, the nature of these events being both comprehensible and credible."[57]

Liu Xin's editorial contributions to this and other ancient texts were probably considerable. Because his edition only survives through that of the scholar and commentator Guo Pu (276–324) three centuries later, modern scholars are still seeking to uncover Liu Xin's precise role. He may have stitched together several separate cosmographies into one book, noted variant versions of these texts, reorganized the chapters, and perhaps interpolated additional material. In addition, he probably translated the ancient graphs from their archaic styles into the simpler, more standardized calligraphic forms that had evolved during the Han dynasty. But to preserve the mythical authority of the text, he typically refrained from revealing too much about his role.[58]

Some decades later during the Eastern Han, a scholar whom one might have expected to express some reservations about the fabrications in the *Guideways* was the iconoclastic thinker Wang Chong (27–c. 100 C.E.), but he too recognized its usefulness for those involved in court politics. Like Sima Qian, he disparaged shamanistic culture, though he shared the general belief in the existence of dragons and other strange creatures. In one of the essays in his *Judicious Disquisitions* entitled "Special Understanding" (*Lunheng: Bietong,* c. 70–80 C.E.), Wang supported the traditional authorship of Yu the Great and his official Yi, considering them intrepid explorers who never could have written the *Guideways* if they had not personally traveled. He also praised Liu Xiang as an open-minded thinker whose reading of the text enabled him to obtain "universal knowledge" of the world that Liu was able to e ectively employ at court.[59] The *Guideways* continued to be consulted at this time as a practical geography. When Emperor Ming (r. 57–75 C.E.) dispatched the official Wang Jing (d. c. 83 C.E.) to reinforce the dikes along the Yellow River and Bian Canal in 69 C.E., he ordered a copy of it given to Wang along with the "Treatise on Rivers and Canals" chapter of the *Historical Records* (*Shiji: Hequshu*) and the now-lost *Maps to the Tributes of Yu* (*Yugongtu,* n.d.).[60]

The next important mention of the *Guideways* appears in the earliest surviving bibliography, the "Treatise on Literature" in the official *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Han-*

shu: Yiwenzhi, late 1st cent. C.E.) This is generally thought to be based on Liu Xiang and Liu Xin's earlier, now-lost catalogue of the imperial library, the *Seven Classifications* (*Qilue,* c. late 1st cent. C.E.). The *Guideways* was now considered an occult text that had been espoused by members of an eclectic philosophical school called Techniques and Calculations (Shushujia). The works in this category were distinguished from the more orthodox, canonical texts of the *Ru*-Confucian tradition, for the members of this school had by now been relegated to the lesser ranks of specialist practitioners. According to the bibliographer's note, the 190 books in this category all represent lost traditions of knowledge from the Zhou dynasty and are further subdivided into six specialties: astronomy and astrology; calendrical calculation; Five Agents cosmology; milfoil and tortoise-shell divination; other methods of divination; and determinations of forms. The *Guideways* was listed in this last group, which includes six works on geomancy and physiognomy. Some later scholars have felt that this classification is too limited, but the "Treatise" did not yet envision more appropriate categories such as geography and regarded all these texts as essentially practical manuals employed by occult experts.[61] Even in Liu Xin's time, it was felt that there was no longer a direct connection with the original worldview of the *Guideways,* and the bibliographer of the "Treatise" reiterated this by stating, "the book remains but its original expositors are gone."[62]

More than two centuries later, when Guo Pu established what is essentially the final version between 310 and 324 C.E. and added his invaluable commentary, China's political and cultural environment had further changed.[63] Following the collapse of the Han empire, the country fragmented again into smaller, warring states, each adopting the institutions of an imperial dynasty. In the four centuries until reunification under the Sui, Confucianism managed to survive in a less energetic form as an official ideology with limited intellectual appeal. However, the new, more sophisticated religions of Daoism and Buddhism o ered increased possibilities of demonological control as well as new methods of individual spiritual transcendence, in part by developing techniques of the earlier *wu*-shamans and *fangshi*-wizards. Meanwhile, with the decline of a dominant court culture, private scholars seeking to define their identities in a fluid, unstable society cultivated the ideals of "universal knowledge" and "knowledge of things" in more personal ways. They pursued "mystical learning" by speculating on the relationships between the human and the spiritual while seeking greater understanding about strange phenomena. New literary genres spread during this period such as accounts of anomalies and local geographies, religious scriptures, as well as a wide range of manuals of the occult, many of which transmitted ancient mythology and other information related to the content of the *Guideways.*

Guo Pu revived the book in this new intellectual context alongside such other important works of the early and middle fourth century as Gan Pao's (fl. 1st half of 4th cent.) anthology of accounts of anomalies, *Collected Accounts in Search of Spirits* (*Soushenji,* c. 335–49), and Guo Xiang's (d. 312) definitive edition of the *Master Zhuang.* Other cosmographical works of this period such as the anonymous *Guideways to Gods and Anomalies* (*Shenyijing,* late Han–Six Dynasties) is an obvious and highly fantastic imitation of the original *Guideways,* while Chang Qu's (fl. 4th cent. C.E.) *Gazetteer of the Lands South of Lotus Mountain* (*Huayangguo zhi,* c. 347) continued the tradition of including both mythological and historical material within a geographic framework. A

particularly influential event was the rediscovery of the historical chronicle *The Bamboo Annals* and the pseudohistorical itinerary *The Chronicle of King Mu.* The latter purportedly documents the extensive tour of a Western Zhou dynasty king of the mid-tenth century B.C.E. as he encountered various gods and non-Chinese peoples, including the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275]. Both works were recovered some time around 279/81 C.E from an aristocrat's tomb dated c. 299 B.C.E. and were also edited by Guo Pu, who used them in his commentary to support the factuality of the *Guideways.* Yet another text about strange creatures circulating during this era was the *Master Lie* (*Liezi,* c. 4th cent.), a later Daoist anthology of myths and fables purportedly from the Warring States period.[64]

The Daoist Ge Hong's (283–343) *Biographies of Gods and Transcendents* (*Shenxianzhuan,* before 317), following the model of Liu Xiang's *Biographies of Various Transcendents* (*Liexianzhuan,* 1st cent. B.C.E.), gathered detailed descriptions of some ancient and more recent gods, cultic figures, and magical practioners who together comprised a new, more complex, and universalized pantheon. In another of his writings, *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity,* a chapter titled "Into Mountains and Over Streams" (*Baopuzi: Dengshe,* c. 320) presented beliefs about strange creatures in the landscape and esoteric techniques of managing them consistent with the ethos of Yu's Nine Tripods and the use of the *Guideways* as a guide for travelers:

> All mountains, whether large or small, contain gods and powers, and the strength of these divinities is directly proportional to the size of the mountains. To enter the mountains without the proper recipe is to be certain of anxiety or harm. In some cases people fall ill, are wounded, or become stricken with fear. In other cases, lights and shadows are seen, strange sounds are heard. Lack of the proper recipe can make a large tree fall when there is no wind, or a high rock fall for no apparent reason, striking and killing people. It can confuse such travelers or drive them madly onward so that they fall into ravines. Lack of preparation may cause you to meet with tigers, wolves, or poisonous insects that will harm you. Mountains are not to be entered lightly.[65]

Guo Pu was a scholar of broad interests and skills: a poet expressing Daoist philosophical sentiments, an anthologizer of accounts of anomalies, a proponent of early texts dealing with mythology and the occult, a lexicographer of ancient semantics and phonology, and a practitioner of divination in politics who as a court official employed some of the skills of the earlier *fangshi*-wizards.[66] In his edition of the *Guideways,* he championed it as an important aid in the intellectual and spiritual search of his age. His ideal reader should be an independent thinker unfazed by contemporary opinion who belongs to a select group of cognoscenti. "It is difficult to discuss the meanings of the *Guideways* with anyone who does not possess a universal mind," he stated and expressed the hope that enlightened readers pursuing "universal knowledge" would scrutinize the book. However, he anachronistically argued that it supplemented the themes of the *Master Zhuang,* a work revered by Daoists, Buddhists, and more secular scholars whose skeptical philosophy had little in common with the shamanistic beliefs in the *Guideways.* Nevertheless, Guo maintained that the fantastic quality of the *Guideways*

enabled the enlightened reader to grasp the *Master Zhuang*'s theme of the relativity of rational judgments about reality. He apparently felt no conflict between this position and more animistic and demonological beliefs and argued that what people conventionally regard as the strange is a legitimate part of nature:

> People who read the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* today all suspect it because of its exaggerations and absurdly extravagant claims and because of its many strange and fanciful expressions. I have often discussed this by quoting Master Zhuang who said "What people know is inferior to what they do not know." I have certainly seen this in the case of the *Guideways.* For, how can one completely describe the vastness of the universe, the abundant forms of life, the benevolent sustenance of yin and yang, the myriad distinctions between things, the admixture of essences bubbling over in conflict, wandering souls and strange divinities who take on form, migrate to mountains and rivers, and adopt beautiful appearances as trees and rocks? Yet,
>
> > Coordinating their diverse tendencies,
> > they resonate as a single echo:
> > Perfecting their transformations,
> > they blend into one image.
>
> People call some things "strange" yet they know not why they call them so; they call some things "familiar," yet they know not why either. What is the reason behind this? A thing is not strange in itself; it depends on me to make it strange. It is from this "me" that its strangeness results: it is not that the thing is fundamentally strange.[67]

Guo's commentary defined the major scholarly issues for a hermeneutical reading of the *Guideways.* These sought to resolve a set of traditional textual problems that included pronunciation and transcription of graphs, identification of geographical places, correction of textual errors, dating and organization of the chapters, identifying the authorship, and interpreting the recorded myths. Simultaneously, Guo Pu also introduced the possibility of more personal, alternative readings by composing some three hundred short poems known as the *Encomiums to the Illustrations of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing tuzan,* c. 320).[68] Each consists of six lines of four graphs celebrating the images of the strange creatures that circulated during his time. These too form a kind of commentary though often with a playful, irreverent tone that demystifies the authority of the text. Most of the encomiums cleverly paraphrase the original descriptions, but a number express Guo's own delight and amazement at the oddity of the creatures—precisely a perception of their bizarre otherness that Guo's preface urges the enlightened reader to suspend. For example, the Pearl-Turtles [no. 145] are recorded in chapter 4 as living in abundance in the Li River and resembling lungs with eyes, possessing six feet, and containing pearls. Their taste is sweet and sour, and they can cure seasonal epidemics if eaten. Guo's ironic encomium regards them more symbolically from the *Master Zhuang*'s view that usefulness invites exploitation:

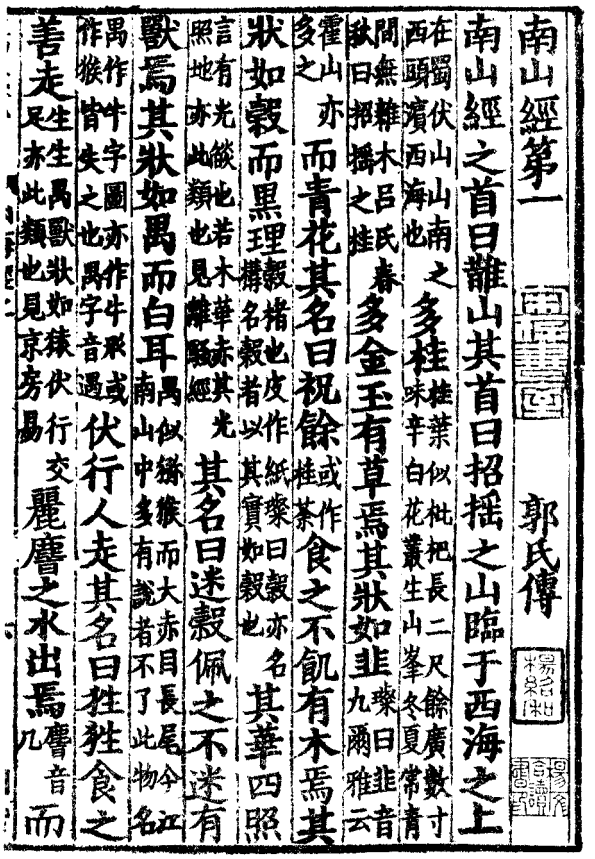
These are rareties from the River Li,
Like floating lungs, their shape.
Embodying Heaven, Earth, and Man,
They su er harm, becoming trade.
Possessing so many uses,
How can they possibly escape?[69]

Among other admiring readers who responded in poems to the illustrations of the *Guideways* was the lyric poet Tao Qian (365–427). Tao's poems were typically autobiographical. Having renounced the conventional ladder of success through an official career, he often affirmed instead the purer existence of rural life and literary creativity. With the inevitable glass of wine in hand, Tao composed a cycle of thirteen poems, "On Reading the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*" (*Du shanhaijing shisanshou*), which he began by announcing his pleasure at perusing the illustrations of the strange creatures. His use of the expression *liuguan* (to randomly contemplate) to describe his process of reading suggests a more constituitive e ort of visualization similar to others of his time who employed a meditative attitude when viewing landscape paintings to engage in "spiritual wandering."[70] These poems reveal three principal responses. Some figures are vehicles for expressing his political frustrations and criticisms. Others are envied for dwelling in utopian environments, and still others are considered tragic characters evoking commiseration. The latter can be seen in poem ten about Spirit-Guardian [no. 133], who su ered drowning, and Xingtian [no. 233], who was punished with decapitation. Tao regarded both sympathetically, for even though they metamorphosed after their deaths, they remained trapped by the resentments of their pasts:

Spirit-Guardian bites hold of twigs
Determined to fill up the deep-blue sea.
Xingtian dances wildly with spear and shield:
His old ambitions still burn fiercely.
After blending with things,
    no anxieties should remain;
After metamorphosing,
    all one's regrets should flee.
In vain do they cling to their hearts from the past.
How can they, a better day, foresee?[71]

Such individualistic responses by the poet eschewed the hermeneutics of the scholarly commentator in favor of an escape to an exotic world full of amazement whose strange creatures could stimulate the creative imagination. This attitude affirming personal meanings of the text through figurative interpretations was later charmingly depicted in an illustration in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (*Jieziyuan huazhuan,* 1679), in which a recumbent scholar leisurely gazes at the illustrations in a direct allusion to Tao Qian (see frontispiece).[72]

Following the success of Guo Pu's edition, no new commentaries were written for more than a thousand years. Nevertheless, the text continued to circulate at imperial courts as well as among scholars, Daoists, and various other kinds of occult practitioners


南山經第一　郭氏傳

南山經之首曰䧿山其首曰招搖之山臨于西海之上
在蜀伏山山南之西頭濱西海也　多桂桂葉似枇把長二尺餘廣數寸味辛白花叢生山峯冬夏常青
閒無雜木呂氏春秋曰招搖之桂　多金玉有草焉其狀如韭臭曰韭音九爾雅云
霍山亦多之　而青花其名曰祝餘或作桂荼食之不飢有木焉其狀如穀而黑理穀楮也皮作紙漿曰穀亦名構名穀者以其實如穀也　其華四照言有光燄也若木華赤其光照地亦此類也見離騷經　其名曰迷穀佩之不迷有獸焉其狀如禺而白耳禺似獮猴而大赤目長尾今江南山中多有說者不了此物名禺作牛字圖亦作牛形或禺字音遇　伏行人走其名曰狪狪食之善走生生禺獸狀如猿伏行交尾亦此類也見京房易　麗麐之水出焉麐音九而

FIGURE 3. The first page of chapter 1 from the 1180 printed edition of the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas.* From *Shanhaijing zhuan* (1984 facsimile ed.).

both in handwritten copies and through citations in other texts.[73] A reference to it can also be found in a Tang manuscript of strange creatures from the Silk Road oasis city of Dunhuang (see fig. 20, page 65). In the next major official bibliography after the Han, which was included in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*Suishu: Jingjizhi,* 656), the *Guideways* was moved from the "School of Techniques and Calculations" category to the head of the new geography subcategory of the history section in the Four Libraries system.[74] This reflected a growing recognition of it as the *locus classicus* of such later genres as the local gazetteer, which presented information about the geography, history, folklore and customs of individual counties.[75] It remained a credible source of geographical information during the Tang, when it was used by Sima Zhen (fl. 8th cent.) in his commentary to Sima Qian's *Historical Records.*

With the development of commercial woodblock printing in the Song dynasty, elite as well as more popular editions began to be printed. You Mao (1127–1193), a bibliophile who published the earliest surviving edition through a local government printing house (fig. 3) noted in his preface dated March 5, 1180, that he had consulted more than ten existing editions, including one that had already been incorporated into the Song *Daoist Canon* (*Daozang,* printed early 11th cent.).[76] Previously, the scholar Yan Zhitui (531–c. 591) had recognized that the text contained place-names that could not have predated the Han dynasty. However, he attributed this fact to interpolations by later hands

and did not challenge the traditional attribution to Yu the Great and his official, Yi.[77] You was perhaps the first scholar to express doubts about Yu's authorship in print. Not only did he believe that the *Guideways* was mostly compiled sometime just before the Qin period, but he voiced a new, historical appreciation of it. In his opinion, as a record of an archaic cultural mentality, the text was worth preserving simply because of its antiquity, quite apart from any practical use.[78]

The Song dynasty witnessed one of the high points of the scholar culture in the imperial state. Reinvigorated by the more metaphysically inclined ideology of Neo-Confucianism, some intellectuals continued to evince an interest in the *Guideways.* This interest reflected not only the perennial desire to comprehend strange phenomena but the challenge to render such things intelligible in terms of the more rational spirit of the age. Large collections of classical short stories both old and new, such as the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji,* printed 981) and *Yijian's Accounts* (*Yijianzhi,* 1161–1198), contained narratives that expanded the conventions of the Han and Six Dynasties anomaly accounts. These included more humanistic themes in the representation of the strange, developing a tendency that had earlier arisen in Tang fiction. Zhu Xi (1130–1200), Neo-Confucianism's most influential formulator who was later canonized as a paragon of intellectual orthodoxy, was quite familiar with the *Guideways* and maintained a particular interest in the religious world of the *Songs of Chu.*[79] He not only defended the legitimate existence of strange creatures but sought to explain them in terms of the concept of cosmic patterns operating in conjunction with the vital energy of things. In response to a question from one of his students, he replied:

> The monsters of the mountains are called "Demons" and "Wangliang." The monsters of the water are called "Dragons" and "Wangxiang." And, the monsters of the earth are called "Fenyang." All these are produced by confused and perverse vital energy and are surely not without a cosmic pattern—you mustn't stubbornly think they do not contain a cosmic pattern. It's like the winter's being cold and the summer's being warm; this is the normal pattern. But there are times when suddenly in the summer it turns cold and in the winter it turns warm—how can we say there isn't a pattern for this! Still, because it isn't an ordinary pattern we consider it strange.[80]

This continuity of interest in the strange despite shifts in intellectual thought can be compared to the long fascination in Europe with the *Marvels of the East,* an ancient Greek tradition beginning in the early fourth century B.C.E. of hybrid monsters and ethnographical oddities believed to dwell in India. These texts underwent several metamorphoses and continued to be transmitted in Europe through the Middle Ages, surviving in pseudoscientific form into the Enlightenment. Its concept of "India" was highly mythical, not only denoting that land but places beyond it as well. Despite the increase in travel and the more factual accounts that appeared over the centuries, many European scholars continued to affirm the existence of these creatures somewhere in the direction of the distant east. There are intriguing parallels between some of these figures and foreign tribes in the *Guideways* such as people with large, heavy ears that they must carry (fig. 4), who may be compared to the People Who Hold Up Their Ears [no. 246]



FIGURE 4. Painted illustration of a Man with Long Ears from *Marvels of the East* (English, 11th cent.). The original caption in Latin states: "Men fifteen feet high and ten broad, who have ears like winnowing fans: at night they lie on one and cover themselves with the other. Their bodies are milk-white. At sight of a man they spread out their ears and flee swiftly" (James [1929], 57). They can be compared to the People Who Hold Up Their Ears [no. 246] and the Pendant-Ears People [no. 328]. By permission of the British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B.V f.83v.

and the Pendant-Ears People [no. 328]. Similarly, there are also people with a single leg, men with dog's heads, a headless people with faces on their torsos, and people whose heels are reversed. Whether these indigenously emerged from the European and Near Eastern imaginations or represent the dissemination of ancient myths from elsewhere remains to be explored, but just as in China, the representations of these strange creatures in texts confirmed their existence for readers well into a period when a spirit of empiricism and greater exploration of the world began to take hold.[81]

The *Guideways* continued to be reprinted during the succeeding Yuan and Ming dynasties.[82] During the early part of the Ming, editions were sponsored by the official Directorate of Education and circulated in handwritten copies as well as in a new printing of the *Daoist Canon* (c. 1444–45). These largely continued the interests of Song scholasticism and simply reprinted Guo Pu's commentary. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century, however, that another revival of interest in the book began that continued through the Qing dynasty and into the modern period. The burgeoning commercial economy and urban culture of this period supported a rapid expansion of popular printing and of a wide variety of relatively inexpensive books to serve a broader readership beyond the elite level of scholars. Some of these developments provided additional contexts for appreciating the *Guideways.* Among the newer genres disseminating knowledge of strange creatures was vernacular fiction, notably Wu Cheng'en's (c. 1500–c. 1582) allegory, *The Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji,* printed 1592), which contained numerous demons challenging the spiritual progress of the heroes as

they journeyed to India. Other late-Ming novels such as *Epic Tales Since Creation* (*Kaipi yanyi,* c. early 17th cent.) and *The Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi,* mid–late 16th cent.) retold myths of thearchs and other gods mixed with elements of later mythology and historiography.[83] The immense popularity of fiction among all classes began to alter the reception of the *Guideways* from that of a geographical work to a collection of ancient narratives. This change is suggested by the perceptive literary critic and textual scholar Hu Yinglin (1551–1602), who was one of the first to write about the generic characteristics of "minor narratives" (*xiaoshuo*). This category originally denoted marginal or ideologically unorthodox stories that were gradually excised from official historiography. In the hands of later critics such as Hu Yinglin, "minor narratives" evolved into the closest concept traditional China had to fiction before the modern era. Like You Mao, he considered the *Guideways* an anonymous work of the Warring States period, but in calling it "the origin of stories about the strange," he redefined its position as the fountainhead of a tradition of imaginatively developed narratives that stretched from oral tales and anomaly accounts through Tang and Song classical stories and Yuan and Ming dramas to the vernacular novel and short story.[84]

Travel writing, especially in the form of the travel account, had become a legitimate genre among scholars by the Song and was now being composed in abundance as journeying within China became an important leisure activity as well as a mode of scholarly self-cultivation.[85] This practice also led to a new appreciation of the *Guideways* and of other early cosmographies and geographical works. Xu Hongzu (1586–1641) was inspired to devote his life to exploring the Chinese world by reading such texts and produced monumental travel diaries that recorded his extensive journeys in minute detail. Although China under the Ming had largely turned inward and sought to restrict foreign contacts, events such as the seven naval explorations of the eunuch-admiral Zheng He (1371–1435) to South Asia and East Africa from 1405 to 1433, the continuing visits of tribute-bearing emissaries from neighboring peoples, and the arrival of European traders and missionaries fanned interest in gathering intelligence about foreigners. One result of this interest was the publication of a number of works that continued the tradition of court records of tributary peoples such as the compendium *Records of Foreign Guests* (*Xianbinlu,* 1590–1591), as well as illustrated collections such as the *Illustrations and Records of Foreign Lands* (*Yiyu tuzhi,* Ming dynasty, see fig. 26a, page 72) selections from which were also reproduced in popular encyclopedias.[86]

The range of religious beliefs of the Chinese during the Ming remained complex, with divergent attitudes toward strange creatures. On the one hand, popular religion continued, as it had for centuries, to be largely focused on using shamanistic and demonological practices for personal benefit. This fact was remarked upon by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who reported back to his European correspondents on aspects of Chinese life. He noted with evident disapproval the widespread practice of exorcists plastering the walls of houses with pictures of monstrous strange creatures drawn in ink on yellow paper.[87] On a more organized level, the three teachings of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism remained well-established, and proponents spread knowledge of the still-expanding pantheons of gods through such popular illustrated publications as the *Complete Encyclopedia of Gods of the Three Teachings* (*Sanjiao soushen daquan,* Yuan-Ming).[88] Furthermore, the Chinese had become aware of even more gods

and demons from the Tibetans and Central Asians as a result of the earlier Mongol conquest, while Christianity had begun its contacts with the imperial court and among the people in certain cities and trading areas. On the other hand, there was also a minor, though noticeable trend toward iconoclasm among some Confucian scholars who believed that representing gods in temples interfered with a direct comprehension of the moral Way (Dao). They managed to sponsor the destruction of some city gods for a short time and to proscribe the use of images of them in the state cult.[89] But such attempts at visual purification were of limited e ect and in no way diminished the general interest on all social levels in continuing to obtain knowledge about strange creatures.

Among the earliest Ming scholars to closely reexamine the text of the *Guideways* was Yang Shen (1488–1559). An unsuccessful official, he was sentenced to internal exile in Yunnan province in the distant south where aboriginal tribes, non-Chinese local cults, and shamanism were still pervasive. While there, he further questioned the cultural orthodoxy of his time through a penchant for ancient epigraphy and investigations of strange phenomena. Yang's *Additional Comments on the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing bu*), edited by Zhou Shi in 1554, is but a short series of speculations on the meaning of ancient characters in certain passages, but it foreshadowed methods similar to those of later commentators influenced by the School of Evidential Research. Yang also imitated Guo Pu's encomiums by writing a set to another work, now lost, entitled *Encomiums to the Illustrations of Strange Fish* (*Yiyu tuzan,* n.d.).[90]

The first new, full-length commentary since Guo Pu appeared in Wang Chongqing's (1484–1565) edition titled the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Explanatory Comments* (*Shanhaijing shiyi*) with a preface by him dated 1537. Wang had earned the metropolitan graduate degree in 1508 and rose to the prestigious positions of minister of both the ministries of rites and personnel in Nanjing. The author of commentaries on the five Confucian classics, he sought to improve on Guo Pu, whose version he regarded as too enamored of the strange and insufficiently concerned with elucidating the rational cosmic patterns of Neo-Confucianism. Despite occasional insights, Wang's views have been regarded by later scholars as largely pedestrian.[91] Nevertheless, the book remained popular among middlebrow readers, who were undoubtedly impressed by the status and orthodox reputation of the commentator. It was to one of the later reprints of Wang's edition in 1597 that the earliest surviving illustrations reproduced here were appended [plates I–LXXVI].

Wang Chongqing's edition was followed in the early Qing dynasty by another popular edition with a commentary by Wu Renchen (c. 1628–c. 1689), the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* (*Shanhaijing guangzhu,* 1667).[92] This included Guo Pu's commentary with additional information from other texts gathered by Wu, whom the preface described as "a famous scholar for over thirty years." Wu was from Hangzhou, Zhejiang, and primarily known at this time for his historical scholarship. Later, he served in the Hanlin Academy, where he helped compile the official *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingshi,* printed 1739), especially the treatise on the calendar. The abundant data reflecting Wu's broad reading is often useful in tracing later references to myths, places, and strange creatures in the original text, though it is randomly assembled without sufficient discrimination of his sources. Of similar interest are two

introductory chapters. One collects prefaces and numerous evaluative remarks by scholars through the ages tracing the reception of the text from Liu Xin onward. The other, titled "Remarks on How to Read the *Guideways*" (*Du shanhaijing yu*), employs a genre in the form of random notes favored by late Ming and Qing literary critics to guide readers in appreciating the superior qualities of texts, especially fictional and dramatic works. In addition to dealing with traditional questions of authorship, composition, and etymology, Wu Renchen wisely urged the reader not to assume a correspondence between the geography in the *Guideways* and present-day locations. He also recognized an aesthetic dimension of the language by noting its recurring rhythmic formulas. Wu's version included a di erent set of illustrations in the portrait format, which later became the ones most commonly reproduced (see figs. 26c, 26d, page 72).

The grand bibliographical project known as the *Complete Works of the Four Libraries* (*Siku quanshu,* 1773–1782) sponsored by the Qing court gathered more than ten thousand books known in China at that time, reprinting 3,461 of the most important ones while suppressing others deemed to be seditious. The catalogue of descriptive notes produced by one of the chief editors, Ji Yun (1724–1805), evaluated the acceptable works and expressed an orthodox judgment of them reflecting the highest contemporary standards of scholarship and taste. The *Guideways* is represented by three editions: a palace edition with Guo Pu's commentary, the Wu Renchen edition, and the Wang Chongqing edition. Wang's edition fares the worst: both his commentary and the illustrations are dismissed in two lines, the latter denigrated as inauthentic creations by later commercial artists. Wu's is given a qualified approval. It was one of the works reprinted, although without Wu's illustrations, which Ji Yun also considered spurious. The entry on the palace edition provided the opportunity to discuss traditional historiographical issues. In contrast to the commentators and bibliographers over the centuries who valued its usefulness, Ji Yun reflected the skepticism of those who criticized the *Guideways*' lack of factuality, and he opposed the tendency to regard it as a geographical work. A compiler of anomaly accounts himself, he considered it as the "ancestor of 'minor narratives.'" All three versions were now classified under the "minor narratives" section in the philosophy category of the Four Libraries system to emphasize the bibliographers' recognition of their essential fabrication as opposed to earlier beliefs in their historicity.[93] Ji Yun's opinion, which carried the imprimatur of the Qing court, appeared to denigrate the text from a historiographical point of view, while his classification of it among "minor narratives" further supported the alternative reading earlier suggested by Hu Yinglin. This occurred during the century when the short story writer Pu Songling (1640–1715), the poet Yuan Mei (1716–1798), and Ji Yun himself produced collections of short classical tales about strange phenomena that combined the narrative conventions of earlier anomaly accounts and classical short stories with a new degree of aesthetic imagination and ideological self-consciousness.[94]

The *Complete Works of the Four Libraries* project was finished before the two great Qing dynasty editions of the *Guideways* appeared, which summed up the traditional scholarship of the text. Both were compiled by scholars who were opposed to the judgment of Ji Yun and the other editors of the *Complete Works* and were designed to reassert Guo Pu's belief in the essential factuality of the text. The first was that of Bi Yuan (1730–1797), a high official and noted patron of other scholars who reached the

rank of minister in the ministry of war and vice censor-in-chief. His version, *A Newly Corrected Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing xinjiaozheng*), was completed in 1781 after a five-year study of the text while he was serving in Xi'an as provincial governor of Shaanxi. Bi's interest in geography was stimulated by his travels, which took him beyond the Jade Gate (modern Yumen, Gansu), China's traditional border in the west. His commentary was appended to Guo Pu's and designed to supplement and correct it by primarily o ering new or alternative opinions on the geographical locations of the mountains and rivers. These were largely based on careful collation of textual sources using the more intensive scholarly methods of the School of Evidential Research, but some reflect his personal experience as a traveler. A few of these identifications are plausible and have gained acceptance, but many remain questionable. More significant is his defense of the fundamental credibility of the *Guideways.* In contrast to Ji Yun, Bi argued that the book was not at all concerned with discussing the strange, for if the language were understood figuratively, even the most fantastic descriptions could be seen to refer to actual creatures or foreign peoples. This argument is not entirely convincing in practice, but it reveals a rare sensitivity to the nature of mythological discourse as di erent from the semiotics of historical writing.[95]

This was also the essential stance of Hao Yixing's more comprehensive *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Supplementary Commentaries* (*Shanhaijing jianshu,* preface 1804), for Hao also criticized the classification of the text as a "minor narrative" and furthermore supported the authorship of Yu the Great. Hao's synthetic work also included Guo Pu's commentary and encomiums, along with selections from Wu Renchen's and Bi Yuan's editions along with Hao's additional notes. It was originally printed in Yangzhou in 1809 in a fine edition sponsored by the scholar-patron Ruan Juan (1764–1849), a latter-day promoter of ancient texts. Many of Hao's comments address the traditional issues of Guo Pu but are presented with greater detail and superior logic and are based on broader research into other sources. Perhaps his greatest contribution is to internal textual problems such as attempting to resolve contradictions among the di erent recorded versions of myths. In an appendix, he identified and sought to correct more than three hundred misprinted graphs and produced with the help of his wife an updated count of the graphs for each chapter and for the book as a whole.[96] He also appended a collection of Guo Pu's *Encomiums.*

Like those of other traditional commentators, Hao's geographical identifications remain problematical, while many of his opinions have been superceded by modern research. His edition nevertheless summed up the traditional hermeneutical reading of the text and still stands as the single most authoritative one before the modern period.[97] Yet alternative readings continued to appear in various other guises. Perhaps the most creative use of the *Guideways* appeared not long after Hao's edition in Li Ruzhen's (c. 1763–c. 1830) novel *The Fate of Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jinghuayuan,* printed 1828). Li exploited the satiric potential of some of the more fantastic foreign peoples from chapters 7 and 16, placing them among thirty or so island kingdoms visited by a group of fictional Chinese travelers during the Tang dynasty. Like Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), the novel can be read as an ironic cosmography that parodies the more serious works of the genre. The heroes encounter these peoples and other anomalies in comi-

cal situations designed to critique the society, politics, and culture of the author's own time.[98]

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a plethora of cheaper editions of Guo Pu's and Hao Yixing's versions with and without illustrations. In the late Qing period, the reading public expanded further to include a new kind of middle-class reader in the treaty ports with a more modern, international outlook. One indication of the degree to which the *Guideways* still permeated Chinese consciousness is an amusing illustration in an issue of the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* (*Dianshizhai huabao*) of 1884 (fig. 5). This regular supplement to the influential Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* presented scenes reflecting the influence of modern Japanese and Western illustration styles. They depicted current events, social life and customs, scientific advancements, and occasionally sensationalistic news designed to titillate and entertain. This particular illustration used a strange creature from the *Guideways* to explain a bizarre birth said to have recently taken place in Italy. Titled *A Kind of Xingtian,* the plate, designed by the leading illustrator Wu Rujun (fl. late 19th cent.), depicts a scene in which a female prisoner in Italy is shown after having given birth to a headless child who is represented in the manner of the illustrations of the decapitated rebel Xingtian [no. 233]. The caption explains that when she was bound with rope in prison, she became obsessed with the idea that she would lose her head and then suddenly gave birth to this anomaly. It goes on to quote the passage in the *Guideways* describing Xingtian, slyly suggesting that perhaps the child belongs to this species. Clearly, among the more sophisticated members of this readership, the *Guideways* was now regarded as an amusing source of the absurd, though, ironically, it continued to be used to identify foreigners as strange creatures.

Around this time, however, the book made a deeper impression on the young Lu Xun. Lu later wrote a short reminiscence about an irritating maid he knew as a child, Achang, who finally won his undying a ection after giving him a copy of one of the inexpensive popular editions of the *Guideways.* He had previously seen a version in the library of a relative and became obsessed with its illustrations of strange creatures. Among those that particularly impressed him were the human-headed beasts, the nine-headed snake Minister Liu [no. 244], the Three-Legged Bird [no. 277], the winged Feathered People [no. 216], the single-footed beast Kui [no. 304], the sacklike Dijiang [no. 73], and the ever-popular image of Xingtian.[99] This whetted his lifelong appetite for popular woodblock prints and illustrated books, of which he was to amass a considerable collection and whose artistry he tirelessly promoted.

The New Culture Movement, which arose along with the anti-imperialist protests of May 4, 1919, ushered in a period of fundamental questioning of traditional Chinese culture and an unprecedented openness to Japanese and Western intellectual concepts. As a professor of Chinese literature at Beijing University, Lu Xun was at the forefront of a group of progressive scholars and writers during the 1920s who embraced a new role for the tradition of "minor narratives" as the precursor of a modern Chinese fiction. Influenced by comparative mythological studies from abroad, other figures such as the novelist and short story writer Shen Yanbing (1896–1981) and later the scholars Wu Han (1909–1969), Zheng Dekun (1908–1992), and the poet Wen Yiduo (1899–1946) all sought to redefine the meaning of early stories about gods, demons, and other strange

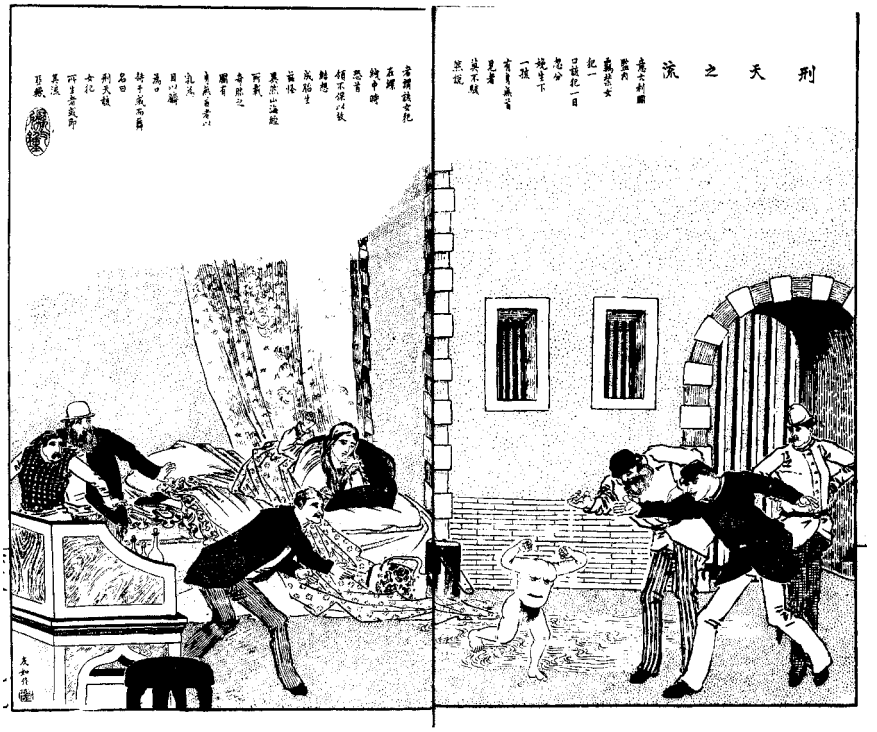


FIGURE 5. Wu Rujun, *A Kind of Xingtian.* Lithograph illustration from *Dianshizhai Pictorial* (1884), a supplement to the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao.* The caption reads, "In an Italian prison, a female prisoner suddenly gave birth one day to a child with a headless body. Everyone who witnessed this was amazed. Someone explained that when the prisoner had been bound with rope she feared that she would lose her head and this obsessive thought engendered the pregnancy which resulted in the birth of this strange creature. However, the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* records that in the Land of the Single-Arm People [no. 231] is someone named 'Xingtian' [no. 233] who has a headless body where his nipples became his eyes and his navel became his mouth and who dances holding a spear and shield. Could the child of this female prisoner be one of his kind?" (In the *Guideways,* Xingtian is listed following the entry on the Single-Arm People but is not actually a denizen of this land.) From *Dianshizhai huabao,* series 1, vol. 6, no. 68 (Guangzhou, 1983 rpt.).

creatures. These were now called *shenhua,* literally "divine stories," the modern Chinese term for "myth."[100] Just as myths were seen to have played an archetypal role in the formulation of Western literature, so it was hoped that the recovery and analysis of Chinese myths would aid in the creation of a modern Chinese culture. Lu Xun expounded his ideas about the *Guideways* while he was teaching a new course at Beijing University on traditional Chinese fiction from 1920 to 1924, and these first appeared when his lectures were published in 1923. Although not all of his ideas have stood the test of time, as mentioned earlier, Lu Xun was notably prescient in asserting the origins of the book as a reflection of the *wu*-shaman culture.[101]

Around the same time, modern Chinese historians such as Gu Jiegang (1893–1980) began to radically reassess the classical culture in a similar e ort to both criticize and salvage the past.[102] Originally, Gu was concerned with demystifying the Confucian in-

tellectual tradition through objective, historical inquiry in what was called the National Studies Movement. Later, he and his associates moved on to interests in folklore and popular culture in a continuing e ort to refashion a viable version of traditional Chinese civilization for the modern age. The *Guideways* was not subject to the intense ideological deconstruction of canonical works such as the "Tributes of Yu," which Gu came to regard as a forgery of the *Ru*-Confucian school of the Warring States. He published his opinions on the first five chapters of the *Guideways* in 1934 and also used data from the text for his study of travel in early China. Because of his influence, new studies of its authorship, printed editions, and illustrations appeared in a magazine of historical geography that he founded and named, apparently without irony, *The "Tributes of Yu" Bimonthly* (*Yugong banyuekan*), which ran from 1934 to 1937.[103] His associates in the Folkstudies Movement, which he actively spread during the 1920s and 1930s, conducted further research into relevant aspects of the *Guideways.* Notable examples are Zhong Jingwen's (1902–) 1931 study of the folk medicine obtained from some of the strange creatures and Rong Zhaozu's (1897–1994) study of some of the gods. In the mid-1930s, a volume dedicated entirely to studies of the *Guideways* appeared in the influential Folk Literature Series of Beijing University.[104] These intellectual trends of the Republican period formed the basis for the continuing interest in mythology since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.[105] In recent decades, there has been a steadily growing interest in the book in China on the part of mythologists, literary and cultural historians, geographers, pharmacologists, ethnologists, archaeologists, art historians, and others from a variety of disciplines who have exploited its diverse material. Yuan Ke (1916–), the leading contemporary scholar of early Chinese mythology, has been a major force in focusing attention on the *Guideways* in recent decades. Having published a colloquial version of the text and a number of critical studies, his work culminated in 1980 in the most complete modern edition so far, the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas, Corrected with Commentary* (*Shanhaijing jiaozhu*). This is the first comprehensive commentary since Hao Yixing's, and although some of the interpretations remain hypothetical, it not only o ers many plausible resolutions to long-standing problems in the text, but it also reinterprets many of its meanings in the light of the mythological, historical, and archaeological knowledge gained since the era of Lu Xun and Gu Jiegang.[106]

Outside of China, the *Guideways* is known to have circulated in Korea and Japan in past centuries and has also been of great interest to Japanese sinologists, especially those studying early Chinese religion. It was also among the first Chinese texts to interest European sinologists in the nineteenth century, some of whom produced partial translations as early as 1839. In recent years, there have been further translations of it into English, Japanese, Russian, German, and French, but the most accurate sinological rendition in a Western language so far is the one in Italian recently published by Ricardo Fracasso in 1996.[107]

The *Guideways* as we now have it comprises eighteen chapters organized into at least three distinct sections: chapters 1 to 5, which have been called the *Guideways through the Five Mountain-Treasuries* (*Wuzangshanjing*) or, more simply, the *Guideways through Mountains* (*Shanjing,* plates I–XL);[108] chapters 6 to 13, which define areas "beyond the seas" and "within the seas," later called by some the *Guideways through Seas* (*Haijing,* plates XLI–LXIII);[109] and the remaining chapters, 14 to 18, which present the "Great

Wilds" together with the final chapter, "Guideway through Lands within the Seas" (*Haineijing,* plates LXIV–LXXVI), which have also been grouped with the second section as part of the *Guideways through Seas.*[110] Based on the most recent count, the text now contains a total of 31,395 graphs in 837 passages.[111]

The first five chapters, which constitute about half of the book, have a conceptual unity and a coherent linguistic style that suggest that it originally circulated independently. The remaining two sections represent somewhat di erent geographies. They contain some duplication of material and variant versions of information within their chapters, indicating that these sections were less subject to close editorial processing and may have been compiled more haphazardly. Given the preponderance of mythological material throughout the chapters of the *Guideways through Seas,* including beliefs that can be traced back to the Shang dynasty or that may be even earlier, it would seem that some of the content of these chapters is actually older than the *Guideways through Mountains,* which most would date to the Warring States period. Strictly speaking, though, the form of the present version can only reliably be dated to the time of Guo Pu.[112] The coherence of each chapter of the *Guideways* derives from the geographical organization of its material, which is arranged to facilitate easy access for reference. The text records a sequence of environmental spheres extending in a given direction each of which usually consists of mountains, bodies of water, or foreign lands. Each sphere is a kind of ecosystem whose strange creatures denote its level of spiritual power. Distinctive topographical features, resident gods and strange creatures, and valuable objects are cataloged in repetitive, formulaic language that may have facilitated memorization and that also conveys a sense of cultural order common to cosmographies.

Because traditional Chinese editorial practice primarily valued the preservation and transmission of information from the past, compilers over the centuries often avoided intervening in the text itself to resolve contradictions, repetitions, or variant versions.[113] There continue to be intricate scholarly debates over the dating, authorship, and even the demarcation of the three major sections. Moreover, ascribing a single date of compilation to any group of chapters is not necessarily an indication of the origin or age of the information in a particular passage. The known editors and commentators such as Liu Xin, Guo Pu, and Hao Yixing were all later scholars who were removed from the mentality of the Warring States period. They did not travel themselves to personally confirm the geography of the *Guideways* but sought to recover its meaning through the standard historiographical and philological methods of their times, maintaining the traditional attitude of preservers, transmitters, and correctors of ancient texts. Even modern scholars have basically followed a textual approach, for, in fact, no individual could possibly retrace all the itineraries that are recorded. In the absence of a pre-Qin or original version, readers can therefore only hope to understand the *Guideways* by reconstructing it as a "virtual text." This process requires sifting through its many strata with the aid of these commentaries, brushing away the encrustrations of later misreadings, judiciously weighing an abundance of hypothetical interpretations, and trying to recontextualize the early meanings in the light of later knowledge as one would assemble and patch the remaining and sometimes ill-fitting shards of an urn unearthed from an ancient tomb for which there is no other surviving model. Nevertheless, the reader

will notice that the e ort to reconstruct an authentic version of the *Guideways* is constantly undermined by destabilizing linguistic, textual, historical, and cultural factors. With each new reading, some more parts may emerge more distinctly. Others remain embedded in the obscurities of ancient discourses and the accidents of transmission. Still, the world according to the *Guideways* is predominantly a coherent one, and this fact becomes increasingly revealed as one journeys along its itineraries.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO THE *GUIDEWAYS*

The *Guideways* contains a number of worldviews, from simple creation myths of prehistory to the more systematic paradigms of the Warring States, Qin, and Han philosophers. Fundamentally, it signifies its cosmographical intentions by inscribing a largely natural geography of mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas within the contiguous space of heaven and earth. Among its conceptions regarding heaven is one later known as the "Umbrella-Heaven" theory.[114] This was a commonly held belief that heaven is like a rounded cover or canopy supported at key points by sacred mountains above a flat, squared-shaped earth. Chapter 2 records Cleft Mountain in the west, alluding to a myth in which the god Gonggong [no. 314] butted into this pillar of heaven during his power struggle with the thearch Zhuanxu. The mountain was damaged, and the cord tethering heaven to earth snapped. As a result, heaven tilted toward the northwest, which explained why the sun, moon, and stars appear to move there, while a gap was created in the southeast causing that portion of the earth to subside so that many rivers flow in that direction.[115] The names of other mountains in the text, such as the Capital City That Supports Heaven, the Celestial Co er at the Northern Extremity, and Lofty Celestial Terrace Mountain, all located in the remote Great Wilds, also suggest the concept of celestial pillars holding up the sky.[116]

Heaven is referred to here as an amorphous sky zone presided over by the Supreme God Di. One passage notes that it is bureaucratically organized into nine areas and administered by the god Luwu [no. 60], a hybrid deity who is an assistant to Di on Mount Kunlun.[117] Several other mountains are similarly presided over by gods who oversee Di's earthly residences and possessions. In addition to Kunlun, a few special mountains and a particular tree known as the Firm-Tree are identified as places where thearchs and those with special spiritual powers "ascend and descend," indicating that they are ladders to heaven.[118] Heaven can also be reached by a chariot powered by dragons, as in the case of the Xia Sovereign Qi (also called Kai [no. 325]), a shamanic personality and culture hero. Aside from these kinds of figures, though, mobility between heaven and earth is restricted: some sacred places on earth are guarded by fierce creatures, while communication with gods by humans is normally limited to o ering sacrifices or uttering spells. This reflects a myth recorded in the *Guideways* and elsewhere that the primordial connection between heaven and earth, which once allowed people and gods to intermingle, was deliberately severed in antiquity on command from the thearch Zhuanxu to maintain political order between humans and spiritual creatures.[119]

These suggestive glimpses into the celestial realm aside, the *Guideways* is primarily concerned with cataloging strange phenomena on earth. A prefatory statement at the beginning of the *Guideways through Seas* in chapter 6 states:

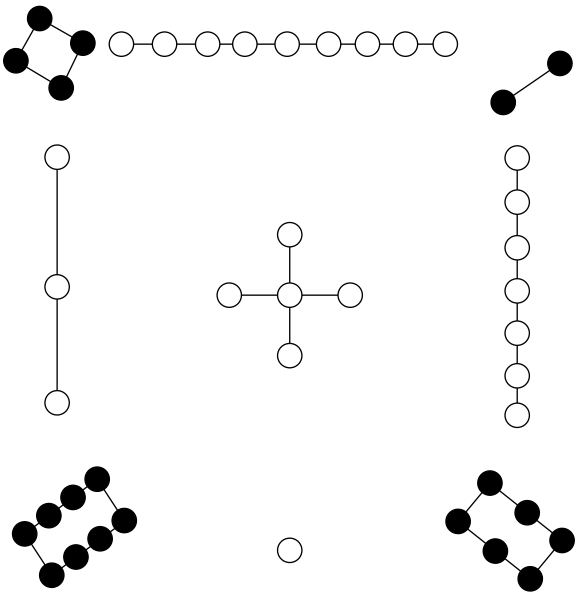


FIGURE 6. The Luo River diagram. In this later version of a magic square that first appeared around the tenth century C.E., each configuration of linked circles in the eight directions and the center represents mathematical values from one to nine. Among their properties is the sum of fifteen when any three are added together, either horizontally, vertically, or diagonally. This form is believed to represent the basic principles of the ancient magic squares. From Hu Wei, *Yitu mingbian* 4:13b (*Skqs* ed., preface 1706). Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

> All that Earth supports within the six directions, encompassed by the four seas, is illuminated by the sun and moon, crossed by the stars and constellations, and marked by the four seasons which are regulated by the Year-Star [i.e., Jupiter]. Things possessing anomalous forms are those born with divine natures. Whether they are long-lived or short, only the sage can understand their ways.[120]

Earth itself is generally presented in all three sections as an arrangement of flat land masses extending in each of the four directions from a central or inner region. Four seas containing islands entirely surround them with other land masses lying even further beyond. An addendum at the end of the *Guideways through Mountains* in chapter 5 reveals that the squared shape of earth was actually rectangular when measured. Yu the Great is quoted here as stating that the world measures 28,000 *li* east to west but only 26,000 *li* north to south [see no. 214].[121] The conception of earth as composed of concentric zones seems to reflect early Chinese cosmic archetypes such as the "magic squares" believed to have been widely known by the fourth century B.C.E. These can be envisioned from such later versions as the Luo River diagram (fig. 6) promoted by early Daoist and other occult philosophers and is said to have been revealed to ancient thearchs such as Fuxi, Yu the Great, or the Yellow Thearch. Its abstract arrangement and numerology based on nine expressed the ideology of political centrality, which later became one of the cosmological underpinnings of the imperial state.[122] Such a pattern

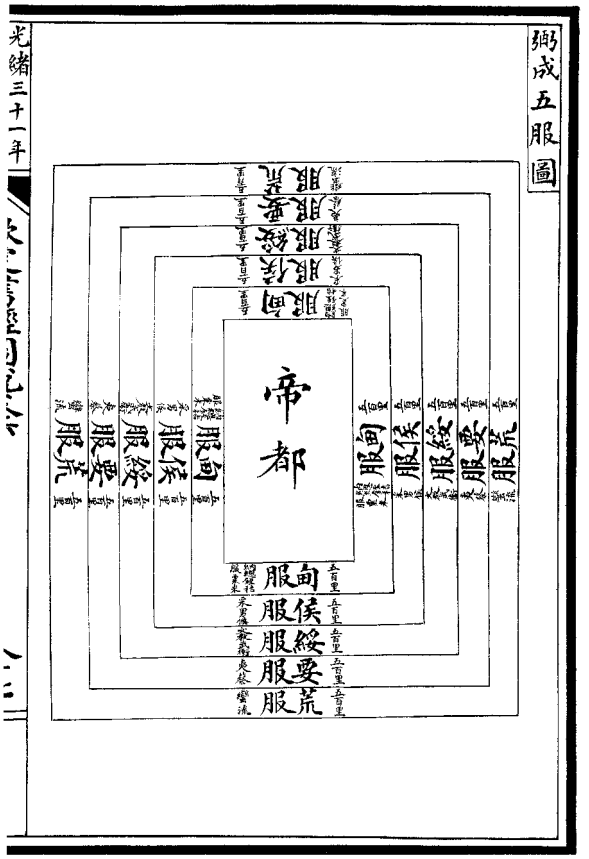


FIGURE 7. *The Five Dependencies of Yu the Great.* This woodblock map from an early twentieth-century edition of the *Documents of Antiquity* (*Shangshu,* Zhou dynasty) represents the late Warring States ideal of Sinocentrism in the "Tributes of Yu" chapter. The sovereign occupies the imperial capital in the center and is surrounded by five zones that are increasingly distant, with the latter two populated by non-Chinese tribes. From Sun et al., eds., *Qinding shujing tushuo* (1905) 3:87a. Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

is similar to the plan of the Five Dependencies in the "Tributes of Yu" (fig. 7), which was later canonized by the *Ru*-Confucian tradition as an ideal world order. This presents five outer zones surrounding the capital. The first two outer zones are controlled by the ruler and by royal princes respectively. These are followed by a "pacification zone" ruled by those engaged in spreading the central Chinese culture along with the military, then a zone populated by those barbarian tribes bound to the court by treaty and who are generically called the "Yi" and by the people of the steppes. Finally, surrounding all this is a zone simply termed "the wilds," which includes the less tractable Man-Barbarians and nomads. Each of these areas is measured as extending five hundred *li* from the borders of the zone within it, making the wilds at their periphery more than five thousand *li* long on each side.[123]

Two other geographical coordinates comprise this classic Sinocentric worldview—

the Four Seas and the Four Extremities. The former are clearly apparent in the organization of chapters 6 to 13, each presenting a guideway "within the seas," which is complemented by one "beyond the seas" in each of the four directions. In the distant past, the concept of "seas" may have been more metaphorical, referring to any body of water or even a land mass that lay beyond the limits of the home territory.[124] As the local Chinese ethnic cultures expanded and had more direct contact with the oceans to the northeast, east, and south, the term "seas" took on more concrete meaning, while the magical concept of "four" remained more symbolic than real, especially with regard to the "Western Sea." Here, the vast expanses of sandy deserts were imagined as the liquid "Flowing Sands" or the "Sea of Feathers" left by dessicated birds. The perennial difficulty of extending and maintaining Chinese control over Central Asia made exploration difficult and kept geographical knowledge of this direction obscure for centuries. Whether reinforced by faith in the magical number four or supported by travelers' tales of bodies of water such as the Qinghai Lake, the Aral Sea, or the Indian Ocean, the idea of a Western Sea primarily remained a conceptual reference until much later, when it came to refer to the location of the seas surrounding Europe and America. The "Northern Sea," on the other hand, was somewhat easier to explain. It could have referred to the bodies of water in the northeast such as the modern bays of Liaodong and Korea or, perhaps, to distant lakes in Mongolia and Siberia. Throughout the *Guideways,* however, the metaphorical usages of the word "sea" are not distinguished from designations reflecting empirical geographical knowledge. As with the mountains, despite considerable e orts over the centuries, scholars have still not solved many problems surrounding their precise locations.

The Four Extremities, which can also be understood sometimes as four poles, mark the ends of the earth and appear in various and sometimes contradictory passages. The most organized sense can be found in the four chapters titled "Guideways to Lands Beyond the Seas," where powerful gods dwelling at the end of each guideway can be thought of as the rulers of each of these directions: Zhurong in the south, Rushou [no. 74] in the west, Ape-Strength (Yujiang [nos. 253, 329]) in the north, and Goumang [no. 260] in the east. Some of these appear in other Warring States texts, where they are correlated with the Five Agents.[125] There are, in addition, myths of other places identified with the idea of a directional extremity such as Mount Celestial Co er at the Northern Extremity mentioned above, described as a place to which the sea flows and enters. Despite the sense of a flat earth with finite ends, there is no real equivalence in the *Guideways* to the Western concept of terra incognita or any anxiety that one might fall o if one approached the edges of the world. While it was recognized that there were distant places about which not enough was yet known, in the sacred geography of the *Guideways,* the strange creatures located at greater distances are not any more fantastic or threatening than those nearby. This may reflect the limited degree of early maritime as well as land-based travel in China as well as the improbability that anyone might ever reach such faraway places. Even Yu the Great's epic itinerary was confined to the area of the Chinese world conventionally known as Under Heaven.

The various regions, local cultures, and peoples of early China had not yet evolved a universal conception of themselves as a single Chinese nation except by comparison with surrounding barbarians. Sometimes referring to themselves as the Huaxia peoples,

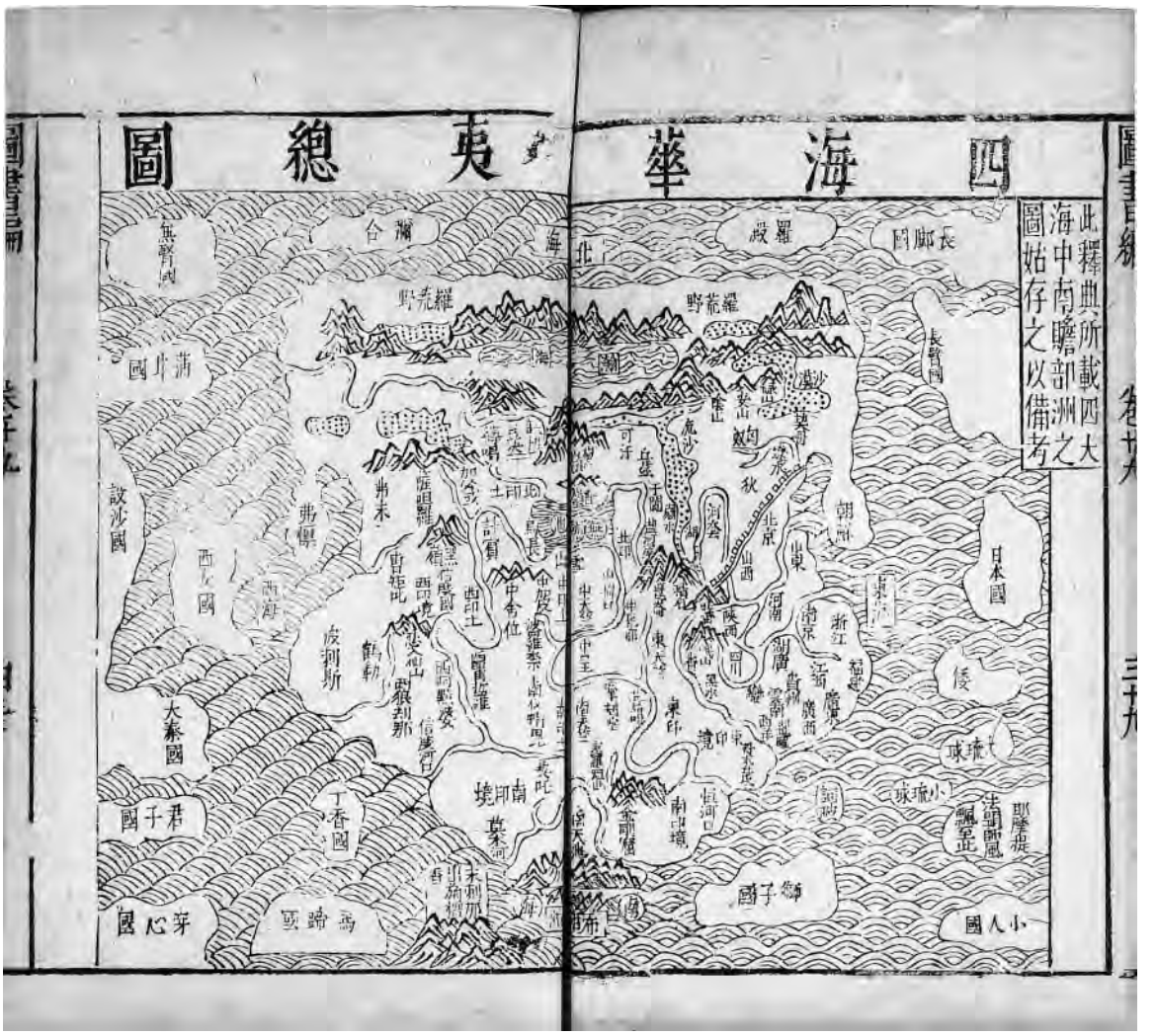


FIGURE 8. "General Map of the Four Seas, China, and the Barbarians." Among the foreign lands in the *Guideways* represented as islands on the periphery are the Land of the Long-Thighs People [no. 240] and the Land of the Long-Arms People [no. 226] (upper right); the Land of the Midgets [no. 298] (lower right); the Land of Gentlemen (lower left); and the Land of the People without Calves (upper left). From Zhang, *Tushu bian* (1613). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

they looked to more immediate social and political networks such as the ruling houses, their own family genealogies, or their native areas for a primary sense of identity. The *Guideways* is an early example of a text that propounded the concept of a centrally located Chinese cultural area surrounded by the Four Seas. After the imperial state was established during the Qin-Han period, this was further elaborated and remained the most pervasive worldview throughout the history of traditional China. Until the late nineteenth century, when the pressure of Japanese imperialism necessitated a more realistic understanding of world geography, the Four Seas were widely depicted in maps, especially in a genre known as China and the Barbarians. The earliest extant version of

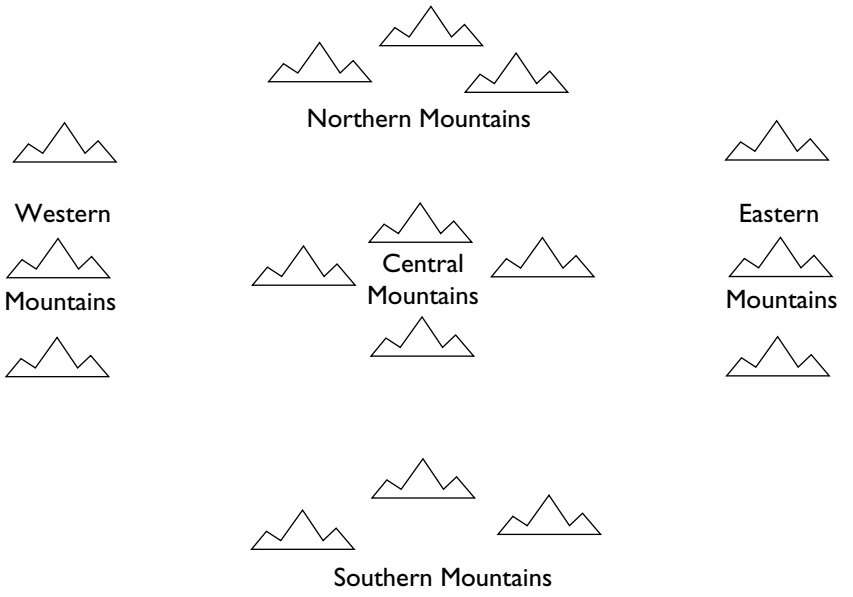


FIGURE 9. The world according to the *Guideways through Mountains* (chapters 1–5).

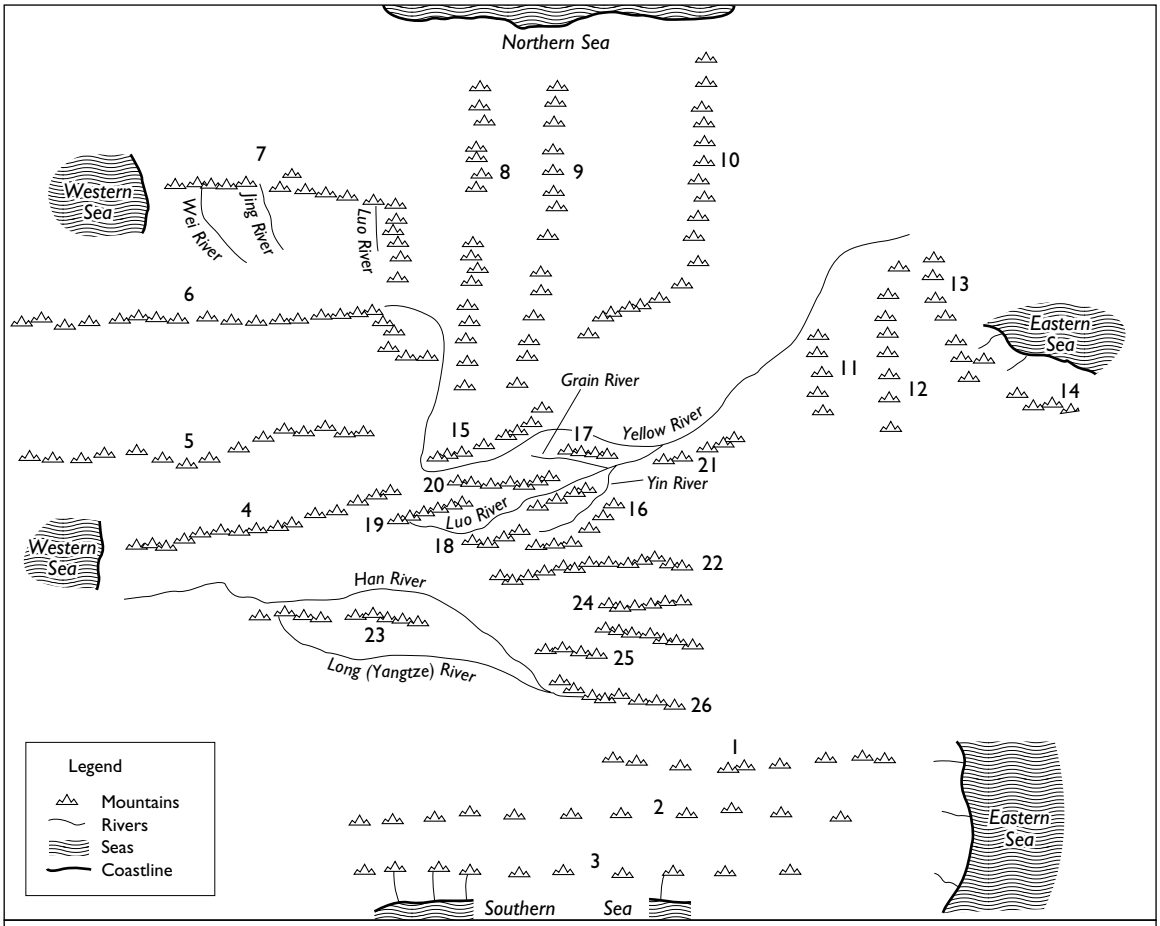
this is a well-known stone engraving from 1136 that may represent earlier traditions.[126] A notable characteristic of Chinese cartography is the integration of traditional cultural information derived from texts and empirical data. This integration was not only reflected in the design of the map but also in extensive colophons written around and within it. The *Guideways* continued to be a major source of such cultural information about distant foreign lands up until the late nineteenth century. An example can be seen in a map published in 1613 titled "General Map of the Four Seas, China, and the Barbarians" (*Sihai huayi zongtu,* fig. 8).[127] This is a sacred geography of the Buddhist continent of Jambūdvīpa from Korea in the east to Persia in the west though with China given greater centrality and India in the south correspondingly reduced. This map had a primarily conceptual function, and some places from the *Guideways* are represented among the islands in the seas and on the land masses beyond the seas. Even an official map as late as "The Great Qing Dynasty's Complete Map of All Under Heaven" (*Daqing yitong tianxia quantu,* 1819) records similar information in both its design and in colophons.[128]

Each of the three sections of the *Guideways* presents a slightly di erent geography within the Umbrella-Heaven, Four Seas, and Four Extremities frameworks. The first five chapters comprising the *Guideways through Mountains* present what appears to be a known, finite world of five zones of mountains arranged in the order of south, west, north, east, and center.[129] If represented pictorially, these appear similar to a "magic square" pattern (fig. 9).

Each chapter in the *Guideways through Mountains* charts from three to as many as twelve separate strings of mountains or "guideways," making twenty-six in all, with the most extensive treatment given to the Central Mountains. In 1982, the mainland Chinese scholar Wang Chengzu attempted to map these guideways based on indications

in the text such as proximity to major rivers (fig. 10). They do not reflect a geological concept of mountain ranges, and the text does not indicate the relationship between each one, only the direction they individually follow such as from west to east. Although the distances between each mountain are measured, little further indication is given as to the exact route a traveler might take from one to the other, for, as in other sacred cosmographies, much depends on the spiritual vision of the traveler. The primary unity underlying each guideway appears to be religious rather than topographical, for there is no material basis for a particular string of mountains except that each is ruled over by a distinct group of resident gods. Described at the end of each guideway, these usually share a similar appearance requiring the same set of sacrifices. For example, the gods along the ten mountains of the first guideway through the Southern Mountains all have bird bodies with dragon heads. The proper sacrifice to them is a hairy animal with 0 erings of glutinous rice, unhulled rice, and burial of a jade blade and disc. The ceremony uses mats of white rushes. A few of the places described are recognizable landmarks, but most of the mountains recorded still have not been convincingly identified by scholars, and the distances indicated are usually inaccurate by modern measurement, often considerably so. Though the compilers endeavored to include a certain amount of factual information, the large number of unconfirmed places has always posed a problem for later readers. It is improbable that any individual or group could have traveled to chart all the sites recorded in even one chapter of the *Guideways,* and it is doubtful that any early Chinese map that may have been consulted provided such detailed information about all these places. Thus, compilers may well have indulged their imaginations to fill in the vast spaces between recognizable points, a practice by no means unknown in the travel writing and geographies of other premodern cultures.[130]

Similar problems occur with the names and courses of the many rivers, not to mention the relationship of the land masses to the Four Seas. Chapter 4 describes mountains in the east that can be recognized as largely located in the Shandong peninsula; yet it contains the least detailed descriptions and some of the most exaggerated distances. The twelve guideways in chapter 5 recording the Central Mountains are the most abundant and extend from the Yellow River all the way to the Long River. As might be expected, the information becomes even more distorted as one moves to the peripheries, especially the distant south and west. It is noteworthy that the *Guideways* does not mention the Five Marchmounts, although such groupings were already promoted in some early texts as the most important sacred mountains.[131] Only four of these mountains are briefly listed, and of these, only Lotus Mountain (Huashan) [see no. 34] in the west is considered a particularly important mountain whose gods require the highest level of sacrifice.[132] Even more curiously, the Supreme Mountain (Taishan) [see no. 143] in the east, which some of the *fangshi*-wizards and others promoted as the preeminent sacred mountain, is described inaccurately without suggesting any extraordinary distinction.[133] Yet despite this high degree of fabrication, the inclusion of measured distances between the mountains suggests that the *Guideways* was seriously intended to be consulted for practical purposes. This basic geographical concept of a string of mountains is consistent with some of the earliest surviving Chinese maps, particularly one excavated from a tomb at Mawangdui (modern Changsha, Hunan) dating before 168 B.C.E.



1. First guideway through the Southern Mountains
2. Second guideway through the Southern Mountains
3. Third guideway through the Southern Mountains
4. First guideway through the Western Mountains
5. Second guideway through the Western Mountains
6. Third guideway through the Western Mountains
7. Fourth guideway through the Western Mountains
8. First guideway through the Northern Mountains
9. Second guideway through the Northern Mountains
10. Third guideway through the Northern Mountains
11. First guideway through the Eastern Mountains
12. Second guideway through the Eastern Mountains
13. Third guideway through the Eastern Mountains
14. Fourth guideway through the Eastern Mountains
15. First guideway through the Central Mountains
16. Second guideway through the Central Mountains
17. Third guideway through the Central Mountains
18. Fourth guideway through the Central Mountains
19. Fifth guideway through the Central Mountains
20. Sixth guideway through the Central Mountains
21. Seventh guideway through the Central Mountains
22. Eighth guideway through the Central Mountains
23. Ninth guideway through the Central Mountains
24. Tenth guideway through the Central Mountains
25. Eleventh guideway through the Central Mountains
26. Twelfth guideway through the Central Mountains

FIGURE 10. Modern map of mountains in the *Guideways through Mountains* (chapters 1–5). From Wang Chengzu (1982), 19, map 2.

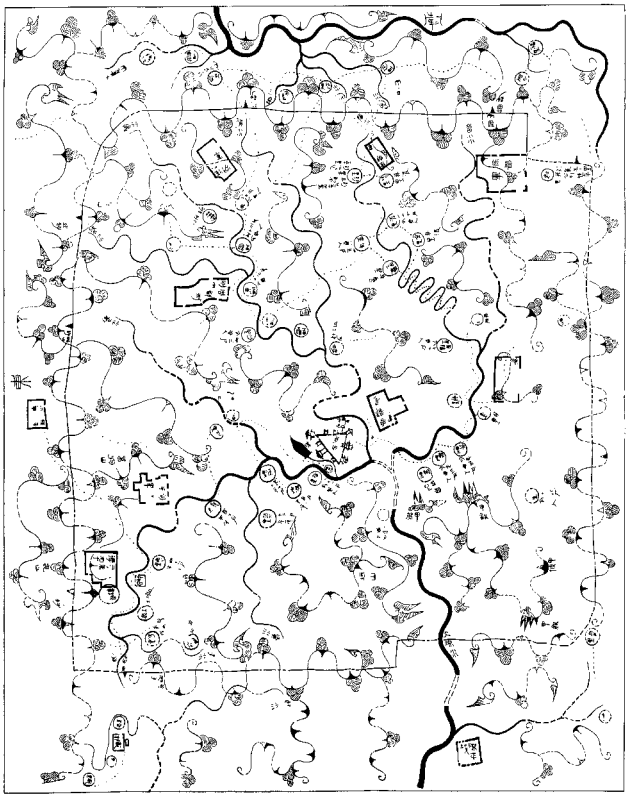


FIGURE 11. Reconstructed version of the garrison map from Mawangdui Tomb Three (modern Changsha, Hunan, before 168 B.C.E.). The area is believed to be in the southern part of the Changsha state of the Western Han, previously a part of Chu. Drawn on silk with ink and colors with the south at the top, its scale is considered quite accurate. The darkened triangles represent mountains and the continuous lines, rivers. This map probably was used for military purposes since it indicates army installations near the sensitive border with the Nanyue tributary state.

that records topographic features, settlements, and military garrisons in the southern part of the Western Han state of Changsha (fig. 11) in the former state of Chu.[134]

All the mountains are consistently presented as lofty zones devoid of human habitation. The geography of the *Guideways* is a natural, sacred, and esoteric one with virtually no mention of feudal states, towns, cities, districts, provinces, or other political divisions.[135] In the *Guideways through Mountains,* only the rivers emanating from each mountain indicate a connection with the world below. These are primarily presented as outflows of the divine essence of the peaks that eventually disappear into larger rivers, lakes, or the surrounding seas. Occasionally, the unique physical appearance of a mountain is described and a sense of hierarchy indicated, reflecting the divine power of the place and its concentration of strange things. Such special status usually determines the magnitude of the sacrifices required. Most are simply referred to as "mountain" (*shan*). However, a few, such as Greater Lotus Mountain [see no. 34], are also accorded a higher status as a "sacred summit" (*zhong*), where many gods dwell, or as a "divine peak" (*shen*),

where a lesser number or just a single god dwells. Several others, including Mount Kunlun, are denoted as "great peaks" (*qiu*) while Bear Mountain is called a *di* and presumably associated with the Supreme God Di or a thearch.[136] A further set of distinctions can be made between those mountains that are directly connected with the Supreme God Di or a thearch, those with resident mountain gods requiring sacrifices, and others where lesser gods and strange creatures dwell more anonymously.

An example of the style of the *Guideways through Mountains* from the third guideway through the Western Mountains in chapter 2 records Mount Kunlun, one of the major sites in ancient Chinese mythology. It is given the most detailed description of any mountain in the book, suggesting that the *Guideways* primarily reflects religious traditions that considered this place as the *axis mundi:*[137]

> Four hundred *li* southwest [of Sophora River Mountain] is Mount Kunlun. It is actually the earthly capital of the Supreme God Di. The god Luwu [no. 60] administers it. His divine form resembles a tiger's body with nine tails, a human face, and tiger's claws. This god administers the nine regions of heaven as well as the cycle of four seasons in the Supreme God's garden. There is an animal here with the form of a goat but with four horns called the Tulou [no. 61] that devours men. There is a bird here with the form of a bee, as large as a mandarin duck called the Qinyuan [no. 62]. If it stings a bird or animal, it dies; if it stings a tree, it withers. There is a bird here called the Quail-Bird, which is in charge of Di's stored treasures. There is a tree here similar to the pear with yellow blossoms and red fruits with the taste of a plum but without pits called the Sand-Pear. It can protect against floods, and eating it can prevent drowning. There is a plant here called the Pin-Plant whose form resembles a sunflower but with the taste of a scallion. Eating it will alleviate fatigue. The Yellow River emanates from here and flows south, then east to Never-Reach River. The Red River emanates from here and flows southeast into the River That Floods Heaven. The Oceanic River emanates from here and flows southwest into the Ugly Mire River. The Black River emanates from here and flows west into the Dayu River. Here, there are many strange birds and animals.[138]

The worldviews of the two remaining sections, composed of chapters 6 to 13 and 14 to 18, are closer to one another and di er from that of the *Guideways through Mountains* in some important respects. In contrast to a finite world of four zones surrounding a central one, the other groups of chapters are based on a more dualistic geography, though one that still reflects the "magic square" pattern. In every direction, an inner zone regarded as closer to or within the known world is separated by a sea from another regarded as located outside or beyond it. Thus, each of the chapters designated as "beyond the seas" (chaps. 6–9) is complemented by a chapter "within the seas" (chaps. 10–13). Similarly, the four chapters of the "Great Wilds" (chaps. 14–17) are complemented by the final chapter 18, "Guideway through Lands within the Seas."[139] The location of a zone of civilized Chinese culture at the very center remains implicit in these two other worldviews, which may be represented as shown in figures 12 and 13.

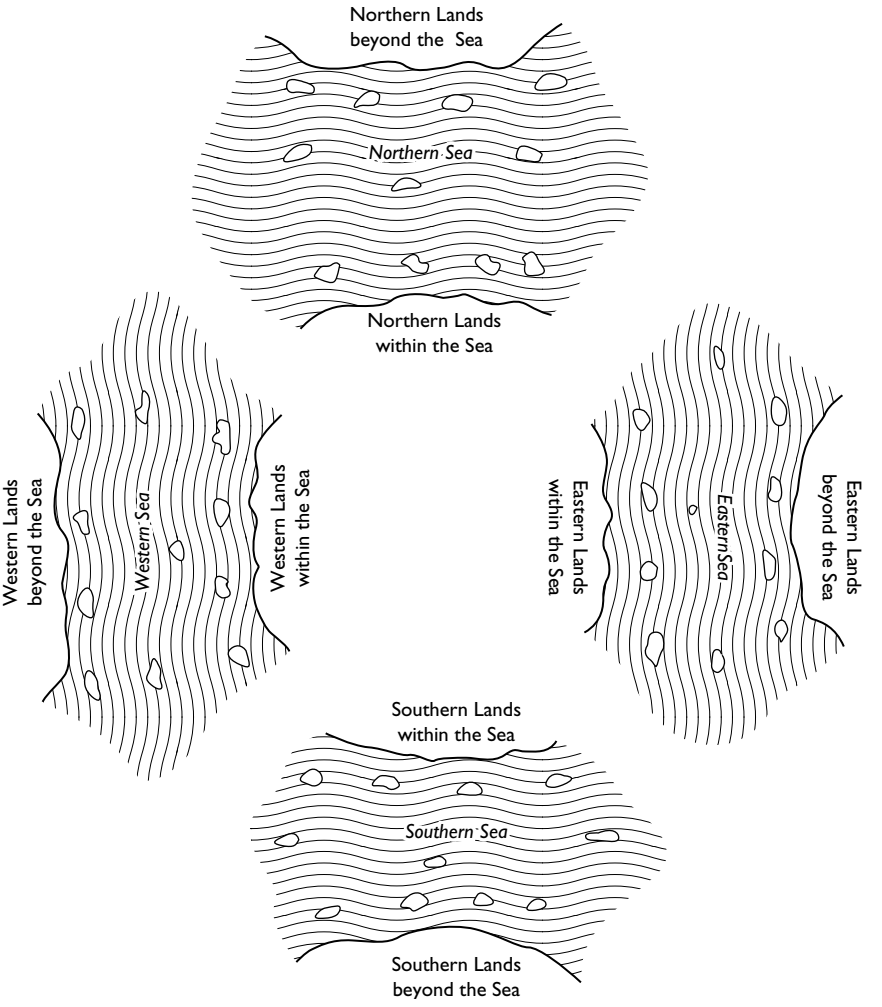


FIGURE 12. The world according to the *Guideways through Seas* (chapters 6–13).

Despite the later, collective title of *Guideways through Seas,* which some have used to designate these two sections, the sections deal relatively little with the Four Seas themselves. Instead, they focus on the strange creatures dwelling on land, including islands with the outer limits of the world marked by the Four Extremities. Each chapter presents only one guideway whose route is tenuously drawn through vast spaces lacking a consistent topography. In these strings, one environmental sphere simply appears after another with no measurement of the distances between them. There are few verifiable places, nor does the text catalogue similar groups of valuable objects as if they might be available to the traveler. Bizarre foreign tribes abound, and everything noted employs a high level of mythological description.

A typical example is from chapter 17, "Guideway through the Great Wilds to the North":

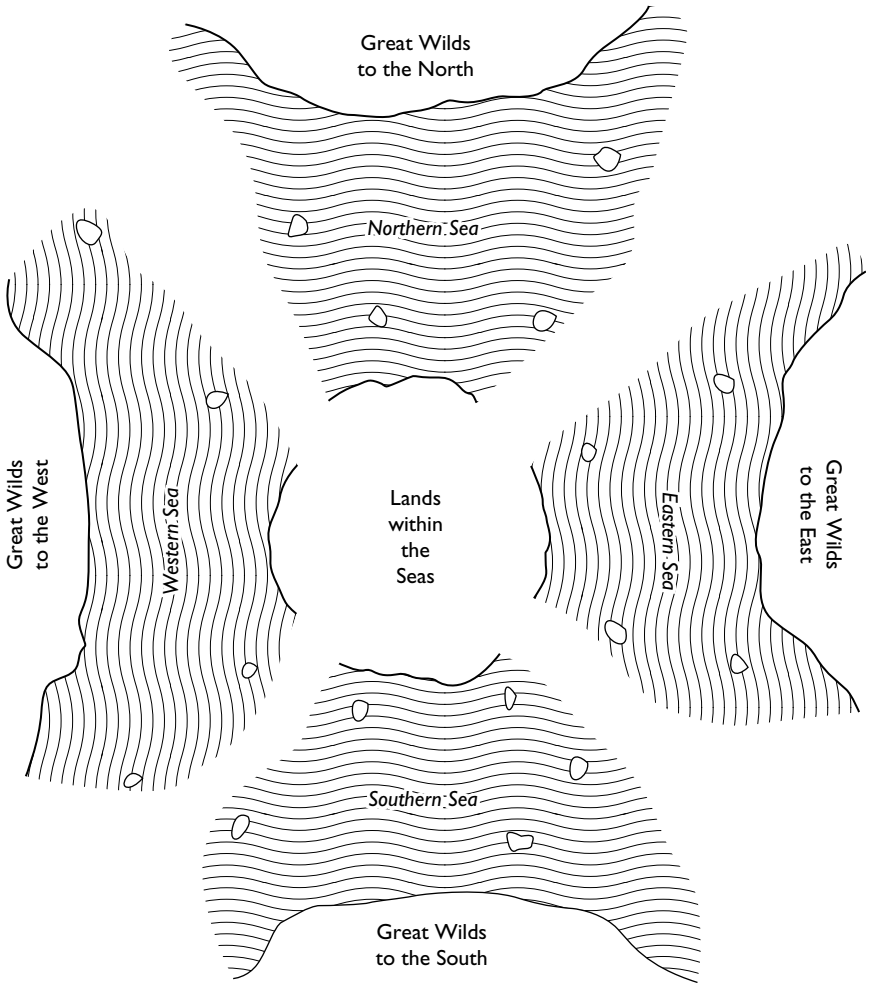


FIGURE 13. The world according to the "Great Wilds" and the "Lands within the Seas" (chapters 14–18).

There is a Land of the Pendant-Ears People [no. 328]. They are surnamed Ren, are the descendants of Ape-Howl (Yuhao), and eat grains.

On an island in the Northern Sea is a god with a human face and a bird's body who wears two green snakes through his ears and treads on two red snakes. He is named Yujiang (Ape-Strength) [no. 329].

In the Great Wilds to the North is a mountain called Celestial-Co er-at-the-Northern-Extremity. The sea flows northward into it. There is a god with nine heads, human faces, and a bird's body named Nine-Headed Feng-Bird [no. 330].

There is also a god here who bites hold of snakes and grasps snakes. His form resembles a tiger's head on a human body with four hooves and long arms. His name is Jiangliang (Strong-and-Good) [no. 331].

In the Great Wilds is a mountain called The Capital City That Supports

> Heaven. There is a person with two yellow snakes through his ears who holds two yellow snakes in his hands named Kuafu the Boaster [no. 247]. Lord Earth begat Trust (Xin) and Trust begat Kuafu. Kuafu overestimated his power and wanted to chase the sun's shadow and catch it in Ape Valley. He went to drink in the Yellow River, but the water was not enough so he wanted to go to the Grand Lake but died before reaching it. Winged-Dragon [no. 305] had already killed Chiyou and then killed Kuafu. Afterward, he went to dwell in the south and for that reason, there is much rain in the south.[140]

In addition to all these geographical frameworks, several other patterns suggest further levels of world organization. One is color. Early Chinese texts identified a group of five principal colors—blue/green, red, white, black, and yellow—as having broad ritual significance, and these were gradually correlated with other systematized phenomena such as the Five Directions in Five Agents cosmology. In the *Guideways,* mountains, bodies of water, strange creatures, and unusual flora are often described in terms of the Five Colors. These may be present individually, in combinations, or in total. Places or things that are white, the color correlated with the west, are the most numerous, followed by red (south), blue/green (east), yellow (center), and black (north). This pattern seems to confirm the primary mythological focus of the *Guideways* on the west and south. Sometimes a creature may be described as exhibiting two or more of these colors simultaneously to emphasize its strangeness. A special category of potent creatures are described as "five-colored" to indicate an extraordinarily high degree of spiritual power. In a few cases, there may be a correspondence between a color and a concept based on homophony.[141] Still, the precise iconographical significance of each color is rarely clear and may reflect empirical logic, arbitrary application, or esoteric beliefs that have been lost.

Another set of cosmic patterns is numerological, with special numbers having magical significance. Three appears most frequently, followed by five, four, and nine, and there are scattered usages of other numbers as well. Nine, as the highest signifier of multiplicity, is reserved for things or beings of particular potency. The nine gates of Mount Kunlun, the nine heads of Minister Liu/You [no. 244], the Nine-Tail Fox [no. 257], and the Nine-Headed Feng-Bird [no. 330] are particularly awesome, fierce, or dominant forms. In a few cases, a number seems to suggest a mystical connection between strange creatures and a place, as in the case of Three-Dangers Mountain [see no. 71] that is home to the triple-bodied Chi-Bird [no. 72], the Three Green-Birds [no. 276], and also associated with the Three-Sprouts People as the site of their exile. In most cases, though, the precise intention behind specific numerological designations, as with colors, remains unclear.

Last, a sense of hierarchical order is suggested by relationships between certain strange creatures. These may be genealogical, bureaucratic, or symbolic or involve domination through military conflict. Some of these relationships are based on older shamanistic practices or ancestral cults or reflect the evolution of a bureaucratized pantheon based on human political ideals. A noteworthy pattern involves a relationship between a dominant creature and snakes, dragons, and birds. In many ancient religions, a primordial level of belief centered around certain terrestrial creatures whose domain

included the underground and the afterlife. Snakes, in particular, inspired dread, not only for their potentially poisonous e ects on the living but also because they were believed to consume the bodies of the dead. Subsequent phases of belief envisioned more powerful deities who were shown to control snakes and who o ered believers some reassurance in higher cosmic powers. In the *Guideways,* a number of potent figures who may be gods or divine shamans are described as grasping snakes, wearing snakes through their ears, or treading on snakes, and these snakes are usually described in terms of symbolic colors as well. An example is the god Strong-and-Good [no. 331], who bites down on one snake and grasps two others.

Other powers that can control snakes are divine birds such as the Yellow-Birds [no. 308] who dwell at Shaman Mountain and who control the Black-Snakes [no. 307] nearby. The latter are described as gluttonous eaters of deer, but more important, they are located close to this mountain where the divine herbs of the Supreme God Di are found. Here, "yellow" (*huang*) may be homophonous with "imperial" or "high god" (*huang*), so these are probably sacred birds who are officials of Di himself.[142] All these patterns of world organization in the *Guideways* constitute an e ort by the compilers to define an intelligible sacred order as existing within a vast, largely unknown natural world. This e ort is further reinforced by defining a typology of the strange creatures to indicate that their manifestly diverse natures embody certain generic characteristics.

THE TYPOLOGY OF THE STRANGE

The more than five hundred strange creatures of the *Guideways* represent the beliefs of di erent historical periods as well as of various local cultures. In cosmographical fashion, they are displayed along the spatial axes of the three main worldviews without any attempt to clearly distinguish their individual origins. With the exception of a relatively few figures who are physically identified as humans, the overwhelming majority are hybrids composed of a basic form, to which additional features have been added. Although hybrid deities can be traced back to far earlier periods, they appear to have particularly flourished in China during the Warring States, only to later decline in popular veneration. Some modern scholars have interpreted their features as indicating a shamanistic ability to travel across the gulf between heaven and earth to communicate with higher gods. Others have regarded the hybrid form as reflecting the identification of ancient humankind with the animal world or as simply a transitional form during the gradual transformation of early animal gods into more anthropomorphic figures.[143] There are very few instances in Chinese mythology of a biological basis for these combinations, however. Unlike some figures in other cultures, such as the Minotaur, these are rarely the result of genetic inheritance or crossbreeding. With few exceptions, neither humans nor animals are indicated as having had sexual relations with gods or one another. Some foreign tribes claim descent from ancient Chinese thearchs, especially the Yellow Thearch, but this fact does not account for the origin of their odd physical characteristics. Even the genealogies of various Dog Peoples [see no. 278], who often claim a dog and a human ancestor, are not mentioned here. Rather, the strange creatures of the *Guideways* predominantly exist as modular constructions whose components may or may not have been assembled according to an underlying logic.

The more rational philosophical schools of this period articulated the natures of things based on their membership in a category often defined by similar physical or behavorial characteristics. Cognition was seen as a process of correct classification based on recognizing the essential features in each thing that associated it with the appropriate group of similar objects. This understanding was prerequisite to maintaining the proper interaction among things and to the exercising of e ective human control over the cosmos. Some of the major thinkers during this period such as Confucius regarded the breakdown of the political order as a failure to maintain these patterns in cognition and in language, resulting in widespread unethical social behavior. From this normalizing viewpoint, strange creatures, by definition, were seen as violating these commonly established categories, and the hybrid particularly exemplified this by the excess as well as by the apparent incommensurability of its multiple features.

In the *Guideways,* a hybrid creature is usually described formulaically. First, it may be classified as a member of a broader species such as god, human, beast, bird, fish, and so on. Then it is said to have a bodily form that resembles a known animal to which are then added additional, unexpected characteristics. For example, Luwu [no. 60] is described as a god whose body resembles that of a tiger but with nine tails, a human face, and tiger's claws and the Huantou People [no. 217] as a people with human faces, wings, and birds' beaks. Six principal patterns in the morphogenesis of these hybrids have been identified: first, generic transformation in which a familiar creature is altered by the addition of unusual characteristics, as in the case of the Lei [no. 10], a wildcat that has a mane and is hermaphroditic; second, multiplication of normal features, as in the Boshi [no. 11], a goat with nine tails and four ears; third, reduction of normal features, as in the Huan [no. 23], a goat without a mouth; fourth, a combination of two or more animals, such as the Zhi-Pig [no. 21], who has the form of a tiger with the tail of an ox and who makes a sound like a dog; fifth, alternate placement of features, as in the Paoxiao [no. 118], whose eyes are under its armpits; and last, those creatures who undergo divine transformation, such as Drum [no. 55], who originally had a dragon's body with a human face but was executed. He then metamorphosed into a Jun-Bird, resembling an owl with red feet, a straight beak, yellow markings, a white head and makes a sound like a swan. In this taxonomy of hybridization, no matter how fantastic the combination or transformation, the essential components are all known forms existing in the natural or human worlds rather than imaginative fabrications.[144] Despite their bizarre appearances, most of the hybrid creatures of the *Guideways* are not monsters in the ancient Greek or medieval European sense. That is, they are not primordial powers that must be overcome by virtuous gods or heroes for human civilization to progress. Admittedly, a few such as Winged-Dragon [no. 305] serve the Supreme God Di and help him to maintain cosmic stability by crushing rebels such as Chiyou. However, most legitimately dwell in the environment alongside humankind and simply represent another, overlapping order with its own principles.

Composite forms of modular construction have a long history in China, for example, in the manufacturing process of early bronze vessels or in such figures as the Taotie animal mask.[145] Yet the proliferation of the hybrid during the latter part of the Zhou dynasty can also be seen to embody a certain kind of cultural logic particular to the age. The definition of a strange creature as a core identity plus additional features mirrors

the pluralistic nature of the feudal state and appears to correspond to an important historical development in the Chinese script. On the one hand, it reflects a concept of superior power through an aggregation of elements rather than through synthesis or evolution. In the centuries-long process of military consolidation, the strongest states usually expanded through the piecemeal conquest of adjacent territories, and this process was often facilitated by polygamous marriages by the rulers as well as by religious syncretism. Totalization was thus achieved through sheer multiplicity. Each state was, therefore, composed of a core local culture in a home territory to which additional, somewhat alien territories were added in accretions, like a hybrid creature with a basic bodily form and additional physical characteristics. These newly acquired territories, which sometimes passed back and forth between contenders many times, were not rapidly assimilated into the home culture, and unless the population was wiped out or exiled, many local cultures continued to maintain their particularity. One may say that each major state was faced with reconciling the increasing quality of "strangeness" to itself as it expanded and annexed culturally di erent appendages. The state of Chu, for example, was among the most successful in practicing this kind of cultural aggregation in which Shang and Zhou elements from the Central Plains coexisted with the more "barbarian" influences of the Ba-Shu, Man, Yi, and Wu-Yue peoples, among others, resulting in a more complex sense of identity.

Simultaneously, in the written language, there was a rapid expansion of the category of graphs later called *xiesheng* (phonetic compounds) that represent a composite method of signification. These were designed to accommodate new distinctions in language and thought to reflect more complex cultural realities and to avoid semantic ambiguity due to the large number of homonyms. The new forms were created by adding either a semantic or phonetic determinative to an existing, primary graph. The determinatives, especially the phonetic ones, were themselves often composed of several other graphs. The resultant "multibodied" graphs enabled the language to gain greater versatility and achieve a wider range of written expression within its fundamentally logographic nature. For example, adding to the phonetic element 莫 (pronounced *mo*) the semantic determinative 手 (hand; *shou*) created the graph 摹 (*mo*) meaning "to rub," adding 言 (words; *yan*) created 謨 (to announce; *mo*), while adding 馬 (horse; *ma*) created 驀 (*mo;* to prance). The phonetic compound 莫, which literally means "dark," "obscure" and by extension "no," "none" or "nothing," is itself composed of three graphs stacked vertically: 草 (grass; *cao,* in its later, combined form as 艹) on top, 日 (sun; *ri*) in the middle, and again 草 below (later simplified into the graph 大 *da* or "big") and defined in the dictionary *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* as "the sun amidst [i.e., obscured by] the grass." However, these meanings are not operative when 莫 functions as a phonetic. As the final stage in the development of the Chinese script, phonetic compounds presented virtually unlimited possibilities for the invention of new graphs and facilitated a system of indexing widely used in dictionaries. Like the expansion of the feudal states, this method of composite construction with determinatives closely resembles the aggregation of additional physical features to the basic form of a strange creature.[146]

Several reasons may account for why the representation of hybrid creatures later declined. First, the creation of a centralized state during the Qin and Han dynasties grad-

ually consolidated many diverse, local cultural forms into a more unified national culture that was eventually able to assert greater priority over those of the earlier feudal states. With the successful establishment of Confucianism throughout the bureaucracy in the course of the Han dynasty, the hybrid creatures of the *Guideways* were less compelling a reality to many elite readers. Second, the intense ideological focus of the imperial state on the person of the emperor supported the historicization of mythology, which transformed hybrid gods and thearchs into more humanized "sage-kings" for use as political and ethical models, a process that had begun at least as early as the Zhou dynasty and is already observable in the *Guideways.* Third, the rise of new religions such as Daoism and Buddhism, with their individualistic, soteriological goals also promoted humanoid deities as supreme powers in comparison to which the ancient hybrid gods appeared less universal and iconographically more idiosyncratic. The humanoid gods, however, by no means achieved a complete victory. In response to continuing popular belief, some hybrids were subordinated as lower gods or recast as fierce guardians of higher powers in the pantheons of the new religions, while others continued their existence in various popular cults. Some new ones even continued to emerge in later periods.

The hybrid figure as the archetypal representation of the strange was thus appropriate to the general cognitive level of the Warring States. It clearly contrasts with the more rational patterns of organization envisioned in encyclopedic and cosmographical texts that sought to map out a centralized Chinese state based on concepts of human moral authority. To a certain extent, the *Guideways* itself embodies the contradiction exemplified by the disparity between the manifest order of its geographical form and the random spatial distribution and strangeness of its inhabitants. One of its primary methods of containment from within the society of strange creatures is the superimposition of a divine imperial government of thearchs and their officials presided over by a supreme god.

The Supreme God Di

Chief among the strange creatures in the *Guideways* are the gods, who may be divided into two types: the Supreme God Di, who rules the entire cosmos from heaven, and a host of lesser, earthly gods generically denoted as *shen,* who reside at specific mountains, rivers, and in foreign lands.[147] Di is mentioned as early as the Shang dynasty oracle-bone inscriptions as the chief god and ancestor of the royal house, though recently it has been questioned whether the name refers to an individual progenitor or to any one of a class of high gods, all of whom may have been regarded as forebears.[148] Throughout the three sections of the *Guideways,* di erent presentations of Di create further ambiguity about his identity. On the one hand, in the *Guideways through Mountains,* Di is not physically described and appears as a rather distant figure who rules imperially from heaven with the aid of some of the *shen*-gods functioning as his officials on earth. Although he has connections with special mountains, which he directly possesses like royal fiefs, Di himself never appears and is only recorded as intervening in the world to maintain order by punishing lesser gods and other figures who murder or rebel. In these descriptions, he is similar to the Supreme God Di in other Zhou texts

who was transformed to some extent from the Shang royal ancestor into a more abstract ruling deity.[149]

On the other hand, other chapters of the *Guideways* also denote as Di a group of thearchs who may be identified by name such as the Yellow Thearch, Flame Thearch (Yandi), Lesser-Brilliance (Shaohao), Greater-Brilliance (Taihao), Zhuanxu, Thearch Jun (Dijun), Yao, Shun, and Yu the Great [no. 345]. Elsewhere in Chinese mythology, some of these are described as hybrids but here they are not described physically and seem to have already become historicized as humanoid figures who preside over divine bureaucracies and have finite lives in time. Many of them, as noted in the text, lie buried in tombs on earth. Like terrestrial rulers, they may struggle militarily for their position as Supreme God, sometimes against one another and sometimes against rebellious challengers. According to some theories, most of these thearchs were regarded as ancestors of various local ethnic groups, and they continued to be worshiped by ruling houses of the Warring States. Lesser-Brilliance and probably Thearch Jun, for example, were progenitive figures among eastern tribes dwelling in and around modern Shandong province who were sometimes referred to by the more centrally located Chinese as the "Yi-Barbarians."[150] Both the ruling houses of the states of Qin and Chu claimed descent from Zhuanxu. Some of these, such as Thearch Jun, were evidently once important but later disappeared from official pantheons probably because of the military decline and cultural assimilation of their worshipers. Gradually, the Yellow Thearch, a comparatively later figure in mythology, who may originally have been a thunder god or a dragon-snake figure, emerged as the dominant thearch representing the center in Five Agents cosmology. By the Western Han, the Yellow Thearch, along with several other thearchs, were incorporated into the orthodox genealogy of Chinese civilization promoted by the imperial state and, by the Eastern Han, he was further elevated as the supreme god of the Daoist pantheon.[151] In the works of the philosophers and early historians, the thearchs as sage-kings exemplified various paradigms of moral and political behavior, but in the *Guideways,* they are more ambiguously defined as powerful, divine beings. Essentially, they are still strange creatures of a higher order who maintain their authority through warfare and punishment in varying and sometimes contradictory myths.

An important level of organization among the thearchs is created by delineating genealogies of these and other divine figures, some of whom are culture bearers. One example of this is from chapter 16:

> Thearch Jun begat Lord Millet (Houji), who bestowed the hundred kinds of grain on mankind. Lord Millet's younger brother was called Taixi, who begat Shujun. Shujun carried on from his father and Lord Millet by disseminating the hundred grains and invented agriculture.[152]

It is generally thought that such genealogies represent a later phase of ancient Chinese mythology, though it is not clear how they originated or what exactly they signify. These lineages may represent organizations of various cults to reflect social and political changes. Or they may have evolved as a mnemonic device in an orally transmitted mythology. It is characteristic of the *Guideways* that these genealogies usually di er from those in other Warring States texts, while many of the myths recorded about the thearchs

here are also unique among the surviving examples of early Chinese literature.[153] Despite attempts by both traditional commentators and modern scholars to correlate the impersonal Supreme God Di with the individualized thearchs and relate them to other early texts, the persistent ambiguity not only reflects the multiple sources of the *Guideways* but also the fluidity of the concept of Di in antiquity.[154] In the translated captions to these illustrations, therefore, the presentation of Di follows the style of the particular passage in the original text.

Gods (Shen)

The *shen*-gods are a far more diverse group, most of whom function as nature deities rooted in specific places. They exist on several levels of organization, though many are simply individual anomalies. A few are cosmic embodiments who physically personify natural phenomena. Torch-Dragon [no. 336], also called Torch-Darkness, brings nighttime when he closes his eyes and daylight when he opens them, while the winter and summer seasons are caused by his breathing. Dijiang [no. 73] is a yellow sack who glows like fiery cinnabar, and some commentators have interpreted his body as the undi erentiated cosmos in a primordial state of chaos. The God of Thunder [no. 295] is a dragon who causes thunder by using his stomach as a drum. Other *shen*-gods are represented as the resident spirits of specific places. Among the more prominent of these are Bingyi [no. 290], god of the Yellow River; the Two Daughters of the Supreme God Di [no. 214], who are goddesses of the Xiao and Xiang rivers in the Grotto Lake area; and the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275], who is located on her own mountain.

Another group functions as divine bureaucrats, and its members are early examples of a practice common to later Chinese religion in which diverse gods are arranged in pantheons that ideally mirror the structure of the human government on earth. Each set of mountain gods at the end of the individual guideways in the *Guideways through Mountains* requires specific sacrifices appropriate to their status, like local officials demanding taxes and other payments. In addition to the gods associated with various directions at the end of each of the "Guideways beyond the Seas," there are gods of the winds mentioned in the chapters on the "Great Wilds": Zhedan in the east, Yinyinhu in the south, Shiyi in the northwest, and Wan/Yan in the northeast.[155] Furthermore, there are Yujiang (Ape-Strength) [nos. 253, 329] and Yuhao (Ape-Howl) [see no. 328], gods of the North and East Seas, respectively. Besides Luwu [no. 60], several other gods are specifically identified as officials directly serving the Supreme God Di who oversee his earthly possessions on particular mountains. There are also military subordinates of thearchs or rebels who are called into action in the course of epic power struggles, such as Winged-Dragon [no. 305], Xingtian [no. 233], Minister Liu/You [no. 244], the Master of Rain, and the Lord of Wind [for both, see no. 332].[156]

A notable feature of some gods is their ability to metamorphose. In later Chinese religion, this power is often represented as a definitive attribute of divinity and one of the highest achievements of spiritual cultivation. Here, however, it is not yet conceived of as a process of transcendence but rather occurs as a result of traumatic events. Drum [no. 55] and Qinpi [no. 56] change into birds after being executed by the Supreme God, as does the divine princess Spirit-Guardian [no. 133] after she drowns. Xingtian [no.

233] grows new eyes and a mouth after being decapitated. None of the gods appears to be immortal. Several su er death through conflict, while the gravesites of others are specifically noted.

The remaining strange creatures constitute an unorganized panoply of unique figures whose appearances, powers, and domiciles vary greatly. They are by far the most numerous and are found in all the chapters of the *Guideways.* Most are like the Bo [nos. 82, 251]—independent, hybrid creatures dwelling in the natural environment who may have beneficial or harmful consequences for humans. In general, the distinction between the *shen*-gods and these lower creatures is not always clear, for both kinds may be classified in the text as humans, beasts, birds, snakes, fish, animals with shells, or turtles.

Challengers and Criminals. The Supreme God Di and the thearchs, along with their subordinates, represent a divine political order that is sometimes threatened by challengers. The *Guideways* records a number of myths in which these figures are forced to protect their status though military means. Primordial, epic-scale battles for control, such as those between the Yellow Thearch and his younger brother, the Flame Thearch, and, subsequently, between the Yellow Thearch and the god Chiyou, are played out on earthly battlefields and involve a cast of lesser figures. It is possible that some of these power struggles may have originated in prehistoric wars between tribes whose totems were personified mythologically as prototypes of the thearchs. The Three-Sprouts People [see nos. 71, 218, 313, 335] and the Youyi People [see no. 300] are noted as having been exiled by the Supreme God at some point to the periphery as a result of such conflicts. Among the other major struggles are those between Yu the Great and Gonggong [no. 314], personifier of the Deluge, which also involved execution of the latter's official, Minister Liu/You. While some of these figures su er death or exile, not all are utterly suppressed. Xingtian not only regenerated himself after being decapitated but continues to dance defiantly with shield and battle-ax. Others are pardoned by sympathetic thearchs and relocated to distant areas.

A lesser category of challengers are those who resist the powers of nature and who su er for their hubris. Kuafu the Boaster [no. 247], in the most well-known myth about him, is a Chinese Icarus who chases after the sun and dies of thirst before he can overcome it, though in another account, he appears to be associated with Chiyou and is killed by Winged-Dragon. Spirit-Guardian, like Kuafu, has also been revived in recent decades in mainland China as a heroic resister. A daughter of the Flame Thearch, she drowned in the Eastern Sea and metamorphosed into a bird seeking eternal revenge by carrying twigs and stones from the Western Mountains to fill up the Eastern Sea.

Then there are criminals who murder others, apparently for political reasons, and who are suitably punished by the justice of the Supreme God. Drum, the god of Bell Mountain, killed Baojiang with the help of Qinpi [see no. 55]. Erfu [no. 281], with the help of his minister, Wei [no. 268], killed Yayu [nos. 265, 270], for which the minister was punished by having his right leg fettered and his hands and hair tied behind him to a tree on a mountain. There are several heroic figures who carry out this divine justice. Yi the Archer, for example, killed a demonic creature called Chiseled-Teeth [see no. 224]

who was oppressing the common people east of Mount Kunlun and in another myth pacified the warring feudal states with a vermilion bow and white arrows given him by Thearch Jun. Zhurong [nos. 227, 345], a god of fire, has a dual identity. In one passage, he is a descendant of the Flame Thearch and the father of Gonggong, who is banished to the Long River area. Elsewhere, he is also the executioner of Gun, the father of Yu the Great, who was killed on orders of the Supreme God for having stolen the Expanding Soil in a failed e ort to curb the Deluge. All these events reflect the recurrent political turbulence of the Chinese cosmos. Such conflicts are represented as impersonal power struggles, and the killing is usually noted without detailed descriptions of bloodshed.

Culture Heroes. In China, as elsewhere, a number of gods were credited as culture heroes who bestowed civilization on humankind. In later ages, these attributions tended to become consolidated around several of the orthodox thearchs, but in the *Guideways,* they are more widely distributed among various divine creatures, some of whom subsequently vanished from mythology. Creativity seems to run in the family, for one finds sons carrying on the work of fathers, as Yu the Great did for Gun, or lineages of gods who each invented something. Among the thearchs, Thearch Jun is credited with siring the most inventors, including Lord Millet, the spreader of agriculture; Fanyu, inventor of boats; Auspicious-Light (Jiguang), inventor of carriages; Feast-Dragon (Yanlong), inventor of zithers; and Artisan Chui (Qiaochui), who invented handicrafts. Eight other sons of his are said to have invented song and dance. Lord Millet himself is part of an illustrious nuclear family, for his younger brother Taixi and nephew Shujun both were active in further disseminating the cultivation of grains among humankind.

Some of these figures may have acted as shamanic intermediaries. The Xia Sovereign Kai (Qi) [nos. 228, 325] journeyed between heaven and earth to receive sacred dances and music directly from the Supreme God Di, as narrated in the following passage:

> Beyond the Southwest Sea, south of the Red River and west of the Desert of Shifting Sands, is a man who wears two green snakes through his ears and rides on two dragons, named the Xia Sovereign Kai. Kai ascended to heaven three times as a guest and obtained "The Nine Arguments" (*Jiubian*) and "The Nine Songs," which he brought down when he descended. At this place called the Plain of Celestial Majesty, two thousand ren high, he first sang "The Nine Summons" (*Jiuzhao*).[157]

The Xia Sovereign Kai (trad. r. c. 1978–1965 B.C.E.), whose name was changed in the Han from Qi to avoid the personal name of Emperor Jing (r. 157–141 B.C.E.), was the son of the thearch Yu the Great and was historicized as the second ruler of the Xia dynasty. In mythology, he was born when his mother metamorphosed into a stone out of fright and then broke open upon his father's command—hence his names, both of which mean "to open." Here he appears as a shaman ascending to heaven with the aid of potent creatures. These performance pieces were among the sacred music of heaven, and the first two have been related etymologically to songs and dances of supplication for rain. Versions of this myth in other sources state that Kai actually stole them before descending. Thus, he may be regarded as a trickster figure as well as a culture hero who brought an important religious practice to humankind.[158]

Cures and Omens. In addition to such culture heroes, the Guideways describes a number of far stranger creatures who can bring benefit or harm to humans. Some are simply described as man-eaters, but generally they can also be used for two purposes: as medicinal cures or as omens. Those creatures who have beneficial powers can be eaten, or a part of them can be worn in contact with the body. Parts of others can be made into talismans to be worn from the belt, and a few provide protection if domesticated. Sometimes these practices reflect magical beliefs, as in the case of the Lei [no. 10] who is hermaphroditic and whose flesh, if eaten, can cure jealousy. Such medicinal properties are also possessed by some plants, trees, and minerals. These types of treatments are more preventative than curative and are considered e ective in three areas: physical ailments, psychological conditions, and environmental hazards, including war. Knowledge of natural medicine was partially absorbed into the practices of the *yi*-physicians, while still remaining an area of expertise associated with *wu*-shamans.[159]

As an authoritative omen catalogue, the *Guideways* enabled any literate person to o er an informed opinion on the identity and meaning of such appearances, for the sighting of an omen was interpreted as a sign of heaven's will reflecting either approval of the conduct of government or displeasure over the ruler's lack of virtue.[160] The *Guideways* records more than fifty creatures whose presence could be beneficial or harmful. Most of these are found in the first five chapters and are classified as beasts, followed by birds, fish, snakes, and *shen*-gods. The extent of their e ects may be worldwide or limited to the feudal state, to commanderies and prefectures, or to a city. The vast majority of these events are evil, the most common ones being drought, floods, war, epidemics, panic, forced labor, and violent winds. Less common are the exile of scholars, general calamity, the arrival of cunning visitors, locusts, fire, and general destruction. A minority of creatures, though, are beneficial, harbingers of such things as an abundant harvest, land reclamation, and peace.[161] The Mottled Flying-Fish [no. 57] is a typical example found in the Observation River along the third guideway through the Western Mountains:

> Its form resembles a carp with a fish's body, bird's wings, blue-black markings, a white head, and a red mouth. It often courses in the Western Sea and swims to the Eastern Sea. The Mottled Flying-Fish flies by night and makes a sound like a Luan-Chicken. It has a sweet-and-sour taste. Eating it will cure insanity. If seen by people, it is an omen of a bountiful harvest throughout the world.[162]

Wu-Shamans. The *Guideways* contains a number of passages that make it the greatest single source of information about *wu*-shamans among surviving texts from ancient China. Most of these passages appear in chapters about the west and south, where one finds several mountains with names like Shaman Mountain (Wushan; also Lingshan). One such place serves as a refuge for the Corpse of Geng of the Xia [no. 323], a headless challenger still brandishing a spear and shield who was decapitated by Tang the Founder (r.c. 1557–1546 B.C.E.) in one of the battles to establish the Shang dynasty.[163] Another passage in chapter 15, "Guideway through the Great Wilds in the South," states:

> There is Shaman Mountain. On its western side are found the Yellow-Birds [no. 308], the herbs of the Supreme God Di, and his eight chambers for purification. The Yellow-Birds control the Black-Snakes [no. 307] on Shaman Mountain.[164]

The Yellow-Birds appear to be functionaries of Di assigned to guard his herbs and plants, which probably confer longevity. Knowing the location of such herbs was part of the esoteric wisdom of the *wu*-shamans as revealed in the following passage from chapter 16 about the Great Wilds to the West:

> There is Shaman Mountain where the ten *wu*-shamans Xian, Ji, Ban, Peng, Gu, Zhen, Li, Di, Xie, and Luo ascend and descend and there are all kinds of medicinal herbs.[165]

The commentator Guo Pu considered that their primary purpose in ascending and descending was simply to collect these herbs, though it is possible, as Yuan Ke commented, that this mountain is also a ladder to heaven, enabling communication with the gods.

Another group of *wu*-shamans found in the west whom Guo identified as "divine physicians" are mentioned in chapter 11, "Guideway through Western Lands within the Sea":

> East of the Beast-Facing-East [of Mount Kunlun, no. 269] are the *wu*-shamans Peng, Di, Yang, Lü, Fan, and Xiang, who bear the corpse of Yayu [nos. 108, 265, 270], each holding the Never-Dying Herb (*Busiyao*) to revive him. Yayu has a snake's body and a human face. He was killed by the Minister of Erfu [no. 268].[166]

The concept of longevity in the *Guideways* is presented somewhat di erently from that in the cult of Transcendents promoted by the *fangshi*-wizards.[167] Linguistically, it is denoted in the *Guideways* by the term "never-dying" (*busi*) or "longevity" (*shou*) rather than by "eternal life" (*changsheng*), and the sources of this power are correspondingly vegetable rather than alchemical. In addition to the Never-Dying Herb used to revive Yayu, there is a Never-Dying Tree nearby to the north that probably transfers its powers when its leaves, flowers, or fruit are eaten.[168] There is a Mountain of Never-Dying located east of the Desert of Shifting Sands in the middle of the Black River and the Never-Dying People [no. 222] who are "black, enjoy longevity, and never die."[169] Another reference elsewhere to a Land of the Never-Dying People notes that they eat from the Sweet-Tree.[170] A tribe that dwells in the Land of Xuanyuan [see no. 237] said by commentators to be descendants of the Yellow Thearch is inherently long-lived and said to consider eight hundred years a short life.[171] While not all these places are explicity linked with *wu*-shamans, the shamans are the only ones recorded who make longevity or resurrection available to others.

In early Chinese religion, *wu*-shamans not only officiated at the sacrifices to various gods but apparently maintained a cult of their own consisting of divine shamans.[172] The above groups may thus represent pantheons of such figures with Xian as the primary ancestral god. In chapter 7, he has his own state beyond the seas in the west, the Land of Shaman Xian [see no. 235]. It is located at Mount Dengbao, another place where *wu*-shamans are said to ascend and descend. Yuan Ke believed that the population was a people composed entirely of *wu*-shamans. They may have been descended from Xian,

who is described here as grasping a green snake in his left hand and a red snake in his right hand.[173]

Xian's importance in the cult of *wu*-shamans is confirmed by a passage in the poem "Everlasting Sorrow" in the *Songs of Chu* anthology. Here the poet, traditionally the Chu aristocrat Qu Yuan, invokes Xian for advice about whether he should journey farther away from the court to protest political slander by his enemies. It is significant as one of the earliest visionary descriptions in Chinese literature of a divine descent:

> Shaman Xian was to come down this evening
> So I entreated him with an o ering
> of fragrant rice.
> A hundred gods obscuring everything
> accompanied his descent
> As the gods of Nine-Similar-Peaks
> advanced to welcome him.
> He manifested his divine presence
> in a dazzling blaze of glory
> And announced to me auspicious remarks.[174]

Yet another figure who is probably a shaman but described simply as a person is Bogao. He appears in chapter 18 as ascending and descending Origination Mountain. The commentator Hao Yixing considered him identical to a Bogao mentioned in the *Master Guan,* who was historicized as an official of the Yellow Thearch and ascended to heaven along with him.[175]

Some figures are particularly associated with snakes and dragons. They may either have snake or dragon bodies themselves, such as the mountain gods along some of the guideways, or they may be described as dominating them by wearing snakes through their ears and by grasping hold of or treading on either of these creatures. For example, in addition to Shaman Xian, the god Rushou [no. 74] wears a snake in his left ear and rides on a pair of dragons. Among some modern scholars, this iconography is considered a clear sign of shamanistic powers. Among others, it is thought to be a vestige of ancient beliefs in which people feared and worshiped snakes and dragons.[176] Many of the strange creatures in the *Guideways* with these attributes can thus be regarded as signifying a historical phase in Chinese religious belief in which this form of shamanism superceded even more ancient snake and dragon cults. Such information in the *Guideways* o ers but a hint of the rich and diverse culture of the *wu*-shamans and suggests that it played a role in the early compilation of the text.

Corpses. A unique group that hardly appears in other surviving texts from early China are "corpses." Some of these may also have been considered *wu*-shamans. Although ancient beliefs about the afterlife were diverse and did not achieve a broader, systematic formulation until after the arrival of Buddhism in the second century C.E., many local cultures apparently distinguished between dying, death, burial, and disintegration. When someone lay dying, a ritual was performed by *wu*-shamans and other mediums to summon his wandering soul back to his body, as can be seen in two poems in the

Songs of Chu anthology, "The Summons of the Soul" and "The Great Summons."[177] After death was confirmed, the corpse was not necessarily buried immediately but could be preserved for a period above ground. Following burial, it was referred to as an "interred body." Revival was by then no longer believed possible in most cases, and a slow process of dissolution began which eventually ended with the final extinction of the individual as a spiritual presence. This belief did not prevent a number of techniques being applied, designed to preserve the interred body for as long as possible, such as dressing the body in jade amulets and suits as well as constructing homelike tombs equipped with food and other comforts. Still, it was recognized that in most cases the corpse would eventually disintegrate, and it was said that as a practical matter, ancestors need not be sacrificed to individually after three generations.[178]

The corpses in the *Guideways* were not interred, and many appear to have su ered violent deaths.[179] They could well be called the "living dead," since they possess an ongoing presence in the world that ranges from apparently inactive, though preserved bodies, to those simply described as "people," to *shen*-gods. In the apparently inactive category is the Corpse of Minister Gu, whose hands are bound behind his back like a thief but who is still armed; the Corpse of Erfu [see nos. 268, 281], who, along with his minister Wei, was probably also punished by Di; as well as the Corpse of Wang Ziye, dismembered and buried in di erent places.[180] Most of these are located in the north, the direction traditionally associated with death. The Corpse of Zuzhuang is described as "a person with squared-o teeth and a tiger's tail" and the Corpse of Jubi as "a person with a broken neck, disheveled hair, and one arm missing."[181] Among the more active figures is a strange creature identified by Guo Pu as a god of the Quanrong tribe (the Dog People [nos. 278, 334]) known as the Corpse of King Xuan of the Rong, who is a red animal with the form of a horse without a head.[182] Another god, the Corpse of Shebi [nos. 254, 302], has an animal's body, a human face, and dog's ears with two green snakes through them, while a similar creature, the Corpse of Liling [no. 299], has an animal's body with a human face.[183] The last two figures may be divine shamans. All these corpses, though technically dead, have not disintegrated, and it must be assumed that even the most inanimate continue to possess a magical, demonic power to endure that makes them a notable feature of the landscape.

Another corpse recorded in chapter 7 is more clearly related to *wu*-shamans:

> The Corpse of Woman Chou [no. 317] when alive was burned to death by the ten suns north of the Land of Men [see no. 234]. She shields her face with her right hand. When the ten suns are at their height, Woman Chou is on the summit of the mountain.

Chapter 16 states, "There is a person dressed in green who hides her face with her sleeve called the Corpse of Woman Chou."[184] These passages combine the Shang myth of the ten suns mentioned elsewhere in the *Guideways* with the ancient custom of ritually exposing and even burning female shamans to obtain rain.[185] Here the Corpse of Woman Chou exists in the eternal present of mythology and repeats the ritual action of being burned by the ten suns every time there is a drought. According to one interpretation, she is impersonating Drought-Fury [no. 332], who is also described in chapter 17 as dressed in green. A daughter of the Yellow Thearch, Drought-Fury was sent by

him to curb the winds and rain unleashed by the challenger Chiyou in their epic power struggle. She was unable to return to heaven, however, and was forced to remain on earth, where she causes droughts. Though the Yellow Thearch ordered his daughter to stay north of the Red River and appointed Shujun as Ancestral God of the Fields to police her, she wanders about and must be exorcised. This passage in the "Guideway through the Great Wilds in the North" is particularly noteworthy, because it concludes with a ritual curse to Drought-Fury, which is supposed to cause her to return back north.[186]

Foreign Tribes. Almost no foreign tribes are listed in the *Guideways through Mountains,* since it focuses on the strange inhabitants of the known Chinese world. However, the remaining chapters of the *Guideways through Seas* identifies some ninety-five foreign lands and tribes, two-thirds of whom are described in varying degrees of detail. These tribes inhabit the zones "within the seas" and "beyond the seas" as well as the Great Wilds. Their precise geographical distance from an implied Chinese world at the center is not measured, though their sequential location along each guideway indicates that some dwelled in closer proximity than others. Their precise location is sometimes further complicated by textual errors and the inclusion of multiple versions so that the same tribe may be found in di erent directions and given varying descriptions. Like the geographical places in the *Guideways,* the ethnographic data includes peoples confirmed in historical texts as well as highly fantastic groups located in mythological realms without distinguishing between them.

The *Guideways* presents a discernable rhetoric of the ethnological "other" by using several criteria to distinguish between those tribes that are similar to Chinese in some respect and those that are completely di erent. These are primarily kinship relations, which may be further denoted by Chinese surnames; cultural habits such as clothing or diet; physical appearance; and methods of procreation. Some tribes are said to be descended from the most commonly mentioned thearchs such as Zhuanxu, Thearch Jun, and especially the Yellow Thearch. Or they may be the descendants of those who were defeated, killed, or exiled by a thearch who then extended mercy to the survivors. Among the examples with some basis in historical fact may be the Ba People, who are noted as descended from the thearch Greater-Brilliance and who are probably the ancient inhabitants of the part of modern eastern Sichuan once known as the Land of Ba. Regardless of their degree of similarity to Chinese people, though, most possess some bizarre feature that still renders them fundamentally strange. The Pendant-Ears People [no. 328] are descended from the Yellow Thearch and share a Chinese cultural feature as well, for they are said to also eat grains. But physically, these people have ears that are so long that they must support them with their hands when they walk. The Dog People [nos. 278, 334] were also originally descended from the Yellow Thearch but because they were more directly the o spring of a white, two-headed, hermaphroditic dog, they physically resemble dogs. At the other end of the spectrum are tribes with completely fantastic appearances. The One-Eyed People [nos. 242, 333], the One-Arm People [no. 230], those without calves or intestines, and the Fire-Gluttons [no. 218], who have animal bodies and black hair and emit fire when they open their mouths, are but a few.

In most cases, it is difficult to identify the processes by which the more fantastic tribes were conceptualized and recorded. One possibility is that their names may have orig-



FIGURE 14. Detail of *Illustrated Scroll of Tributary Peoples.* A Song copy of a Liang-dynasty work attributed to the painter Xiao Yi (505–554) in ink and colors on silk. It depicts tributary emissaries to the Chinese court, including Ephthalites (Central Asia), Persia, Shiragi (modern Korea), and Japan. National History Museum, Beijing.

inally been totemic and that their strange features were first represented highly pictorially, either in images or graphs.[187] In the context of the widespread belief in hybrids, these names and signs may have been interpreted literally by later readers distanced from them in time and space, rather as if contemporary Americans regarded the Crow Indians as a people who had the heads and feet of crows. It is also possible that genuine anomalies such as the births of babies with congenital defects generated and periodically confirmed a rich folklore of hybrid peoples.[188] Throughout traditional China

through the modern period, foreigners both near and far continued to be characterized as demons or animals, even to the point of conventionally including such graphic determinants as *quan* (dog) in their names in a manner similar to the description of the Rong tribes [nos. 278, 288, 334]. Historically, some of these people were recorded as living next to and even within the borders of northwestern Chinese states such as Qin and Jin and even interacted with the ruling class politically at court. Such groups were usually distinguished from their more distant kin who were specifically called the Quanrong or Dog-Rong in the *Guideways.*

The ethnographic information in the *Guideways* was one of the aspects of the text that later readers regarded most seriously. In a few cases, representatives of peoples in the *Guideways* were also mentioned in other early texts as having traveled to Chinese courts in antiquity. During the Western Han, some thirty-six lands mentioned in the text appeared again in the *Master of Huainan,* and later, when Liu Xin submitted his version of the *Guideways* to the imperial court, he championed it by claiming that "one can use it to observe the customs of foreign lands and strange peoples."[189] Some modern scholars have argued that this strata of information links the *Guideways* with the later genre of "Illustrations of Tributary Peoples" (fig. 14).[190] These scrolls combining images with descriptive texts were compiled by Chinese rulers who employed painters and scholar-officials to record ethnographic information about foreign emissaries when they visited their courts. They may, in fact, represent a development of some of the original illustrations of the *Guideways,* which most commentators have felt were an integral part of the text in its earliest forms.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Liu Xin did not specifically mention any illustrations in the preface to his edition. However, some later scholars have seen in his remark above as well as in certain passages that appear to be captions indications that the text contained or referred to parallel visual information at that time. Further hypotheses about the generic nature of early cosmographies and geographical works support the view that from its inception the text of the *Guideways* may well have been accompanied by images or maps, even though no evidence of these has surfaced so far. According to some, the text, or parts of it, were originally a commentary to pre-existing images, while others have maintained that the images were drawn to illustrate the text.[191] At the end of the third century C.E., it was suggested that the *Guideways* was originally a commentary to the figures of strange creatures on Yu's Nine Bronze Vessels, a theory sometimes advanced by later scholars who accepted the authorship of Yu the Great and his officials.[192] Since almost none of the illustrated texts of the Warring States period have survived, it is difficult to know the precise style of these images or the format of the book. Furthermore, the lack of any explicit mention of illustrations prior to Guo Pu's *Encomiums* has led one recent scholar to assert that all prior versions of the *Guideways* were only written texts and contained no visual material at all.[193]

One difficulty in imagining the nature of the early illustrations, if they indeed existed, is due to the ambiguity of the Chinese graph *tu.* In early Chinese texts, *tu* denoted a range of meanings referring to pictures, maps, plans, diagrams, and tables. Often the

literary context is insufficient to determine exactly which was meant.[194] The figures supposedly engraved on Yu's Nine Bronze Vessels were called *tu* and were presumably regarded as individual portraits. On the other hand, Hao Yixing believed that the original *tu* of the *Guideways* were basically topographical maps that included images of strange creatures at the appropriate places.[195] Just as the understanding and use of the text underwent changes through the centuries, so the sets of accompanying illustrations must certainly have reflected di erent period and local styles.[196] One can therefore only suggest from scattered pieces of surviving evidence the kind of images of strange creatures that existed during a given period and that would most likely resemble to some degree those that might have been included in earlier versions of the *Guideways.*

Designs on pottery, bronze vessels, and decorative objects unearthed from Neolithic, Shang, and Zhou tombs constitute the most abundant evidence today of the pervasiveness of images of strange creatures in early China. However, before the Warring States period, these used relatively few generic types whose precise identification sometimes depends on later scholarly convention. Their meanings continue to be debated, and the styles dictated by the materials and formats probably di er from those of painted illustrations.[197] Some examples of Warring States bronze sculpture o er more complex images of hybrids, and these often employ naturalistic forms. In the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (d. c. 433 B.C.E.), excavated in 1978 in modern Suizhou, Hubei, are a pair of fully sculpted hybrids serving as base supports for a set of chimes. These combine a dragon's head with a long tongue, snakelike ears, a crane's neck, a bird's body and wings, and a turtle's feet. Another genre of hybrids are tomb-guardian figurines designed to protect the deceased from damage by snakes and other malevolent forces. One type that has been recovered from the same Warring States period tomb in Chu that yielded the zither decorated with *wu*-shamans possesses antlers, a beast's head with a long tongue, claws, and a scaly body with a tail and is shown eating a snake. Similar figures continued to be produced through the early Han and, according to one theory, may represent Earth Lord (Tubo), a god of the underworld.[198] But perhaps the most closely related images would have been depicted in murals. Unfortunately, none of these have survived, having been destroyed by war, natural decay, and changing tastes. Later literary evidence suggests that depicting strange creatures on walls was a popular motif for religious, ideological, and decorative purposes and that texts may have helped to explain them.[199]

Fortunately, a decorated coffin from the Warring States period and a silk scroll from the Western Han suggest what early illustrations looked like. The panels of the inner coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng contain over nine hundred figures executed in gold and black lacquer against a red background (figs. 15a, 15b).[200] Practically all these are hybrids. Many have mutiple features, which make them difficult to classify, but more than 80 percent can be considered to belong to dragon-snake hybrids. Like the tomb figurine of Earth Lord mentioned above, they may be figures with the power to protect the body by controlling snakes or other intruders. In addition, birds, bird-headed animals, a few deer, Feng-Birds, fish, and rats are depicted. Although the iconography of some of the groupings may encode known myths of the time, there is still no agreement about their meanings. However, a number of features can be compared to descriptions of strange creatures in the *Guideways,* for example, humanlike figures grasping

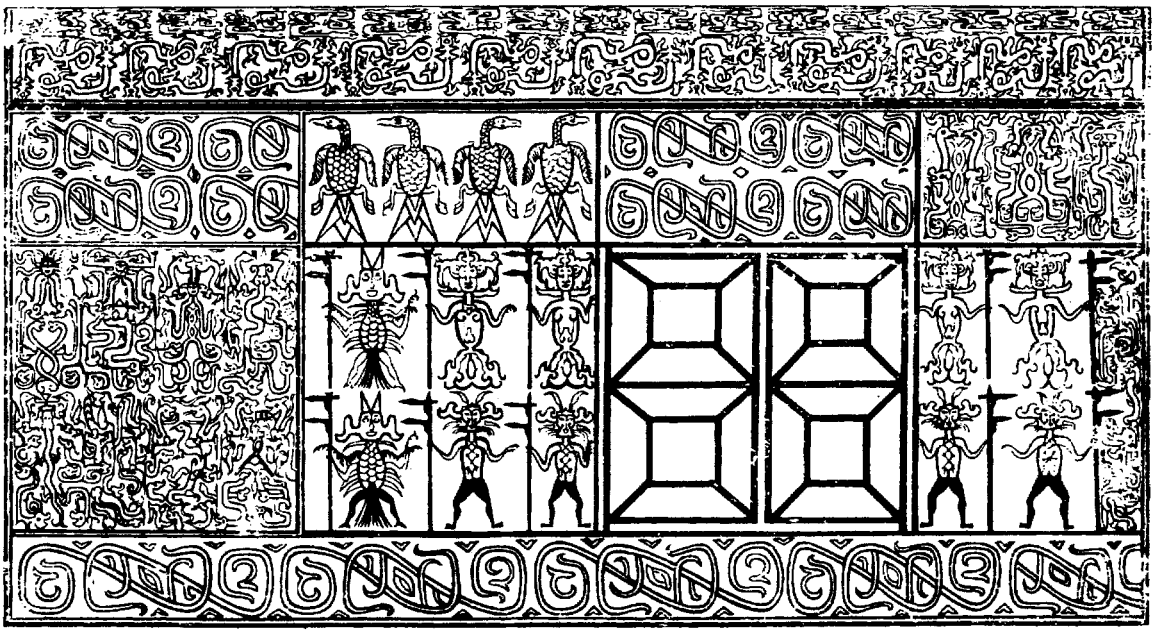




FIGURE 15a (above). Diagram of a reconstructed side view of the inner coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng decorated with guardian figures excavated in modern Leigudun, Suixian, Hubei. From *Zeng Houyi mu* (1989), 1:39.
FIGURE 15b (left). Detail of a guardian figure on the side of the inner coffin of Marquis Yi of Zeng.

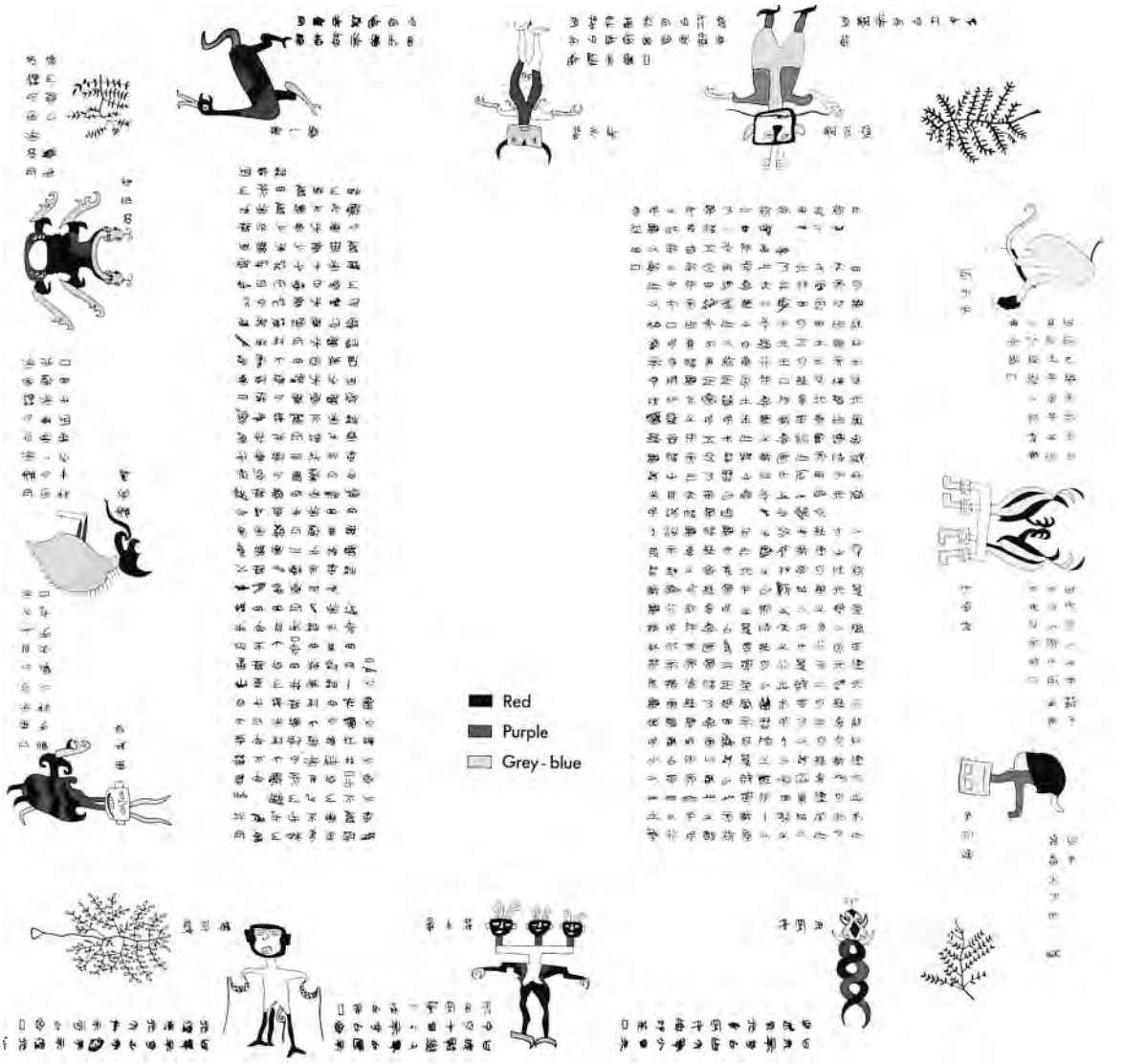


FIGURE 16a. Modern reconstruction of the Chu Silk Manuscript (c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.). From Noel Barnhard (1973).

snakes and those wearing snakes through their ears, winged dragons, winged snakes, multiheaded creatures, and four-footed snakes. Most striking are twenty divine guardians holding halberds along both lengths of the coffin. They guard painted windows believed to be openings permitting the soul to exit from and return to the coffin. Some have human faces with horns, scaly bodies, wings, and tails. Others have animal heads with human faces and appear to be standing on clouds, while a third group have animal faces with horns and whiskers and human bodies. These, too, have been variously interpreted.[201] In contrast to the more naturalistic tendencies in Warring States sculpture, their frontal, iconic delineation is more appropriate to two-dimensional surface decoration. They bear a close stylistic resemblance to the set of divine figures in the Chu Silk

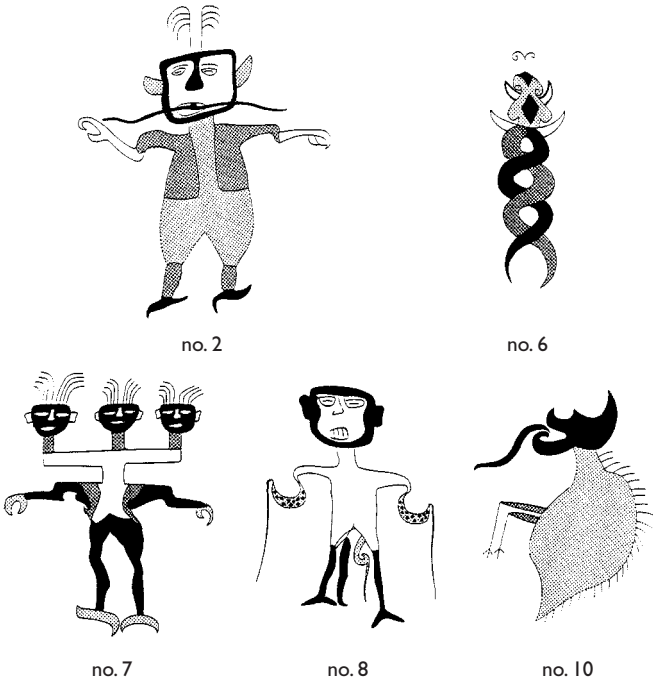


FIGURE 16b. Details of gods from the modern reconstruction of the Chu Silk Manuscript. From Noel Barnhard (1973).

Manuscript (*Chuzengbo,* c. 3rd cent. B.C.E., figs. 16a, 16b), suggesting one fairly consistent style of illustration of strange creatures that could be broadly termed "logographic" in that they reflect a flat, linear sensibility similar to ancient Chinese graphs, especially pictographs.

The Chu Silk Manuscript was obtained in 1942 from a tomb near modern Changsha, Hunan. It contains an occult text arranged in two rectangles that enjoins the reader to sacrifice to the appropriate gods and act in accordance with the proper calendrical periods. This text is surrounded by images of twelve figures depicted with fine black lines and colored in red, brown, and blue as well as four divine trees that support the sky, one in each corner. These figures have now been generally accepted by most scholars as gods personifying the twelve months of the lunar calendar. Similar to Chinese almanacs, the colophons indicate their names and which activities are favorable or not during the period over which each god holds sway. Another more suggestive theory notes the similarity between the names of some of these figures and a group of *wu*-shamans mentioned in the *Guideways.* While none of the images exactly corresponds in all details, several utilize motifs that also appear among the strange creatures. In image 7 (fig. 16b),[202] for example, the three heads with human faces are also a characteristic of the gods of Bitter Mountain, Lesser Chamber, and Greater Chamber Mountains [no. 191].[203] Image 2 has a forked tongue, as do the People with Forked Tongues [no. 223],[204] while image 8 appears to be grasping two snakes, as do a number of figures in the *Guideways.* Image 6 is a snake with a single head and two bodies like the Feiyi [no. 113].[205] Image 10 may be a dragon's head on a bird's body like the gods along the



FIGURE 17. Detail from *Divination Scroll of Astronomical and Weather Forms* (before 168 B.C.E.) in ink and colors on silk. Excavated from Mawangdui Tomb Three (modern Changsha, Hunan) in 1974, it contains over three hundred entries in ink and colors. This section depicts images of clouds, including some with animal forms. Their names, descriptions, and divinatory formulas are written below. This format may be the closest to the original *Guideways* among surviving texts from early China. Hunan Provincial Museum.

first guideway through the Western Mountains [no. 16].[206] Other common features include hybrid bodies, vertical eyes, claws, horns, disheveled hair, reversed forearms, a four-legged snake, and a bird with a single leg.[207] It is unlikely that the original format of the *Guideways* would have resembled the single sheet of the Chu Silk Manuscript. Rather, the text was probably written in the common book format of bamboo slats tied together to form rolls, and the illustrations could have been depicted on accompanying scrolls of silk. It is also possible that in the finest versions intended for rulers both text and images were transcribed together on scrolls of silk.[208] A rare example of this latter format was excavated in 1974 from a Western Han dynasty tomb dated 168 B.C.E. at Mawangdui in modern Changsha (fig. 17), known as the *Divination Scroll of Astronomical and Weather Forms* (*Boshu yunqi zhantu*). Like the Chu Silk Manuscript, it is composed of images together with captions where unusual cloud formations both abstract and more figural appear above several lines of text, each relating to the images' divinatory significance. This work has been considered a product of the School of Techniques and Calculations and is believed to quite possibly predate the Han. If so, its represents an easily expandable format that could have accommodated a text as long as the *Guideways*.[209]

The continuing popularity of images of strange creatures during the Western Han



FIGURE 18. Drawing of a flying tiger, ink on wooden slip (c. 9–25 C.E.). Excavated in 1974 at Jiaquhouguan, Juyan, Gansu, the figure was painted on the reverse side of a wooden writing slip that bears a short inscription. The animal may be an early form of the auspicious creature known as the *bixie* (literally, "warding o evil") that became increasingly popular. Gansu Province Cultural Relics Brigade.

was noted in the *Master of Huainan,* which repeated an earlier anecdote from the *Master Hanfei* (c. before 233 B.C.E.) that many contemporary painters lazily yielded to the temptation of depicting strange creatures that few had seen instead of undertaking the more difficult task of painting readily observed animals.[210] One such example can be seen in an ink sketch of a flying tiger preserved on a fragment of wood found in northwestern China along the Silk Road (fig. 18). This is believed to date from the Xin dynasty, just a few years after Liu Xin presented his version of the *Guideways* to the court. Its simple delineation of form is perhaps the closest indication from this time of what similar illustrations on bamboo, wood, or silk might have looked like.

During the Han, the continuing importance of the *Guideways* and other such texts as omen catalogues is evident in some of the stone engravings at the Wu Liang Shrine (c. 151 C.E.) in modern Jiaxiang, Shandong. Among its abundant compositions are more than twenty now damaged illustrations of strange creatures placed next to columns of text indicating whether their appearance signifies good or evil as well as their e ect on the moral purity of the ruler (fig. 19). A few are strange creatures who have been identified with those mentioned in the *Guideways,* such as the Bifang-Bird [see no. 69], the Shared-Eyes Fish [see no. 230], and the Zhujian beast [no. 102].[211] These juxtapositions of text and images are believed to derive directly from a catalogue format that by this time could also have been written on paper.[212] None of the omen catalogues of the Han survive, but two Tang dynasty scrolls preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts suggest what they probably looked like. One is an untitled silk scroll belonging to the genre known as "Illustrations of Auspicious Anomalies" (*Ruiyingtu,* fig. 20). Damaged in parts, this scroll probably dates from the eighth or ninth century. It preserves



FIGURE 19. Reconstruction of ominous strange creatures engraved in the Wu Liang Shrine (c. 151 C.E.) in modern Jiaxiang, Shandong. The creatures from top to bottom have been identified as the Bifang-Bird [no. 69], the Shared-Eyes Fish [see no. 230], and the Zhujian [no. 102] recorded in the *Guideways,* based on the similarity of the texts of the colophons. From Hayashi (1974), fig. 46.

twenty-two separate images, each one placed above a column of text explaining it. Some of the texts cite earlier sources, including the *Guideways.*[213] Another scroll on paper from about the same period, titled *The Beast of the White Marsh's Illustrations of Strange Creatures* (*Baize jingguaitu,* fig. 21), has also survived, though it is now separated into two fragments. It too contains various strange creatures, two to a column, interspersed with explanations.[214]

It is clear from Guo Pu's commentary, his *Encomiums,* and Tao Qian's poems that the text circulated with illustrations during the Eastern Jin dynasty.[215] However, it is not known if there was a single tradition of illustrations with which all early readers were familiar or if they varied greatly with each version and further changed over time. Nor is it clear whether Guo Pu's illustrations were directly related to those that might have circulated during the Warring States and Qin-Han periods. At some point, as the religious traditions surrounding these creatures declined, the illustrations undoubtedly became artistic interpretations primarily based on imaginative readings of the text rather than depictions of an existing pantheon reflecting a continuous tradition of iconography.

The first illustrations that have been attributed to an individual was a set of 247 by the artist Zhang Sengyou (c. 470–550).[216] Zhang was noted for depicting both Chinese and foreign figures with a heightened sense of physical presence through shading tech-



FIGURE 20. Detail from "Illustrations of Auspicious Anomalies" from Dunhuang, Gansu (c. 8th–9th cent.), ink and colors on paper. The entry to the right on the Jiao-Dragon [no. 274] is missing an image that was not yet painted in. The text below cites the *Guideways* but is actually Guo Pu's commentary to the relevant passage on this creature in chapter 5. The image to the left is identified as Yellow-Dragon (Huanglong). Bibliothèque Nationale de France (P.2683), Paris.

niques and precise detail. Unfortunately, none of his works has survived. These illustrations were said to have been preserved up to the Northern Song dynasty when, in 999, 242 were redrawn by Shu Ya (c. 935–1005), who discovered a damaged set in the Imperial Library. How close Shu Ya's were to the originals remains a question, for his set has also disappeared.[217] Moreover, it is known that paintings were mistakenly attributed to Zhang Sengyou in the Song, so it is quite possible that whatever Shu Ya copied may not have been a genuine work by Zhang. For example, a hand scroll titled *The True Appearances of the Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations* (*Wuxing ershibaxiu zhenxingtu,* fig. 22) was mistakenly attributed by some connoisseurs to Zhang Seng-



FIGURE 21. Detail from *The Beast of the White Marsh's Illustrations of Strange Creatures* from Dunhuang, Gansu (c. 8th–9th cent.), ink and colors on paper. The image above depicts a Five-Colored Bird [see no. 303], and its caption indicates that it has a shaved human head and causes disease to break out among the people wherever groups of these birds flock. Below it is the Ruitie. Its caption states, "It has two heads and white wings and is a kind of dragon. Anyone who kills it will also die." One of the heads is missing in the illustration owing to damage. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (P.2682), Paris.

you as early as the Song but is now considered a Tang or later copy of a Tang painting by Liang Lingzan (fl. c. 713–741).[218] Nevertheless, it apparently fulfilled connoisseurs' expectations of what a Zhang Sengyou painting was supposed to look like for quite some time and conceivably could have influenced others. It can at least serve here as a general indication of a fine-art style of depicting certain strange creatures during the Tang and Song periods, if not earlier. Two of these astronomical divinities are represented as hybrid deities clothed as Chinese officials striking standard, dignified poses. The paint-



FIGURE 22. Detail from *The True Appearances of the Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations,* ink and colors on silk. This painting was mistakenly attributed as early as the Song to Zhang Sengyou (c. 470–550) but is now thought to be a work or copy of a work by the Tang artist Liang Lingzan (fl. c. 713–741). Osaka Municipal Museum, Osaka.

ing indicates the development of a more humanized portraiture of hybrids that expresses the Chinese impulse to domesticate the threat of the strange by representing divinities as celestial bureaucrats.[219] Such treatments can also be found in earlier centuries, for example, in popular figurines of the twelve calendrical animals as well as in a variety of Daoist and Buddhist religious images.[220]

During the Tang and Song dynasties, the text of the *Guideways* also circulated independently from the illustrations, sets of illustrations circulated separately from the text, and still other sets of illustrations contained only excerpts from the text as captions.[221] One may gain an idea of the high quality of some Song illustrations from an early-nineteenth-century Qing dynasty woodblock version of the ancient glossary, *Approaching Refinement.* This woodblock was based on a hand-copied text from the Yuan, which was said to have been an exact copy of a Song manuscript.[222] *Approaching Refinement* was another ancient work championed by Guo Pu, who produced a commentary to an illustrated edition emphasizing historical phonology. A number of strange creatures are included in its lists of objects, and Guo sometimes refers to these in his commentary on the *Guideways.* The Qing dynasty version was reengraved by an artisan, Peng Wancheng (n.d.) of Dangtu in modern Anhui. Assuming that Peng was relatively faithful to the originals, the compact solidity of the compositions, elegance of the lines, and graphic clarity of the images suggests a Song sensibility when compared to later Ming and Qing interpretations. A representative page presents five strange creatures, each situated in its own landscape and distributed according to the five directions (fig. 23): the Shared-Eyes Fish [see no. 230] in the east; the Shared-Shoulder Beasts [see no. 230] in the west; the Two-Headed Snake in the center; the Shared-Shoulder People [see no. 230] in the north; and the Shared-Wings Birds [see nos. 54, 215, 230] in the south.[223]

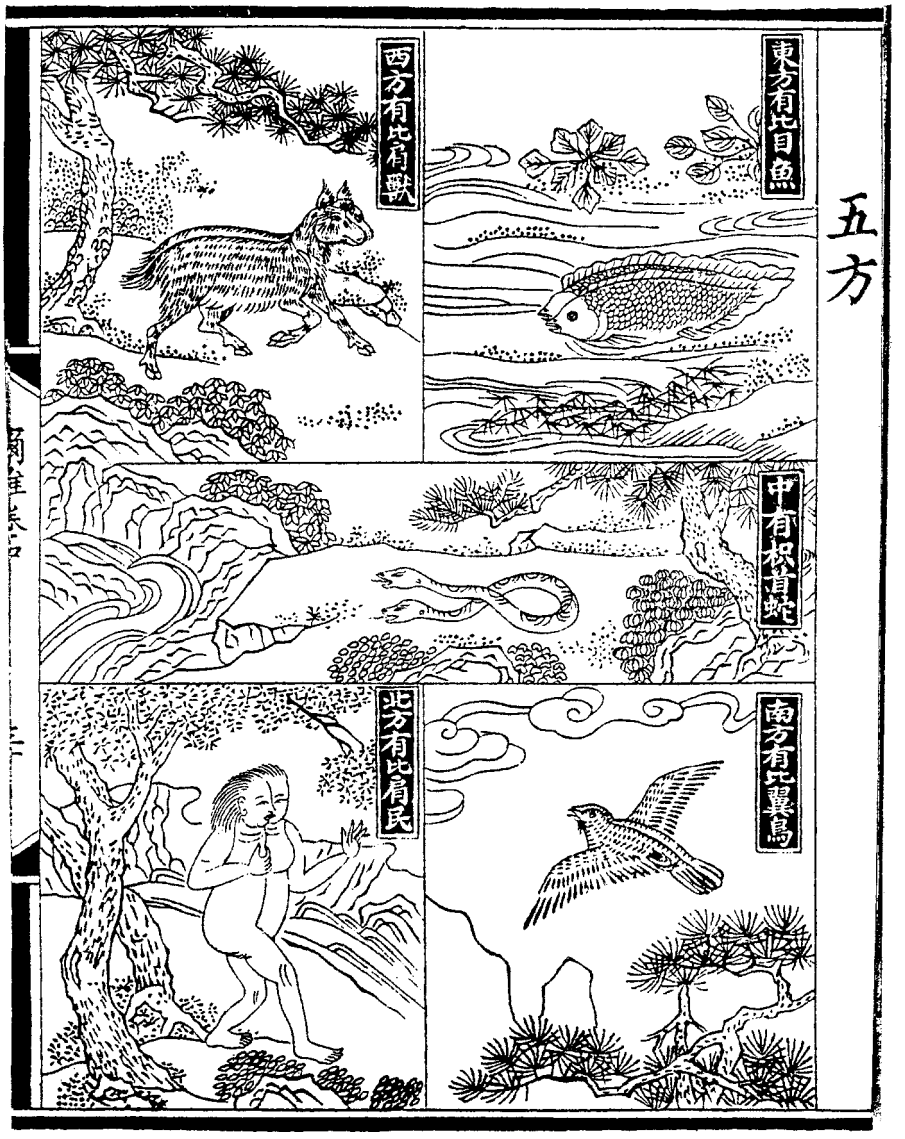


FIGURE 23. Woodblock illustrations of strange creatures from a Qing-dynasty printed version of a Song manuscript of *Approaching Refinement.* These five creatures are distributed according to the five directions: the Shared-Eyes Fish [see no. 230] in the east; the Shared-Shoulder Beasts [see no. 230] in the west; the Two-Headed Snake in the center; the Shared-Shoulder People [see no. 230] in the north; and the Shared-Wings Birds [see nos. 54, 215, 230] in the south. From *Erya yintu* 5:31a (1884), Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.



FIGURE 24. *The Ba-Snake [no. 267] Swallowing an Elephant.* Woodblock illustration by Xiao Yuncong (1596–1673) from *Illustrations to the "Questions of Heaven"* (early–mid 17th cent.). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Beginning in the fourteenth century and accelerating during the latter half of the Ming dynasty, the expansion of literacy and the prosperity of the urban areas provided the commercial basis for the rapid growth of printed books ranging from expensive editions to cheap reprints. The reading public broadened beyond the scholar-gentry to include a greater number of educated merchants, scholars with merchant backgrounds, middlebrow readers as well as women and other hitherto more marginally literate groups. Illustrations for classical works as well as for the latest popular literature proliferated, designed by professional artisans of varying degrees of skill who initially were mostly anonymous. However, by the late Ming, many of these artisans began to sign their work and were joined by some notable scholar-artists who occasionally turned to such commercial endeavors for profit. An example of the latter is Xiao Yuncong's (1596–1673) *Illustrations to the "Questions of Heaven"* (*Tianwentu,* fig. 24), which includes a plate illustrating the Ba-Snake [no. 267] swallowing an elephant, one of the subjects also treated in the *Guideways.* Interpretations of popular gods circulated not only through encyclopedias, illustrations of fiction, folk prints, and the decorative arts, but also through special compendia such as *The Complete Collection of Gods of the Three*

Teachings mentioned earlier that anthologized the gods of popular Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism with accompanying descriptions. This veritable explosion of images facilitated shifts in visuality that both reflected and further encouraged new ways of reading and looking at things.[224]

That illustrators and engravers began to sign their names to their work indicates a highly competitive market in which publishers sought every means to gain an advantage. This fact did not, however, prevent widespread pirating. Some of these images were quickly disseminated through reprints, reengravings, and other forms of appropriation so that their precise genealogy is often difficult to establish. It is from this period, which entered a heightened phase of activity beginning with the Wanli era (1573–1620), that the earliest surviving illustrations to the *Guideways* date.[225]

The most widely reproduced form of illustrations has been individual portraits of strange creatures by anonymous artisans. They were the most cost efficient, requiring the least amount of labor and technical ability to engrave. The earliest surviving ones slightly predate the scenic tradition of Jiang Yinghao's designs that are reproduced here. They may well represent an older practice, for a preface to the earliest examples of these is dated 1593. This work, *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing tu*), was edited by the anthologist and dramatist Hu Wenhuan (fl. c. 1593–1596) of Hangzhou in modern Zhejiang and presents sixty-seven plates with brief texts, which Hu claimed were assembled and expanded by him from anonymous sources.[226] A few images are not actually from the text of the *Guideways* and appear to have been added by Hu on his own. Others, such as the illustration of the Heluo-Fish (fig. 25a, no. 92) reappear in later Qing editions of the *Guideways* (fig. 25b). An even earlier work that may be related is the *Illustrations and Records of Foreign Regions* (*Yiyu tuzhi,* c. 14th cent.), a Ming example of the tradition of officially sponsored portraits of tributary peoples. The original version of this book has been dated to the early Ming dynasty, though it only survives in a single edition that is probably a reengraving from the late Ming.[227] Nevertheless, it clearly refers to tributary peoples who visited the Ming capital of Nanjing and also includes other foreign tribes with captions taken from earlier texts. One hundred sixty-eight foreign peoples and strange creatures are represented along with captions, including some from the *Guideways* such as the Feathered People (fig. 26a, no. 216). What is most interesting in these illustrations is that the style of these portraits is almost identical to those selected for a late Ming encyclopedia, the *Collected Illustrations of Heaven, Earth, and Man* (*Sancai tuhui,* c. 1609, fig. 26b). This multivolume work reproduced numerous images from various unnamed sources. The more crudely engraved *All-Purpose, Correct-Way Encyclopedia That Requires No Further Inquiry* (*Wanyong zhengzong buqiuren quanbian,* c. 1607) is also thought to have borrowed some of its 130 or so images for the chapter on various foreign lands from the *Illustrations and Records,* as did yet another encyclopedia of this time, the *Complete Handbook of a Myriad Treasures* (*Wanbao quanshu,* late Ming).[228] Thus, there was an "iconic circuit" of woodblock portraits of strange creatures in the Ming period whose designer(s) and ultimate origin(s) remain unknown.

Images from this portrait tradition continued to be disseminated during the Qing dynasty and were reengraved along with others for Wu Renchen's 1667 edition of the *Guideways,* which printed a total of 144 (fig. 26c). These were grouped together sepa-

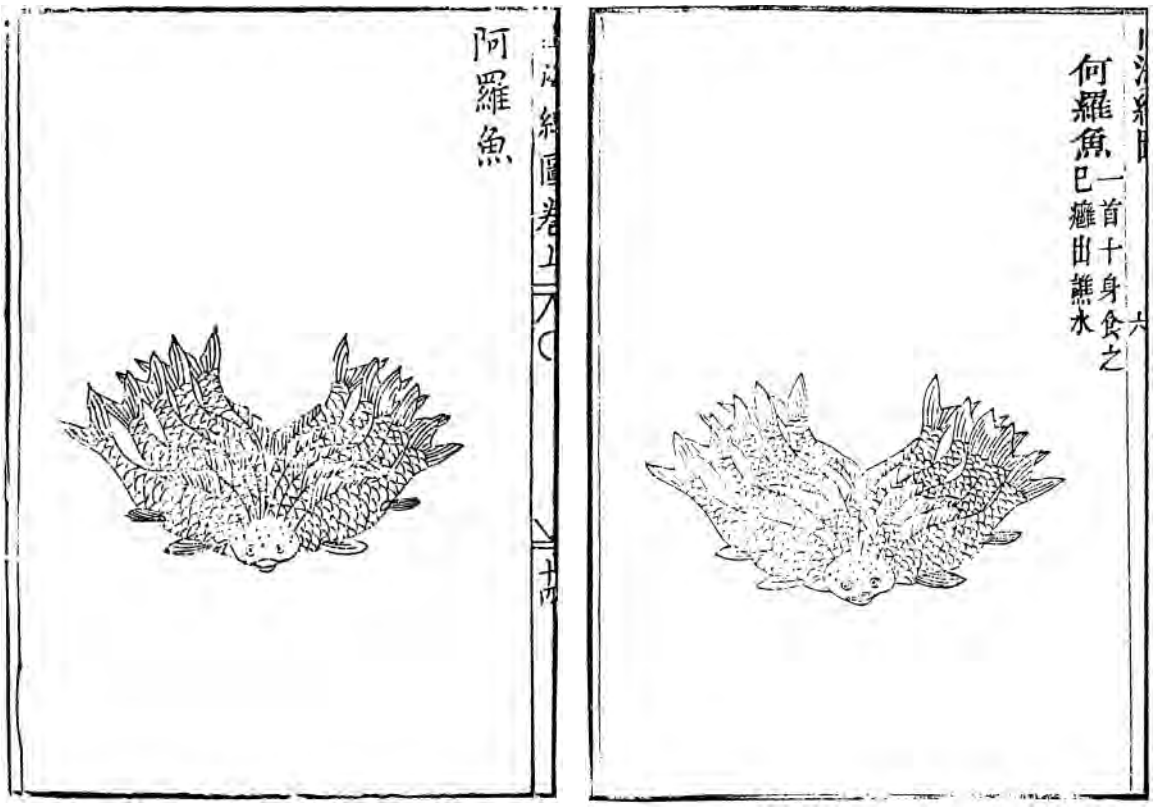


FIGURE 25a (left). Woodblock illustration of the Heluo-Fish [no. 92] from *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 1:14b, edited by Hu Wenhuan (1593). The caption uses another graph for *He,* giving it the name Eluo-Fish (Eluoyu). National Library of China, Beijing.
FIGURE 25b (right). Woodblock illustration of the Heluo-Fish from the 1786 reprint of Wu Renchen's 1667 edition, *An Expanded and Illustrated Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* 5:6b. Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

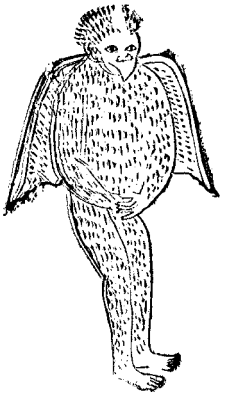
rately from the text and organized into the categories of "divinities," "foreign regions," "beasts," "birds," and "fish and reptiles." In one of his prefaces, he claimed that they transmit the style of Shu Ya, though scholars have usually dismissed this.[229] A finer version of Wu Renchen's 1667 edition was recut in 1786 by the Shuyetang of Jinchang (modern Suzhou, Jiangsu) under the title *An Expanded and Illustrated Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* (*Zengbu huixiang shanhaijing guangzhu,* fig. 26d). This has been widely reproduced in succeeding editions through the present and is probably the one best known today.[230]

Another example of portraits worth mentioning indicates the parallel practice of hand-painted illustrations that continued alongside printed versions. One set from the Qing period is now in the National Central Library in Taipei. Another set of some 420 images was painted by a poor, unknown scholar, Wang Fu (1692–1759) of Wuyuan, Jiangxi, who at one point had designed decorations for porcelains in the factories at Jingdezhen (modern Jingdezhen, Jiangxi). The originals were preserved locally for five

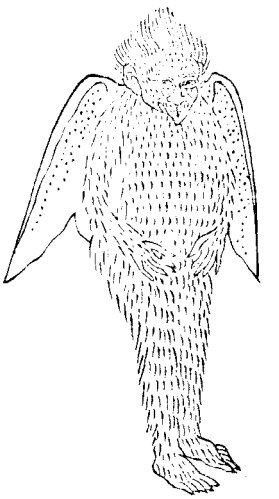
羽民國在海東南崖嶼間有人長頰鳥喙赤目
曰首生毛羽能飛不能遠似人而卵生



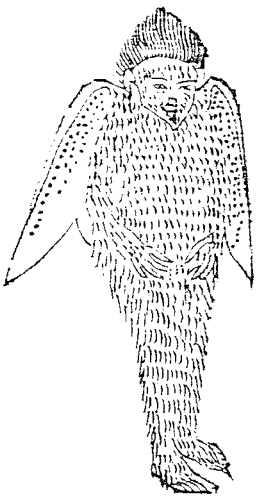
羽民國
在海東南崖嶼間有人長頰鳥喙赤目曰首生毛羽能飛不能遠似人而卵生



羽民國爲人長頭身生羽毛在結胷國東南



羽民國爲人長頭身生羽毛在結胷國東南



generations, though some were destroyed by war. Finally, the remaining ones were copied lithographically by Yu Jiading (n.d.) and Zha Meike (n.d.), who added others in a similar style for those missing from chapters 6 to 13. A book was finally published along with Wang's own commentary as *A Preserved Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing cun*) in 1895 (fig. 27). While these images generally follow the forms of the portrait tradition, they are quite painterly in their use of texturing brushstrokes. The animated eyes, facial details, and active poses endow the strange creatures with an unsual degree of playfulness and intimacy. By comparison, the outline style and the sti er poses of the woodblock illustrations distance the strange creatures, rendering them even stranger to viewers whose attitude becomes correspondingly more clinical and voyeuristic.

The more elaborate set of illustrations reproduced here was interspersed with the text of a 1597 reprint of the Wang Chongqing edition, which was originally published without them in 1537. The images may well have been added to enhance the book's marketability sixty years later, for they represented an increased investment by the publisher and utilized a more prestigious visual style associated with scholar culture. They would have had a competitive edge over other editions, which merely reproduced the more utilitarian portrait series or contained no illustrations at all. These images are credited to an otherwise unknown artisan, Jiang Yinghao (n.d.), courtesy name Wulin, who was from Guangling (modern Yangzhou, Jiangsu). Jiang's designs are the earliest surviving examples of what might be termed the "scenic tradition," in which several strange creatures are set in a carefully delineated, panoramic landscape. The origin of some of the individual figures may also derive from the iconic circuit of late Ming portraits. For example, Jiang's figure of the god Yuer [no. 1] is identical to an image in Hu Wenhuan's *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (fig. 28). However, the artist also appropriated the elements of literati landscape painting to create compositions of trees, plants, rocks, and water in the mode of the Song dynasty version of *Approaching Refinement.* These forms had been codified in printed painting manuals popular during the late Ming that presented woodblock versions of model landscapes derived from the manners of the great masters of the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties. Jiang followed a practice typical among illustrators of selecting elements from this standardized reper-

FIGURE 26a (top left). Woodblock illustration of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People [no. 216] from *Illustrations and Records of Foreign Regions* (probably late-Ming version of an early-Ming edition). By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, the Wade Collection.
FIGURE 26b (top right). Woodblock illustration of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People [no. 216] from the *Collected Illustrations of Heaven, Earth, and Man* (c. 1609) 14:9b. Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.
FIGURE 26c (bottom left). Woodblock illustration of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People [no. 216] from the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* (1667), edition of Wu Renchen. Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.
FIGURE 26d (bottom right). Woodblock illustration of an inhabitant of the Land of the Feathered People [no. 216] from *An Expanded and Illustrated Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Extensive Commentaries* (1786). Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

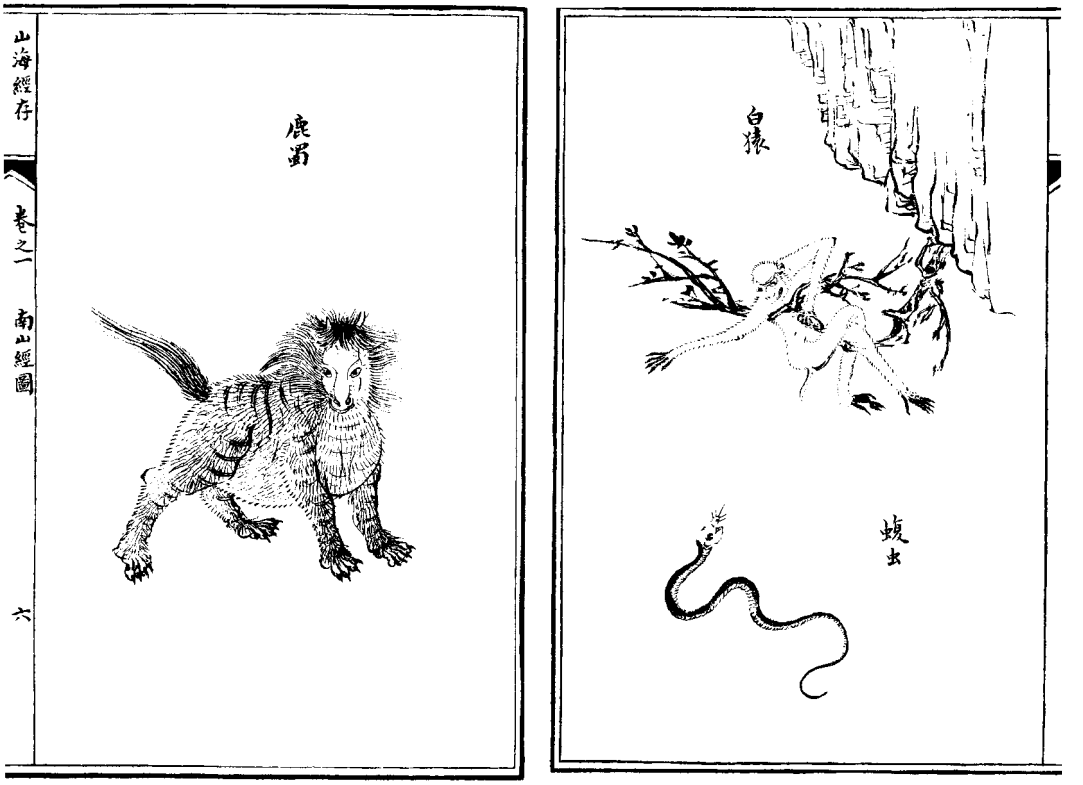


FIGURE 27. Lithographic version of painted illustrations from *A Preserved Edition of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (1895) by Wang Fu (1692–1759). The figures clockwise from the upper right are: (a) the White-Gibbon [no. 3]; (b) the Fu-Viper [no. 5]; and Lushu [no. 7].

toire of visual schemata to form individual backgrounds for each of the seventy-six plates. These provide elegant settings for the three hundred fifty or so figures that are represented out of the more than five hundred mentioned in the text. The precise criteria for depicting these particular strange creatures does not seem to be clear, yet it does seem that the more common animals and familiar mythological figures were passed over in favor of the obscure, the unusual, and the bizarre.[231] The designer employed a certain degree of artistic liberty, for the majority of the plates group several creatures together in a single scene, even though the text states that they dwelled at considerable distances from one another.

These panoramic views can be considered a visual realization of the cosmography as a collection and display of anomalies for privileged viewers. In Chinese tradition, only sages or unlucky travelers were said to perceive these spiritually potent or ominous creatures. But by framing them in bucolic scenes employing inviting perspectives, the artist invites us to safely scan a world in which these normally hidden powers stand exposed for our scrutiny in various innocuous attitudes. Rarely do they appear dangerous or threatening, as the text sometimes informs us they can be. On the contrary,



FIGURE 28. Portrait of the god Yuer [no. 1]. This image from Hu Wenhuan's *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* [1593] can be compared to Plate I in the Jiang Yinghao series, which it predates by four years. From *Shanhaijing tu* 1:6b. National Library of China, Beijing.

their relaxed poses of domesticated contentment elicit curiosity and pleasure as the reader gazes at the exotic from a comfortable distance. Especially with regard to the foreign peoples, the illustrations to the *Guideways* indulge in what might be called an oriental version of "Orientalism" by revealing the same kind of imperialistic attitudes that have characterized many Western depictions of the East. Interestingly, around this time, European illustrators were also depicting natural curiosities in the New World set against composite model landscapes derived from European artistic traditions.

Jiang's designs continued to be reproduced during the first half of the seventeenth century. Seventy-four of the plates were included in another finely engraved edition of the *Guideways* with Guo Pu's commentary published during the Chongzhen era (1628–1644). The text was engraved by Li Wenxiao (n.d.), courtesy name Xiyu, from Jinling (modern Changzhou, Jiangsu), who is known to have been active during this period. The illustrations were engraved by two other artisans, Liu Suming (n.d.), originally named Guohao, and Wang Xingchun (n.d.). Liu was a member of one of the leading book-publishing families of Jianyang, Fujian, and active as an engraver during the Tianqi (1621–1627) and Chongzhen eras. At least eight other works from his hand have



FIGURE 29. Xingtian [no. 233] from *The Imperially Sponsored Collection of Past and Present Illustrations and Texts* (1725). Gest Library, Princeton University.

survived, mostly illustrated novels and plays, indicating that he worked for various publishers in Nanjing and elsewhere.[232] An accomplished illustrator in his own right, he was said to have combined the primitive, folklike style of the Jianyang publishers with the mannerisms of the Anhui school of scholar-painters. However, for this edition, both he and Wang reengraved the original Jiang Yinghao designs with only minor alterations including dropping the first and last plates. Their accurate but not necessarily superior version nevertheless proved popular and eventually made its way to Japan, where another faithful reengraving was later produced in 1902 by the Bunkōdō of Nagoya.

Both the scenic and portrait traditions were appropriately reunited in the grand encyclopedia *The Imperially Sponsored Collection of Past and Present Illustrations and Texts* (*Qinding gujin tushu jicheng,* 1725, see fig. 29), whose illustrations of strange creatures can be considered a continuation of the Song style. This immense compendium sponsored by the Qing court contains several chapters titled "Various Gods of the Mountains and Rivers" (*Shanchuan zhushen*). The primary focus of one of them is on the *Guideways,* with fifty-three illustrations of selected strange creatures. With the exceptions of one image acknowledged to have been taken from the *Collected Images of Heaven, Earth, and Man* and three that contain more than one figure, all the others combine a portrait of an individual creature with a landscape background. Most of the images of the creatures appear to generally follow the Jiang Yinghao or Wu Renchen

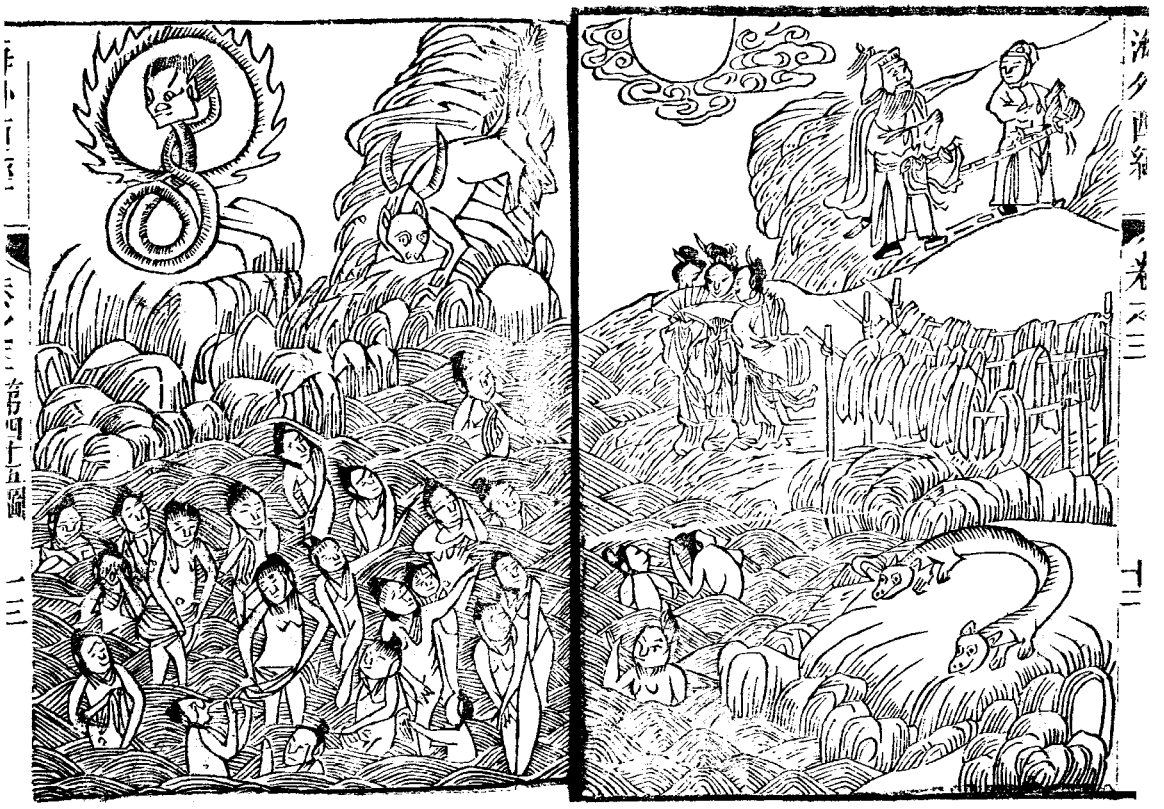


FIGURE 30. Plate LXV from the Haiqinglou edition of the *Guideways* published in 1855 by the artisan Cheng Huoyin (n.d.) of Guocheng, Sichuan. This illustration can be compared to Plate XLVI of the Jiang Yinghao edition containing the same figures, clockwise from the upper right: an inhabitant of the Land of Men [no. 234]; Bingfeng [no. 235]; inhabitants of the Land of Women [no. 236]; an inhabitant of the Land of Xuanyuan [no. 237]; and Yellow-Steed [no. 238]. Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.

iconography, but all have been redrawn with greater naturalism and attention to detail such as the figure of Xingtian [no. 233] (fig. 29).[233]

Finally, two more recent series of illustrations, one from the nineteenth century and another from the early twentieth, can be compared to Jiang's and provide some indication of the general decline of the traditional art of Chinese book illustration during this period. A late Qing dynasty set was published by the Haiqinglou in 1855 and signed by an artisan, Cheng Huoyin (n.d.) of Guocheng in modern Sichuan (fig. 30). The crowded spacing and crudely articulated lines are more characteristic of inexpensive, mass-produced folk prints that often represented local gods, New Year's themes, and other auspicious symbols. Although these bold images possess a certain aesthetic appeal for the modern eye, which appreciates primitivism and ethnic authenticity, they rank far below the standards of elite Chinese taste to which the Jiang Yinghao designs aspired. A final series of lithographic images from a version of the *Guideways* printed during the prewar Republican period indicates the further erosion of artistic ambition



FIGURE 31. Lithographic illustrations of strange creatures from *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Illustrations and Explanations* (Republican period). Top, from right to left: Chui-Spirit [no. 79], Proud-Bug [no. 185], Jimeng [no. 195], Rushou [nos. 74, 241], Minister Liu [no. 244], Tianwu [no. 256] and below, from right to left, Peaceful-Encounter [no. 179], Encircling-Alligator [no. 193], Xingtian [no. 233], Torch-Darkness [see nos. 55, 336], the Corpse of Shebi [nos. 254, 302], and the Concubine of the Master of Rain. From *Shanhaijing tushuo* (n.d.) 1:1b–2a. Courtesy the East Asian Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

amid the economic constraints facing a modern Shanghai publisher of cheap, mass-produced editions (fig. 31). These portraits, from the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Illustrations and Explanations* (*Shanhaijing tushuo,* n.d.) were redrawn from earlier editions including one dated 1918.[234] The simply executed figures are bunched together in a small format printed on inexpensive paper; many seem crowded by the texts and encomiums inscribed as colophons. While this work testifies to the continuing interest in the *Guideways* among a wide public, it also makes one appreciate even more the beauty of Jiang Yinghao's designs.

Though all the surviving images reflect the imaginations of artists working in the styles of later Chinese book illustration, they still manage to convey a palpable sense of these strange creatures rooted in antiquity. Through these scenes, the reader can observe a worldview expressed mythologically in which human beings dwell alongside a

host of extrahuman powers who are to be treated with knowledge and respect to avoid calamity. In the succeeding section, the italic text translates the relevant sections of the *Guideways,* which Jiang Yinghao's plates were designed to illustrate, followed by commentary based on the work of subsequent commentators and scholars. Though separated from these strange creatures by time, place, and belief, the modern reader may still derive fascination and significance from them as traditional Chinese readers have for more than two millennia.[235]

PLATES I TO LXXVI FROM THE

Guideways through Mountains and Seas


圖象山海經
第一圖

PLATE I

1. YUER 俞兒 The god Yuer does not actually appear in any extant edition of the *Guideways.* However, this image is identical to one found in the beginning of another work of the late sixteenth century, *Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing tu,* 1593) edited by Hu Wenhuan (fl. c. 1593–1596, see fig. 28). Hu acknowledged including several additional figures and in a colophon indicated the original source for Yuer in the "Minor Inquiries" chapter of the compendium *Master Guan* (*Guanzi: Xiaowen,* c. 5th–1st cent. B.C.E.). It states:

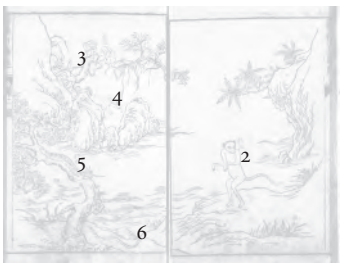
> Duke Huan of Qi (r. 685–643 B.C.E.) was on a military campaign northwards against the state of Guzhu. A little more than three miles from the Beier River, he stopped short and stared transfixed. He aimed his bow but drew back and dared not shoot, saying to his attendants, "Do you see that person ahead?" The attendants answered, "We see no one." The Duke said, "This campaign is destined to fail for I am much confused! I have just seen a person only a foot tall with completely human features. He wore a hat and his right arm was raised as he raced o on a horse. This campaign is destined to fail for I am much confused! How could there be a person like this?" Guan Zhong (c. 730–645 B.C.E.) replied, "I have heard that there is a god of climbing mountains, Yuer, who is only one foot tall with completely human features. When a hegemon arises, the god of climbing mountains appears. He races o on a horse to indicate the way. When he raises his arm, it means that there is a river ahead. The right arm means to turn right to cross the river." When they arrived at the Beier River, there was someone there to aid them in crossing who said, "If you cross to the left, the water's depth will reach your hats but if you cross to the right, it is only as deep as your thighs. You can cross successfully to the right." Duke Huan stood and bowed before Guan Zhong on his horse and said, "I am at fault for not realizing your sageliness." Guan Zhong replied, "I have heard that a sage can know things before they appear but just now, I was only able to know this after he appeared. Your humble servant is no sage, merely someone who is able to understand the teachings of others."

Hu Wenhuan noted that Yuer wears a yellow hat and a vermilion gown. During the early Western Han dynasty, a cavalry troop named the Yuer Cavalry rode in the vanguard. It is, perhaps, appropriate that he is represented in the first of the illustrations to the *Guideways* as a spirit who will guide the reader through the mountains to follow.[1]

PLATE II

2. XINGXING 狌狌 *The first guideway through the Southern Mountains begins at the Magpie Mountains. The first peak is Shaking Mountain, which overlooks the Western Sea. Many cinnamon trees and an abundance of metal and jade are found here. There is also a plant like a scallion with green flowers named Celebrating-Abundance, which relieves hunger if eaten, and a luminous tree like the mulberry with black veins known as the Confusion-Mulberry. Wearing a piece of this tree from the belt will cure mental confusion. There is an animal here whose form resembles a Yu-Ape with white ears. It walks crouched*





over but runs like a man. It is called the Xingxing. Eating it enhances one's ability to run. The Beautiful-Deer River flows forth from here westward into the sea. In it are found many Yupei, which will cure intestinal parasites if worn from the belt.[2] The commentator Guo Pu (276–324) noted that the Yu-Ape is bigger than a macaque and, in addition to white ears, possesses red eyes and a long tail. The Xingxing is also mentioned in chapter 10 [no. 263] as resembling a pig with a human face as well as in chapter 18, where it is said to be capable of identifying people by name.[3] Its ability to speak may be why *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* (*Lüshi chunqiu,* c. 239 B.C.E.) considered its lips a delicacy.[4] The *History of the Latter [Eastern] Han Dynasty* (*Houhanshu,* mid-5th cent.) located it among the barbarian tribes of the Southwest, and the commentary by Li Xian (651–684) provided more details about the Xingxing's behavior from a now-lost work, *Records of the South* (*Nanzhongji,* n.d.):

> The Xingxing lives in the valleys here [i.e., in Ailao District, near modern Baoshan, Yunnan]. It travels about without any fixed pattern and dwells along with the many other creatures. People capture it by placing wine along its path. It is also fond of

sandals, and the locals weave several tens of pairs of straw sandals, which they attach to each other. The Xingxing in a valley, upon seeing the wine and sandals, knows it is a trap and also knows the name of the trapper. It calls it out and scolds him, saying, "You slave! You are trying to trap me!" and leaves. But then it returns, calling out as it samples the wine. At first, it drinks only a little and puts on a pair of sandals. But if it drinks a few pints, it becomes drunk and can be caught. Since the sandals are all joined together, it cannot leave and so it is grabbed and put in a cage. When someone wishes to fetch it, he goes to the cage and says, "Xingxing! You can come out by yourself," whereupon the Xingxing turns to him and cries.[5]

3. WHITE-GIBBONS (BAIYUAN) 白猿 *Three hundred li farther east is Hall-Court Mountain, where there are many Yan-Trees, many White-Gibbons, and much rock crystal and yellow gold.*[6] 凹 According to Guo Pu, gibbons are also like macaques but with larger arms and longer feet, which enable them to move about speedily. They normally have black and yellow coloring and utter a plaintive cry. This last feature was often employed by later poets as a conventional image of human sorrow. The dictionary *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* (*Shuowen jiezi,* 100 C.E.) noted the gibbon's ability to throw things.[7] In one of his encomiums to the illustrations to the *Guideways* of his time, Guo Pu celebrated the White-Gibbon's command of archery by comparing it to Yang Youji (fl. c. 575 B.C.E.), a nobleman and legendary archer of Chu:

> The White-Gibbon's skill is without doubt.
> Like Yang Youji it can draw a bow.
> Casting but a glance, it lets out a shout
> Instinctively hitting the mark just so.
> Time after time, it never gives out.
> Its marvelous talent presents an endless show.[8]

This skill at archery is not mentioned in the extant text of the *Guideways.* Perhaps an early artist thought of it because of the White-Gibbon's long arms. The present illustration is more faithful to the text and simply depicts these gibbons as monkeys. Guo Pu also noted that the fruit of the Yan-Tree is red, resembles apples, and is edible.[9]

4. STRANGE BEAST (GUAISHOU) 怪獸 *Three hundred eighty li farther east is Gibbon-Wings Mountain, where there are many strange beasts, strange fish, an abundance of white jade, and many Fu-Vipers [no. 5], strange snakes, and strange trees. This mountain should not be climbed.*[10] 凹 Neither the text of the *Guideways* nor later commentators provided any description of these strange beasts, so the illustration is probably the result of the artist's imagination. The beasts are complemented by the many strange fish found in the surrounding rivers. Here Guo Pu o ered his definition of the strange as "anything with a unique or abnormal appearance." The commentator Hao Yixing (1757–1829) noted that white jade was used in antiquity to decorate the royal crown.[11]

5. FU-VIPER (FUCHONG) 蝮蟲 It is found in abundance on Gibbon-Wings Mountain. Guo Pu noted that it is red in color with needles protruding from its

nose, reaching a weight of more than one hundred *jin* (133 lbs.). It is also known as the Snout-Viper.[12]

6. STRANGE SNAKE (GUAISHE) 怪蛇 Another denizen of Gibbon-Wings Mountain though not otherwise described in the text, the strange snakes like the strange beasts and Fu-Vipers here, are undoubtedly best avoided by humans.[13]

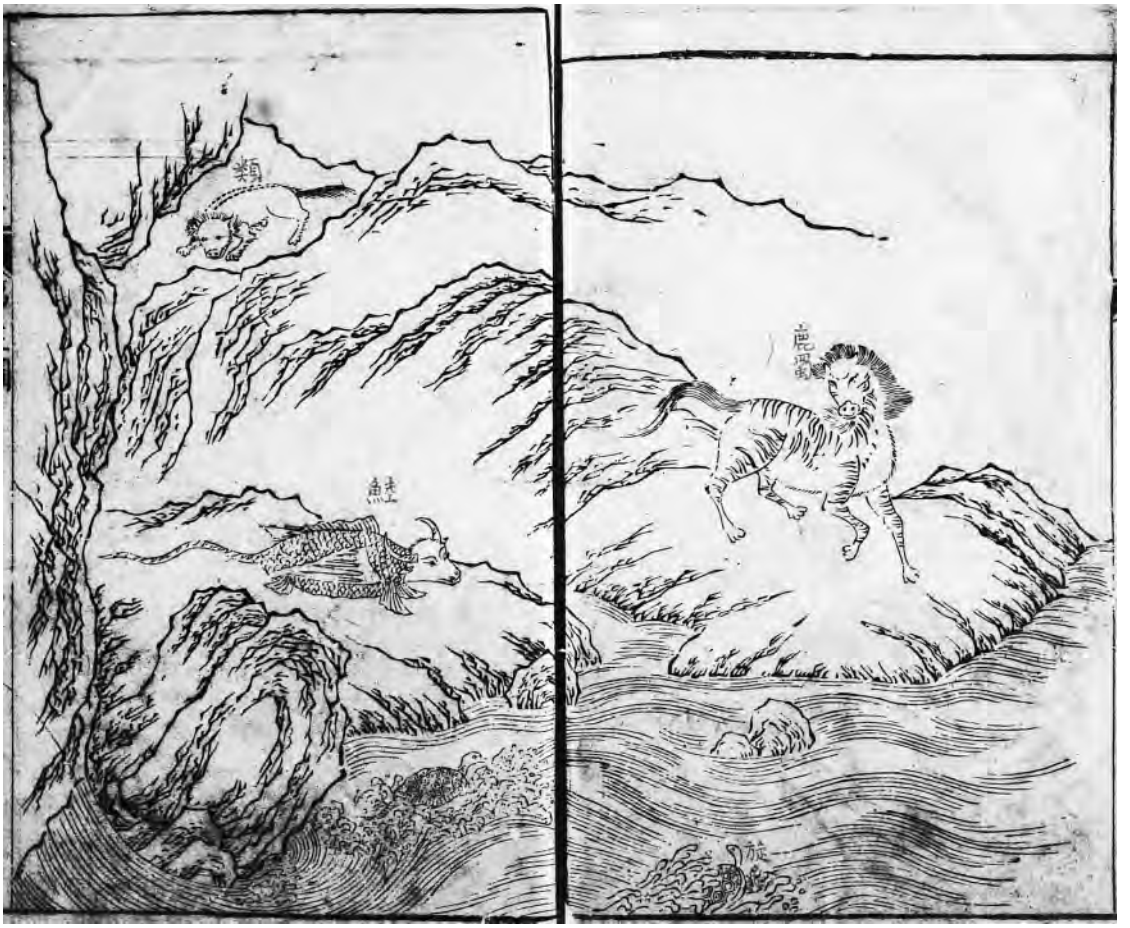
PLATE III

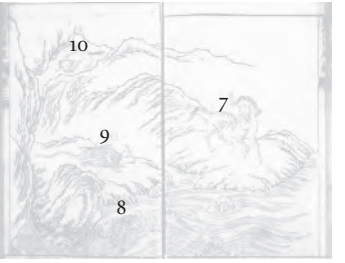
7. LUSHU 鹿蜀 *Three hundred seventy li farther east stands South of the Niu-Trees Mountain, where there is much red-metal on its southern slope and white-metal on its northern slope. There is a beast here whose form resembles a horse with a white head, stripes like a tiger, and a red tail. It makes a sound like a man singing and is called the Lushu. Wearing it from the belt will help people sire many descendants.*[14] 凹 The red tail may signify the Lushu's exceptional potency. Guo Pu in his *Encomiums to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing tuzan,* c. 320) specified that one should use its skin and hair for a talisman.[15]

8. TWISTING-TURTLE (XUANGUI) 旋龜 *The Strange River flows east from South of the Niu-Trees Mountain into the Xianyi River. In it are found many black turtles that have the form of a turtle but with a bird's head and a viper's tail. They are called Twisting-Turtles and make a sound like wood splitting. Wearing a piece of one from the belt as a talisman will prevent deafness, and it can also remove calluses.*[16]

9. LIU-FISH (LIU) 鯈 *Three hundred li farther east is Root Mountain, where there are many rivers yet no plants or trees. There is a fish here whose form resembles an ox. It dwells in the hills and possesses a snake's tail, wings, and feathers on its ribs. It is said to make a sound like the Lingering-Ox and is called the Liu. It lives during the summer and dies in the winter. Eating it will prevent swellings.*[17] 凹 The Liu-Fish can apparently survive out of water. Guo Pu thought that the description of it living in the summer and dying in the winter referred to hibernation.[18]

10. LEI 類 *F our hundred li farther east is Mount Chanyuan, which contains many rivers yet no plants or trees. It should not be climbed. There is a beast here whose form resembles a wildcat with a mane. It is called the Lei and is both male and female. Eating it will cure jealousy.*[19] 凹 The name Lei can mean "category," "species," or, perhaps in this case, "gender." Jealousy was considered a particular problem among women in traditional China's polygamous society. The ability of the Lei to prevent jealousy appears to be connected to its hermaphroditism. The Chinese were particularly fascinated by such animals, for the presence of both yin and yang natures suggested not only nondependence and personal autonomy but also exceptional fertility. Other early texts also mention the Lei such as the philosophical work *Master Zhuang* (*Zhuangzi,* late 3rd–1st cent. B.C.E.), which praised it as living in accordance with the Daoist Way because it was capable of e ortless self-fertilization. The commentator Yang Shen (1488–1559) noted the existence of a similar animal in Menghua, Yunnan, which the locals called

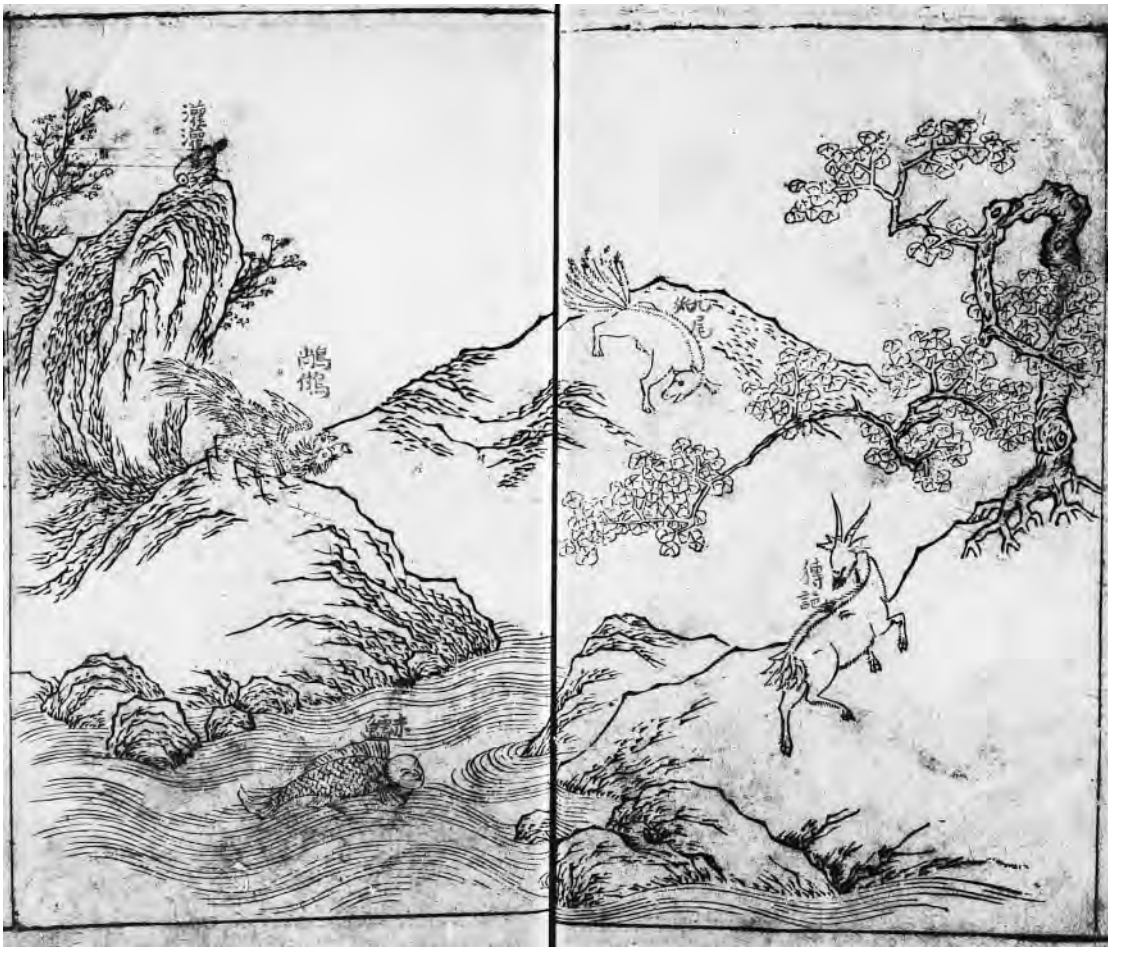


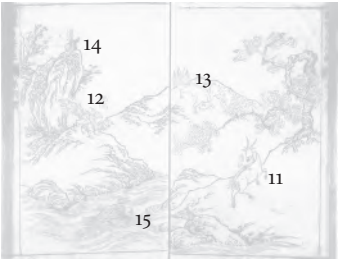


the Fragrant-Mane. Hao Yixing believed that the Lei was similar to another strange beast known as the Divine-Wildcat. He further noted that in 1803, a Mongolian official who had come to Beijing described a hairy, hermaphroditic animal like a dog that inhabited a tribal area along the Manchurian-Mongolian border. Hao cited this fact as proof of the essential factuality of the *Guideways*.[20]

PLATE IV

11. BOSHI 猼訑 *Three hundred li farther east is Foundation Mountain, where much jade can be found on its south slope and many strange trees on its north. There is a beast here whose form resembles a goat with nine tails and four ears, with its eyes on its back. It is called the Boshi. Wearing part of it from the belt will prevent fear.*[21] 凶 Guo Pu's encomium on the Boshi stated that it was specifically its skin that was worn as a talisman, perhaps because the dictionary *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* refers to displaying the skin of a sheep to frighten oxen and horses. Hao Yixing cited another view





of the power of goats and sheep from the early medical text *The Divine Farmer's Classic of Remedies (Shennong bencaojing,* late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) where the horn of the Gu, a black ram, is recommended for frightening o demons, tigers, and wolves as well as to eliminate fright.[22]

12. CHANGFU-BIRD (CHANGFU) 鵌鵌 *There is a bird dwelling here on Foundation Mountain whose form resembles a chicken with three heads, six eyes, six feet, and three wings. It is called the Changfu. Eating it will prevent sleep.*[23]

13. NINE-TAIL FOX (JIUWEIHU) 九尾狐 *Three hundred li farther east is Green-Hills Mountain, where much jade can be found on its south slope and green cinnabar on its north. There is a beast here whose form resembles a fox with nine tails. It makes a sound like a baby and is a man-eater. Whoever eats it will be protected against insect-poison (gu).*[24] 凹 The ancient Chinese greatly feared a kind of poison man-

ufactured from insects known as *gu.* The graph appears as early as the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions and is a picture of three virulent insects in a container stinging one another, a process that yields an extremely toxic substance. Its many uses and knowledge of its antidotes were associated with *wu*-shamans and others who were considered masters of black magic.[25] Nine-Tail Foxes were generally regarded as auspicious creatures. In one ancient myth, Yu the Great was seeking an omen that he marry and encountered a white fox with nine tails, which he interpreted as a sign that he would be successful. This fox sometimes appears in Han art along with the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275] in her later role as a goddess of immortality at Mount Kunlun. According to the *Debates in the White Tiger Hall* (*Baihutong,* late 1st cent. C.E.), the fox's nine tails symbolize abundant progeny.[26]

14. GUANGUAN-BIRD (GUANGUAN) 灌灌 *There is a bird here on Green-Hills Mountain whose form resembles a dove and that makes a sound like a man shouting. It is called the Guanguan. Wearing a part of it from the belt will prevent mental confusion.*[27] 凹 *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* considered this bird's flesh a delicacy when roasted. The poet Tao Qian (365–427) also celebrated this bird in the twelfth of his "Thirteen Poems upon Reading the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*" (*Du shanhaijing shisan shou,* 422):

> On Green-Hills Mountain is a unique bird
> That speaks and appears of its own accord.
> It was born to help those in confusion,
> Not to caution the Noble Man.[28]

15. RED RU-FISH (CHIRU) 赤鱬 *The Eminent River flows forth from Green-Hills Mountain southward into Carp-Wings Lake. Many Red Ru-Fish are found in the lake. It has the basic form of a fish with a human face and makes a sound like a mandarin duck. Eating it will prevent scabies.*[29] 凹 According to another version noted by Guo Pu, eating it will protect against epidemics.[30]

PLATE V

16. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The ten mountains from the first peak, Shaking Mountain in the Magpie Mountains to Winnower-Tail Mountain, extend 2,950 li in length. The gods of these mountains all have the form of a bird's body with a dragon's head. The proper sacrifice to them is an animal of a single color and the burial of a jade blade. The grain o ering is glutinous rice along with a jade disc and unhulled rice. White reeds should be used for the ceremonial mats.*[31] 凹 The gods of each of the guideways in the *Guideways through Mountains* form distinct groups and often share similar physical features. They must be sacrificed to by representatives of the government, by the local people, and especially by travelers. In earliest times, such a airs were probably carried out by *wu*-shamans and other ritual specialists. In the background of the illustration is the tip of a roof, which is the artist's anachronistic vision of a sacrificial temple reflecting the later, more elaborate architectural style of temples. In ancient China, such local altars and shrines were more likely outdoor stages or simple structures.





17. POWERCAT (LILI) 狸力 *The second guideway through the Southern Mountains begins at Willow Mountain, which faces the Land of Flowing Yellow Sands to the west, Mount Zhubi to the north, and Mount Changyou to the east. The Eminent River flows forth from Willow Mountain southwest into the Red River. In it can be found much white jade and fine grains of cinnabar. There is a beast here whose form resembles a pig with spurs on its feet. It makes a sound like a dog barking. It is called the Lili. If seen by people, it is an omen that there will be much public earthwork construction in the district.*[32] Riverbeds were considered the primary source of fine jade, and Hao Yixing quoted the philosophical work *Master Shi* (*Shizi,* 4th cent. B.C.E.), which states that jade can be found in rivers whose courses are squared, while pearls can be found in those that are rounded. Cinnabar had a variety of ritual uses in ancient China such as helping to preserve the body after burial and marking divinations on oracle bones. Flowing Yellow Sands, according to Hao Yixing, refers to a land in the west inhabited by a people known as the Xin Tribe recorded in chapter 18 or as the Feng Tribe in chapter 11. They are said to dwell in an area of three

hundred li. This is one of several places in the *Guideways* with rivers named Eminent and Red.[33]

18. ZHU-BIRD (ZHU) 鵸 *There is a bird dwelling here on Willow Mountain whose form resembles an owl but with human hands instead of feet. It makes a sound similar to a female quail. It is called the Zhu and makes a sound like its name. If seen by people, it is an omen that many officials in the district will be exiled by the ruler.*[34] 凹 Guo Pu associated the Zhu-Bird's significance with two other evil omens: a comet crossing the sky and the death of a whale amid the waves. In the twelfth of his cycle of thirteen poems on the *Guideways,* Tao Qian slyly suggested that this bird must have appeared often during the time of King Huai of Chu (r. 328–299 B.C.E.), who, according to tradition, banished the aristocratic official and tragic poet Qu Yuan (c. 339–c. 278 B.C.E.).[35]

19. CHANGYOU 長右 *Four hundred fifty li to the southeast stands Mount Changyou, which lacks plants and trees, though it contains many rivers. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Yu-Ape with four ears. It is called the Changyou. It makes a sound like a person singing. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great flood in the districts of the commandery.*[36]

20. HUAHUAI 猾褢 *Another three hundred forty li east stands Lofty-Brilliance Mountain, which contains much jade on it southern slope and much metal on its northern slope. There is a beast here whose form resembles a human with pig's bristles. It dwells in a cave and hibernates in winter. It is called the Huahuai, and it makes a sound like chopping wood. If seen by people, it is an omen that there will be conscription in the district.*[37] 凹 Guo Pu commented that another version states that if the Huahuai is seen, there will be chaos in the district.[38]

PLATE VI

21. ZHI-PIG (ZHI) 彘 *One thousand six hundred twenty li east is Floating-Jade Mountain. To the north it overlooks Lake Juqu and to the east, the Zhubi River. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a tiger with an ox's tail. It makes a sound like a barking dog and it is called the Zhi. It is a man-eater.*[39] 凹 Juqu refers to the area later known as the Great Lake in modern Jiangsu. Here, according to Guo Pu, Zhubi is the name of a river rather than the mountain mentioned in no. 17.[40]

22. ZI-FISH (ZI) 鮆 *The Broomstraw River emanates from the north side of Floating-Jade Mountain and flows into Lake Juqu. In it are found many Zi-Fish.*[41] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the Zi-Fish is narrow and flat with a long head and reaches a length of more than a foot. He further stated that in his time these fish flourished in the Great Lake and were known as Knife-Fish. Hao Yixing also noted that these fish could be found in the sea. They may be a kind of mullet.[42]

23. HUAN 鶨 *Two thousand nine hundred li further east is Mount Xun, which contains much metal on its southern slope and much jade on its northern slope. There is a beast*





here whose form resembles a goat but without a mouth and which cannot be killed. It is called the Huan.[43] 凶 According to Hao Yixing, these words mean that it does not die because it does not need to eat and is thus self-sufficient. The Huan's complete autonomy and nondependency on nature are an essential part of its strangeness. According to Guo Pu in his encomium, another benefit of not having a mouth is that harmful vapors cannot enter the body.[44]

24. POISON-EAGLE (GUDIAO) 蠱雕 *One thousand four hundred li farther east is Mount Luwu, which lacks plants or trees on its heights but contains much metal and minerals. The Zegeng River emanates from it and flows south into the Surging River. There is a beast here named the Gudiao. It has the basic form of an eagle with a horn, and though it makes a sound like a baby, it is a man-eater.*[45] 凶 Curiously, the *Guideways* classifies the Poison-Eagle as a beast instead of as a bird, perhaps because of its power and malevolence. The portrait in the Wu Renchen edition (1667) consequently depicted this creature with the head of an eagle but with a body resembling a wildcat's.

It would seem that Mount Luwu is connected with the god Luwu [no. 60], although the text does not specifically indicate this.[46]

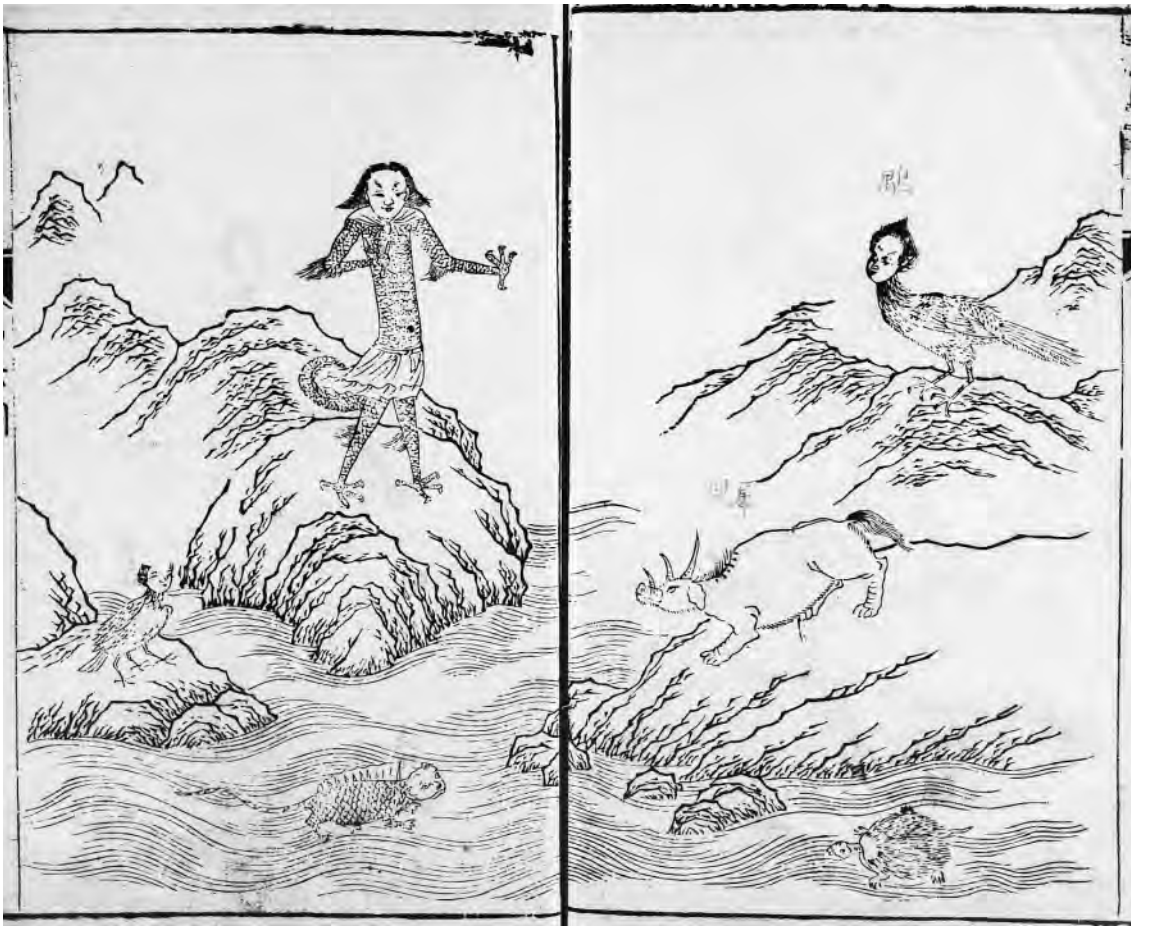
25. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The second guideway through the Southern Mountains from Willow Mountain to Mount Qiwu comprises seventeen mountains along a length of 7,200 li. The gods of these mountains all have a dragon's body with a bird's head. The proper sacrifice to them is an animal of a uniform color and a jade disc buried in the earth. The grain o ering is glutinous rice.*[47]

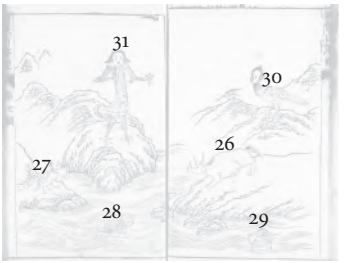
PLATE VII

26. XI-RHINOCEROS (XI) 犀 *The third guideway through the Southern Mountains begins with Mount Tianyu, below which flow many rivers. It should not be climbed. Five hundred li east stands Pray-and-Pass Mountain. Much metal and jade are found on its heights, while below are found many Xi-Rhinoceros along with Si-Rhinoceros [no. 262] and elephants [see no. 267].*[48] Guo Pu described the Xi-Rhinoceros as resembling a water bu alo with a pig's head and with elephant's feet, each foot cleft in three. It has a large belly with three horns on its nose, forehead, and on top, respectively. The smallest horn, which is on its nose, does not fall o and is used to facilitate eating. Because the Xi likes to chew on brambles, it often drools blood. The Si-Rhinoceros, which is illustrated in chapter 10, is described here by Guo Pu as also like a water bu alo but blue/green with one horn weighing altogether one thousand *jin* (approx. 1,333 lbs). In early texts, the graphs for both the Xi and Si were used to refer to several animals such as wild oxen, yaks, bu aloes, and rhinoceros, creating some confusion. However, in later periods to the present, both have referred primarily to the rhinoceros, and Guo Pu's description of the Xi would seem to indicate this animal. Xi-Rhinoceros are illustrated again in chapter 10 [no. 264] and are mentioned in ten places altogether in the *Guideways,* while the Si-Rhinoceros appears in nine. Guo Pu's encomiums poke fun at the Xi and Si. The former is derided because of its big nose and the latter because it ironically brings about its own destruction, for its protective hide was found by man to be useful in war.[49]

27. JURU-BIRD (JURU) 瞿如 *There is a bird here on Pray-and-Pass Mountain whose form resembles a Jiao-Duck but with a white head, three feet, and a human face. It makes a sound like its name.*[50] The Jiao-Duck is said by Guo Pu to be like a wild duck, only smaller with feet close to its tail. It is di erent from the Jiao-Bird [no. 101], though written with the same graph.[51]

28. TIGER-DRAGON (HUJIAO) 虎蛟 *The Yin River emanates from Pray-and-Pass Mountain, flowing southward into the sea. It contains many Tiger-Dragons. The Tiger-Dragon has a fish's body and a snake's tail. It makes a sound like a mandarin duck. Eating it prevents swellings and hemorrhoids.*[52] Guo Pu noted that this particular dragon was a kind of Jiao-Dragon (no. 274), which has four feet and is snakelike. He also considered it one of the strange creatures found in the Long River (Jiangshui, modern Changjiang, also Yangtze). Some later Chinese scholars identified





this creature with various kinds of sharks such as the Cuo-Fish, whose young are said to jump back into their mothers' wombs at birth out of fear and must be made to come out. A lost source, *Records of Strange Things on Land and in Water at Linhai* (*Linhai shuitu yiwuzhi,* n.d.), quoted in the encyclopedia *Sources for Beginning Studies* (*Chu-xueji,* 713–42), expressed the opinion that the Tiger-Cuo, which may be the same as this fish, was so named because it has yellow and black patterns and its eyes, ears, and teeth resemble a tiger's; or, according to the same source, because it can metamorphose into a tiger.[53]

29. TUAN-FISH (TUANYU) 鱄魚 *Three thousand three hundred li farther east is Chicken Mountain, which contains much metal on its heights and much fine cinnabar at its feet. The Black River emanates from it and flows southward into the sea. In it dwell many Tuan-Fish. It has the basic form of a carp, but with hog's bristles, and makes a sound like a pig. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought throughout the world.*[54]

30. YU-BIRD (YU) 鶨 *Four hundred li east stands Excellent-Hills Mountain, which lacks plants and trees but issues forth a fiery illumination. On its south is a valley called Central Valley from where the Northeast Wind originates. There is a bird here whose form resembles an owl but with a human face, four eyes, and ears. It is called the Yu and makes a sound like its name. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought throughout the world.*[55] 凹 Hao Yixing noted several sources mentioning that divine mountains may generate their own fire, which illuminates them.[56]

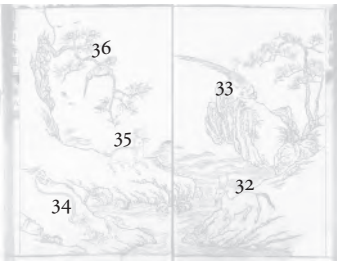
31. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The third guideway through the Southern Mountains extends for 6,530 li along fourteen mountains from Mount Tianyu to South Yu-Ape Mountain. The gods of these mountains all have a dragon's body with a human face. The proper sacrifice to them is a white dog o ered up with a prayer, and the grain o ering is glutinous rice.*[57] 凹 While Guo Pu interpreted this passage to mean that the dog should be o ered up with a prayer, the commentator Bi Yuan (1729–1797) believed that the text here meant that the dog should first be smeared with its own blood. This concludes chapter 1 of the *Guideways,* which presents the three guideways through the Southern Mountains.[58]

PLATE VIII

32. XIAN-ANTELOPE (XIANYANG) 羬羊 *The first guideway through the Western Mountains begins with Lotus Mountain, whose first peak is Money-Arrives Mountain. There are many pine trees on its heights and much washing-stone at its feet. There is a beast here whose form resembles an antelope with a horse's tail that is called the Xianyang. Its fat can cure chapped skin.*[59] 凹 The Xian-Antelope is also found on seven other mountains in the *Guideways.* According to the ancient glossary *Approaching Refinement* (*Erya,* c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.), it is about six feet in size, while the *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* states that it has short horns. Guo Pu indicated in his encomium that its tail was red. He considered the Xian-Antelope identical to similar ones known in his time in the Land of the Great Moon Tribe (Dayuezhi, also Indoscythe) in the northwest said to be as large as mules.[60]

33. TONGQU-BIRD (TONGQU) 鴸渠 *Forty-five li west stands Pinecone Mountain, from which the Huo River flows northward into the Wei River. The Huo River contains an abundance of copper. There is a bird here named the Tongqu that has the basic form of a pheasant with a black body and red feet. It can restore wrinkled skin.*[61] 凹 Guo Pu wrote in his encomium that this bird can also quell disasters. Pinecone Mountain is one of the relatively few places in the *Guideways* whose location may be identified with some certainty. Hao Yixing stated that this mountain, also known as Pine-Bridge Mountain, stands twenty-seven *li* southeast of the administrative center of Huayin, Shaanxi. He also identified the Huo River as the Libation River. The *Guide to Waterways with Commentary* (*Shuijingzhu,* c. 515–24) recorded it as flowing forth from Pinecone Mountain into the Yellow River, which also shares tributaries with the Wei in this area. The Wei River Valley is itself well known for prehistoric towns, and ancient cities were built along its banks, including Xianyang, capital of the Qin, and Chang'an





(modern Xian, Shaanxi), capital of the Han as well as of several later dynasties.[62]

34. FEIYI-SNAKE (FEIYI) 肥遺 *Sixty li farther west stands Greater Lotus Mountain, which is sheer on all four sides. It rises to a height of five thousand ren [approx. forty thousand feet] and covers ten li in area. Neither birds nor beasts can dwell here. There is a snake here called the Feiyi. It has six feet and four wings. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought throughout the world.*[63] 凶 Greater Lotus Mountain is located in the southwest of modern Huayin, Shaanxi. It is actually 7,150 feet high and according to a legend was named after its shape. The glossary *Approaching Refinement* indicates that it was accorded a special status along with three other mountains as early as the Warring States period. By the Han, it was regarded as the Sacred Marchmount of the West and was sacrificed to by imperial courts. It was subsequently associated with various Daoist religious cults and has continued to be a place of hermitage through the present. In his encomium, Guo celebrated the location of the later legend of the Jade

Maiden of the Brilliant Star on the mountain, one of whose peaks bears her name. She is associated with a cult of longevity because she offers a drink that enables humans to become Transcendents. According to another legend cited by Guo, a Feiyi-Snake was once sighted at the foot of a place called Bright Mountain during the time of the future King Tang of the Shang (trad. r. c. 1574/1557–1547 B.C.E.) and interpreted as an omen of the impending overthrow of the Xia dynasty. The Feiyi-Snake is also found on two other mountains in the *Guideways.* Although the graphs of its name are similar to those of the Feiyi-Bird [no. 37], they are different creatures.[64]

35. CONGLONG 蔥聾 *One hundred sixty li farther west is Mount Fuyu, which contains much copper on its southern slope and much iron on its northern slope. There is a tree on its summit called the Striped-Trunk Tree. Its fruit is like dates and can cure deafness. Among its plants are many known as the Veined-Plant, whose form resembles a sunflower but with red blossoms and yellow fruit. Its fruit is shaped like a baby's tongue. Eating it will cure mental confusion. The Fuyu River emanates from this mountain and flows northward into the Wei. There are many beasts here known as Conglong. Its form resembles a goat with a red mane.*[65] 凹 Hao Yixing noted several later medicinal texts that recommended dates as a cure for deafness.[66]

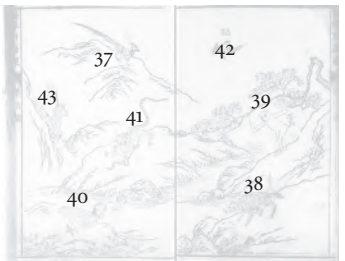
36. MIN-BIRD (MIN) 鴖 *Among the birds on Mount Fuyu are many Min-Birds, which resemble the kingfisher but have red beaks. The Min-Bird can protect against fire.*[67] 凹 Guo Pu commented that this bird can protect against fire if raised domestically.[68]

PLATE IX

37. FEIYI-BIRD (FEIYI) 肥遺 *One hundred thirty li farther west is Eminent Mountain, which contains many Niu-Trees and Jiang-Oak. On its northern slope is much iron, and on its southern slope is much copper. The Yu-Ape River emanates from here and flows northward into the Summoning River. The river contains many Bang-Fish, which have the basic form of turtle and make a sound like a goat. Along its northern banks are arrow-bamboo and edible bamboo. Among the beasts here are many Zuo-Oxen and Xian-Antelopes. There is also a bird here whose form resembles a quail with a yellow body and a red beak. It is called the Feiyi. Eating it will cure contagious disease, and it can also kill insects.*[69] 凹 Hao Yixing hypothesized that the "insects" killed by eating the Feiyi-Bird were intestinal worms. Both Eminent Mountain and Yu-Ape River were later recorded in the *Guide to Waterways with Commentary,* which states that the Yu-Ape River flows into the Summoning River, which eventually flows into the Wei. Guo Pu noted that the Niu-Tree resembles the cherry but with smaller leaves, while the Jiang-Oak was used in manufacturing carriages. In his time the edible bamboo continued to be a popular food whose shoots were eaten in winter. He also noted previously that many wild oxen and goats weighing one thousand *jin* could be found dwelling on nearby Lesser Lotus Mountain sixty *li* to the east. He assumed the oxen were descendants of the Zuo-Oxen mentioned in these passages.[70]

38. BRAVE-PIG (HAOZHI) 豪彘 *Fifty-two li west stands Bamboo Mountain, whose summit contains many tall trees. There is an abundance of iron on its north-*





ern slope and a plant here named the Yellow Guan-Plant. Its form resembles that of an ailanthus, while its leaves resemble those of the hemp plant with white flowers and blood-red fruit. Adding it to a bath will cure itching, and it can also cure tumors. The Bamboo River emanates from here and flows northward into the Wei. Along its northern banks grows an abundance of arrow-bamboo and dark-green jade. The Cinnabar River emanates from here and flows southeast into the Luo River. Much rock crystal and many Human-Fish are found in it. There is a beast here whose form resembles a pig but with white bristles with black tips as large as hairpins. It is called the Haozhi.[71] 凶 The Brave-Pig was regarded by some commentators as a porcupine. Guo Pu noted that it was several feet in length and that it shot its quills at things. However, despite this belief, which is still common today, a porcupine does not shoot its quills from a distance but embeds them in the flesh of those who make direct contact with it. Guo also believed that the Brave-Pig was hermaphroditic. Both the Bamboo River and the Cinnabar River were recorded in the *Guide to Waterways with Commentary* and lie within the western part of modern Shaanxi province. The Luo River is

an important waterway that flows into modern Henan province and was later the site of the city of Luoyang, a capital of the Han as well as several later dynasties. There are seven places in the *Guideways* where Human-Fish are said to dwell. This creature is not a merman but a fairly common fish. Guo Pu noted here that it resembles the Ti-Fish and has four "legs," that is, fins. The text describes it later as making a sound like a baby [see no. 125]. Eating it is recommended to cure delusions. According to Sima Qian's (c. 145–c. 86 B.C.E.) *Historical Records* (*Shiji,* c. 90 B.C.E.), candles were made from the fat of the Human-Fish for the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin (r. 246–210 B.C.E).[72]

39. NOISY-APE (XIAO) 梟 *One hundred ninety li farther west stands Black-Ewe Station Mountain, from which the Lacquer River emanates and flows northward into the Wei. On the mountain's heights are many white-cherry trees and Jiang-Oak, while below is an abundance of common bamboo and arrow-bamboo. On its northern slope is much copper, while on its southern slope is much Yingyuan-Jade. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Yu-Ape but with longer arms. It is adept at throwing things and is called the Xiao.*[73] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the Noisy-Ape was also depicted in the *Illustrations of Frightening Animals* (*Weishoutu,* n.d.), a work known to him but now lost. The images in this book seem to have circulated independently from those of the *Guideways* yet apparently overlapped the latter in content to some extent.[74]

40. TUOFEI-BIRD (TUOFEI) 橐𠆢 *There is a bird here on Black-Ewe Station Mountain whose form resembles an owl with a human face and one leg called the Tuofei. It appears in wintertime and hibernates in summer. Wearing it against the skin will prevent fear of thunder and lightning.*[75] 凹 Guo Pu noted that it was the feathers of the Tuofei-Bird that were to be worn against the skin. Another version of the text stated that doing so will prevent fear of disasters.[76]

41. FIERCE-LEOPARD (MENGBAO) 猛豹 *Three hundred twenty li west stands South Mountain, which contains many grains of cinnabar on its heights. The Cinnabar River emanates from it and flows north into the Wei. Among the beasts here are many Fierce-Leopards.*[77] 凹 Hao Yixing suggested that South Mountain might be Mount Zhongnan, a well-known site of early ritual importance located to the southwest of modern Xian, Shaanxi. Guo Pu noted that the Fierce-Leopard resembled a bear but was smaller in size with a short, glossy coat of hair. It originates in Shu (modern Sichuan) and eats snakes as well as metal. In another version they are called Fierce-Tigers. Hao thought they were identical to the Mo-Leopard, a white leopard mentioned in other early texts with similar characteristics.[78]

42. SHI-DOVE (SHIJIU) 尸鳩 *Among the birds on South Mountain are many Shi-Doves.*[79] 凹 According to Guo Pu, the Shi-Dove is a kind of cuckoo.[80]

43. BROOKSIDE-DOG (XIBIAN) 溪邊 *Eight hundred fifty li farther west is the Mountain of the Supreme God of Heaven. On its heights are many palms and plum trees, while below are found many reeds and orchids. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a dog called the Xibian. Using its skin as a mat will ward o insect-poison.*[81]

凹 A reader has identified this creature as the Brookside-Dog in the illustration, but there is no reference in the text to a horn. The figure also resembles a Si-Rhinoceros [no. 262], said to dwell three hundred twenty *li* to the east on Mount Bozhong.[82]

PLATE X

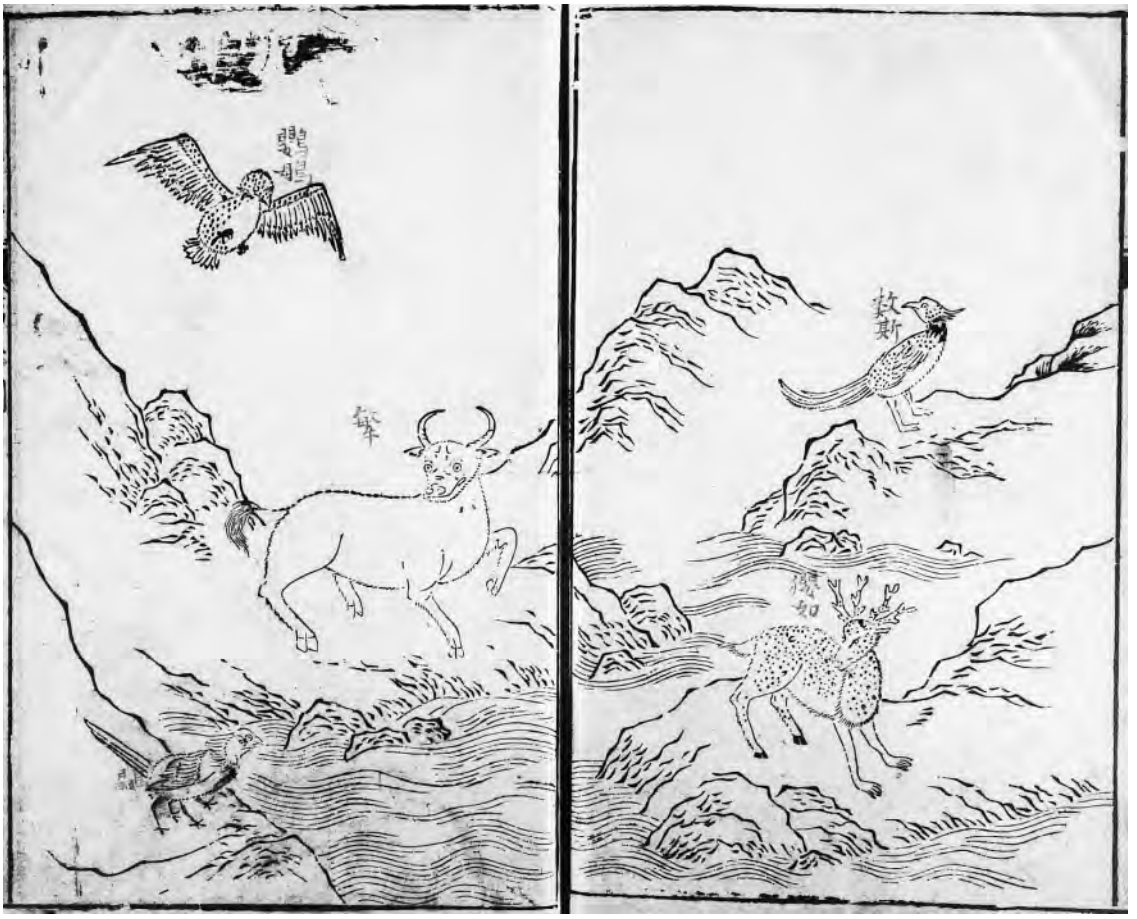
44. YINGRU 獙如 *Three hundred eighty li southwest of the Mountain of the Supreme God of Heaven stands Marsh-Mud Mountain. The Rose River emanates from it and flows west into the Zhuzi River. The Muddy River emanates from it and flows southward into the Accumulation River. Its southern slope contains many grains of cinnabar, and its northern slope contains much silver and yellow gold. On its heights grow many cinnamon trees, and there is also a white rock there known as Yu-Stone, which can be used to poison rats. There is a plant here whose form resembles the Gaobo-Plant. Its leaves are like those of the sunflower but with red undersides. Its name is the No-Veins Plant, and it can be used to poison rats. There is a beast here whose form resembles a deer with a white tail, horse's hooves, human hands, and four horns. It is called the Yingru.*[83] 凹 According to Guo Pu, Yu-Stone can also be fed to silkworms to fatten them. Hao Yixing noted other sources that describe it as having a bitter taste, giving o heat, preventing water from freezing, and being poisonous to humans and animals. Mathieu considered it a kind of rock salt. Guo also noted that the Gaobo-Plant was fragrant, and Hao identified it with the Gaoben-Plant, a kind of parsley. Regarding the Yingru, Guo stated that its hands were found in front and wrote in an encomium:

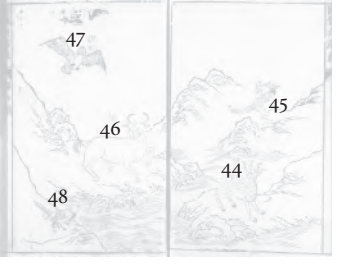
> The beast, Yingru, stands
> Resembling a four-antlered deer
> With horse hooves and human hands
> And a white tail to the rear.
> His appears to combine three species
> As he climbs among rocks and trees.[84]

45. SHUSI-BIRD (SHUSI) 數斯 *There is a bird dwelling here on Marsh-Mud Mountain whose form resembles an owl with human feet called the Shusi. Eating it will cure goiter.*[85] 凹 According to another version of the text, eating the Shusi-Bird can cure epilepsy. Its name could literally mean "Count-This."[86]

46. MIN 犉 *One hundred eighty li farther west stands Yellow Mountain, where there are no plants or trees but much common bamboo and arrow-bamboo. The Gazing River emanates from here and flows westward into the Red River. It contains much jade. There is a beast here whose form resembles an ox that is blue-black with large eyes called the Min.*[87]

47. YINGMU-PARROT (YINGMU) 鸚鵡 *There is a bird here on Yellow Mountain with the basic form of an owl with green wings, a red beak, and a human's tongue. It can speak and is called the Yingmu.*[88] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the Yingmu-Parrot possesses a tongue like that of a child and two toes on both the front and back of





its feet. There are five-colored ones as well as pure red and white ones as large as geese. In an encomium, he wrote:

> The parrot is a clever bird.
> It dwells in forests: pistils and stamens
> are its fare.
> With four toes and claws divided in the middle,
> It uses its beak to get from here to there.
> Inside a cage, happy on its own,
> A secluded branch becomes its throne.[89]

48. LEI-BIRD (LEI) 鸓 *Seven hundred sixty li farther southwest is Verdant Mountain, which contains many palms and plum trees on its heights and common bamboo and arrow-bamboo at its feet. On its southern slope is much yellow gold and jade, while on its northern slope dwell many Yaks [no. 106], Ling-Antelopes, and Musk-Deer. Among its birds are many Lei-Birds. The Lei-Bird resembles a magpie that is red and black but*

with two heads and four feet. It can protect against fire.[90] 凶 Guo Pu noted that the Ling-Antelope resembled a goat with large horns. It eats little and likes to roam among the mountain cli s. The Musk-Deer resembles the Roe-Deer but is smaller and emits a fragrance.[91]

PLATE XI

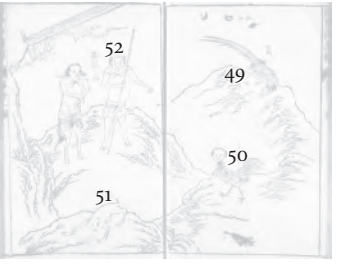
49. LUAN-BIRD (LUANNIAO) 鸞鳥 *Eight hundred twenty li from the beginning of the second guideway through the Western Mountains stands Lady's-Bed Mountain. On its southern slope is much copper, while on its northern slope is much Shinie-Stone. Among the beasts here are many tigers and leopards as well as Xi- and Si-Rhinoceros. There is a bird here whose form resembles a pheasant with five-colored markings. It is called the Luanniao, and if seen by people, it is an omen that the world will enjoy peace and tranquility.*[92] 凶 The Luan-Bird was regarded since early times as second only to the Feng-Bird and Fenghuang-Bird [nos. 271, 330] among divine birds and has sometimes been confused with them. Scholars have suggested various real birds as possible origins, and its appearance and its significance has varied throughout later Chinese mythology. Like the Feng-Bird, the Luan-Bird is an omen of peace in the world if seen. An early legend perhaps dating from the Warring States period states that the auspicious Luan-Bird was once presented as a tribute by northwestern tribes to King Cheng of the Zhou (r. c. 1042–1006 B.C.E.) to symbolize their submission to his virtuous rule. In chapters 7 and 16 of the *Guideways,* the Luan-Bird appears in paradisical locations where it is said to sing spontaneously, paralleling the Feng-Bird, which breaks out into a dance. In chapter 11, however, it is described exactly like the Feng-Bird: both wear a red snake on their breast while grasping and treading on snakes; or, in a later passage, they are both said to carry shields [see no. 271]. *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* defined it further as born of the sperm of Red-God, a divinity who is not otherwise identified. It notes that the Luan-Bird is basically red with five-colored markings. It has the basic form of a chicken, sings the five standard pitches, and appears when laudatory hymns to rulers are sung. By the Six Dynasties period, however, the Luan-Bird was associated with the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275], who, along with Transcendents, was sometimes represented as flying on it to various paradises.[93]

50. FUXI-BIRD (FUXI) 鳧徯 *Four hundred li farther west stands Deer-Terrace Mountain. On its heights is much white jade, and at its feet is much silver. Among the beasts here are Zuo-Oxen, Xian-Antelopes, and Brave-Pigs. There is a bird dwelling here whose form resembles a rooster with a human face. It is called the Fuxi-Bird and makes a sound like its name. If seen by people, it is an omen of war.*[94]

51. VERMILION YAN-BEAST (ZHUYAN) 朱厭 *Six hundred li farther west stands Small-Station Mountain. On its heights is much white jade, and below is much copper. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a gibbon with a white head and red feet. It is called the Zhuyan, and if it is seen by people, it is an omen of a great war.*[95] 凶 Guo Pu in an encomium pondered both the Fuxi-Bird [no. 50] and Vermilion Yan-Beast as marking the boundary of reason:



The Fuxi and Vermilion Yan-Beast,
If seen, mean war.
Di erent species, identical e ect:
A cosmic pattern one cannot ignore.
It must be in their nature to be so.
But, their method is too subtle to explore.[96]



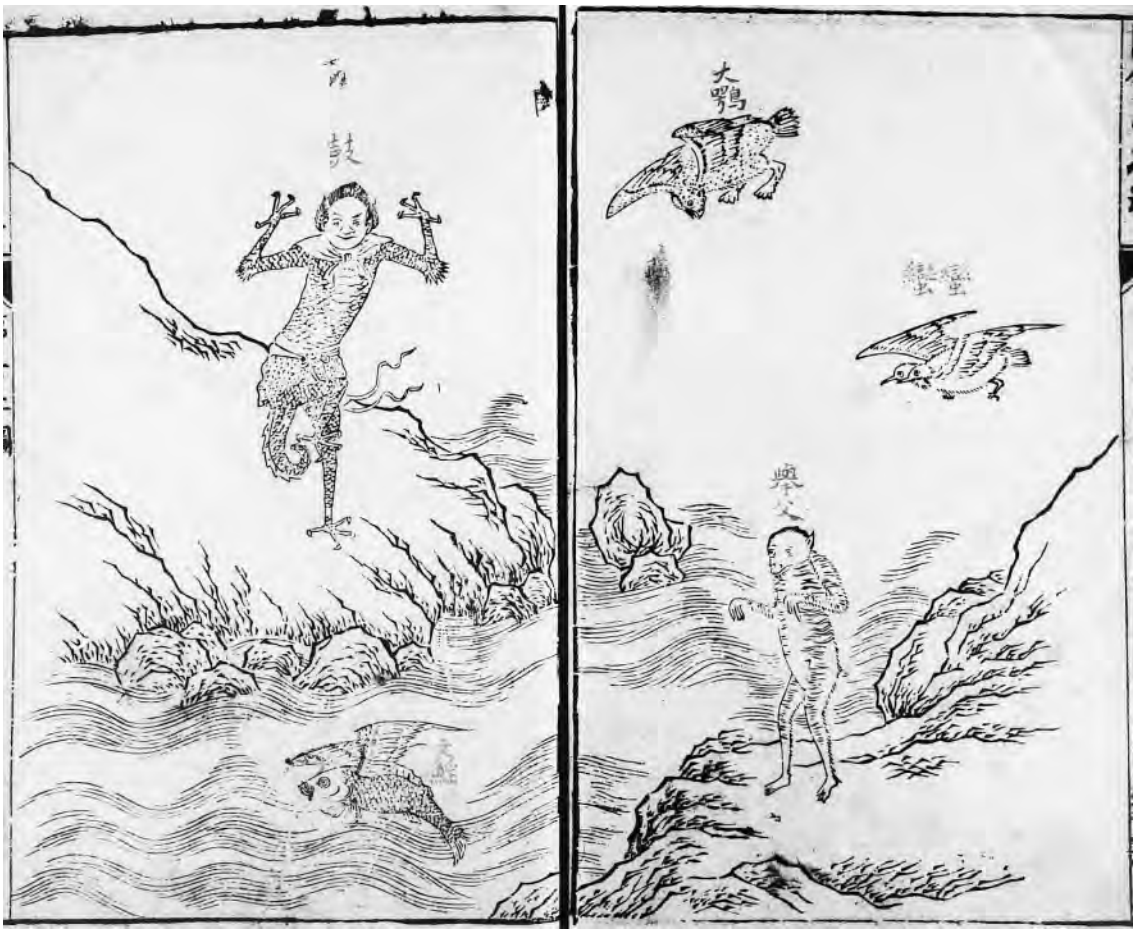
52. MOUNTAIN GODS (SHEN) 神 *The second guideway through the Western Mountains extends for 4,140 li along seventeen mountains from Seal Mountain to Wildweeds Mountain. Ten of the gods here have human faces and horse bodies, while seven of the gods here have human faces and ox bodies with four hooves. The latter grasp a sta with one arm to help them walk, for these are divine flying-beasts. The sacrifice to them is a Lesser Corral with white reeds used for the mats. The sacrifice for the other ten gods is a rooster, a prayer, but no rice o ering.*[97] 鉨 Seal Mountain is named after the seals impressed on documents. A Lesser Corral is the second highest sacrifice after the Grand Corral and consists of a sheep and a pig.

PLATE XII

53. LIFTER (JUFU) 舉父 *The first mountain along the third guideway through the Western Mountains is called Mount Chongwu. It is located south of the Yellow River. To the north, it looks toward Mount Zhongsui, to the south, it looks toward Yao Lake, to the west it looks toward the Great Mountain of the Supreme God's Fighting Beasts, and to the east it looks toward Yan Gorge. There is a tree growing here with round leaves, white sepals, red blossoms, and black veins. Its fruit is like a Zhi-Citrus, and eating it will help one to produce descendants. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Yu-Ape with leopard and tiger markings on its arms. It is adept at throwing things and is called the Jufu.*[98]

54. MANMAN-BIRD (MANMAN) 蠻蠻 *There is a bird here on Mount Chongwu whose form resembles a wild duck with one wing and one eye. It must find a companion in order to fly and is called the Manman. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great flood throughout the world.*[99] 凶 The Manman-Bird is similar to the Shared-Wings Birds mentioned later in chapters 6 and 16 and described there as one green and one red. The latter birds were represented in Han tomb decorations, and this image was eventually domesticated into a popular symbol of conjugal love. However, the Manman-Bird here is an evil omen.[100]

55. DRUM (GU) 鼓 *Fifteen hundred ten li farther northwest stands Bell Mountain. The son of the god of this mountain is named Drum. He possesses the body of a dragon with a human face. Together with Qinpi, he killed Baojiang on the southern slope of Mount Kunlun. The Supreme God Di then executed them on the eastern part of Bell Mountain known as Yao-Stone Cli . Qinpi then metamorphosed into a Giant E-Hawk [no. 56]. He has the form of an eagle with black markings, a white head, a red beak, and tiger's claws. The sound he makes is like that of a Morning-Swan. If seen by people, he is an omen of a great war. Drum also metamorphosed into a Jun-Bird. He has the form of an owl with red feet, a straight beak, yellow markings, and a white head. He makes a sound like that of a swan, and if he is seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought in the town.*[101] 凶 The god of Bell Mountain, Drum's father, is Torch-Darkness, also known as Torch-Dragon [no. 336]. He is described in chapter 8 as red with a human face and a snake's body. In the *Guideways,* as well as in other early myths, he is a god who controls light and dark and wind and rain and who may have been an early sun god. He is also mentioned in the poem "Questions of Heaven" in the *Songs of Chu* (*Chuci: Tianwen,* c. 300 B.C.E.) anthology in which a riddle asks, "What land does the sun not reach to? How does Torch-Dragon light it?" There is a linguistic linkage of bell and drum, as in the common expression "bells and drums" (*zhonggu*), which provides a symbolic logic to Drum's relationship to this place. He is an example of an evil son of a powerful god who is brought to justice. His ally, Qinpi, is mentioned in other early sources under similar names as another mountain god with a human face and a beast's body. By contrast, in the *Master Zhuang,* where he is called Kanpi, he is praised for obtaining the Way and using it to gain control of Mount Kunlun. Their victim, Baojiang, remains unknown. In this passage, the Supreme God, who is probably the Yellow Thearch (Huangdi), plays a characteristic role as the ultimate guarantor of moral and political





order through the power of execution. But since the criminals are divine, they possess the power to metamorphose.[102]

56. GIANT E-HAWK (DAE) 大鶚 The Giant E-hawk is the metamorphosis of Qinpi [see no. 55].

57. MOTTLED FLYING-FISH (WENYAOYU) 文鰩魚 *One hundred eighty li farther west is Great Vessel Mountain. The Observation River emanates from it and flows west into the Desert of Shifting Sands. In it dwell many Mottled Flying-Fish. Its form resembles a carp with a fish's body, bird's wings, blue-black markings, a white head, and a red mouth. It often courses in the Western Sea and swims to the Eastern Sea. The Mottled Flying-Fish flies by night and makes a sound like a Luan-Chicken. It has a sweet-and-sour taste. Eating it can cure insanity. If seen by people, it is an omen of a bountiful harvest throughout the world.*[103] The Mottled Flying-Fish was considered another delicacy in *The Compendium of Mr. Lü.* Its ability to swim or fly from the Western Sea to the Eastern Sea suggests that the Four Seas were regarded as contiguous. The Desert of Shifting Sands refers to the Gobi and other

deserts extending westward into Central Asia, while the Western Sea may indicate one of the rivers or lakes in the area such as the Blue Sea, for large bodies of water beyond the borders of early Chinese civilization could be regarded as "seas." As for the Eastern Sea, it may indicate the sea to the east of China or, as Hao Yixing suggested, another large body of water in the west. Guo Pu was unable to identify the Luan-Chicken, but Hao believed it to be the same as the Luan-Bird [no. 49], for some sources such as *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* describe the latter as a kind of chicken.[104]

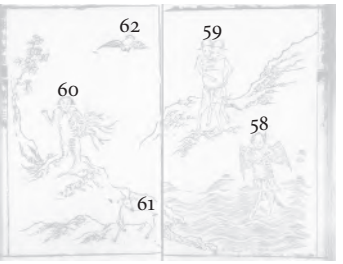
PLATE XIII

58. YINGSHAO 英招 *Three hundred twenty li farther west is Sophora River Mountain. The Qiushi River emanates from it and flows north into the You River and contains many snails. On the mountain's heights is much green realgar, the finest quality of Langgan-Stone, yellow gold, and jade. On its southern slope are many grains of cinnabar, while on its northern slope are much glittering yellow gold and silver. This place is actually the location of the Supreme God's Garden of Peace. Yingshao is in charge of it. His form resembles the body of a horse with a human face, tiger's stripes, and bird's wings. Yingshao travels a circuit through the Four Seas and makes a sound like reading books aloud. This mountain provides a view south toward Mount Kunlun, whose aura is fiery brilliant and whose energy is powerfully abundant. To the west is a view of the Grand Lake where Lord Millet (Houji) is buried. In the middle of it is much jade, while along its southern banks are many giant Yao-Trees from whose tops grow many Ruo-Trees. To the north is a view of Mount Zhubi, where the Sophora Tree Demon, Lilun, resides. It is also the dwelling place of hawks and falcons. To the east is a view of the four levels of Constancy Mountain. The Exhausted Demons reside here, each group occupying a corner of the mountain.*[105] 凶

As the guideway approaches Mount Kunlun, the mountains in the vicinity partake of the spiritual power of this *axis mundi.* This is reflected in the increased number of rare objects and strange creatures at Sophora River Mountain, just four hundred *li* to the northeast, as well as on those mountains that can be seen from it. Langgan-Stone is a rare, highly valued mineral that Guo Pu stated resembled pearl. The glossary *Approaching Refinement* considered the Langgan-Stone on nearby Mount Kunlun to be the finest. The Ruo-Tree is a divine tree also said to grow at the Western Extremity, where the sun sets, and is described in chapter 17 as red with green leaves and red blossoms. Like Kunlun, this mountain is also directly connected with the Supreme God, who possesses a garden here administered by Yingshao. Commentators from Guo Pu on have identified it with the mythical Dark Garden, also known as the Suspended Garden, both of which are mentioned in several early texts, though they are usually located on Mount Kunlun. Guo Pu noted that Lord Millet underwent a metamorphosis in the Grand Lake after his death and became its god, while Hao Yixing assumed that this place was Lord Millet Lake mentioned earlier along this guideway at Secret Mountain. However, the *Guideways* also records two other burial sites for Lord Millet. Nothing further is known about Lilun and the Exhausted Demons. Guo Pu considered the latter a generic name for various types.[106]

59. A CELESTIAL GOD (TIANSHEN) 天神 *At Sophora River Mountain there is also the Overflowing River, whose water is clear and flows freely. There is a*





celestial god here whose form resembles an ox with eight feet, two heads, and a horse's tail. He makes a buzzing sound like a beetle. If seen by people, he is an omen of war in the town.[107] 凶 This god apparently has no name.

60. LUWU 陸吾 *Four hundred li farther southwest is Mount Kunlun. It is actually the earthly capital of the Supreme God Di. The god Luwu administers it. His divine form resembles a tiger's body with nine tails, a human face, and tiger's claws. This god administers the nine regions of heaven as well as the cycle of four seasons in the Supreme God's garden.*[108] 凶 Mount Kunlun, the most important mountain in early Chinese mythology, is mentioned in several other entries in the *Guideways* but is described most fully here. Guo Pu, in his encomium, called it a Pillar of Heaven. Four rivers, the Yellow, Red, Black, and Oceanic Rivers, are said to emanate from it, and it abounds in strange beasts and birds. Among the strange flora is a tree called the Sand-Pear with yellow blossoms and red, pitless fruits that taste like plums. This fruit was considered one of the finest delicacies in *The Compendium of Mr.*

Lü. It can protect against floods. Whoever eats it will not drown, because the wood of the tree was believed to be unsinkable. The Pin-Plant also found here has the form of a sunflower and tastes like scallions. It may be a kind of duckweed or mallow and was considered one of the finest vegetables in *The Compendium.* Eating it will cure fatigue. In addition to the Tulou [no. 61] and the Qinyuan-Bird [no. 62] mentioned below, there is also a bird named the Quail-Bird, which is in charge of the hundred storehouses of Di. It is thought by some commentators to be a kind of Feng-Bird [nos. 271, 330]. Another strange creature often located on the mountain but not mentioned here is the Beast-Facing-East [no. 269]. As described in chapter 11, it has a large tiger's body and nine human heads and also serves as a guardian. Guo Pu considered it a specific beast who guards the gates to the mountain, but Yuan Ke suggested that it may have been regarded as identical to Luwu. The "nine regions" of heaven probably refer to the astronomical sectors of the sky believed to be controlled by divine stars and constellations. While some Han-dynasty depictions of Mount Kunlun represent a Nine-Tail Fox, Luwu seems to have disappeared from the pantheon in later Chinese mythology, which established the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275] as the dominant goddess of Kunlun.[109]

61. TULOU 土螻 *There is a beast here on Mount Kunlun whose form resembles a goat with four horns. It is called the Tulou, and it is a man-eater.*[110]

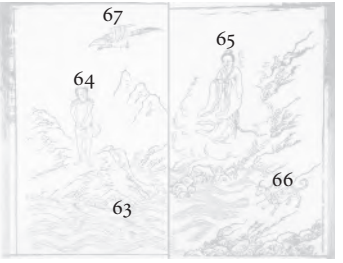
62. QINYUAN-BIRD (QINYUAN) 欽原 *There is a bird dwelling here on Mount Kunlun whose form resembles a bee but is as large as a mandarin duck. It is called the Qinyuan. Its sting will kill other birds and beasts and cause trees to dry up.*[111]

PLATE XIV

63. HUA-FISH (HUAYU) 鯥魚 *Three hundred seventy li farther west is Happy-Swimming Mountain. The Peach River emanates from it and flows west into Lord Millet Lake, which contains much white jade and many Hua-Fish. It has the form of a snake with four legs and consumes other fish.*[112] 凹 Lord Millet Lake appears earlier along this guideway as the place where Lord Millet is buried [see no. 58]. There it is also said to contain much white jade. This Hua-Fish di ers from no. 164, although both names are written with the same graphs.[113]

64. LONG-RIDE (CHANGCHENG) 長乘 *Four hundred li farther west by water route is the Desert of Shifting Sands and after another two hundred li, one arrives at Wasp Mountain. The god Long-Ride administers it. He is the Nine Powers of Heaven. His divine form resembles a human with a Zhuo-Leopard's tail. On the heights of this mountain is found much jade, while at its feet is much Green-Stone. There are no rivers.*[114] 凹 The Nine Powers of Heaven have not been identified, but Guo Pu stated in his encomium that Long-Ride was born from their energies and embodies their mystery. The Zhuo-Leopard appears in two other places in the *Guideways,* and later sources have described it as a kind of leopard with or without spots. Green-Stone has not yet been further identified. An earlier reader who wrote in the names of some of the strange creatures next to the images mistakenly confused the image of Long-Ride





with that of the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275], and vice versa.[115]

65. QUEEN MOTHER OF THE WEST (XI-WANGMU) 西王母 *Three hundred fifty li farther west is Jade Mountain. This is where the Queen Mother of the West dwells. The Queen Mother of the West resembles a human with a leopard's tail and tiger's teeth. She is adept at whistling and wears a Sheng-Crown on top of her unkempt hair. She administers calamities from heaven as well as five punishments.*[116] This is probably the earliest surviving description of this goddess. She appears here as dwelling not on Mount Kunlun, where she was later located, but on nearby Jade Mountain. According to Guo Pu, the mountain takes its name from its abundance of jade. Her skillful whistling may be a shamanistic technique used for summoning gods and demons, and this image is underscored by her unkempt hair. Her distinctive Sheng-Crown, which Guo believed was made of jade, has been represented as two discs connected by a rod. While Guo Pu commented that the phrase "calamities of heaven as well as five pun-

ishments" meant that the Queen Mother commanded disasterous and murderous energies, Hao Yixing argued that this referred to two stars named "Calamities" and "Five Punishments." The Queen Mother thus initially appears as a fearsome, avenging goddess. She makes another notable appearance in *The Chronicle of King Mu* (*Mutianzi zhuan,* Warring States–c. 4th cent. C.E.), where she receives the touring Zhou dynasty king in her domain in the west and responds to his ritual song with two of her own. Guo Pu's encomium on her refers to the events of this text, and he interprets a line from it to mean that she is a daughter of the Supreme God. By the Han dynasty, she was recorded as dispensing immortality, usually on Mount Kunlun, and was also paired with the King Father of the East as symbols of yin-and-yang cosmology. Widely represented in Han tomb art, she usually appears as a human rather than as a hybrid, sometimes with some of the creatures mentioned in the *Guideways.* In a further phase of development, her image underwent even more refinement in religious Daoism, becoming by the Tang dynasty a beautiful goddess dispensing peaches of immortality to various humanized gods and Transcendents at the Yao-Stone Pool on Mount Kunlun [see no. 275].[117]

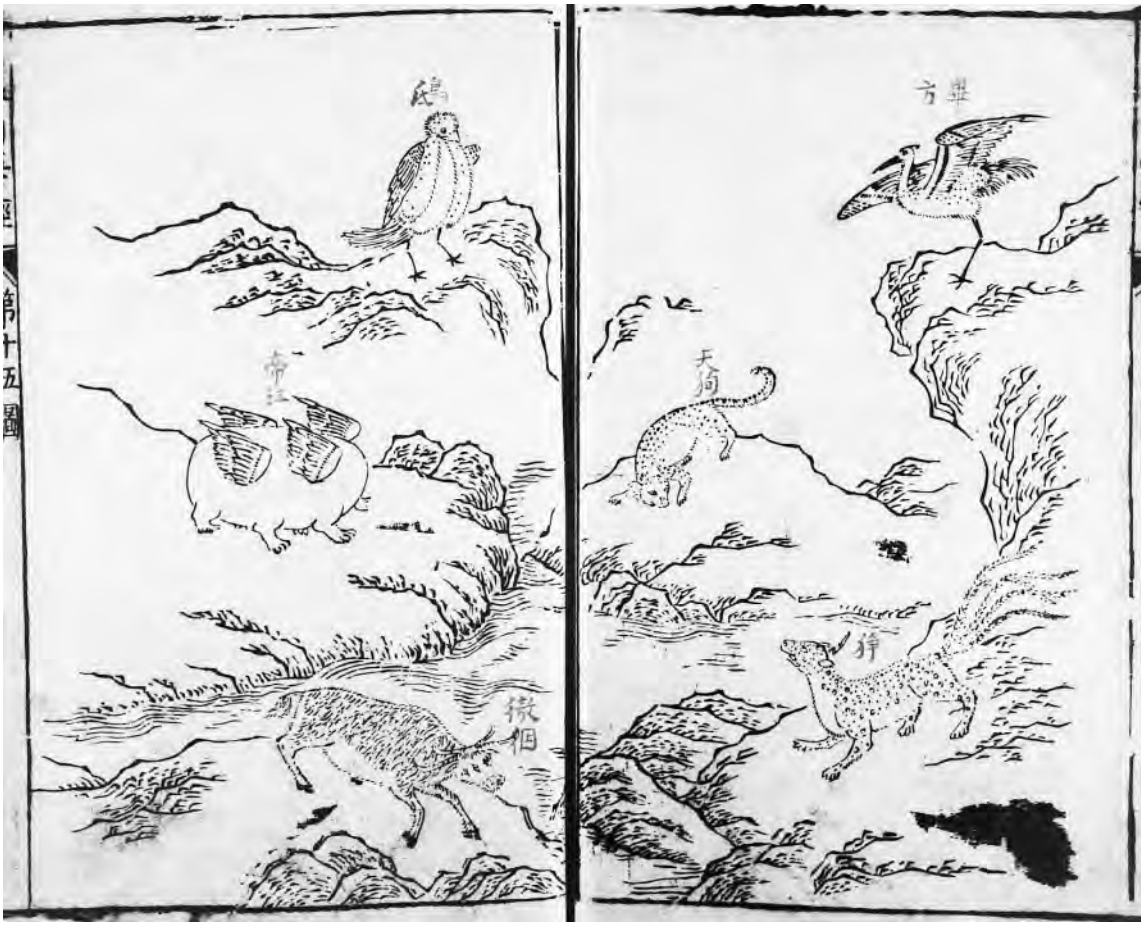
66. JIAO-BEAST (JIAO) 狡 *There is a beast dwelling here on Jade Mountain whose form resembles a dog with leopard's markings and horns like an ox's. It is called the Jiao, and it makes a sound like a barking dog. If it is seen by people, it is an omen of a bountiful harvest throughout the state.*[118] 凹 Guo Pu noted that closer to his own time in 286 C.E., a similar beast was trapped in Fuyi, Shaoling (modern Yancheng, Henan). It had leopard spots and two horns but lacked front feet. Although people regarded it at the time as a Jiao-Beast, Guo doubted that it was the same animal.[119]

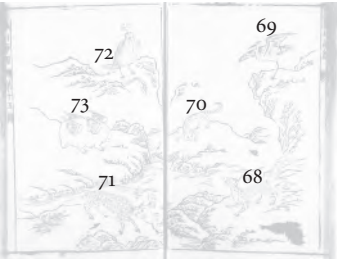
67. XINGYU-BIRD (XINGYU) 胜遇 *There is a bird dwelling here on Jade Mountain whose form resembles a pheasant but is red. It is called the Xingyu and consumes fish. It makes a sound like a deer, and if seen by people, it is an omen of a great flood throughout the state.*[120]

PLATE XV

68. ZHENG 猙 *One thousand two hundred sixty li farther west stands Mount Zhang'e. It lacks plants and trees but contains much Yao-Stone and green jade. There are many strange things here. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a red leopard with five tails and a single horn. It makes a sound like stones striking one another and is called the Zheng.*[121]

69. BIFANG-BIRD (BIFANG) 畢方 *There is a bird here on Mount Zhang'e whose form resembles a crane with a single foot, red markings on a green ground, and a white beak. It is called the Bifang and makes a sound like its name. If seen by people, it is an omen of an inexplicable fire in the town.*[122] 凹 The Bifang-Bird appears in two different traditions in early mythology. In the *Master Hanfei* (*Hanfeizi,* before 233 B.C.E.), it is an auspicious, divine creature that accompanied the Yellow Thearch's carriage when he traveled through the sky to an assembly of gods and demons on the Supreme Mountain. Here though, it appears as an evil omen associated with fire. Later,





in the *Master of Huainan* (*Huainanzi,* c. 139 B.C.E.), it is said to be born from wood, one of the Five Agents, and is wood's divine essence. It was also represented among the engravings on the walls of the Wu Liang Shrine (c. 151 C.E.). Guo Pu's encomium reiterates the image of the Bifang-Bird as a dangerous bearer of fire and suggests that this characteristic is related to its red color. It appears again in chapter 6 [see no. 216].[123]

70. CELESTIAL-DOG (TIANGOU) 天狗 *Three hundred li farther west stands Dark Mountain. The Muddy-Bath River emanates from it and flows south into Fan-Plant Lake. It contains many cowrie shells. There is a beast here whose form resembles a wildcat but with a white head. It is called the Tiangou and makes a sound like a cat. It can repel evil forces.*[124] Guo Pu's encomium states that the Celestial-Dog is small in size and can aid the ruler in repelling evil if eaten or worn from the belt as a talisman. He also wrote about the cowrie shells, observing that they were considered valuable and often used as money in ancient China based on their markings and size.[125]

71. AOYIN 徼俀 *Four hundred twenty li farther west stands Three-Dangers Mountain, where the Three Green-Birds dwell. This mountain is one hundred li in circumference. On its heights dwells a beast whose form resembles an ox but with a white body, four horns, and hair like the straw used in rain capes. Its is called the Aoyin and is a man-eater.*[126]

凹 Various commentators believed that this Three-Dangers Mountain is the one located near the later Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in modern Dunhuang, Gansu. It is said to have three peaks, which accounts for its name. Elsewhere in Chinese mythology, a mountain with this name is also mentioned as the place where the Three-Sprouts People [see nos. 218, 313, 335] were exiled after their revolt against the thearch Shun (trad. r. 2042–1993 B.C.E.) was quelled. They were a confederation of southern tribes that advanced northward during the Neolithic period and were said to have been defeated by various thearchs during the third millennium B.C.E. The Three Green-Birds [no. 276] are later recorded in chapters 12 and 16 as bringing food to the Queen Mother of the West. Perhaps they, along with the Three-Sprouts People, were associated with this mountain because of the symbolic significance of the number three.[127]

72. CHI-BIRD (CHI) 鴟 *There is a bird here on Three-Dangers Mountain with one head and three bodies whose form resembles a Lo-Bird. It is called the Chi.*[128]

凹 Guo Pu noted that the Lo-Bird was like an eagle but with black markings and a red throat. The Chi-Bird's three bodies seem a further example of the motif of three at this mountain.[129]

73. DIJIANG 帝江 *Five hundred forty li farther west stands Celestial Mountain. It contains an abundance of metal and jade, and there is green realgar. The Eminent River emanates from it and flows southwest into Hot Valley. There is a god here whose form resembles a yellow sack with a red aura like cinnabar. He has six legs and four wings and exists in a state of confusion with no face or eyes. He knows how to sing and dance for he is, in fact, Dijiang.*[130] 凹 Several other versions of this passage classify Dijiang as a divine bird, which may be explained by his ability to sing and dance like the Luan- and Feng-Birds. Through various lines of associative reasoning and linguistic connections, Dijiang has been seen by commentators as related or identical to a personification of cosmogonic chaos known as Hundun. This conclusion is largely based on reading the line "[he] exists in a state of confusion (*hundun*)" as the proper name Hundun. Hundun most notably appears in a fable in the *Master Zhuang,* though there his name is written with a variant graph:

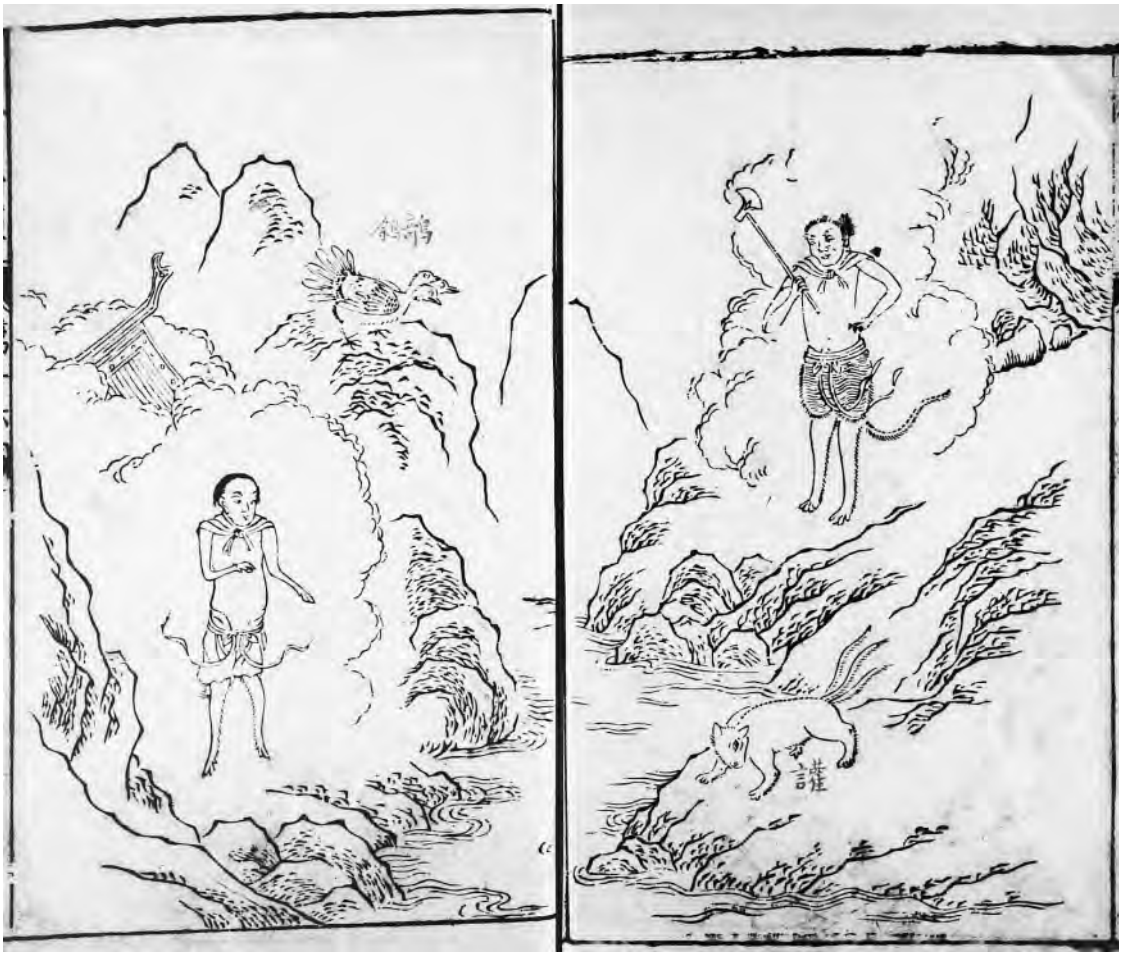
> The thearch of the Southern Sea was named "Sudden," the thearch of the Northern Sea was named "Hasty," and the thearch of the Center was named "Hundun." Once Sudden and Hasty together paid a visit to Hundun's domain and were treated most courteously by him. They discussed among themselves how to repay his generosity saying, "All men have seven orifices to see, hear, eat, and breathe. Only he does not. Why not drill them for him?" Every day, they drilled one hole, but after seven days, Hundun died.

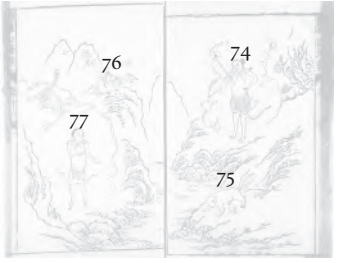
Here Hundun can be read as a figure of primordial chaos who is a victim of purposeful activity, destroyed by the well-intentioned though dangerously misguided e orts of

humanizing civilization. The fable thus reflects the philosopher's nostalgia for a golden age of primitive society when all life was believed to be in accord with the simple patterns of the natural Way (Dao). It is tempting to see the image of Dijiang as that of the undi erentiated cosmos. His four wings, six legs, and lack of face and eyes indicate directionless movement. His sacklike physique encompassing emptiness suggests creation myths in which the universe comes into existence from the body of a god. There is another historiographical tradition in *Zuo's Narratives to the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu zuozhuan,* c. late 4th cent. B.C.E.) in which Hundun is the evil son of Thearch Hong (Dihong). He is called Hundun, that is, Confusion, because of his lack of moral consciousness. As one of four evil o spring of thearchs, Hundun is finally banished along with the rest by Shun, who sends them all to the periphery to quell demons. Following another line of linguistic reasoning, Yuan Ke (1916–) conflated both traditions by identifying Dijiang with Thearch Hong and also with the Yellow Thearch, the latter considered the Thearch of the Center in Five Agents cosmology. Hundun continued as a personified form into the Han and early Six Dynasties period, when he was canonized as part of various sets of gods; thereafter his image seems to have disappeared from religious pantheons. However, Hundun survived in later Chinese thought as an abstract term denoting an impersonal state of universal chaos before the birth of the bipolar forces yin and yang. It is in this sense that Guo Pu understands him in his encomium by stating that the figure Dijiang is, in substance, cosmic confusion. Despite all these ingenious and suggestive readings, the textual basis in this passage of the *Guideways* for identifying Dijiang (literally, Thearch Long River) with the mythical figure Hundun is slim, and he can simply be regarded as a strange creature in his own right.[131]

PLATE XVI

74. RUSHOU 蓐收 *Two hundred ninety li farther west is Mount You. The god Rushou dwells here. On its heights is much Yingduan-Jade. On its southern slope is much Jinyu-Jade, while on its northern slope is much green realgar. This mountain has a view to the west of the place where the sun sets. The sun's appearance is round, and the god Red-Glow (Hongguang) administers it.*[132] 凹 Yingduan-Jade has been identified with Yingyuan-Jade [see no. 39], a kind of jade suitable for wearing as a necklace. Jinyu-Jade remains unidentified, although it appears in other early texts as a precious stone. Rushou is an ancient god with roots in Shang-dynasty beliefs. Guo Pu described him as the god of metal in Five Agents cosmology with a human face, tiger's claws, and a white tail and who holds a yue-ax, symbolizing his authority to execute others. In chapter 7, Rushou is described again, this time as wearing a snake through his left ear and riding on two dragons, the latter motif typical of divine figures who can travel between heaven and earth [see no. 241]. Guo commented here that he had white hair instead of a white tail indicating, perhaps, a misprint in the text. During the Eastern Zhou, Rushou was paired with another god, Goumang, as brothers representing the west and east, respectively. He was also identified as the god of punishments, hence the yue-ax of execution. Early historians connected him to the thearch Lesser-Brilliance (Shaohao) either genealogically or bureaucratically. His cult continued to be officially supported in the Han, though it began to decline by the end of the dynasty. There was a brief revival as late as the





Tang, however. As for Red-Glow, Guo Pu could not identify him, but Hao Yixing believed that he was, in fact, Rushou.[133]

75. HUAN 讙 *One hundred li traveling by water farther west stands Wing-View Mountain, which lacks plants and trees but contains much metal and jade. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a wildcat with one eye and three tails. It is called the Huan, and it is capable of uttering all kinds of sounds. This creature can repel evil forces. If a piece is worn against the skin, it will cure jaundice.*[134]

76. YIYU-BIRD (YIYU) 鵸鵌 *There is a bird dwelling here on Wing-View Mountain whose form resembles a crow with three heads and six tails. It is adept at laughing and is called the Yiyu. Wearing a piece of it against the skin will prevent nightmares. It can also repel evil.*[135] 凹 Guo Pu's encomium noted that both the Yiyu-Bird and the Huan [no. 75] possess features in multiples of three, which may be why this bird is also said to repel evil.[136]

77. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The third guideway through the Western Mountains extends for 6,744 li along twenty-three mountains from Mount Chongwu to Wing-View Mountain. The gods of these mountains all have the body of a goat with a human face. The proper sacrifice to them is the burial of a piece of painted jade, and for the grain o ering, millet and hulled rice are used.*[137]

PLATE XVII

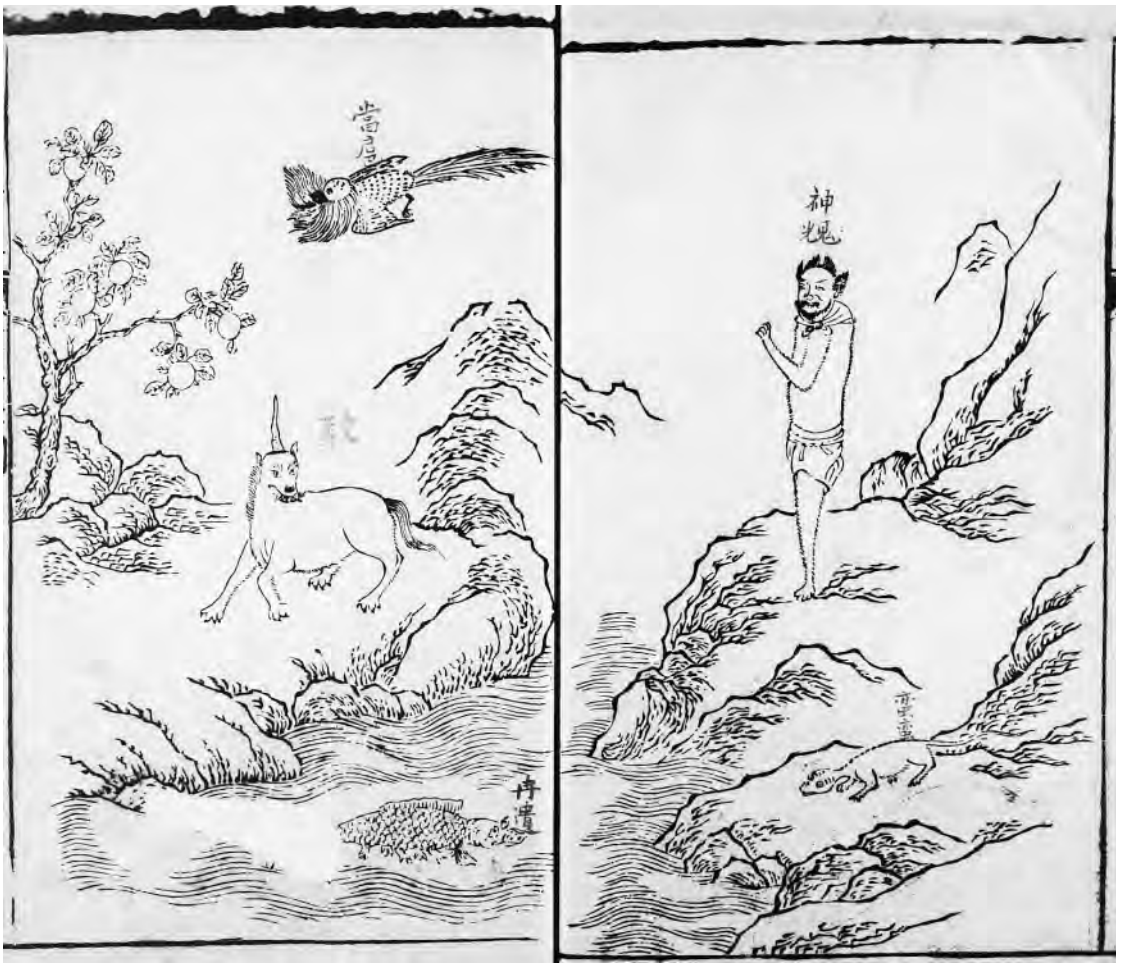
78. DANGHU-BIRD (DANGHU) 當扈 *Four hundred ninety li northwest from the beginning of the fourth guideway through the Western Mountains stands Upper-Shen Mountain. There are no plants or trees on its heights but many huge rocks. At its feet grow many hazelnut trees and arrow-thorn bushes. Among the beasts here are many white deer, and among the birds are many Danghu-Birds. The Danghu-Bird's form resembles a pheasant, and it flies by means of its throat feathers. Eating it will prevent the deterioration of eyesight. The Hot River emanates from this mountain and flows east into the Yellow River.*[138] 凹 In his encomium, Guo Pu regarded the way this bird flies as exemplifying the minimalist spirit of the Daoist philosophical text *The Old Master* (*Laozi,* late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) by alluding to it in the last two lines:

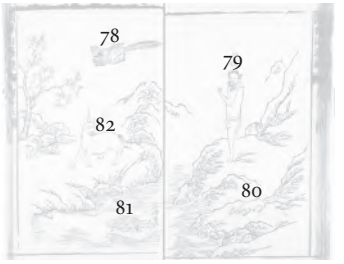
> Most birds fly with their wings.
> Whiskers suffice for the Danghu.
> It employs the sparse and eschews the many
> Yet has more than enough to make do.
> As the hub allows a wheel to turn on cue,
> From emptiness does the greatest use ensue.[139]

79. CHUI-SPIRIT (SHENCHUI) 神魌 *One thousand three hundred five li farther northwest stands Hard Mountain, which contains many lacquer trees and much Tufou-Jade. The Hard River emanates from it and flows northward into the Wei. Here are found many Chui-Spirits. The Chui-Spirit's form resembles a human face on a beasts's body with a single foot and a single hand. It makes a sound like chanting.*[140] 凹 Tufou-Jade remains unidentified. Guo Pu considered the Chui-Spirits a kind of Chimei-Hobgoblin [see no. 287], a class of malevolent demons that were popularly believed to dwell in dark, hidden places in the landscape such as marshes, forests, or mountains, causing danger for unwary travelers.[141]

80. MANMAN 蠻蠻 *Two hundred li farther west stands the tail of Hard Mountain. The Luo River emanates from it and flows northward into the Yellow River. Many Manman dwell in it. The Manman's form resembles a rat's body with a turtle's head, and it makes a sound like a dog barking.*[142] 凹 Hao Yixing believed that this Manman was a kind of beaver or otter. Though written with the same graphs, it is di erent from the Manman-Bird [no. 54].[143]

81. RANYI-FISH (RANYI) 冉遺 *Three hundred fifty li farther west stands Mount Yingdi. On its heights are many lacquer trees, and at its feet is much metal and*





jade. All the beasts and birds here are white. The Yuan River emanates from it and flows northward into Hill-Goat Lake. Many Ranyi-Fish dwell here. The Ranyi-Fish has the body of a fish with a snake's head, six feet, and eyes like a horse's ears. Eating it will prevent blindness. It can also repel evil forces.[144]

82. BO 駁 *Three hundred li farther west stands Mount Winding-Center. There is much jade on its southern slope and much realgar, white jade, and metal on its northern slope. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a horse but with a white body, black tail, a single horn, and tiger's teeth and claws. It makes a sound like a drum and is called the Bo. The Bo devours tigers and leopards. It can also protect against weapons. There is a tree growing here that resembles a wild plum but with round leaves and red fruit that is as large as a papaya. It is called the Huai-Tree, and eating of it will increase one's strength.*[145] 凶 Guo Pu noted that the Bo specifically protects against weapons if domesticated. He also noted that it was depicted in the *Illustrations of Fright-*

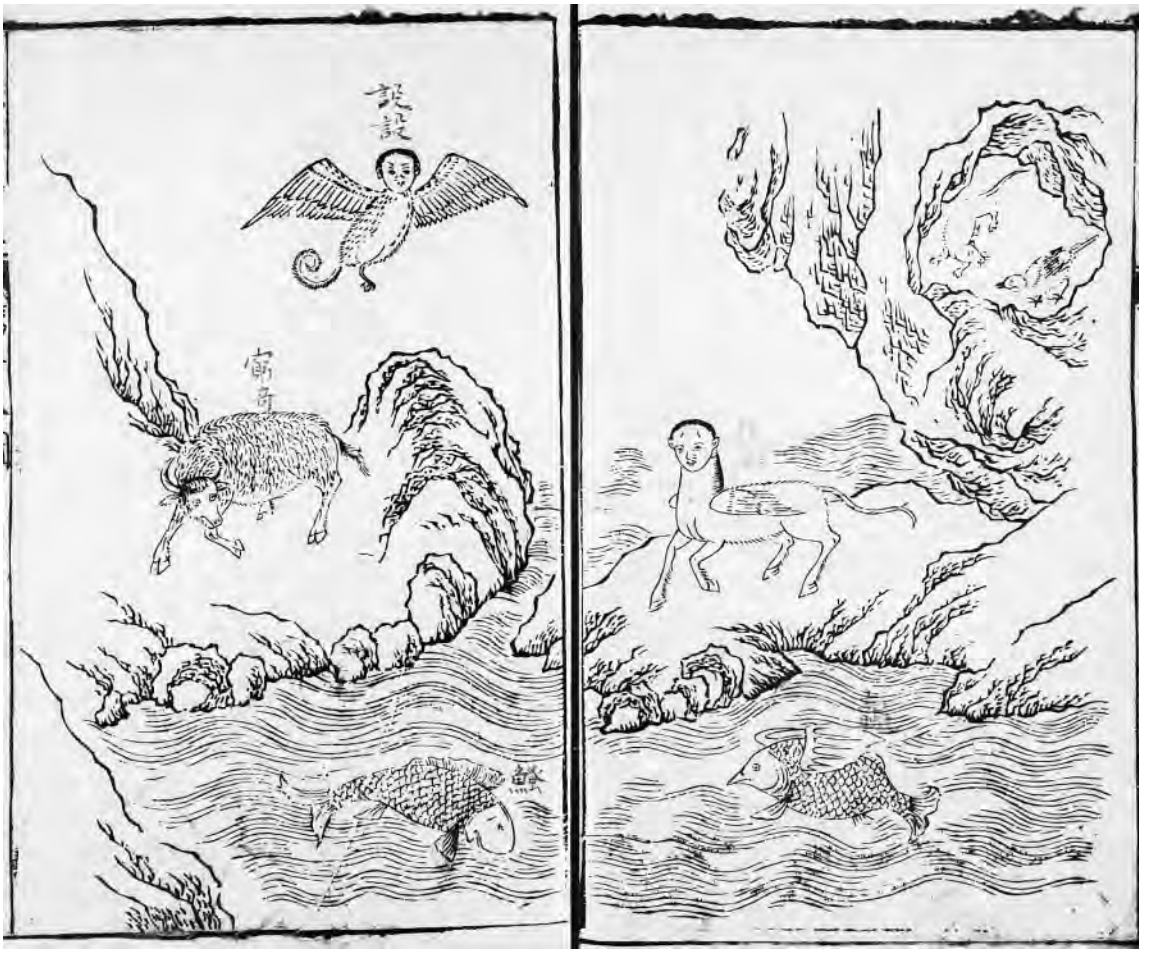
ening Animals. The Bo is also mentioned in chapter 8 [no. 251], where it is described as having sawlike teeth and dwelling in the lands within the Northern Sea. It was this animal that Duke Huan of Qi's horse resembled, according to his prime minister, Guan Zhong.[146]

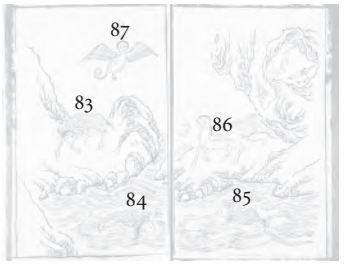
PLATE XVIII

83. THOROUGHLY-ODD (QIONGQI) 窮奇 *Two hundred sixty li farther west stands Mount Gui. There is a beast dwelling on its heights whose form resembles an ox with the needles of a Wei-Porcupine. It is called Qiongqi and makes a sound like a dog howling. It is a man-eater.*[147] 凹 Thoroughly-Odd is said to devour people who wear their long hair untied, a style characteristic of demons and shamans. The victims are consumed beginning with the head. According to another version, they are consumed beginning with the feet, which may have been reflected in di erent early illustrations. Thoroughly-Odd was historicized as another untalented son of a thearch, Lesser-Brilliance, in the same passage of *Zuo's Narratives* that mentioned Hundun [see no. 73]. Like Hundun, he later became a fierce god in the Han. The *Master of Huainan* states that he was born from the Northern Desert Wind. He was one of twelve divinities who were invoked in the official Grand Exorcism held at the end of the lunar year in the imperial palace. Specifically, he ate insect-poison, thus indicating a beneficial aspect. Thoroughly-Odd also appears again in chapter 12 [no. 283], where he is described as resembling a tiger with wings. A later expanded description in the *Guideway to Gods and Anomalies* (*Shenyijing,* Western Han–Six Dynasties), however, presents Thoroughly-Odd as a perverse creature who devours those who are loyal and trustworthy but o ers freshly killed meat to the evil and rebellious. Perhaps because an alternate version of this text describes him as having a human body with a dog's head and as making a sound like a dog, Guo Pu in an encomium pronounced him a "divine dog."[148]

84. SAO-FISH (SAOYU) 鰷魚 *Two hundred twenty li farther west is the Mountain Where Bird and Rat Share a Hole. On its heights are many white tigers and much white jade. The Wei River emanates from here and flows east into the Yellow River. In it dwell many Sao-Fish. The Sao-Fish resembles a sturgeon, and when it swims about, it is an omen of a great army arriving in the town.*[149] 凹 According to Guo Pu, the mountain is home to the Tu-Rat, which resembles the common household rat though with a short tail, and the Tu-Bird, which resembles a yellow swallow. They share a burrow three or four feet deep, indicated in the upper right. The rat is said to dwell within and the bird outside in front. Other early sources state that they are either hermaphroditic or without gender. Guo marveled in his encomium that they achieved domestic harmony although they were seemingly unsuited to each other by nature.[150]

85. RUPI-FISH (RUPI ZHI YU) 鴽鼬之魚 *The Flooding River emanates from the west of the Mountain Where Bird and Rat Share a Hole and flows westward into the Han River. Many Rupi-Fish dwell here. The Rupi-Fish has the form of an overturned cooking pan with a bird's head, fish's wings, and a fish's tail. It makes a sound like stone chimes and gives birth to pearls and jade.*[151] 凹 The illustration seems





to have been mislabeled by an earlier reader who wrote in the name Luo to indicate the Luo-Fish. The Luo-Fish appears earlier as dwelling in the Misty River, which emanates from Mount Gui [see no. 83]. It has the body of a fish with bird's wings and makes a sound like a mandarin duck. It is an evil omen, for if seen by people there will be a great flood in the town. Though both fishes have wings, the illustration clearly indicates a bird's head, which only the Rupi-Fish possesses.[152]

86. SHUHU 孰湖 *Three hundred sixty li farther southwest is Mount Yanzi. On its heights are many Cinnabar-Trees whose leaves are like the mulberry and whose fruits are as large as gourds, with red calyxes and black markings. Eating from it will cure jaundice, and it can repel fire. On the southern slope of the mountain are many tortoises, and on the northern slope is much jade. The Broomstraw River emanates from it and flows westward into the sea. It contains many fine and rough grinding stones. There is a beast here whose form resembles the body of a horse but with bird's wings, a human face, and a snake's tail.*

It likes to lift people up and is called the Shuhu.[153] 凹 This mountain is mentioned in the poem "On Encountering Sorrow" in the *Songs of Chu* anthology (*Chuci: Lisao*) as a place in the far west where the sun sets. It is not quite clear just why the Shuhu likes to lift people up, though Guo Pu's comment and encomium suggest that it does so as a sign of a ection.[154]

87. A BIRD (NIAO) 鳥 *There is a bird dwelling here on Mount Yanzi whose form resembles an owl but with a human face, the body of a Wei-Monkey [no. 201], and the tail of a dog. It makes a sound like its name. If seen, it is an omen of a great drought in the town.*[155] 凹 The name of this bird is missing in the text. An earlier reader wrote in the graphs *Sheshe* above the illustration, but this name does not appear anywhere in the *Guideways.*

PLATE XIX

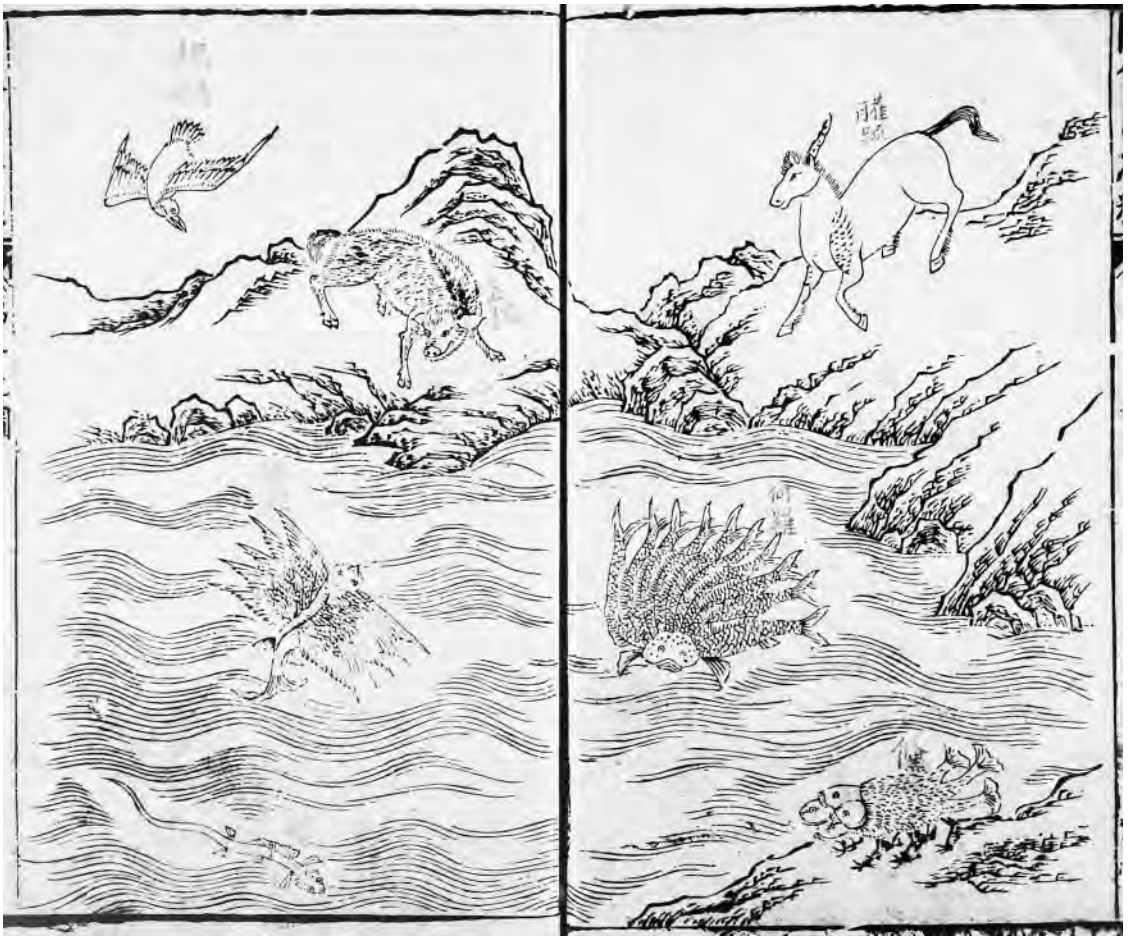
88. SLIPPERY-FISH (HUAYU) 滑魚 *Two hundred li north of the beginning of the first guideway through the Northern Mountains stands Seeking-Similarity Mountain. On its heights is much copper, and at its feet is much jade. It lacks plants and trees. The Slippery River emanates from it and flows west into the Zhubi River. In it dwell many Slippery-Fish. This fish's form resembles an eel with a red back, and it makes a sound like quarreling. Eating it will cure tumors.*[156]

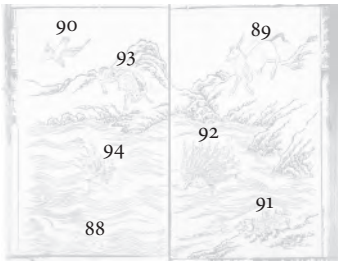
89. HUANSHU 臛疏 *Three hundred li north stands Belt Mountain. On its heights is much jade, and below is much green jade. There is a beast here whose form resembles a horse with a single horn that can be used to grind things. It is called the Huanshu, and it can repel fire.*[157]

90. YIYU-BIRD (YIYU) 鵸鵌 *There is a bird dwelling on Belt Mountain whose form resembles a crow though five-colored with red markings. It is called the Yiyu, and it has both male and female organs. Eating it will cure carbuncles.*[158] 凹 This Yiyu-Bird has the same name as no. 76 but is a di erent creature.

91. SHU-FISH (SHUYU) 鯈魚 *The Peng River emanates from Belt Mountain and flows west into Hidden-Lake River. In it dwell many Shu-Fish. The Shu-Fish's form resembles a chicken but with red feathers, three tails, six feet, and four heads. It makes a sound like a magpie. Eating it will cure melancholy.*[159] 凹 An alternate version of this passage preserved in the encyclopedia *Ocean of Jade* (*Yuhai,* 1266) states that these fish have four eyes instead of four heads, and they are depicted thus in the Wu Renchen edition portrait. Hao Yixing noted that in his own time, the Cantonese prized a similar fish also known as the Shu, which he believed to be the same. This fish resembled a chicken with soft scales and with multiple feet and tails, the latter resembling eight belts. They considered it a delicacy when salted and often preserved it for long periods.[160]

92. HELUO-FISH (HELUO ZHI YU) 何羅之魚 *Four hundred li farther north stands Bright-Tower Mountain. The Tower River emanates from it and flows west into the Yellow River. In it dwell many Heluo-Fish. The Heluo-Fish has one head and ten bodies*





and makes a sound like a barking dog. Eating it will cure tumors.[161] 凶 Yang Shen wrote in his *Encomiums on Strange Fish* (*Yiyu tuzan,* 1544) that the Heluo-Fish transformed itself into a bird known as the Never-Old, which stole rice kernels from the pestle during threshing, only to fall into the mortar and die. It also would let out a cry when it flew by at night and was said to be scared o by thunder. Other commentators have suggested that perhaps this is the same as a ten-headed bird known as the Guhuo and also as the Demon's Carriage.[162]

93. MENGHUAI 孟槐 *There is a beast dwelling here at Bright-Tower Mountain whose form resembles a porcupine with red bristles. It makes a sound like a wildcat and is called the Menghuai. It can repel evil forces.*[163] 凶 According to Guo Pu's encomium, the Menghuai was depicted in the *Illustrations of Frightening Creatures.*[164]

94. XIXI-FISH (XIXI ZHI YU) 鰼鰼之魚 *Three hundred fifty li farther north stands Trickling-Brilliance Mountain. The Raucous River emanates from here and*

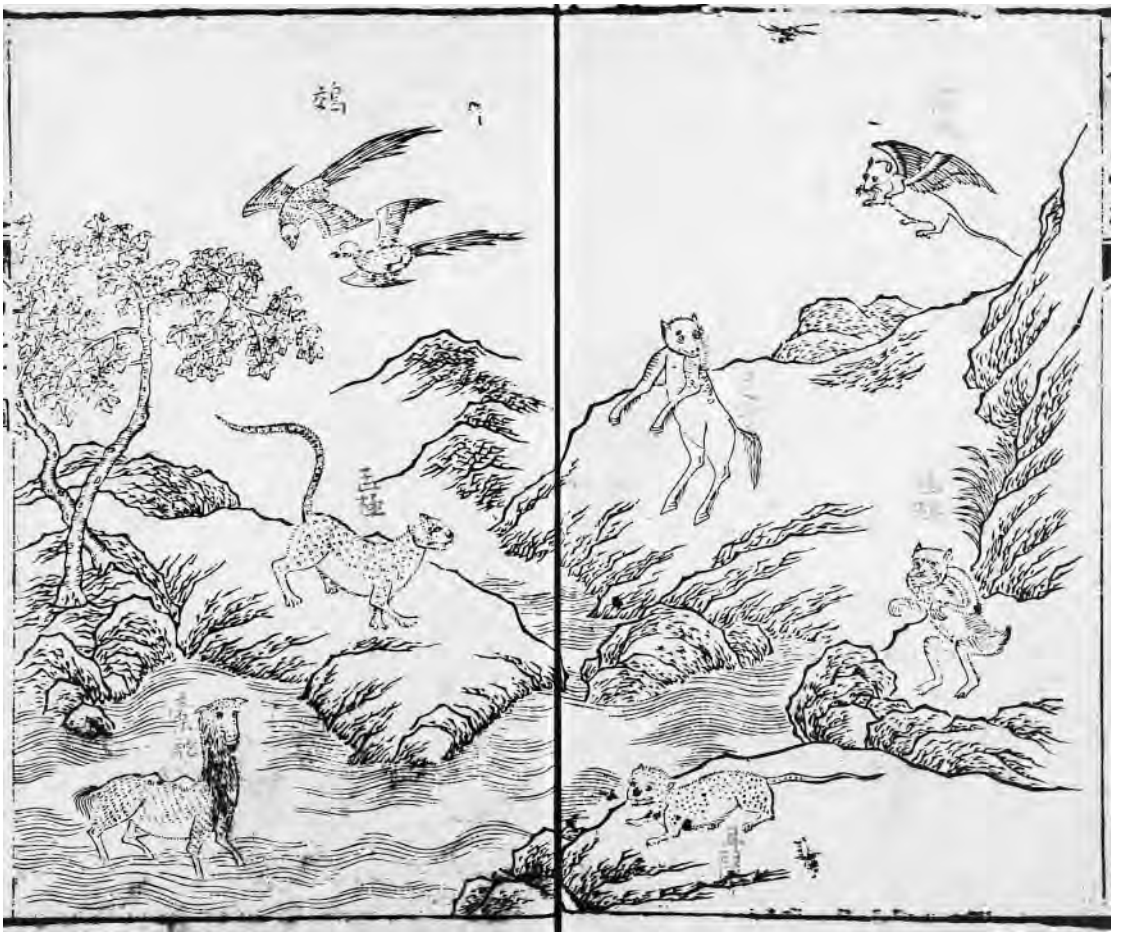
flows westward into the Yellow River. In it dwell many Xixi-Fish. The Xixi-Fish's form resembles a magpie with ten wings, and its scales are all on the tip of its feathers. It makes a sound like a magpie and can repel fire. Eating it can prevent jaundice. On the heights of this mountain are many pines and junipers, and at its feet are many palms and Jiang-Oaks. Among the beasts here are Ling-Antelopes, while among the birds are many Fan-Birds.[165] 凹 The Fan-Bird remains unidentified, although Guo Pu suggested that it might be a kind of owl.[166]

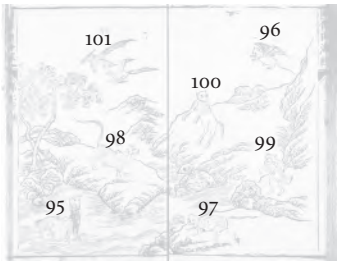
PLATE XX

95. CAMEL (TUOTUO) 駝橐 *Three hundred eighty li farther north is Mount Guo. On its heights are many lacquer trees, and at its feet are many paulownia and Ju-Trees. On its southern slope is much jade, and on its northern slope is much iron. The Yi River emanates from here and flows westward into the Yellow River. Among the beasts here are many Camels.*[167] 凹 The Camel normally dwells in the deserts of the northwest and west and was often seen on caravans traveling through northern China. Its inclusion in these illustrations indicates that in the Ming, it was still regarded as an exotic species, especially in the central and southern parts of the country. Guo Pu noted that it has a humped back and is adept at traveling in the desert. It is capable of covering three hundred *li* in a day and carries heavy loads of one thousand *jin.* He also praised its mysterious ability to locate subterranean water. Among caravan travelers through the desert, it was also valued for its ability to warn of oncoming sandstorms by burying its face in the sand. The Ju-Tree is said by Guo to be the Kui-Tree, whose wood grows in joints and is useful for making staves.[168]

96. DWELLING-BIRD (YU[NIAO]) 寓[鳥] *Among the birds living here at Mount Guo are many Dwelling-Birds. The Dwelling-Bird's form resembles a rat with bird's wings. It makes a a sound like a goat and can repel weapons.*[169] 凹 Hao Yixing suggested that the Dwelling-Bird was a species of bat.[170]

97. EAR-RAT (ERSHU) 耳鼠 *Six hundred li farther north stands Cinnabar-Smoke Mountain. On its heights are many ailanthus and juniper trees, and among its plants are many leeks and shallots. There is also fine cinnabar. The Smoky River emanates from here and flows westward into the Wild-Plum River. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a rat but with the head of a rabbit and the body of a Mi-Deer. It makes a sound like an angry dog and uses its tail to fly. It is called the Ershu, and eating it can reduce swelling of the abdomen. It can also protect against all kinds of poison.*[171] 凹 According to other versions of this passage in later texts, the Ear-Rat has the ears rather than the body of a Mi-Deer and flies by means of its whiskers rather than by its tail. However, Hao Yixing considered it similar to the Wu-Rat mentioned in the glossary *Approaching Refinement.* He described it as a kind of flying squirrel also known as the Tail-Flyer and stated that the flesh of its wings was connected to its feet and tail; hence, it only appeared to fly with its tail. In later medicinal texts, the Wu-Rat is said to be efficacious in childbirth if the pregnant woman grasps hold of its fur during delivery, which may be related to the Ear-Rat's e ect on swollen abdomens.[172]





98. MENGJI 孟極 *Two hundred eighty li farther north stands Stone-Man Mountain. Its heights lack plants and trees but contain much Yao-Stone and green jade. The Clearwater River emanates from here and flows westward to the Yellow River. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a leopard with markings on its forehead and a white body. It is called the Mengji and is adept at hiding. It makes a sound like its name.*[173]

99. YOUYAN 幽鴢 *One hundred ten li farther north is Edge-of-Spring Mountain. Many onions, leeks, peaches, and plums grow here. The Bridge River emanates from here and flows westward into the You Lake. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a Yu-Ape but with marks on its body. It is adept at laughing and falls asleep when it sees people. It is called the Youyan, and it makes a sound like its name.*[174] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the Youyan only pretends to sleep when it sees people to protect itself. In his encomium, he ridiculed it as actually quite stupid, for though it appears to be clever, it is easily captured.[175]

100. ZUZI 足訾 *Two hundred li farther north stands Tangled-Vines Mountain. Its heights lack plants and trees. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Yu-Ape but with a mane, an ox's tail, markings on its arms, and horse's hooves. When it sees people, it shouts. Its name is the Zuzi, and it makes a sound like its name.*[176]

101. JIAO-BIRD (JIAO) 鵁 *There is a bird on Tangled-Vines Mountain that dwells in flocks but flies in pairs. Its feathers resemble those of a female pheasant, and it is called the Jiao. The Jiao-Bird makes a sound like its name. Eating it will cure insanity.*[177] 凹 The Jiao-Bird is di erent from the Jiao-Duck [see no. 27], though written with the same graph.

PLATE XXI

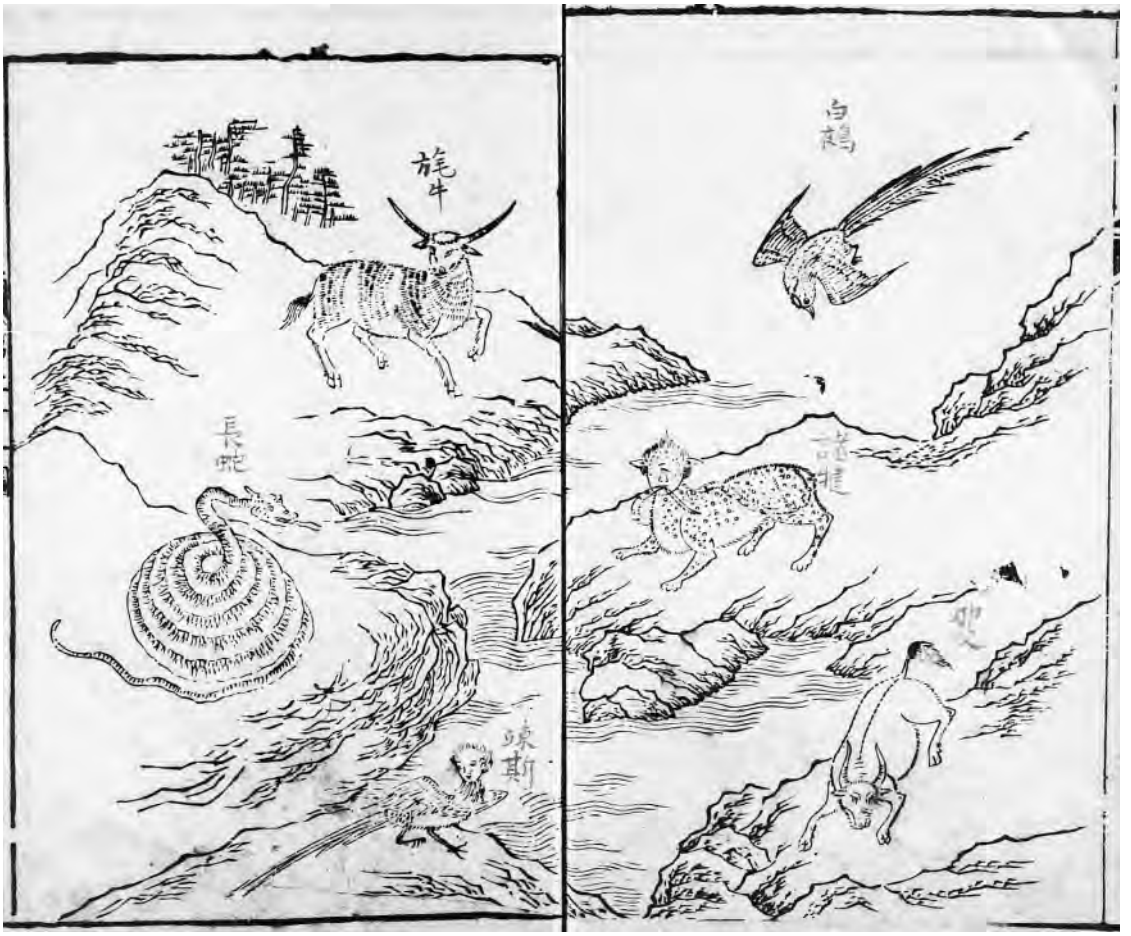
102. ZHUJIAN 諸犍 *One hundred eighty li farther north is Single-Sheet Mountain. Its heights lack plants and trees. There is a beast here whose form resembles a leopard but with a long tail, a human head, an ox's ears, and a single eye. It is called the Zhujian. It is adept at angry shouting. When walking, it bites hold of its tail and when seated, coils it.*[178]

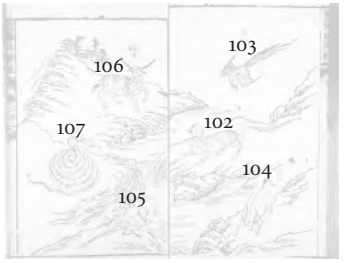
103. WHITE YE-BIRD (BAIYE) 白鵺 *There is a bird here on Single-Sheet Mountain whose form resembles a pheasant but with markings on it head, white wings, and yellow feet. It is called the Baiye. Eating it will cure a sore throat, and it can also cure idiocy. The Chestnut-Oak River emanates from this mountain and flows southward into the Bridge River.*[179]

104. NAFU 那父 *Three hundred twenty li farther north is Anointing Mountain. On its heights are many ailanthus and mulberry trees. At its feet is much sand from the desert and many grinding stones. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles an ox but with a white tail. It makes a sound like a person calling. It is called the Nafu.*[180]

105. FEARFUL-BIRD (SONGSI) 竦斯 *There is a bird here on Anointing Mountain whose form resembles a female pheasant but with a human face. When it sees people, it jumps. It is called the Songsi and makes a sound like its name. The Jianghan River emanates from this mountain and flows westward into You Lake. It contains many loadstones.*[181]

106. YAK (MAONIU) 旄牛 *Two hundred li north is Marquis Pan Mountain. On its heights grow many pine and junipers, and at its feet grow many hazelnut and arrow-thorn bushes. On its southern slope is much jade, and on its northern slope is much iron. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles an ox with hair on its four legs. It is called the Maoniu.*[182] 凹 These creatures, now found mostly in Tibet, were known to Guo Pu, who noted that they also possessed hair on their backs and had beards and long tails. In his encomium, he stated that Yaks were not only in demand for their meat, which brought disaster upon them, but also for their hair and tails, which the military used for banners and various decorations.[183]

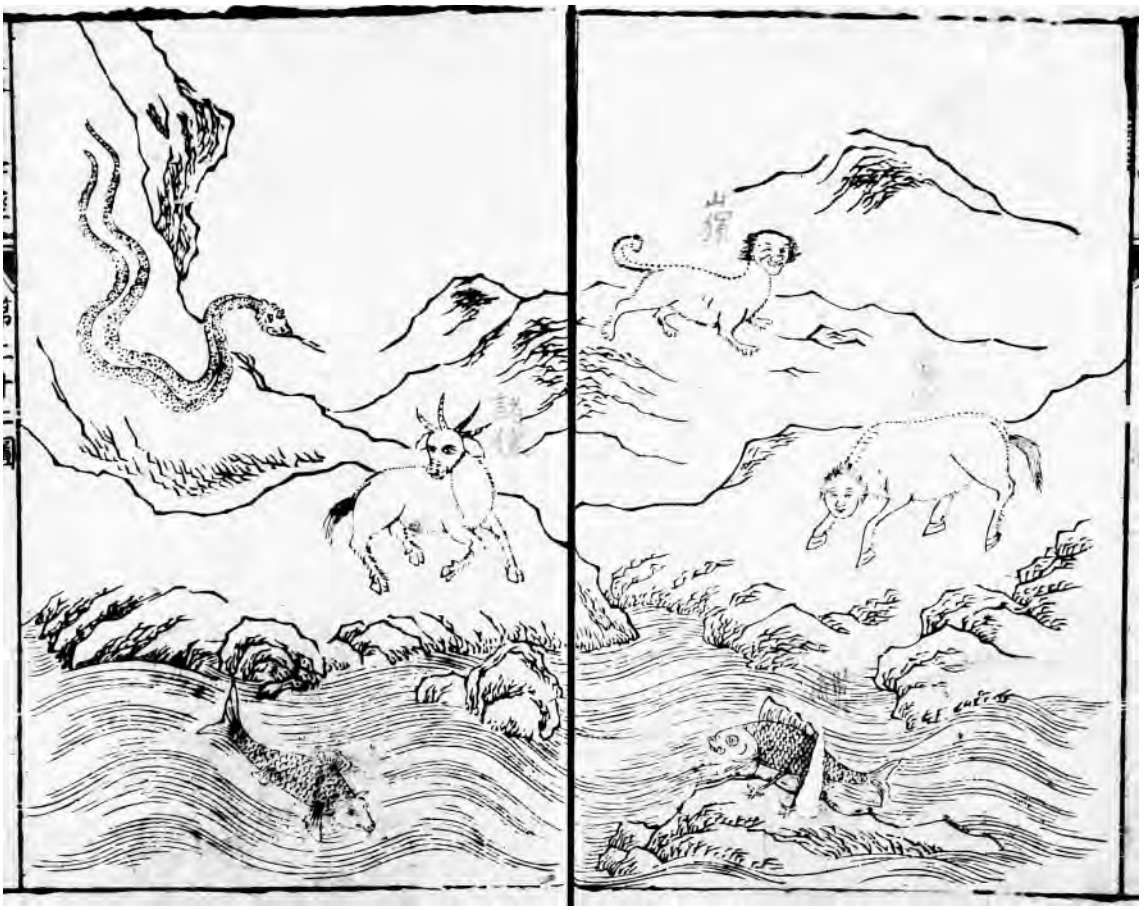


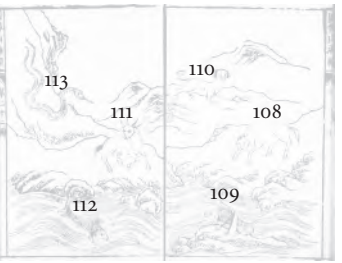


107. LONG-SNAKE (CHANGSHE) 長蛇 *Five hundred ten li farther north is Greater Unity Mountain. There are no plants or trees here. At its feet is much jade. This mountain has four faces that cannot be climbed. There is a snake here named the Long-Snake. Its hair resembles the bristles of a pig, and it makes a sound like wooden clappers.*[184] Guo Pu noted that the snake was one hundred *xun* long (800 feet) and that it was a kind of Fu-Viper [no. 5]. He considered it among the most harmful of creatures, capable of devouring anything and possessing the most potent poison. Wooden clappers were commonly used to sound the night watch.[185]

PLATE XXII

108. YAYU 窫窳 *Five hundred twenty li farther north stands Lesser Unity Mountain. There are no plants or trees here but much green jade. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles an ox but with a red body, a human face, and a horse's hooves. His*





name is Yayu. He makes a sound like a baby and is a man-eater. The Honest River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Geese-Gate River. In it dwell many Peipei-Fish. Eating it will kill a person.[186]

Yayu is mentioned in five places in the *Guideways* with varying descriptions [see nos. 265, 270]. Here he is a malevolent creature. In later chapters, Yayu appears as a god with a snake's body and a human face who was killed by Erfu [no. 281] and his minister, Wei [no. 268]. He was revived by *wu*-shamans and metamorphosed into a creature with a dragon's head who dwells in the Weak River in the southern lands within the sea. Yayu is also mentioned in *Approaching Refinement* as a beast resembling a wildcat with tiger claws, which Yuan Ke considered a mistake. Later descriptions of him sometimes combine elements from one or more of these passages.[187]

109. ZAO-FISH (ZAOYU) 鱢魚 *Two hundred li farther west is Penal-Law Mountain. The Huai Lake River emanates from it and flows eastward into Big Lake. In it dwell many Zao-Fish. The Zao-Fish's form resembles a carp with chicken's legs. Eating it will cure warts.*[188]

110. MOUNTAIN-HUI (SHANHUI) 山渾 *There is a beast here at Penal-Law Mountain whose form resembles a dog but with a human face. It is adept at throwing things and laughs when it sees people. It is called the Shanhui. It moves speedily like the wind, and if seen by people is an omen that great winds will blow throughout the world.*[189] 凶 The Mountain-Hui's tendency to throw things is like that of the Noisy-Ape [no. 39] and Lifter [no. 53].

111. ZHUHUAI 諸懷 *Two hundred li farther north is North Peak Mountain, where many thorny orange, jujube, and hardwood trees grow. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles an ox but with four horns, human eyes, and pig's ears. It is called the Zhuhuai. It makes a sound like the cry of a goose and it is a man-eater.*[190]

112. ZHI-FISH (ZHIYU) 鮨魚 *The Zhuhuai River emanates from North Peak Mountain and flows west into the Raucous River. In it dwell many Zhi-Fish. The Zhi-Fish has the body of a fish but with a dog's head. It makes a sound like a baby. Eating it will cure madness.*[191] 凶 According to Guo Pu, this fish was similar to ocean fish known in his own time such as the Tiger-Fish, Deer-Fish, and the Sea-Pig, all of which had the bodies of fish and the heads of animals.[192]

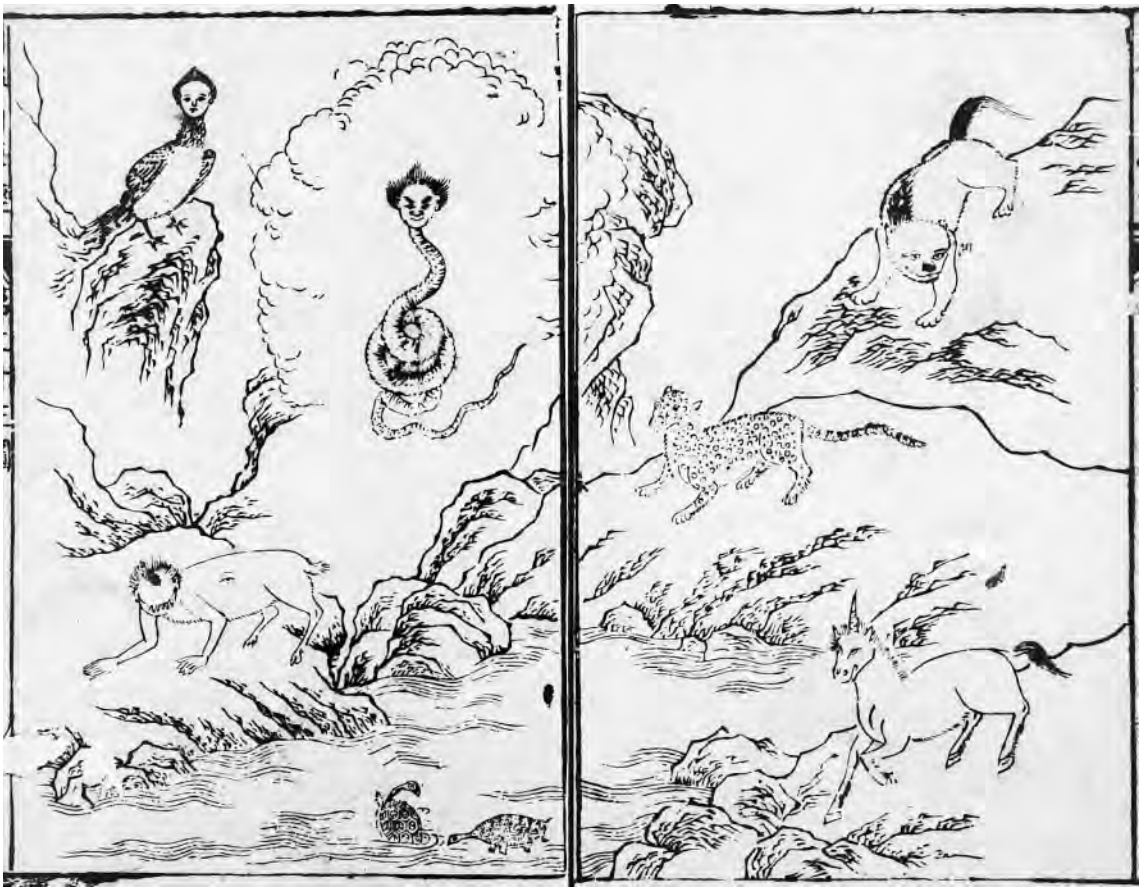
113. FEIYI-SNAKE (FEIYI) 肥遺 *One hundred eighty li farther north stands Murky-Dusk Mountain. There are no trees or plants here but much copper and jade. The Raucous River emanates from here and flows northwest into the sea. There is a snake here with a single head and two bodies. It is called the Feiyi. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought throughout the state.*[193] 凶 Double-bodied snakes seemed to be a fixture of the ancient Chinese imagination and appear in a number of decorative motifs. Guo Pu cited the compendium *Master Guan,* which recorded the Wei-Snake, a double-bodied snake eight feet long. The Wei-Snake is said to respond to its name and can be used to locate fish and turtles. This Feiyi-Snake di ers in appearance and location from the Feiyi-Snake [no. 34] that appeared earlier although both are evil omens of droughts.[194]

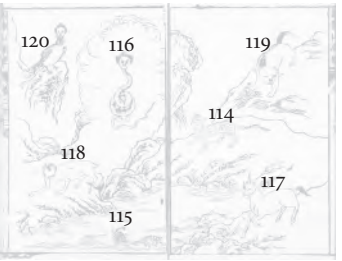
PLATE XXIII

114. YAO 猰 *Three hundred li farther north stands Dike Mountain. There are many horses here. There is a beast here whose form resembles a leopard but with markings on its head. It is called the Yao.*[195]

115. DRAGON-TURTLE (LONGGUI) 龍龜 *The Dike River emanates from here and flows east into Big Lake. In it dwell many Dragon-Turtles.*[196] 凶 According to Hao Yixing, Dragon-Turtles are probably dragons with the bodies of turtles. He cited a related species mentioned in medical texts, the Jidiao, which has a turtle's body and a snake's head. The fat from this creature was considered finer than butter. It leaks through copper or pottery containers and can only be held in a chicken's eggshell.[197]

116. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The twenty-five mountains along the first guideway through the Northern Mountains from Single-Fox Mountain to Dike Moun-*





tain extend for 5,490 li. Their gods all have human faces and snakes' bodies. The proper sacrifice to them is the burial of a rooster and pig and burial of a scepter for the jade o ering. There is no grain o ering. The people who live in the Northern Mountains all eat raw food and do not engage in cooking.[198] 凹 Hao Yixing supported this last statement by citing *The Elder Dai's Book of Ritual* (*Dadai liji,* c. 2nd cent. B.C.E.–early 2nd cent. C.E.), which recorded the belief that peoples dwelling in the distant regions along the four directions do not cook their food, as well as the *Master of Huainan,* which stated that the Di-Barbarians in the north do not eat grains.[199]

117. BO-HORSE (BOMA) 駁馬 *Two thousand three hundred sixty li northwest of the beginning of the second guideway through the Northern Mountains stands Honest-Head Mountain. On its heights is much metal and jade, but there are no plants or trees. The Tail-Banner River emanates from here and flows eastward into Imprint Lake. There are many Bo-Horses here. It has an ox's tail with a white body and a single horn. It makes a sound like a person calling out.*[200] 凹 Guo Pu, in his "Rhyme-Prose on the Long

River" (*Jiangfu*), described the Bo-Horse as able to walk on water. It seems similar in appearance to other single-horned horses such as the Bo [no. 82]. In the Han dynasty, the Qilin emerged as a primary figure of this type. Its appearance was regarded as an auspicious political omen, and it became one of the four benevolent creatures in folklore. Curiously, though already recorded in other Zhou-dynasty texts, the Qilin is hardly mentioned in the Guideways.[201]

118. PAOXIAO 狍鴞 *Three hundred fifty li farther north stands Mount Gouwu. On its heights is much jade, and at its feet is much copper. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a goat's body with a human's face. Its eyes are behind its armpits, and it has tiger's teeth and human hands. It makes a sound like a baby and is called the Paoxiao. It is a man-eater.*[202] 凹 Guo Pu associated the Paoxiao with the Taotie, an ancient mythical animal, which *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* stated was depicted on bronze vessels as a head without a body. It noted that the Taotie was supposed to be inclined toward greediness and harmed its own body before it could fully consume its human prey, which thereby gained a measure of revenge against this predator. However, the Paoxiao's features di er from decorations on bronzes, which scholars have conventionally called the "Taotie mask," and Guo's theory seems historically questionable. Nevertheless, he also believed that the Paoxiao had been depicted even earlier on the vessels of Yu the Great, and he expanded on these themes in his encomium:

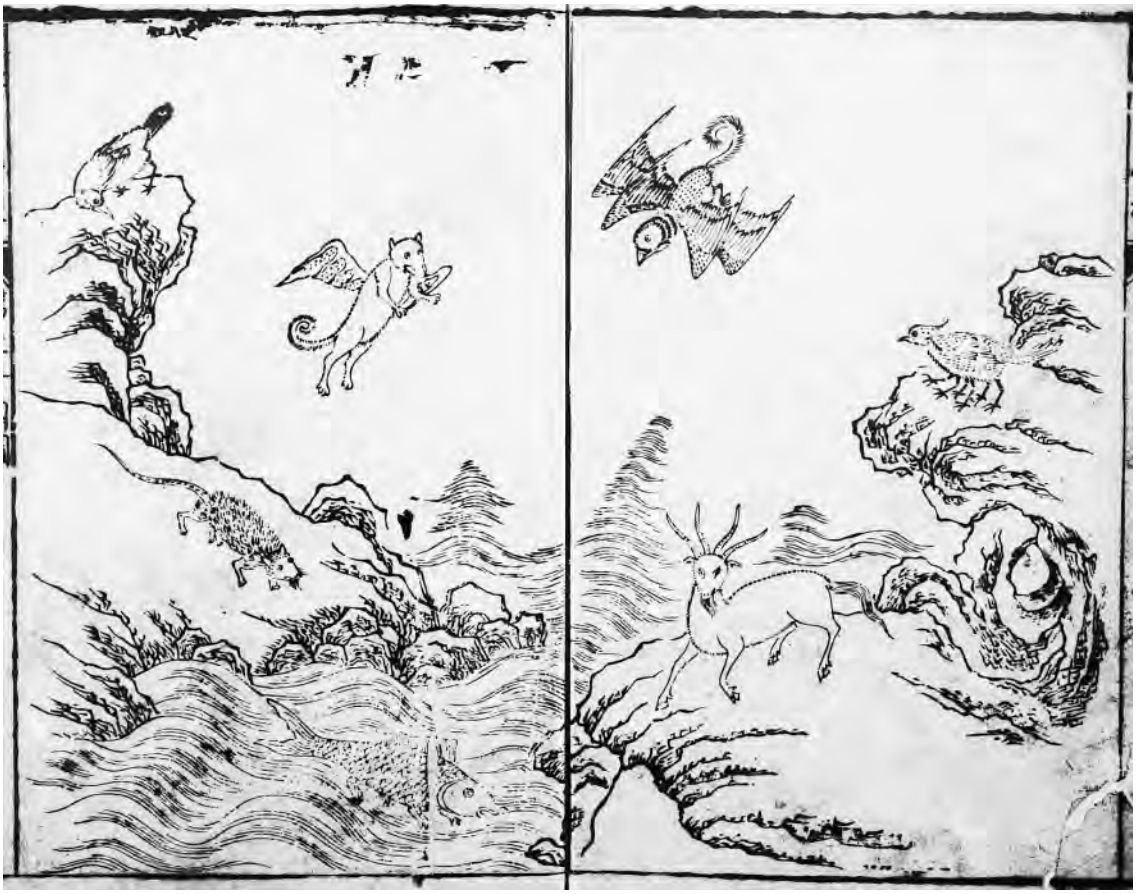
> How gluttonous is the Paoxiao!
> Behind his forelegs are his eyes.
> He cannot finish his human chow
> Before biting himself to gourmandize.
> Though also depicted on marvelous vessels,
> Those images are said to be contrariwise.[203]

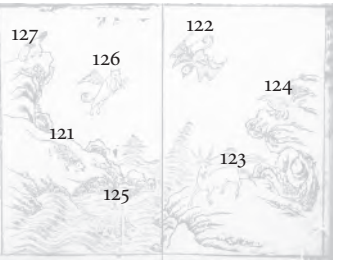
119. DUGU 獨狕 *Three hundred li farther north stands North Raucous Mountain. There are no rocks here. On its southern slope is much green jade, while on its northern slope is much jade. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a tiger but with a white body, a dog's head, a horse's tail, and a pig's bristles. It is called the Dugu.*[204]

120. BANMAO-BIRD (BANMAO) 鷩鴒 *There is a bird dwelling here on North Raucous Mountain whose form resembles a crow with a human's face. It is called the Banmao. It flies at night and sleeps during the day. Eating it will cure heat stroke. The Rainflood River emanates from here and flows eastward into Hilly Lake.*[205]

PLATE XXIV

121. JUJI 居暨 *Three hundred fifty li farther north stands Bridge-Channel Mountain. There are no plants or trees here but much metal and jade. The Dry River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Geese-Gate River. Among the beasts here are many Juji. The Juji's form resembles a Wei-Porcupine, and it makes a sound like a pig.*[206] 凹 Guo Pu described the Wei-Porcupine as a kind of rat with red hair like spines.





122. RAUCOUS-BIRD (XIAO) 謷 *There is a bird dwelling here whose form resembles Kuafu the Boaster [no. 247] but with four wings, one eye, and a dog's tail. It is called the Raucous-Bird, and it makes a sound like a magpie. Eating it will cure abdominal pain, and it can also stop diarrhea.* 凹 Although the text states that the Raucous-Bird resembles Kuafu the Boaster, who has a human form, and Guo's commentary indicates that another version states that it resembles Lifter [no. 53], who is described as a Yu-Ape, there does not seem to be any obvious physical correspondence.[207]

123. HUI 騅 *The first mountains of the third guideway through the Northern Mountains are the Great-Line Mountains whose first peak is Return Mountain. On its heights is much metal and jade, and at its feet there is green jade. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a Ling-Antelope but with four horns, a horse's tail, and spurs. It is called the Hui and is adept at dancing. It makes a sound like its name.*[208]

124. BEN-BIRD (BEN) 鵇 *There is a bird dwelling here on Return Mountain whose form resembles a magpie with a white body, a red tail, and six feet. It is called the Ben-Bird. It is adept at warning of danger.*[209]

125. HUMAN-FISH (RENYU) 人魚 *Two hundred li farther northeast stands Dragon-Marquis Mountain. There are no plants or trees here, though much metal and jade. The Bursting River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Yellow River. In it dwell many Human-Fish. They resemble catfish with four legs and make a sound like a baby. Eating it will cure idiocy.*[210] 凹 See also Brave-Pig [no. 38].

126. CELESTIAL-HORSE (TIANMA) 天馬 *Two hundred li farther northeast stands Horse-Succeeds Mountain. On its heights are many patterned rocks, and on its northern slope is much metal and jade. There is a beast here whose form resembles a white dog but with a black head. When it sees people, it flies away. It is called Tianma and makes a sound like its name.*[211] 凹 The name Celestial-Horse is phonetically derived. However, the meaning of the graphs bears little resemblance to the creature's physical characteristics except that it can fly. From the Western Han dynasty on, the name Celestial-Horse was generally understood to refer to the powerful horses that Chinese rulers obtained from Central Asia by means of the Silk Road. Although they were important militarily and became celebrated in art and literature, they are clearly di erent from this creature.[212]

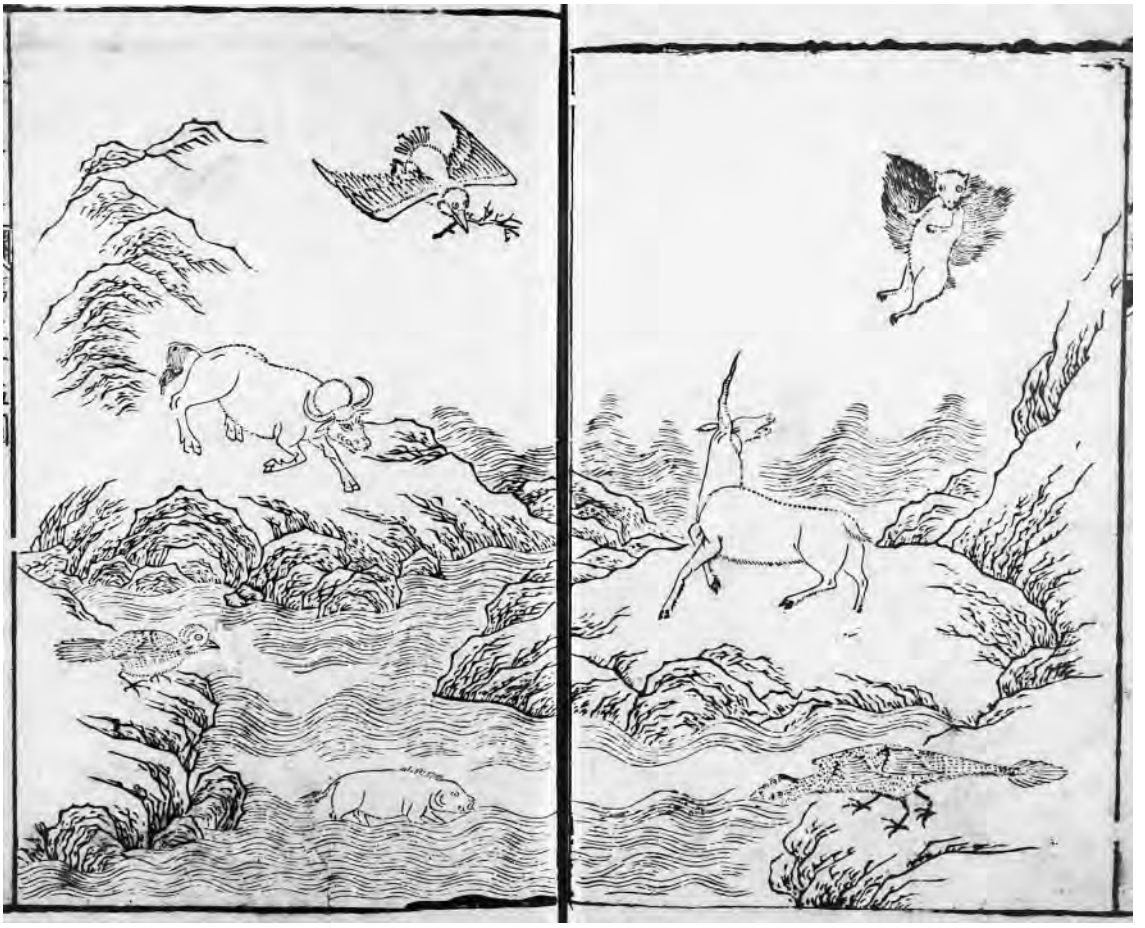
127. QUJU-BIRD (QUJU) 鶌鶌 *There is a bird here on Horse-Succeeds Mountain whose form resembles a crow with a white head, a green body, and yellow feet. It is called the Quju. It makes a sound like its name. Eating it will allay hunger, and it can also cure tumors.*[213]

PLATE XXV

128. FLYING-RAT (FEISHU) 飛鼠 *Two hundred seventy li farther northeast stands Celestial-Lake Mountain. On its heights are no plants or trees but many patterned rocks. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a rabbit but with the head of a rat. It uses its back to fly. It is called the Feishu. The Min River emanates from here and then flows beneath the mountain. It contains much yellow earth.*[214]

129. HUMPED-NECK (LINGHU) 領胡 *Three hundred li farther east stands Bright Mountain. On its heights is much jade, and at its feet are much metal and copper. There is a beast here whose form resembles an ox but with a red tail. It has a hump on its neck shaped like an overturned dipper. It is called the Linghu and makes a sound like its name. Eating it will cure insanity.*[215] 凹 Here, in contrast to nos. 126 and 130, the choice of graphs is more appropriate to the physical characteristics of this creature. The ancient glossary *Approaching Refinement* listed an ox similar in appearance named the Bo-Ox, said to be able to cover a distance of three hundred *li* in a day.[216]

130. ELEPHANT-SNAKE (XIANGSHE) 象蛇 *There is a bird here on Bright Mountain. Its form resembles a female pheasant but with five-colored markings. It is both male and female and called the Xiangshe. It makes a sound like its name.*[217] 凹 In his encomium Guo Pu stated that the Elephant-Snake is capable of produc-





ing o spring by itself. Like the Celestial-Horse [no. 126], this is another case of a phonetically transcribed name whose graphs bear little relation to the creature's description.[218]

131. XIANFU-FISH (XIANFU ZHI YU) 鮨父之魚 *The Lingering River emanates from here and flows southward into the Yellow River. In it dwells the Xianfu-Fish. The Xianfu-Fish's form resembles a carp with a fish's head and a pig's body. Eating it will stop vomiting.*[219]

132. SUANYU-BIRD (SUANYU) 酸與 *Seven hundred fifty li farther northeast and then three hundred li south stands Scenic Mountain. Southward it overlooks Salt-Merchant Lake and to the north it overlooks Small Lake. On its heights are many plants including the sweet potato and many herbs including the Qin-Pepper. On its northern slope is much red earth, and on its southern slope is much jade. There is a bird dwelling here whose form resembles a snake but with four wings, six eyes, and three legs. It is called the*

Suanyu, and it makes a sound like its name. If it is seen by people, it is an omen of panic in the town.[220] 凹 Guo Pu noted that in another version, the Suanyu-Bird is eaten to prevent drunkenness. Guo also noted that the Qin-Pepper was like the common pepper but with thinner leaves.[221]

133. SPIRIT-GUARDIAN (JINGWEI) 精衛 *Three thousand ninety li farther southeast, then northeast, stands Departing-Doves Mountain. On its heights are many mulberry trees. There is a bird dwelling here whose form resembles a crow with a patterned head, white beak, and red feet. It is called Jingwei and makes a sound like its name. She is the younger daughter of the Flame Thearch named Nüwa. Nüwa was swimming in the Eastern Sea when she was unable to return to shore and drowned. She then transformed into the bird Spirit-Guardian and regularly carries twigs and stones from the Western Mountains to fill up the Eastern Sea. The Zhang River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Yellow River.*[222] 凹 One of the relatively few goddesses recorded in ancient Chinese mythology, Spirit-Guardian's story has been seen as exemplifying the motifs of pathos, revenge, and, perhaps, punishment for trespassing in the territory of a sea god. The poet Tao Qian expressed sympathy with her plight in the tenth of his cycle of poems on reading the *Guideways* but saw her desire for revenge as ultimately futile. Later she was considered by Daoists to have become a Transcendent. In modern China, she has been popularized as a symbol of someone refusing to accept defeat.[223]

134. DONGDONG 辣辣 *Two thousand one hundred ten li farther northeast stands Great Play Mountain. There are no plants or trees but much metal and jade. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a goat with one horn and one eye. Its eye is behind its ears. It is called the Dongdong and makes a sound like its name. The Hutuo River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Lou River. The Liquid-Lady River emanates from the southern side of the mountain and flows southward into the Drenching River.*[224] 凹 The commentator Yang Shen believed that the Dongdong was an omen of a good harvest and flourished in the valleys of Geese-Gate Pass (modern Yanmenguan, Shanxi), a traditional border point between China and the barbarian north. This is in the area of the Hutuo, an important river originating at Five-Terraces Mountain in modern Shanxi that flows through the Great-Line Mountains into the western part of Hebei province.[225]

PLATE XXVI

135. YUAN 猨 *Two thousand eight hundred twenty li farther north by land, mountain, and water routes stands Dry Mountain. There are no plants or trees. On its southern slope is much metal and jade, and on its northern slope there is iron, though there are no rivers. There is a beast here whose form resembles an ox but with three feet. It is called the Yuan and makes a sound like its name.*[226]

136. PI [JIU] 羆[九] *Five hundred li farther north stands Order Mountain. The Order River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Yellow River. There is a*





beast dwelling here whose form resembles a Mi-Deer with its anus above its tail. It is called the Pi.[227]

137. GIANT SNAKE (DASHE) 大蛇 *One thousand nine hundred li farther north by land and water stands Inverted Bell and Mufeng Mountains. To the north they provide a view of Cockcrow Mountain, where the winds are violent, and to the west they provide a view of Hidden-Capital Mountain, where the Bathing River emanates. Here dwells the Giant Snake, which has a red head and white body. It makes a sound like an ox. If seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought in the town.*[228] 凹 A mountain also named Hidden-Capital is recorded in chapter 18 located within the Northern Sea. There the river that emanates from it is called the Black River. Among the creatures dwelling on the mountain's heights, all of whom are black, is the Black-Snake. Guo Pu believed that these two places were identical and that the Bathing River was the Black River. In the vicinity is the Great Hidden Land, whose inhabitants, the Hidden People, are said by Guo Pu to dwell naked in caves.[229]

138. MOUNTAIN GODS (SHEN) 神 *The forty-six mountains along the third guideway through the Northern Mountains from the Great-Line Mountains to Wufeng [i.e., Mufeng] Mountain extend for 12,350 li. Twenty gods have the form of a horse's body with a human face, and the o ering to them is the burial of a stem of aquatic grass and of angelica. Fourteen gods have the form of a pig's body and wear jade. The o ering to them is jade, which is not buried. Ten gods have the form of a pig's body with eight feet and a snake's tail. The o ering to them is a jade disc, which is buried. Generally, the grain o erings to all forty-four gods employ glutinous rice and hulled rice, all of which is uncooked.*[230]

PLATE XXVII

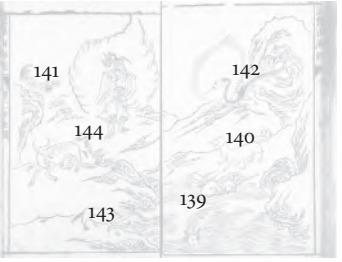
139. RONGRONG-FISH (RONGRONG ZHI YU) 鰧鰧之魚 *The first guideway through the Eastern Mountains begins with Mount Suzhu. It provides a view northward of Mount Qianmei. The Food River emanates from it and flows northeast into the sea. In it dwell many Rongrong-Fish. The Rongrong-Fish's form resembles a Plow-Ox and it makes a sound like the grunt of a pig.*[231] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the Plow-Ox has markings like those of a tiger. Hao Yixing believed this Rongrong-Fish was identical to several fishes mentioned in other early sources such as a similarly named fish first presented as tribute to the Han imperial palace in 58 B.C.E., the Yuyu-Fish said to have been presented to the Zhou royal court during the reign of King Cheng (r. c. 1042–1006 B.C.E.), and the Ox-Fish found in the Eastern Sea, which has hairs on its skin that stand up at high tide and flatten at low tide.[232]

140. CONGCONG 從從 *Six hundred li farther south stands Mount Xunzhuang. On its heights are much metal and jade, and at its feet are much green jade and many rocks. There is a beast here whose form resembles a dog with six feet. It is called the Congcong and makes a sound like its name.*[233]

141. ZI-RAT (ZISHU) 蛫鼠 *There is a bird dwelling here on Mount Xunzhuang whose form resembles a chicken but with rat's hair. It is called the Zishu and if seen is an omen of a great drought in the town. The Zhi River emanates from here and flows northward into the Lake River. In it dwell many Needle-Fish. The Needle-Fish resembles a Shu-Fish [no. 91] with a nose like a needle. Eating it will protect against plagues.*[234] 凹 This is another case of a creature whose name suggests one species but is actually classified as another. Guo Pu noted that the Needle-Fish comes from the Eastern Sea and could be found in many rivers in the area of the Long River delta in eastern China.

142. TIAORONG 倏蠔 *Two thousand three hundred li farther south stands Solitary Mountain. On its heights are much metal and jade and at its feet are many beautiful rocks. The End-of-the Road River emanates from it and flows southeast into the Mian River. Many Tiaorong dwell here. It resembles the form of a yellow snake with fish's wings. There is a brilliant light whenever it enters and leaves the water. If the Tiaorong is seen by people, it is an omen of a great drought in the town.*[235] 凹 In his encomium, Guo Pu also considered the Tiaorong an omen of fire.[236]





143. DONGDONG 狪狪 *Three hundred li farther south stands the Supreme Mountain. On its heights is much jade, and at its feet is much metal. There is a beast dwelling here that resembles a pig but contains pearls. It is called the Dongdong and makes a sound like its name. The Ring River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Long River. It contains much rock crystal.*[237] 凹 The Supreme Mountain stands about five thousand feet high and is located in modern Taian, Shandong. It was sacrificed to in the state religion from the Zhou dynasty on. Over the centuries, it became the most venerated of sacred Chinese mountains and was regarded as the Marchmount of the East. It was also the center of a cult of Transcendents promoted by *fangshi*-wizards that attracted rulers to make pilgrimages and o er sacrifices, beginning with the First Emperor of Qin in 219 B.C.E. In later popular religion, near its location was the entrance to the underworld, where dead souls were admitted and judged. Curiously, it is not accorded any special status in the *Guideways,* supporting the view of some scholars that the text presents a religious view more characteristic of Western rather than of Eastern China or of late Chu. Unlike Mount

Kunlun, it does not possess extraordinary spiritual power here or a special connection with any gods. Only the Dongdong is found here, which evoked Guo Pu's pity:

> Oysters contain pearls
> So why not a beast?
> The Dongdong is like a pig.
> From what's under its hair,
> it can become deceased.
> There's no other source of its troubles:
> Brought on by itself, to say the least.[238]

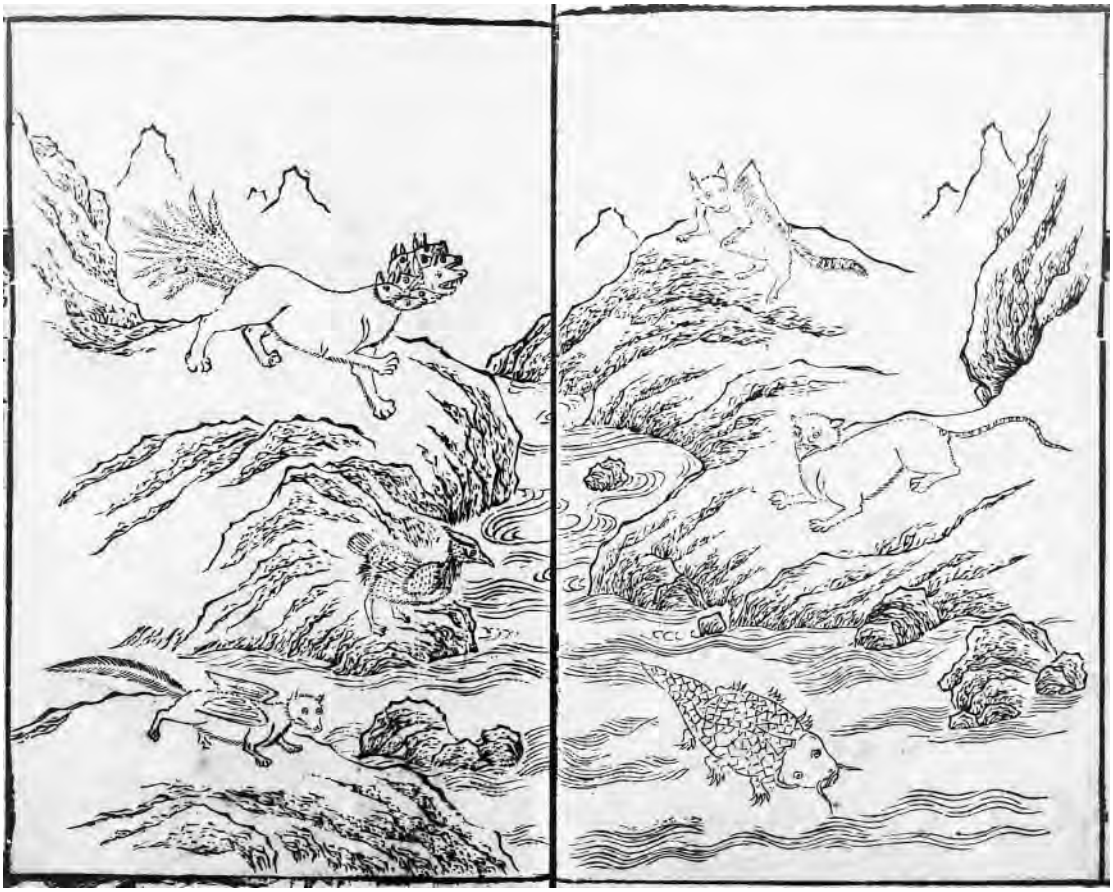
144. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The twelve mountains of the first guideway through the Eastern Mountains from Mount Shuzhu to Bamboo Mountain extend for 3,600 li. The gods all have a human body with a dragon's face. The proper animal sacrifice to them is a dog of a single color along with a prayer. Fish is used to accompany the Er-Ritual.*[239] 凹 The Er-Ritual involved smearing blood on the sacrifices or on the sacrificial vessels. To the left is the Lingling located at Mount Kongsang, beginning the second guideway. It resembles an ox with tiger markings, makes a sound like its name, and is an omen of a great drought.[240]

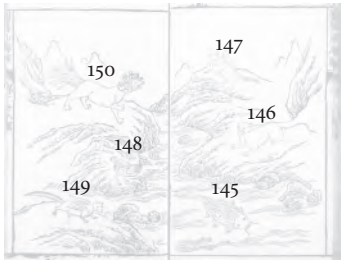
PLATE XXVIII

145. PEARL-TURTLES (ZHUBIEYU) 珠蟞魚 *Two thousand one hundred eighty li southwest along the second guideway through the Eastern Mountains stands the first peak of Vine Mountain. There are no plants or trees here. The Li River emanates from here and flows eastward into Yu Lake. In it dwell many Pearl-Turtles. The Pearl-Turtle's form resembles a lung with eyes and six feet, and it possesses pearls. Its flavor is sweet and sour. Eating it will protect against seasonal epidemics.*[241] 凹 *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* considered it a delicacy among fish, and in his encomium, Guo wondered how it could protect itself since it was so desirable. Although illustrated here with two eyes, in later illustrations such as the Wu Renchen portrait, it appears with four eyes. Later textual sources mention a similar creature that has four eyes and spits out pearls, so Hao Yixing suggested that perhaps the text here originally indicated four eyes.[242]

146. CHOUYU 犰狳 *Three hundred eighty li farther south is Exceedingly Lofty Mountain. On its heights are many catalpa and plum trees, and at its feet are many thorny willows. The Zayu River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Yellowwater River. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a rabbit but with a bird's beak, an owl's eyes, and a snake's tail. When it sees people, it falls asleep. It is called the Chouyu and makes a sound like its name. If it is seen, it is an omen of a plague of locusts.*[243] 凹 This creature only feigns sleep to protect itself, according to Guo Pu's encomium.[244]

147. VERMILION-RU (ZHURU) 朱獳 *Six hundred li farther south is Shining Mountain. There are no plants or trees here but much Water-Jade and many giant snakes. There is a beast here whose form resembles a fox with a fish's fins. It is called*





the Zhuru and makes a sound like its name. If seen, it is an omen of a panic in the state.[245] 凹 Guo Pu believed that Water-Jade was a kind of rock crystal.[246]

148. LIHU-BIRD (LIHU) 鴒鵂 *Three hundred li farther south is Mount Luqi. There are no plants or trees here but much gravel. The Gravel River emanates from here and flows southward into the Rainflood River. In it dwell many Lihu-Birds. The Lihu-Bird's form resembles a mandarin duck but with human feet, and it makes a sound like its name. If seen, it is an omen of many earthwork constructions in the state.*[247] 凹 These public works included such projects as excavation of river channels and the building of dikes against floods as well as constructing walls and other fortifications. They were a mixed blessing for the common people, since they required conscripted labor. However, for the elite, it meant employment of officials and profit from government expenditures.

149. BIBI 獙獙 *Two thousand eighty li farther south by land and water stands Mount Gufeng. There are no plants or trees but much metal and jade. There is a beast dwelling*

here whose form resembles a fox but with wings. It makes a sound like a goose and is called the Bibi. If seen, it is an omen of a great drought throughout the world.[248]

150. LONGZHI 蠪姪 *Five hundred li farther south stands Beautiful-Duck Mountain. On its heights are much metal and jade and at its feet are many Needle-Stones. There is a beast here whose form resembles a fox but with nine tails, nine heads, and a tiger's claws. It is called the Longzhi. It makes a sound like a baby but is a man-eater.*[249] This is another creature whose features are multiplied by the magic number nine. From the description, it could be considered a kind of Nine-Tail Fox [no. 13]. Guo Pu commented that Needle-Stone was used to make needles for medical purposes such as lancing boils. In the *Guideways,* it is found only on this mountain and on Gao's Mountain along the first guideway through the Eastern Mountains.[250]

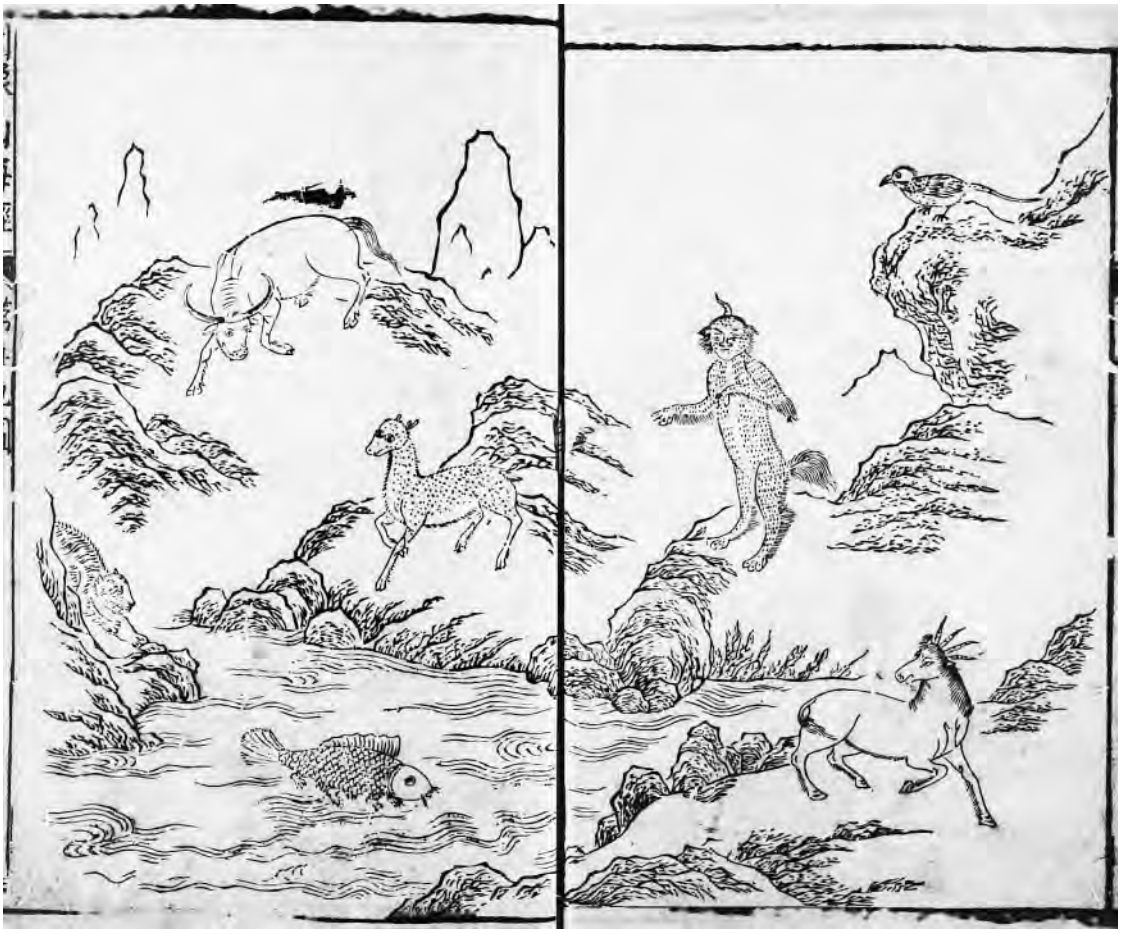
PLATE XXIX

151. YOUYOU 嶅嶅 *Five hundred li farther south stands Mount Zhen. To the south it faces the Zhen River, and to the east is a view of Marsh Lake. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a horse with a goat's eyes, four horns, and an ox's tail. It makes a sound like a barking dog and is called the Youyou. If seen, it is an omen that deceitful guests will arrive in the state.*[251] *Guests* here refers to the itinerant persuaders, a class of politicians, military strategists, philosophers, *fangshi*-wizards, and others who traveled from one feudal court to another in search of patronage. Although generally willing to serve loyally any ruler who would employ them, they also included spies, assassins, tricksters, and those who engaged in the numerous intrigues recorded in the literature of the Warring States. The art of correctly judging character was thus a valued, though often elusive, skill that no one in power could a ord to neglect. The Youyou's superior ability to detect such dangerous people prompted Guo Pu's admiration:

> To govern well employ the worthy.
> Losing the right person will failure guarantee.
> Whenever the Youyou makes an appearance
> So do guests filled with dishonesty.
> Hidden is the nature of this response.
> Who can grasp its mystery?[252]

152. JIEGOU 絜鉤 *There is a bird here on Mount Zhen whose form resembles a wild duck but with a rat's tail. It is adept at climbing trees and is called the Jiegou. If seen, it is an omen of epidemics in the state.*[253]

153. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The seventeen mountains of the second guideway through the Eastern Mountains from Empty-Mulberry Mountain to Mount Zhen extend for 6,640 li. The gods all have the body of a beast and a human face with a deer horn on its head. The proper animal sacrifice is a chicken of a single color along with a prayer, and for the jade o ering a disc is buried.*[254]





154. WANHU 婴胡 *The first mountain along the third guideway through the Eastern Mountains is called Mount Shihu. It provides a view northward of Mount Xiang. On its heights are much metal and jade and at its feet are many jujube trees. There is a beast dwelling here whose form resembles a Mi-Deer but with fish's eyes. It is called the Wanhu, and makes a sound like its name.*[255] 凶 Hao Yixing noted that in 1800, a Chinese emissary returning by sea from the Ryukyu Islands (modern Okinawa) recorded that when he moored at Horse-Teeth Mountain, he was presented with two deer with short hair and eyes as small as a fish's, believing them to be metamorphosed fish. Hao asserted that this corresponded to the description of the Wanhu and advanced this as yet another confirmation of the factuality of the *Guideways.*[256]

155. TIGER (HU) 虎 *Eight hundred li south by water stands Fork Mountain. The trees here are mostly peach and plum while the beasts are mostly tigers.*[257] 凶 Tigers, while not quite as strange as the other creatures in the *Guideways,* were widely found

in mountains and forests, often not far from human habitation. Travelers in particular were fearful of encountering them.

156. GEGE-FISH (GEGE ZHI YU) 鮯鮯之魚 *Four thousand seven hundred li southeast by land, water, and through the Desert of Shifting Sands stands Tiptoe Mountain. It occupies an area of two hundred li. There are no plants or trees here, but there are giant snakes. On its heights is much jade. There is a body of water here that occupies an area of forty li and is completely fed by an underground source that bubbles up. It is called Deep Lake. In it dwell many Xi-Turtles. There is a fish dwelling here whose form resembles a carp but with six feet and a bird's tail. It is called the Gege, and it makes a sound like its name.*[258] 凹 Guo Pu described the Xi-Turtle as large and having a thin shell with markings. The commentary to *Approaching Refinement* glossed it as a Divine Turtle whose shell was suitable for divination, while *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* recorded that it uttered a sound from its stomach.[259]

157. JINGJING 精精 *Nine hundred li farther south by water stands Mount Minyu. On its heights are many plants and trees, much metal and jade, and much red earth. There is a beast here whose form resembles an ox but with a horse's tail. It is called the Jingjing and makes a sound like its name.*[260]

PLATE XXX

158. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The nine mountains of the third guideway through the Eastern Mountains from Mount Shihu to the Mountain without Marshes extend for 6,900 li. The gods all have human bodies but with goat's horns. The proper sacrifice to them is a ram, and the grain o ering is millet. If any of these gods is seen, it is an omen of destruction by wind, rain, and floods.*[261] 凹 Yuan Ke noted that agriculture is particularly subject to destruction.[262]

159. GEJU 猲狙 *At the beginning of the fourth guideway through the Eastern Mountains stands North Shouting Mountain. It is located at the Northern Sea. There is a tree growing here whose form resembles a poplar with red flowers. Its fruit is like the jujube but without pits, and its taste is sweet and sour. Eating it will cure malaria. The Food River emanates from here and flows northeastward into the sea. There is a beast here whose form resembles a wolf with a red head and rat's eyes. It makes a sound like a pig and is called the Geju. It is a man-eater.*[263]

160. QI-MAGPIE (QIQUE) 鶈雀 *There is a bird here on North Shouting Mountain whose form resembles a chicken but with a white head, rat's feet, and tiger's claws. It is called the Qique. It, too, is a man-eater.*[264] 凹 The Qi-Magpie also appears in a part of the "Questions of Heaven" poem that ponders strange creatures and ancient myths:

> Where is the Hill-Fish located?
> Where does the Qi-Magpie dwell?[265]

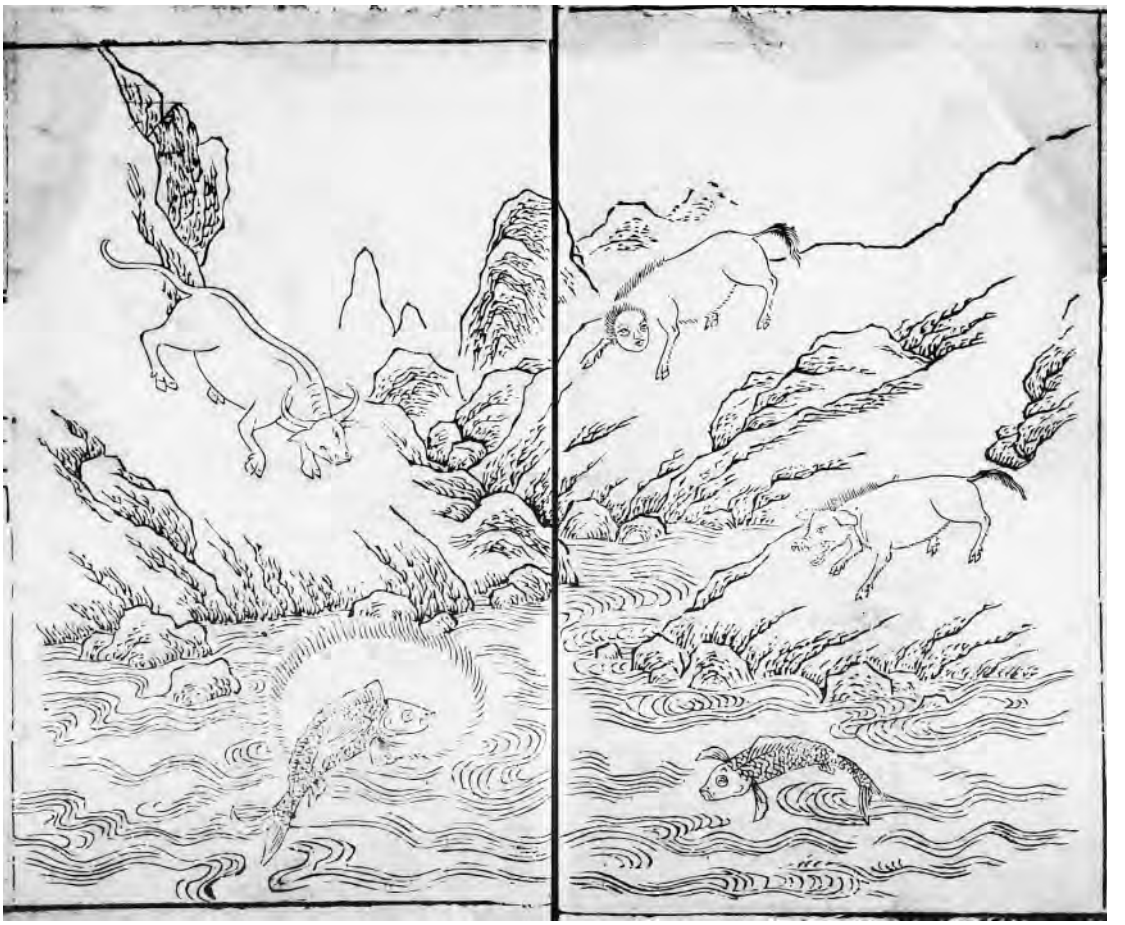


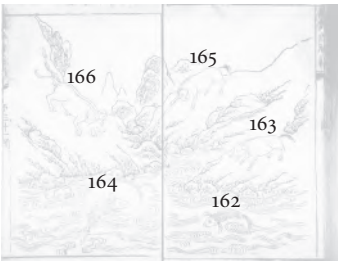


161. QIU-FISH (QIUYU) 鰳魚 *Three hundred li farther south stands Tail-Banner Mountain. There are no plants or trees here. The Deep-Blue River emanates from it and flows westward into the Rolling River. In it dwell many Qiu-Fish, whose form resembles a carp but with a large head. Eating it will cure tumors.*[266] 凹 Various commentators identified this fish as the Qiu-Loach, a small fish that dwells in the mud.[267]

PLATE XXXI

162. BO-FISH (BOYU) 薄魚 *Six hundred twenty li farther southeast stands Woman-Boiling Mountain. There are no plants or trees on its heights. The Gypsum River emanates from here and flows westward into the Cauldron River. In it dwell many Bo-Fish. The Bo-Fish resembles a sturgeon but with a single eye. It makes a sound like vomiting and if seen is an omen of a great drought throughout the world.*[268]





163. ENJOY-ABUNDANCE (DANGKANG) 當康 *Two hundred li farther southeast stands Respectful Mountain. There are much metal and jade here but no stone. The Army River emanates from here and flows northward into Swamp Lake. In it dwell many Qiu-Fish and patterned shells. There is a beast here whose form resembles a pig but with tusks. It is called the Dangkang. It makes a sound like its name and if seen is an auspicious omen of a bountiful harvest throughout the world.*[269] 凹 Hao Yixing cited the *Guideway to Gods and Anomalies,* which describes a similar beast in the south known as the No-Loss, which resembles a deer but has a pig's head with tusks. Enjoy-Abundance likes to follow people around as it searches for leftover grains to feed on. He also hypothesized that there was a phonological connection between the name Dangkang and its signfying a bountiful harvest, pronounced "darang."[270]

164. HUA-FISH (HUAYU) 鱯魚 *Two hundred li farther southeast stands Catalpa Mountain. The Catalpa River emanates from it and flows westward into Excess*

Lake. In it dwell many Hua-Fish. The Hua-Fish's form resembles a fish but with bird's wings. It gives o a brilliant light whenever it leaves or returns to the water and makes a sound like a mandarin duck. If seen, it is an omen of a great drought throughout the world.[271] 凹 This Hua-Fish di ers from no. 63, although both names are written with the same graphs.

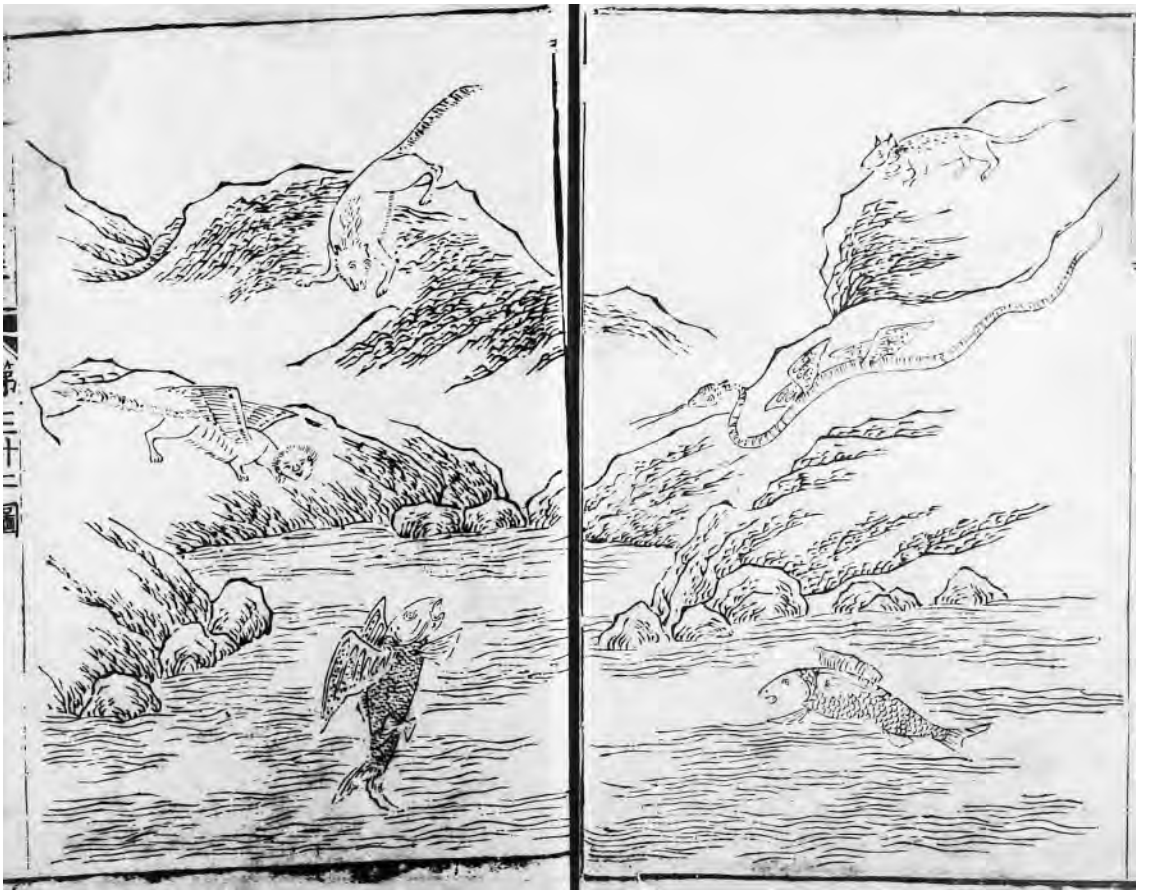
165. HEYU 合窬 *Two hundred li farther northeast stands Pointed Mountain, where there are much metal and jade. There is a beast here whose form resembles a pig but with a human face, a yellow body, and a red tail. It is called the Heyu, and it makes a sound like a baby. However, this beast is a man-eater, and it also devours reptiles and snakes. If seen, it is an omen of a great flood throughout the world.*[272] 凹 Hao Yixing noted that this creature as an evil omen of floods is particularly strange from the viewpoint of later Five Agents cosmology in which the symbolic animal "pig" is auspiciously correlated with the water element. However, pigs were generally known to eat snakes.[273]

166. FEI-BEAST (FEI) 蜚 *Two hundred li farther east stands Great Mountain. On its heights are much metal, jade, and ligustrum trees. There is a beast here whose form resembles an ox but with a white head, a single eye, and a snake's tail. It is called the Fei. Water evaporates when it travels through it, and grass dies when it walks through it. If seen, it is an omen of a great plague throughout the world. The Hook River emanates from here and flows northward into the Toiling River. In it dwell many Qiu-Fish.*[274] 凹 The graph *zhen* identified as the ligustrum tree signifies endurance and was defined in *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* as indicating the hardness of its wood. Guo Pu, however, associated the name with female chastity, a more extended meaning, and stated that its leaves remain intact throughout the winter. Great Mountain is the last of the eight mountains along the fourth and final guideway through the Eastern Mountains, stretching for 1,720 *li.* However, since no gods or sacrifices are mentioned in the text, Hao Yixing considered such a passage to have been lost.[275]

PLATE XXXII

167. NA 鞣 *The first guideway through the Central Mountains begins at the Bo Mountains, the first of which is Sweet-Jujube Mountain. The Combined River emanates from here and flows westward into the Yellow River. On its heights are many ilex trees, while at its feet is a plant with the stalk of a sunflower, leaves of an almond tree, yellow flowers, and seeds in pods. It is called the Tuo-Plant. Eating it will cure blindness. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Tuo-Rat but with markings on its forehead. It is called the Na. Eating it will cure goiter.*[276]

168. BRAVE-FISH (HAOYU) 豪魚 *Thirty-five li farther east stands Mount Quzhu. On its heights is much bamboo. The Quzhu River emanates from here and flows southward into the Yellow River. In it dwell many Brave-Fish, whose form resembles a sturgeon with a red mouth and tail and feathers. It will cure ringworm.*[277] 凹 Although part of the text appears to have been lost, presumably eating the Brave-Fish will bring about the cure.





169. FLYING-FISH (FEIYU) 飛魚 *Two hundred seventy-five li farther northeast stands Ox-Head Mountain. There is a plant here called the Demon-Plant. Its leaves resemble the sunflower but with red veins, and its blossoms resemble grain. If worn against the skin, it will cure melancholy. The Toiling River emanates from here and flows westward into the Ju River. Here dwell many Flying-Fish. The Flying-Fish's form resembles a carp. Eating it will cure hemorrhoids.*[278] 凹 This fish di ers from another Flying-Fish [no. 178] found farther to the east.

170. PEIPEI 朏朏 *Forty li farther north stands Surrounding Mountain. Among its trees are many mulberry. There is a beast here whose form resembles a wildcat but with a white tail and a mane. It is called the Peipei. Domesticating it can cure melancholy.*[279] 凹 It is not clear in the *Guideways* just how domesticating this and other strange creatures can produce specific medical benefits. Perhaps the very presence of the creature exudes a kind of positive energy that is transferred to humans over time.

171. CHIMING-SNAKES (MINGSHE) 鳴蛇 *Eight hundred li southwest along the second guideway through the Central Mountains stands Fresh Mountain. There are much metal and jade here but no plants and trees. The Fresh River emanates from here and flows northward into the Yi River. In it dwell many Chiming-Snakes. The Chiming-Snake resembles a snake but with four wings and makes a sound like a chime. If seen, it is an omen of a great drought in the town.*[280]

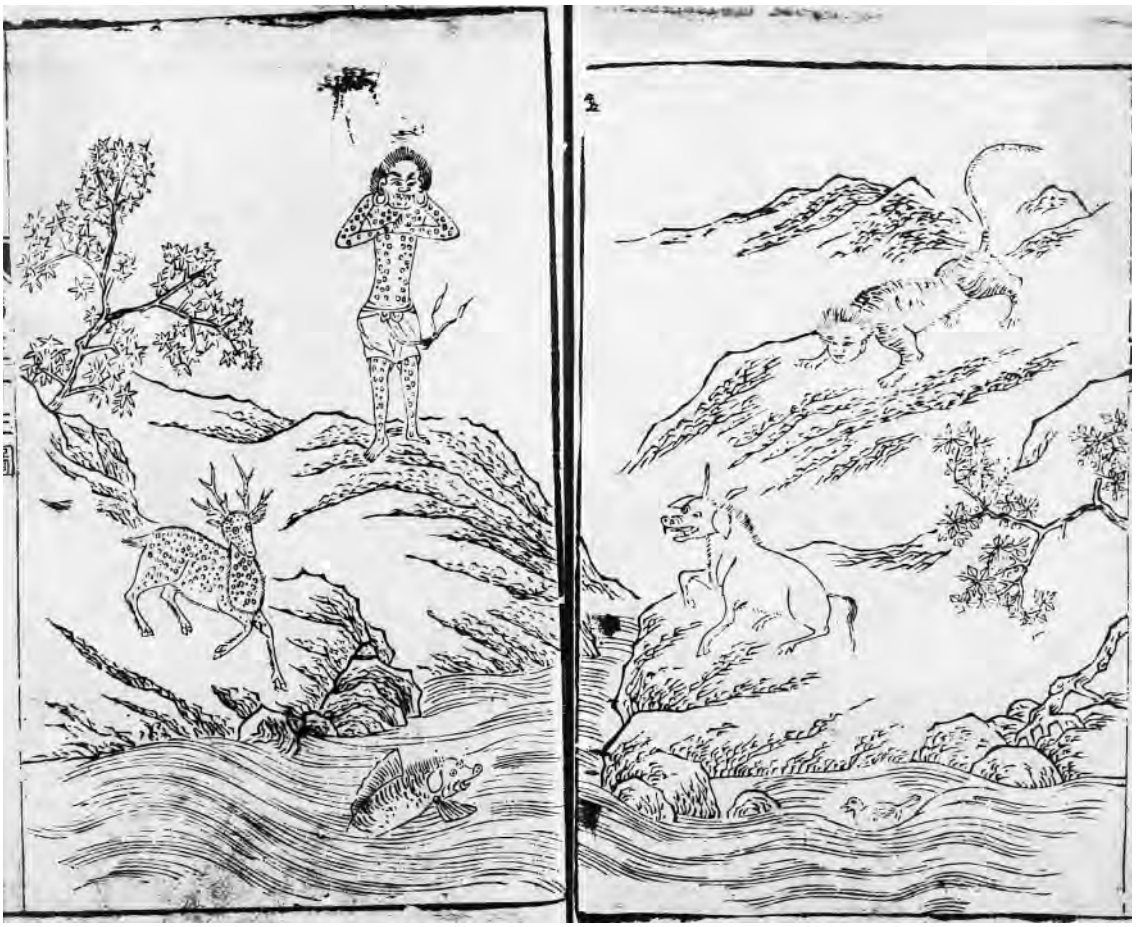
172. TRANSFORMED-SNAKES (HUASHE) 化蛇 *Three hundred li farther west stands Bright Mountain. There are many rocks here but no plants or trees. The Bright River emanates from here and flows northward into the Yi River. In it dwell many Transformed-Snakes. The Transformed-Snake has a human face, a wolf's body, and bird's wings, while it moves like a snake. It makes a sound like scolding someone and if seen is an omen of a great flood in the district.*[281]

PLATE XXXIII

173. LONGZHI 蠪蚳 *Two hundred li farther west stands Mount Kunwu. On its heights is much copper. There is a beast here whose form resembles a pig but with horns. It makes a sound like a human crying and is called the Longzhi. Eating it will prevent blindness.*[282] 凹 The metal from Mount Kunwu was mentioned in several early texts and was famous for producing fine, glistening swords said to be capable of cutting jade. In other sources, Kunwu is mentioned as a tribe and, in chapter 15 of the *Guideways,* as a kind of martial hero.[283]

174. HORSE-BELLY (MAFU) 馬腹 *Four hundred seventy li farther west stands Vine-Channel Mountain. On its heights are much metal and jade, and at its feet are much bamboo and arrow-bamboo. The Yi River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Luo River. There is a beast here called the Mafu. It resembles a human head with a tiger's body. The Horse-Belly makes a sound like a baby and is a man-eater.*[284] 凹 Hao Yixing recorded various sources that noted the existence of a similar creature in the Yi River. According to one of them, the *Record of Knives and Swords* (*Daojianlu,* n.d.), a sword was cast and thrown into the river to quell him in 83 C.E. during the reign of Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han (r. 75–88 C.E.).[285]

175. FUZHU 夫諸 *The first mountains along the third guideway through the Central Mountains are the Bei Mountains, whose first peak is Tall-Banks Mountain. On its southern slope is much Tufou-Jade, and on its northern slope are much red earth and yellow gold. The god Smoky-Lake (Xunchi) dwells here. This place often produces fine jade. To the north it provides a view of the forests along the Yellow River, whose trees resemble the form of madder bushes and willows. There is a beast here whose form resembles a white deer but with four horns. It is called the Fuzhu. If seen, it is an omen of a great flood in the town.*[286] 凹 The god Smoky-Lake is not described in this passage but was represented by the artist in the next plate as no. 180. However, the text notes at the end of this guideway that, along with the gods Warrior-Net [no. 176] and Peaceful-Encounter [no. 179], he is important enough to require special sacrifices, as mentioned below.





176. WARRIOR-NET (WULUO) 武羅 *Ten li farther east is Green-Waist Mountain. It is actually the secret capital of the Supreme God Di. Northward, it provides a view of the winding course of the Yellow River. Here are many Jia-Birds. Southward, it provides a view of Shan Island. This is where the father of Yu the Great underwent a metamorphosis. Here there are many snails. The god Warrior-Net administers this place. He resembles a human face but with leopard markings, a small waist, white teeth, and he wears earrings. Warrior-Net makes a sound like tinkling jade. This mountain is beneficial for producing daughters.*[287] 𠀋 Guo was unable to identify the Jia-Bird exactly but hypothesized that it might be a kind of goose. He also noted that in another version, Warrior-Net is described as having a white face instead of white teeth. The commentator Yuan Ke suggested that such characteristics as a narrow waist and white teeth usually denote the feminine and that Warrior-Net was actually a mountain goddess despite the name. The theme of fertility and the e ects of the flora and fauna mentioned below [see no. 177] may further support this. For the proper sacrifice to Warrior-Net, see no. 180. Although the father of Yu the Great, Gun,

is said here to have metamorphosed on Shan Island, a fuller version of his myth is recorded as the final passage in the *Guideways* in chapter 18 [see no. 345]. Various other myths record Gun as both a failed hero and a criminal. He is said to have metamorphosed into a yellow bear, a yellow dragon, or a black fish after being executed, then was restored to life by *wu*-shamans. Guo Pu attempted to reconcile these discrepancies by stating that after Gun metamorphosed the first time as a yellow bear, he was capable of undergoing similar changes anywhere else. Hao Yixing believed that this entire passage must have been interpolated later, since he accepted the traditional attribution of the *Guideways* to Yu the Great, who would not have referred to himself and his father in this way.[288]

177. YAO-BIRD (YAO) 鶚 *The Dam River emanates from Mount Qingyao and flows northward into the Yellow River. In it dwells a bird named the Yao. Its form resembles a wild duck with a green body but with pink eyes and a red tail. Eating it will help produce sons. There is a plant here whose form resembles an orchid with a square-shaped stem, yellow flowers, and red fruit, while its root is like the Gaoben-Plant. It is called the Xun-Plant. Wearing it against the skin will enhance one's beauty.*[289] 凹 Hao Yixing considered the Yao-Bird a kind of cormorant.[290]

178. FLYING-FISH (FEIYU) 飛魚 *Ten li farther east stands Black-Horse Mountain. On its heights are beautiful jujube trees, and on its northern slope is Tufou-Jade. The Returning River emanates from here and flows northward into the Yellow River. In it dwell many Flying-Fish. Its form resembles a pig but with red stripes. Wearing it against the skin will prevent fear of thunder, and it can also protect against weapons.*[291] 凹 These Flying-Fish di er from no. 169.

PLATE XXXIV

179. PEACEFUL-ENCOUNTER (TAIFENG) 泰逢 *Sixty li farther west is Harmony Mountain. Its heights lack plants and trees but contain much Yao-Stone and green jade. It is actually the place where nine tributaries of the Yellow River converge and where the mountain winds about to form five folds. Nine rivers emanate from here. They converge and flow northward into the Yellow River. In them is found much dark-green jade. The auspicious god Peaceful-Encounter is in charge of this place. His form resembles a human but with a tiger's tail. He likes to dwell on the southern slopes of the Bei Mountains, and a blazing light issues forth whenever he comes and goes. The god Peaceful-Encounter can activate the vapors of heaven and earth.*[292] 凹 The sacrifice to Peaceful-Encounter is the same as that for Warrior-Net [no. 176] described above, as well as for Smoky-Lake [no. 180]. *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* recorded an incident about the Xia dynasty ruler Kongjia (trad. r. c. 1611–1603 B.C.E.) who was farming at the foot of the Bei Mountains and was forced to seek refuge in a peasant's cottage when the weather there suddenly changed and strong winds turned the sky dark. Both Guo Pu and Hao Yixing attributed this change to the local god Peaceful-Encounter's power over the weather.[293]





180. SMOKY-LAKE (XUNCHI) 熏池 *The five mountains of the third guideway through the Central Mountains from Tall-Banks Mountain, the first peak of the Bei Mountains, to Harmony Mountain extend for 440 li. The proper sacrifice to Peaceful-Encounter [no. 179], Smoky-Lake, and Warrior-Net [no. 176] is a ram cut in two and the burial of auspicious jade. The remaining two gods require a rooster, which is buried, and, for the grain sacrifice, glutinuous rice is used.*[294] 凶 This figure may be the artist's representation of the god Smoky-Lake, who is not specifically described in the text, or it may be one of the gods of the nine mountains along the fourth guideway, who have human faces and beasts' bodies.

181. YIN 麐 *Fifty li farther west from the beginning of the fourth guideway through the Central Mountains stands Supported-Pig Mountain. On its heights is much Ruan-Stone. There is a beast here whose form resembles a badger but with human eyes. It is called the Yin. The Guo River emanates from here and flows northward into the Luo River. In it can be found much Ruan-Stone.*[295] 凶 Guo Pu described Ruan-Stone as white as ice with a reddish tinge, and in his time it could be found on Geese-Gate Mountain. Hao Yixing stated that it was considered inferior to jade.[296]

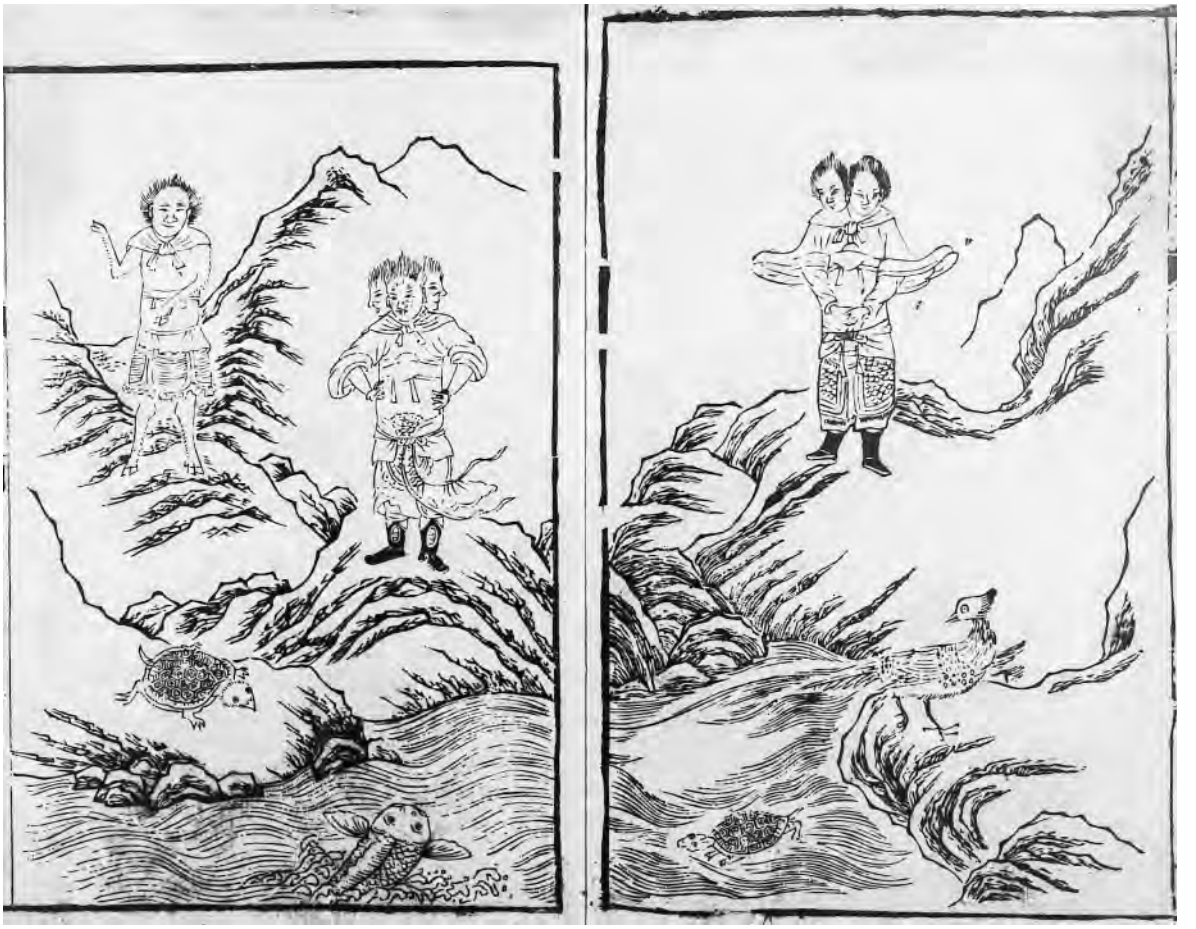
182. XIQU 犀渠 *One hundred twenty li farther west stands Mount Li. On its southern slope is much jade, and on its northern slope are many orchids. There is a beast here whose form resembles an ox with a blue-black body. It makes a sound like a baby and is a man-eater. Its name is Xiqu.*[297] 凶 Hao Yixing believed that based on its name and appearance, the Xiqu appeared to be similar to the Xi-Rhinoceros [no. 26].[298]

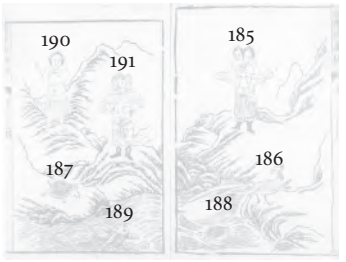
183. JIE 獬 *The Rongrong River emanates from Mount Li and flows southward into the Yi River. There is a beast here named the Jie. Its form resembles an angry dog but with scales, while its hairs are like pig's bristles.*[299] 凶 Guo surmised that the hairs grew in between the scales. Hao Yixing believed that this creature was a kind of otter.[300]

184. DI-BIRDS (DINIAO) 鴟鳥 *Three hundred li east of the beginning of the fifth guideway through the Central Mountains stands Head Mountain. On its northern slope are many mulberry and oak trees as well as Zhu- and Yuan-Herbs. On its southern slope are much Tufou-Jade and many sophora trees. There is a valley on the northern side named Ji-Tree Valley. Many Di-Birds dwell here. The Di-Bird resembles an owl but with three eyes and also ears. The Di-Bird makes a sound like a deer. Eating it will cure Dian-Sickness.*[301] 凶 Head Mountain is located in modern Yanshi, Henan, and was considered one of the five illustrious mountains of antiquity visited by the Yellow Thearch. According to Hao Yixing, its name indicates that it formed the head of a system of illustrious mountains, which included Greater Lotus Mountain [see no. 34]. The brothers Boyi and Shuqi, righteous Shang aristocrats, are said to have starved themselves to death here rather than serve the founders of the succeeding Zhou dynasty. Zhu- (*Atractylodis macrocephalae*) and Yuan-Herbs (*Daphne genkwa*) are still used in Chinese medicine. The Ji-Tree was identified earlier by Guo Pu as a kind of elm. Dian-Sickness remains unidentified; however, Wang Fu and Hao Yixing suggested that it meant weakness from humidity.[302]

PLATE XXXV

185. PROUD-BUG (JIAOCHONG) 驕蟲 *The first mountain along the sixth guideway through the Central Mountains is called Mount Pingfeng, the first peak of the Silken-Ram Mountains. To the south it provides a view of the Yi and Luo Rivers and to the east it provides a view of Grain-Citadel Mountain. There are no plants or trees here, nor rivers, but much sand and rock. There is a god here whose form resembles a human but with two heads named Jiaochong. He is the chief of stinging insects, and this mountain is actually the dwelling place of bees. The proper sacrifice to him is a rooster, which is o ered up with a prayer but is not killed.*[303] 凶 This Grain-Citadel Mountain is believed to be the same one north of the Relief River where the Western Han dynasty strategist Zhang Liang (d. 189 B.C.E.) found a yellow rock. Zhang kept the rock with him and worshiped it throughout his life. One of the key advisors to Liu Bang (c. 247–195 B.C.E.), founder of the Han dynasty, Zhang was later buried with this rock, which was subsequently sacrificed to during the spring and summer solstices. Yuan Ke located Grain-Citadel Mountain in modern Donge District, Shandong. Guo Pu suggested that the ritual for Proud-Bug involved prayers to exorcise calamities, and Wang





Fu further believed that it included a prayer to prevent stingings, after which the rooster is released.[304]

186. LINGYAO-BIRD (LINGYAO) 鴒鷅 *Twenty li farther west stands Mount Gui. On its northern slope is an abundance of Tufou-Jade. To its west is a valley called Heron Valley. Among its trees are many willow and mulberry. There is a bird here that resembles a mountain pheasant but with a long tail, red as fiery cinnabar, and a green beak. It is called the Lingyao and makes a sound like its name. Wearing it against the flesh can prevent blindness. The Exchanging-Winecups River emanates from its southern side and flows southward into the Luo River. The Yusui River emanates from its northern side and flows northward into the Grain River.*[305]

187. TWISTING-TURTLE (XUANGUI) 旋龜 *Two hundred twenty-two li farther west stands Secret Mountain. On its southern slope is much jade and on its northern slope is much iron. The Brave River emanates from here and flows southward into the Luo River. In it dwell many Twisting-Turtles. Its form resembles the head of a bird*

with a turtle's tail, and it makes a sound like wood splitting. There are no plants or trees here.[306] 凹 This creature appears to be the same as no. 8.

188. THREE-LEGGED TURTLE (SANZUGUI) 三足龜 *Six hundred fifty-six li east of the beginning of the seventh guideway through the Central Mountains stands Great Misery Mountain. There is much Tufou-Jade and much Deer-Jade here. There is a plant here whose form resembles the leaves of an elm with square stem and dark green thorns. It is called the Ox-Thorn. Its roots have dark-green markings. Wearing it against the skin can prevent convulsions and protect against weapons. The Madness River emanates from the south side of the mountain and flows southwest into the Yi River. In it dwell many Three-Legged Turtles. Eating it will prevent serious disease, and it can cure swellings.*[307] 凹 Deer-Jade remains unidentified. Guo Pu noted that similar turtles with three legs and six eyes dwelled in a lake on Noble Mountain in Yangxian District, Wuxing Commandery [modern Huzhou, Zhejiang] in his own time. The turtles are also recorded as dwelling elsewhere in the Central Mountains [see no. 209]. Three-Legged Turtles and Three-Legged Tortoises were mentioned in the glossary *Approaching Refinement,* which calls the turtles Ben and the tortoises Neng.[308]

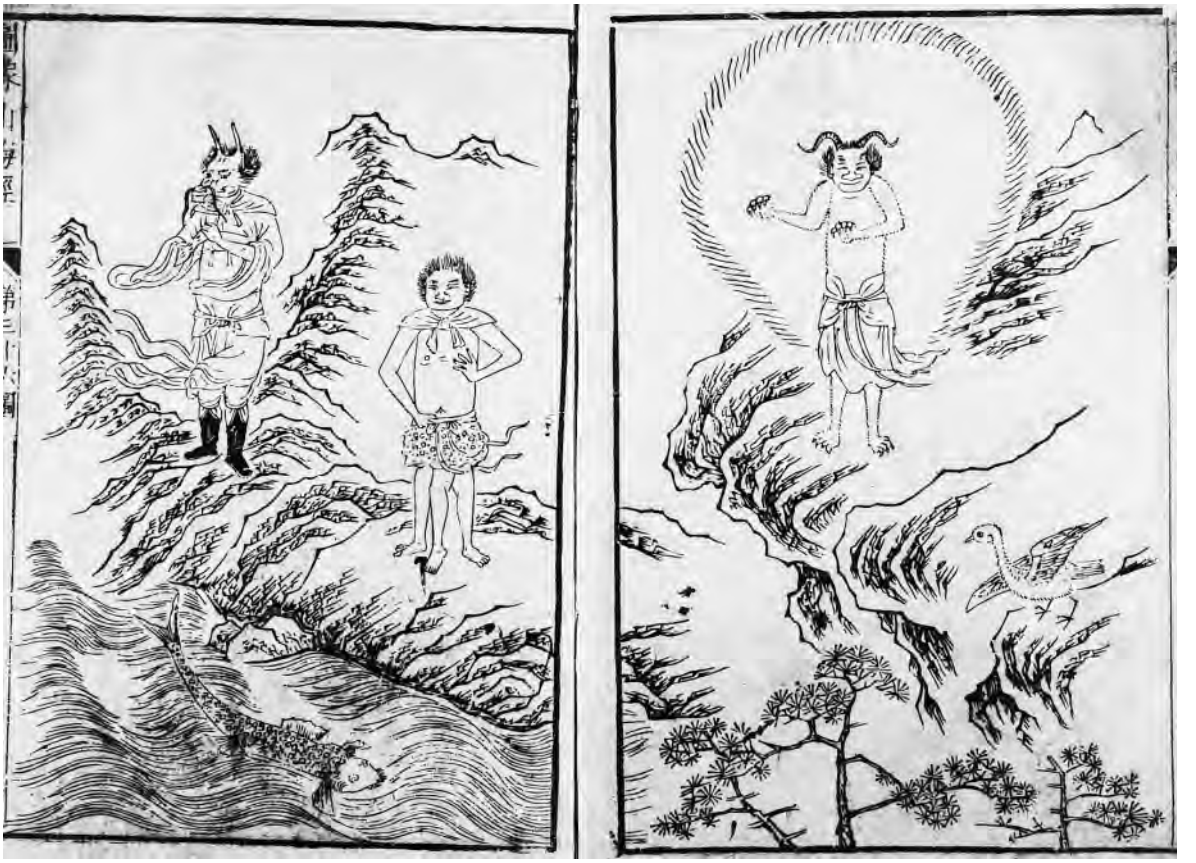
189. LUN-FISH 鯩魚 *Seventy li farther east stands Half-Rock Mountain. There is a plant here on its summit that flowers, reaching more than ten feet tall with red leaves and red blossoms but without bearing fruit. It is called the Excellent-Glory. Wearing it close to the skin will prevent fear of thunder and lightning. The Laixu River emanates from the south side of the mountain and flows westward into the Yi River. It contains many Lun-Fish that have black patterns and resemble carp. Eating one will prevent sleep.*[309] 凹 According to Guo Pu, the Excellent-Glory first appears as an ear of grain before sprouting leaves. Hao Yixing and other sources state that eating the Lun-Fish will cure swellings.[310]

190. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The nineteen mountains along the seventh guideway through the Central Mountains from Don't-Give Mountain, the first peak of the Misery Mountains, to Great Black-Horse Mountain extend for 1,184 li. Sixteen of these gods have the body of a pig but with a human head. The proper sacrifice to them is the burial of a ram of a single color that has been killed and for the jade o ering, burial of a five-colored jade.*[311]

191. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The Misery Mountains, Lesser Chamber Mountain, and Greater Chamber Mountain are all Sacred Summits. The proper sacrifice to them is a Grand Corral Sacrifice. The jade o ering involves auspicious jade. These gods all have human faces but with three heads, and the remaining gods of this guideway who are subordinate to them all have pig's bodies and human faces.*[312] 凹 A Grand Corral Sacrifice consists of an ox, a pig, and a sheep.

PLATE XXXVI

192. MOTTLED-FISH (WENYU) 文魚 *The first peak of the Thorn Mountains at the beginning of the eighth guideway through the Central Mountains is Scenic*





Mountain. On its heights are much metal and jade, and among its trees are many Zhu-Trees and sandalwood. The Ju River emanates from here and flows southeast into the Long River. It contains much cinnabar and many Mottled-Fish.[313]

193. ENCIRCLING-ALLIGATOR (TUOWEI) 蠃圍 *Two hundred fifty li farther northeast stands Proud Mountain. On its heights is much jade and below is much green cinnabar. Among its trees are many pines and junipers as well as many peach-branch bamboo and hooked-tip bamboo. The god Encircling-Alligator dwells here. His form resembles a human face with ram's horns and tiger's claws. He often roams about in the Ju and Zhang Rivers emitting a brilliant light whenever he emerges and returns.*[314] 凹 Guo Pu earlier commented that hooked-tip was a kind of peach-branch bamboo, the latter defined in *Approaching Refinement* as bamboo that had joints spaced about four inches apart.[315]

194. ZHEN-BIRD (ZHENNIAO) 鴆鳥 *One hundred twenty li farther northeast is Lady's-Table Mountain. On its heights is much jade, while at its feet is much yellow gold. Among the beasts here are many leopards and tigers as well as Lü-Goats and*

Mi-, Jing-, and Ji-Deer. Among the birds here are many White Jiao-Birds and Di-Pheasants as well as Zhen-Birds.[316] 凹 According to Guo Pu, the Zhen-Bird is as large as an eagle and purple, with a long neck and red beak. It devours vipers. The male is called Moving-Sun, while the female is called Dark-Harmony. Lü-Goats are mentioned in at least six other places in the *Guideways* and are particularly abundant in the mountains of this area. Guo Pu earlier noted that the Lü is a kind of Black-Ewe but resembles a donkey with split hooves, while its horns resemble those of the Ling-Antelope [see no. 48]. The Jing-Deer is said to be a large deer in *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs.* The Ji-Deer was noted here by Guo as resembling a badger but larger, to which Hao Yixing added that it had a hairy tail and dog's feet. Guo noted here that the White Jiao-Bird is like a small pheasant but with a longer tail and that it cries out as it moves.[317]

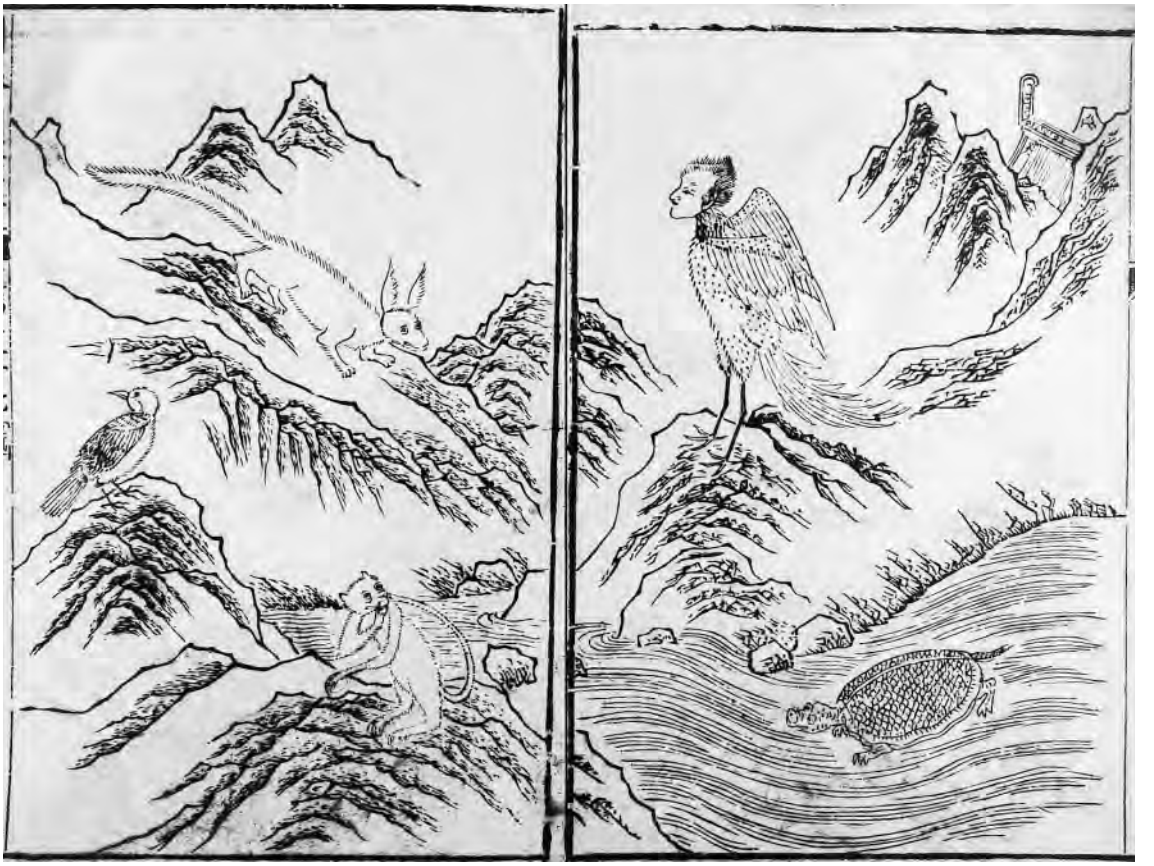
195. JIMENG 計蒙 *Eight hundred eighty li farther northeast stands Brilliance Mountain. On its heights is much green jade, and at its feet are many trees. The god Ji-meng dwells here. His form resembles a human with a dragon's head. He habitually roams in the depths of the Zhang Gorge. Whirlwinds and violent storms occur whenever he emerges and returns.*[318]

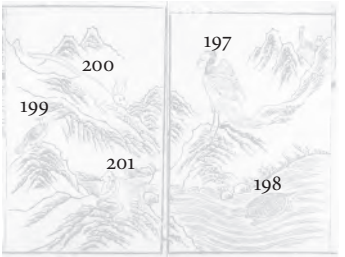
196. WADING-ALLIGATOR (SHETUO) 涉蠱 *One hundred fifty li farther northeast stands Forked Mountain. On its southern slope is much copper, and on its northern slope is much White Min-Stone. On its heights are much metal and jade, and below is much green cinnabar. Among the trees here are many ailanthus. The god Wad-ing-Alligator dwells here. His form resembles a human's body but with a square head and three legs.*[319] 凹 Min-Stone resembles jade, according to Guo Pu.[320]

PLATE XXXVII

197. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The twenty-three mountains along the eighth guideway through the Central Mountains from Scenic Mountain, the first of the Thorn Mountains, to Zither-and-Drum Mountain extend for 2,890 li. Their gods all have bird's bodies but with human faces. The proper sacrifice to them is a rooster o ered up with a prayer and then buried. The jade o ering is a five-colored jade tablet. For the rice o er-ing, glutinous rice is used. Proud Mountain is a Sacred Summit. Its proper sacrifice is wine along with a Lesser Corral Sacrifice o ered up with a prayer and buried. The jade o ering is a disc.*[321]

198. FINE-TURTLE (LIANGGUI) 良龜 *Three hundred li northeast of the beginning of the ninth guideway through the Central Mountains stands Mount Min. The Long River emanates from here and flows northeast into the sea. In it dwell many Fine-Turtles and many Tuo-Alligators. On the heights of the mountain are much metal and jade, while at its feet is much White Min-Stone. Among its trees are many plum and pear trees, among its beasts are Xi-Rhinoceros, elephants, and Kui-Oxen, and among its birds are red and white pheasants.*[322] 凹 No further description is provided for the Fine-Turtles. Guo Pu noted that the Tuo-Alligators were like lizards but about twenty feet long with colored scales whose skin was used for drums. Yuan Ke noted a myth in *The*





Compendium of Mr. Lü that credits the Tuo-Alligator with being the first musician. Following the command of the thearch Zhuanxu, he curled up and used his tail to beat out sounds on his stomach that were described as harmonious and rich. The Mount Min Range lies in modern Songpan, Sichuan, with its summit in nearby Mao District. Though considered here to be the origin of the Long River, modern geographers locate a northern origin in the Qumalai River in Qinghai province and a southern origin in the Muluwusu and the Wulanmulun Rivers in Tibet. Guo noted that the Kui-Ox existed in Shu (modern eastern Sichuan) in his time and weighed several thousand *jin.* In 318 C.E., one was said to have been killed in Shangyong Commandery in modern Hubei, yielding thirty-eight *dan* (approx. 507 lbs.) of meat. These Kui-Oxen appear to be unrelated to no. 304, and the name may be a variation of the Wei-Ox mentioned in *Approaching Refinement.*[323]

199. STEALING-FAT BIRD (QIEZHI) 竊脂 *Two hundred ninety li farther northeast stands Mount Ju. The North River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Long River. In it dwell many strange snakes and many Zhi-Fish. Among the trees here are many You- and Niu-Trees as well as many plum and catalpa. Among the beasts*

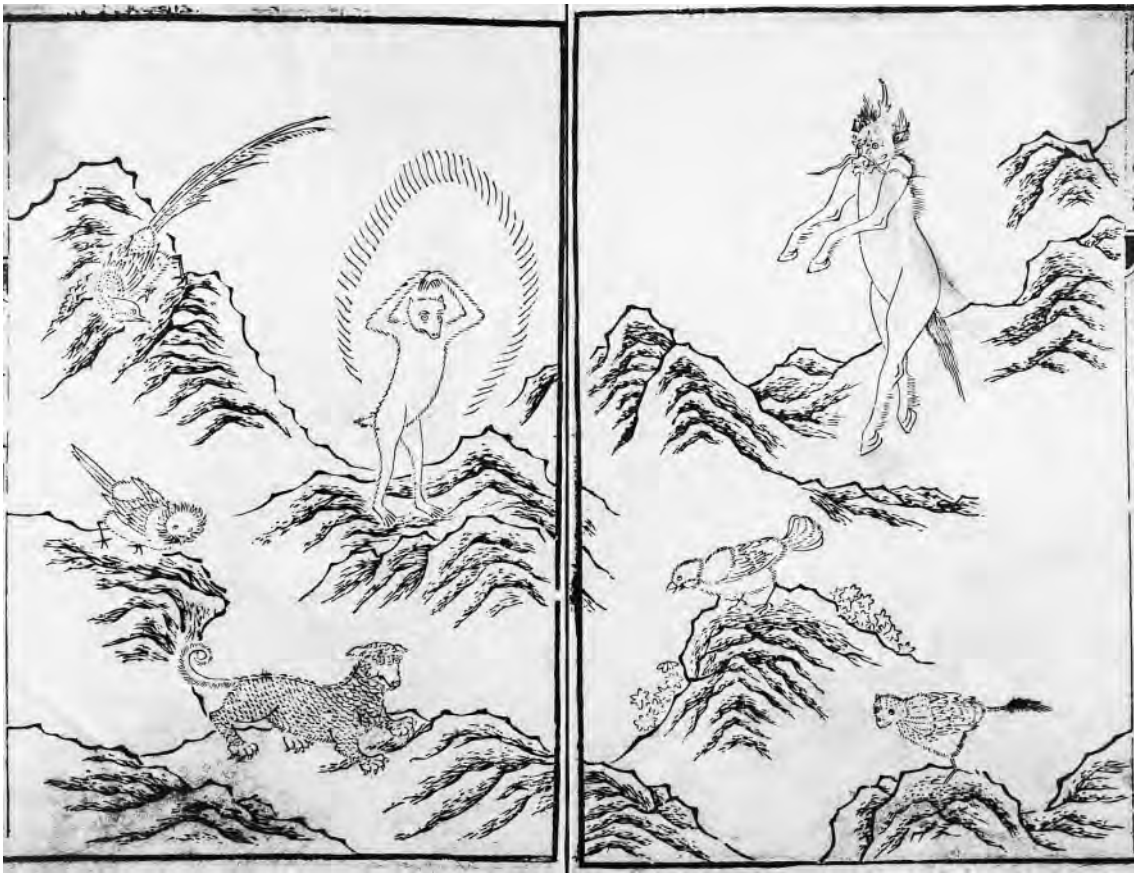
here are many Kui-Oxen, Ling-Antelopes, Chuo-Hares, and Xi- and Si-Rhinoceros. There is a bird here whose form resembles an owl but with a red body and white head. It is called the Qiezhi and it can protect against fire.[324]  Guo Pu considered these strange snakes similar to the Hook-Snake, also known as the Horse-Stumbling Snake found in his time in Yongchang, modern Yunnan. It was several tens of feet long and used its forked tail to grab hold of people, oxen, and horses along river banks, and it then devoured them. The Chuo-Hare was recorded slightly earlier in the *Guideways* and described by Guo Pu as being like a rabbit but with deer's feet and green in color. The Zhi-Fish remains unidentified. The You-Tree was described by Guo as a hardwood tree used for chariots; however, Hao Yixing noted that in the *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* its wood is considered flexible and used for the edges of wheels.[325]

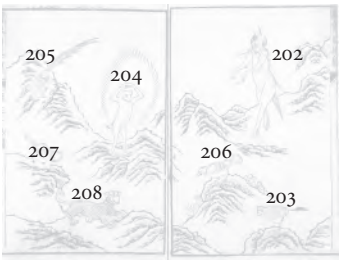
200. SI-WOLF (SILANG) 狆狼 *Seven hundred li farther east stands Snake Mountain. On its heights is much yellow gold, and below is much clay. Among its trees are many Xun and Yuzhang. Among its plants are many Excellent-Glory and asarum. There is a beast here whose form resembles a fox but with a white tail and long ears. It is called the Si-Wolf. If seen, there will be war in the state.*[326]  According to another version of the text, the Si-Wolf is an omen of chaos in the state. The wood of the Xun-Tree is said to be good for making staves. The Yuzhang has been variously identified. Guo Pu thought it was large like the Qiu-Tree, a kind of catalpa, while others have stated that it is the camphor. The Excellent-Glory reaches a height of more than ten feet and flowers as soon as it grows. With red leaves and red flowers but no fruit, it can prevent fear of thunder if worn against the skin.[327]

201. WEI-MONKEY (WEI) 蜼 *Five hundred li farther east stands Cauldron Mountain. On its southern slope is much metal, while on its northern slope is much White Min-Stone. The Puhong River emanates from here and flows eastward into the Long River. It contains much white jade. Among the beasts here are many Xi-Rhinoceros, elephants, bears, and many gibbons and Wei-Monkeys.*[328] The Wei-Monkey, according to Guo Pu, is like a macaque and is greenish yellow in color. Its nose points upward, and it has a tail four or five feet long with a forked tip. Whenever it rains, it hangs from trees and sticks its tail or two fingers in its nose to stop it up.[329]

PLATE XXXVIII

202. MOUNTAIN GOD (SHEN) 神 *The sixteen mountains along the ninth guideway through the Central Mountains from Lady's-Table Mountain, the first of the Mount Min Range, to Mount Jiachao extend for 3,500 li. Their gods all have horses' bodies but with dragon heads. The proper animal sacrifice to them is a rooster that is buried, while the grain o ering employs glutinous rice. Mounts Min, Goumi, Wind-and-Rain, and Black-Horse are all Sacred Summits. The proper sacrifice to them is a wine o ering and a Lesser Corral. For the jade o ering, auspicious jade is used. Bear Mountain is a mountain of the Supreme God Di. The proper sacrifice is a wine o ering and a Grand Corral. For the jade o ering, a disc is employed. An exorcism dance with weapons and shields is performed. A prayer is o ered up with a dance in formal caps and gowns holding pieces of fine jade.*[330]





203. TIPTOE-BIRD (QIZHONG) 跂踵 *One hundred forty li from the beginning of the tenth guideway through the Central Mountains stands Mount Fuzhou. Among its trees are many sandalwood. On its southern slope is much yellow gold. There is a bird here whose form resembles an owl but with one foot and a pig's tail. It is called the Qizhong. If it is seen, there will be a great epidemic throughout the state.*[331]

The Tiptoe-Bird's name may suggest the difficulty it must have in walking on one foot, although Hao Yixing thought it might have derived from the Land of the Tiptoe People [no. 249] mentioned in chapter 8, "Northern Lands beyond the Sea." These people, however, have two feet. Guo Pu noted that they walk only on their toes. There is also a Tiptoe Mountain recorded in chapter 4, along the third guideway through the Eastern Mountains [see no. 156], where giant snakes live.[332]

204. PLOWER (GENGFU) 耕父 *Nine hundred li from the beginning of the eleventh guideway through the Central Mountains stands Abundance Mountain. There is a beast here that resembles a gibbon with red eyes, a red mouth, and a yellow body. It is called Harmony-and-Peace (Yonghe), and if seen, there will be a great panic in the state. The god Plower dwells here. He often roams in the depths of the Pure-and-Clear Gorge*

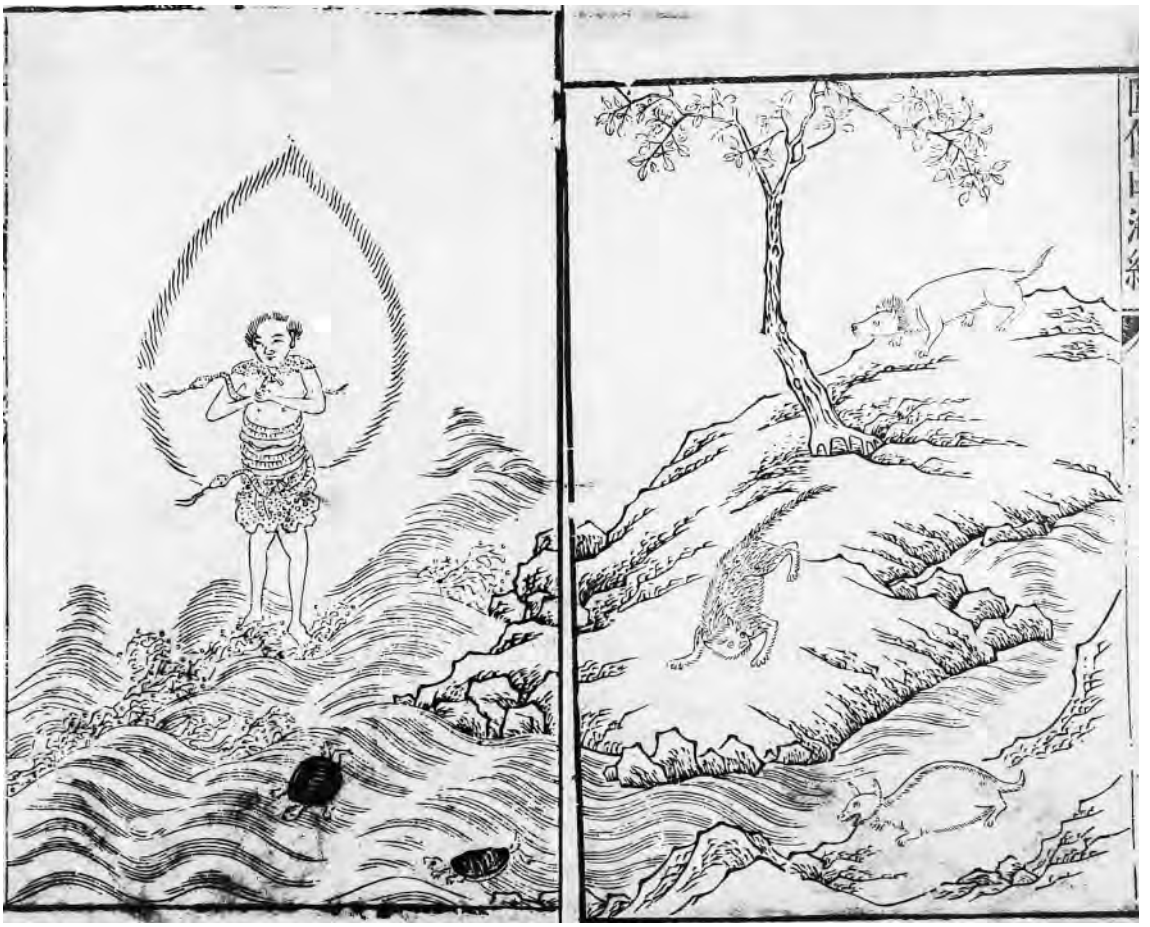
emitting a brilliant light whenever he emerges and returns. If seen, it is an omen that the state will be destroyed. There are nine bells here that sound whenever there is frost. On the heights of Abundance Mountain is much metal, and at its feet are many mulberry, Zuo-Oak, Niu-Trees, and Jiang-Oak.[333] 凹 This illustration seems to combine Harmony-and-Peace with the god Plower by giving an ape a halo. Harmony-and-Peace seems an inappropriate name for the beast considering its malevolent e ect. Plower appears to be similar to other gods who roam in the depths of rivers such as Encircling-Alligator [no. 193] and Jimeng [no. 195], who are said to emit a brilliant light. Guo Pu identified this Pure-and-Clear Gorge with a similarly named river in Xihaojiao District in modern Henan and noted that when the god came down from the mountain into the river, the water turned red and emitted a brilliant light. He also stated that in his time there was a shrine here. Plower was also said to cause droughts.[334]

205. ZHEN-BIRD (ZHEN) 鴆 *Nine hundred twenty li farther northeast stands Yaobi-Stone Mountain. Among its trees are many catalpa and plum. On its northern slope is much green cinnabar, and on its southern slope is much white-metal. There is a bird here whose form resembles a pheasant. It often eats Fei-Bugs and is called the Zhen.*[335] 凹 This Zhen-Bird di ers from no. 194. The Fei-Bug was recorded in *Zuo's Narratives* as having caused disasters in the state of Lu in 722 and 665 B.C.E. It is an oval insect as light as a mosquito that eats the flowering parts of rice plants and stunts their growth, causing famine. It is also said to be malodorous, as Guo Pu noted. The Fei-Bug di ers from the Fei [no. 166], although both names are written with the same graph.[336]

206. BABY-LADLE BIRD (YINGSHAO) 嬰勺 *Forty li farther east stands Mount Zhili. The Relief River emanates from here and flows southward into the Han River. There is a bird here named the Yingshao. Its form resembles a magpie with red eyes, a red beak, and a white body. Its tail is like a ladle, and it makes a sound like its name. There are many Yaks and Xian-Antelope here.*[337] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the tail was shaped like a wine ladle.[338]

207. GREEN PLOWER-BIRD (QINGGENG) 青耕 *One hundred fifty li farther northeast and then northwest stands Mount Jinli. On its heights are many pines and cypress and many beautiful catalpa trees. On its northern slope are much green cinnabar and much metal. Among the beasts here are many leopards and tigers. There is a bird here whose form resembles a magpie with a blue body, a white mouth, white eyes, and a white tail. It is called the Qinggeng. It can protect against epidemics, and it makes a sound like its name.*[339]

208. LIN 獜 *Thirty li southeast stands Mount Yiku. On its heights are many Niu-Trees and Jiang-Oak, as well as many Ju-Trees. There is a beast here whose form resembles a dog with tiger's claws and scales named the Lin. It is adept at jumping about. Eating it can protect against the e ects of wind.*[340] 凹 The Ju-Tree remains unidentified. The reference to wind here probably reflects the belief in Chinese medicine that attributes a variety of maladies to the e ects of this natural phenomenon such as fever, insanity, paralysis, apoplexy, and so on.[341]



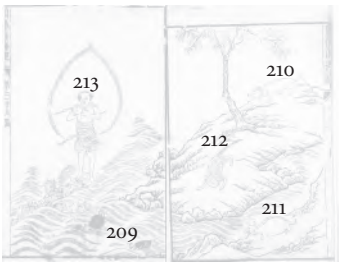


PLATE XXXIX

209. THREE-LEGGED TURTLE (SANZUGUI)
三足龜 *One hundred ninety li farther southeast stands Follow Mountain. On its heights are many pines and junipers, and below is much bamboo. The Follow River flows downward from above, becoming subterranean at its feet. In it dwell many Three-Legged Turtles. The Three-Legged Turtle has a split tail, and eating it cures insect-poisoning and epidemic illnesses.*[342] 凶 Here, too, Guo Pu noted that according to *Approaching Refinement,* these turtles are called Ben [see no. 188].[343]

210. LI 狌 *Eighty li farther southeast stands Happy-Horse Mountain. There is a beast here whose form resembles a porcupine, red as fiery cinnabar. It is called the Li, and if seen, it is an omen of a great epidemic spreading throughout the state.*[344]

211. JURU 狙如 *Thirty-five li farther southeast and then east stands the Mountain That Relies on the Supreme God Di. On its heights is much jade, and at its feet is much*

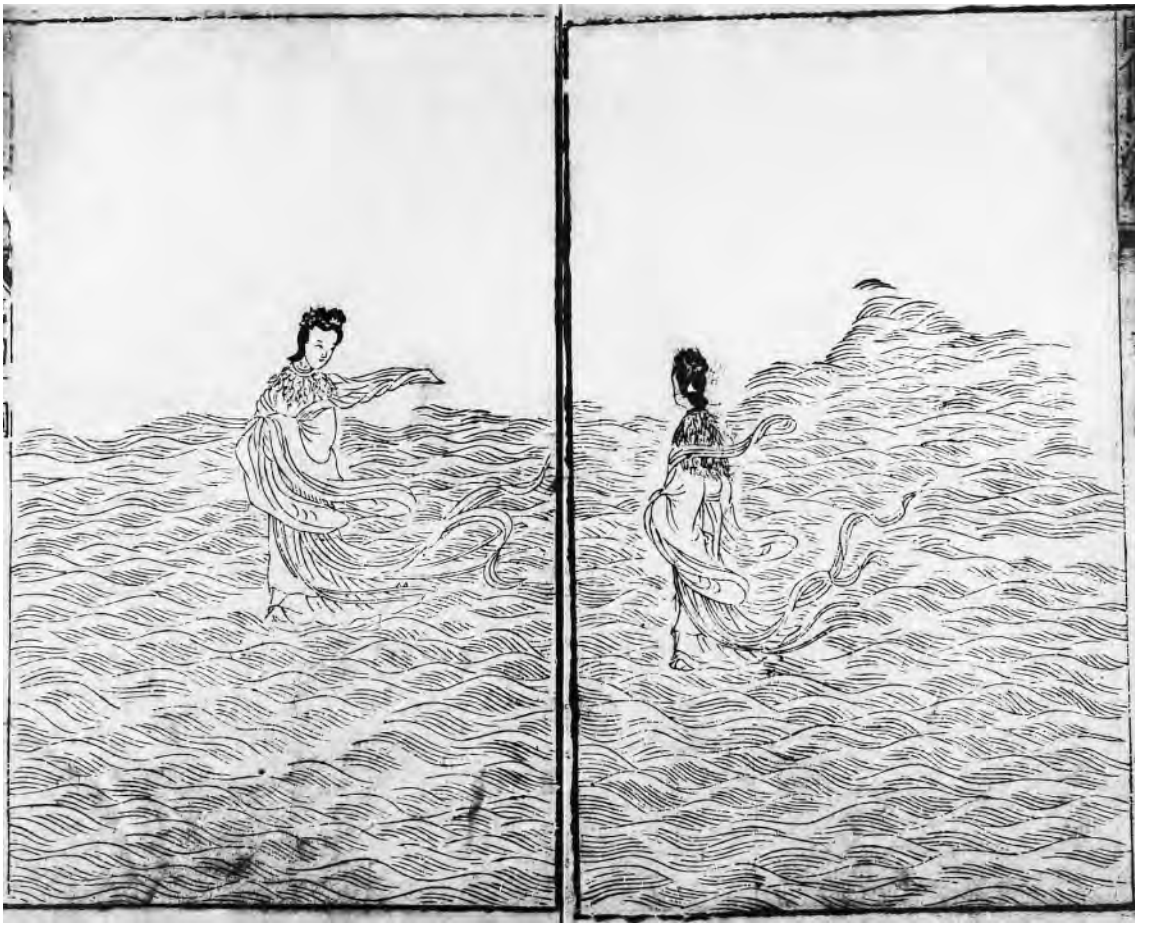
metal. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Fei-Rat with white ears and a white mouth called the Juru. If it is seen, then there will be a great war in the state.[345] 凹 The Fei-Rat is one of thirteen kinds of rats listed in *Approaching Refinement,* but it remains otherwise unidentified.[346]

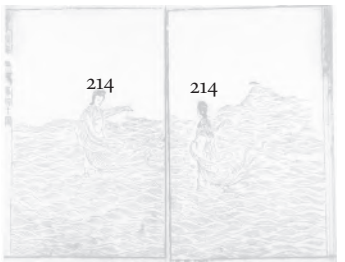
212. YIJI 狊即 *Three hundred li farther east stands Fresh Mountain. Among its trees are many You-, Niu-, and Ju-Trees. Among its plants are many wild asparagus. On its southern slope is much metal, and on its northern slope is much iron. There is a beast here whose form resembles a Desert-Dog with a red mouth, red eyes, and a white tail. If seen, a fire will break out in the town. It is called the Yiji.*[347] 凹 The Desert-Dog was said by Hao Yixing to have originated in the deserts extending from the west of China through Central Asia, and he described the dogs of his time from this area as tall, large, fierce, and powerful with thick hair.[348]

213. YUER 于儿 *Four hundred fifty li southeast of the beginning of the twelfth guideway through the Central Mountains stands Grandee Mountain. On its heights is much yellow gold, and at its feet is much green realgar. Among its trees are many mulberry, and among its plants are many bamboo and Chicken-Grain. The god Yuer dwells here. His form resembles a human, but he grasps two snakes. He often roams in the depths of the Long River and emits a brilliant light whenever he emerges and returns.*[349] 凹 The motif of grasping two snakes is associated with a number of powerful strange creatures recorded in later chapters. These include other gods, heroes, and *wu*-shamans, suggesting a higher degree of divine power over these much-feared reptiles that not only were regarded as a danger to the living but were also harmful to the bodies of the dead after burial. This mountain is one of four Sacred Summits along this guideway, and the sacrifice to Yuer involves a prayer o ered up with wine as well as displaying and burying a Lesser Corral and auspicious jade. This god Yuer di ers from no. 1.[350]

PLATE XL

214. THE TWO DAUGHTERS OF THE SUPREME GOD DI (DI ZHI ER NÜ) 帝之二女 *One hundred twenty li farther southeast is Grotto Mountain. On its heights is much yellow gold, and below are much silver and iron. Among its trees are many hawthorn, pear, orange, and pomelo. Among its plants are many Jian-Orchids, Miwu-Lovage, peonies, and Qiongqiong-Selenium. The Two Daughters of the Supreme God Di dwell here. They often roam in the depths of the Long River. They generate the winds of the Li and Yuan Rivers, and they meet in the depths of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers. This is in the area of the Nine Rivers. There are always violent winds and storms when they emerge and return. Here there are many strange gods who resemble humans but wear snakes on their heads and grasp snakes in their left and right hands. There are also many strange birds.*[351] 凹 Grotto Mountain is located in modern Yueyang, Hunan. A number of myths were elaborated over the centuries regarding goddesses of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, which flow through the ancient state of Chu. In addition to this passage in the *Guideways,* which identifies the two goddesses as daughters of Di, other versions have been preserved in two of "The Nine Songs" (*Jiuge*) cycle in the *Songs*





of Chu titled "The Queens of the Xiang River" (*Xiangjun*) and "The Lady of the Xiang River" (*Xiang furen*). In each, the performer, whose role may derive from a *wu*-shaman, expresses his desire for a single goddess of the river identified as a daughter of Di. In later elaborations, the two goddesses were said to be the thearch Yao's (trad. r. c. 2145–2046 B.C.E.) daughters, who were married to his successor, the thearch Shun, and who followed the latter on his inspection tour of the south. When Shun died en route, they drowned themselves in sorrow in the Xiang River. They are sometimes given the names Ehuang and Nüying, with the former said to be the principal wife and the latter a concubine. Their ability to provoke unpredictable weather was later incorporated into a legend critical of the First Emperor of Qin, who was bu etted by violent winds when he visited Mount Xiang nearby. Upon inquiring about the cause, he was told by scholars that the source was the two goddesses known as the Queens of the Xiang River. Later folklore recorded in the Ming dynasty indicates that their tears were believed to have stained a kind of speckled bamboo that was named after them. The plants mentioned in this passage have been variously identified but were

all thought by Hao Yixing to be fragrant and hence appropriate to a place inhabited by beautiful goddesses. However, the tragic and malevolent atmosphere is also represented by the weather, the snake-holding gods, and the strange birds.[352]

This plate concludes the illustrations of the strange creatures in the first part of the *Guideways,* chapters 1 to 5, later known as the *Guideways through Mountains.* At some point, the following statement was appended to the text culled from late Zhou sources, though it is attributed to Yu the Great:

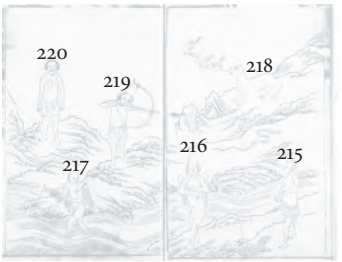
> Yu said: "I have traveled through 5,370 of the famous mountains in the world over a route of 64,056 *li.* These words speak of the Five Mountain-Treasuries. The other, lesser mountains, being numerous, are not worth recording. From east to west, the world extends for 28,000 *li,* while from north to south, it extends for 26,000 *li.* There are eight thousand *li* of mountains that are the source of rivers and eight thousand *li* of mountains that receive the flow of rivers. Four hundred sixty-seven mountains produce copper, while 3,690 mountains produce iron. These are the areas of heaven and earth, where trees and grains are found, which yields halberds and spears and provides knives and daggers. Of these things, the able obtain more, while the incompetent remain poor. Thus, the Feng sacrifice to the Supreme Mountain and the Shan sacrifice to Mount Liangfu were carried out by seventy-two ruling houses. The measurements of the earth's bounty that lie behind success or failure can be found here and can be used to the benefit of the state."[353]

PLATE XLI

215. THE PEOPLE WITH PROTRUDING CHESTS (JIEXIONG-MIN) 結匈民 *Beyond the seas proceeding from the southwest corner to the southeast corner, there is the Land of the People with Protruding Chests in the southwest. The people have chests that protrude.*[354] 凶 This plate begins the second half of the *Guideways,* chapters 6–18, which is composed of groups of chapters later collectively called the *Guideways through Seas.* A preface later added at the beginning of the first of these chapters, "Guideway through Southern Lands beyond the Sea," states: "Earth lies within the Six Coordinates [i.e., the four directions plus above and below] and is bounded by the Four Seas. It is illuminated by the sun and moon, crisscrossed by the stars and constellations, organized according to the four seasons, and perennially regulated by the Year-Star [i.e., Jupiter]. Of the things and forms that arise from spiritual forces, some are short-lived and some enjoy longevity. Only a sage can comprehend their Ways."

The People with Protruding Chests have chests that bulge like goiters. To the southeast of this land is Southern Mountain, where insects are perversely called "snakes" and snakes are called "fish." Guo Pu ridiculed the people of South Mountain in his encomium and cited this name swapping as proof of the Daoist philosophical view that names are bestowed by people and are not determined by the objects themselves, leading to a confused understanding of reality. To the east are the Shared-Wings Birds





[Biyiniao; see nos. 54, 230], which are green and red in color and must fly in pairs, because they have only one wing each.[355]

216. THE FEATHERED PEOPLE (YUMIN) 羽民

The Land of the Feathered People lies farther east of the Wing-Sharing Birds. The people have long heads, and feathers grow on their bodies. In another version, they are said to be located southeast of the Wing-Sharing Birds and have long cheeks.[356] 🕮 Guo Pu noted that in the *Explanations of Divinations in the Storehouse of All Things* (*Guizang qishi,* 2nd cent. C.E.), they were said to have bird beaks, red eyes, and white heads. As early as the Warring States period in such poems as "The Far-O Journey" (*Yuanyou*) in the *Songs of Chu* anthology, a class of Transcendents known as Feathered Men were mentioned. In surviving images from the Eastern Han, they were depicted as feathered, winged people flying among the clouds, and these figures were subsequently incorporated into Daoist religious mythology. Guo Pu noted that in the illustrations of his time, the Feathered People of the *Guideways* were portrayed like these Transcendents, indicating that the two types had become confused. However, the Feathered People in the *Guideways* are

a foreign tribe without any attribute of longevity and are unrelated to these later forms of spiritual cultivation. Further along this route are the Sixteen Gods. They form two groups of eight, have small cheeks and red shoulders, and link hands and control the night for the Supreme God. To the east of them and west of the Blue River is a Bifang-Bird [no. 69]. It is described here as having a human face and a single leg, though some commentators believe that "human face" is a textual error.[357]

217. THE HUANTOU PEOPLE (HUANTOUMIN) 讙頭民 *The Land of Huantou is located south of the Bifang-Bird. The people have human faces, wings, and bird beaks. They are shown in the act of fishing. Another version states that they are located east of the Bifang-Bird and that the place is called the Land of Huanzhu.*[358] 凹 Guo Pu commented that in his time, these people were illustrated as Transcendents, probably similar to the Feathered People [no. 216]. This land and their ancestor [see nos. 313, 335], who is also known by the variant names Huandou and Huanzhu [see no. 218], are recorded in more detail in chapter 15. This is one of the places in the text stating that the strange creature is in the process of performing some action, in this instance, "in the act of fishing." Such passages are believed to refer to the early illustrations.[359]

218. THE FIRE-GLUTTONS (YANHUOMIN) 厭火民 *The Land of the Fire-Gluttons lies south of the Land of Huantou. The inhabitants have the bodies of beasts and are black. Fire is emitted from their mouths. According to another version, they are located east of Huanzhu.*[360] 凹 According to Guo Pu, they were depicted in his time as black monkeys, and the portrait in the Wu Renchen edition followed this description. However, another tradition of inauspicious, fire-emitting animals in the south that circulated in the Ming describes dogs known as Huodou, and this may have been the basis for representing the Fire-Gluttons here as dogs. Further to the northeast is the Land of the Three-Sprouts People [see no. 71], descendants of those who rose in revolt with Huantou [nos. 217, 313].[361]

219. THE ZHI PEOPLE (ZHIMIN) 臷民 *The Land of the Zhi People is located farther east of the Land of the Three-Sprouts People. The people are yellow and shoot at snakes with bows and arrows. Another version states that the Land of the Zhi People lies farther east of the Land of the Three-Hairs People.*[362] 凹 In chapter 15, the Zhi People are described as descended from Without-Excess (Wuyin), a son of the thearch Shun, who came down from heaven to this place. There they are known as Shaman Zhi's People and are surnamed Pan. Inhabiting an earthly paradise, they wear clothes without having to weave the cloth and eat grains without having to farm. Auspicious Luan-Birds [no. 49] spontaneously sing forth, while Feng-Birds [nos. 271, 330] dance about. All kinds of animals harmoniously dwell here in flocks, and all kinds of grains grow in abundance.[363]

220. THE PEOPLE WITH PERFORATED CHESTS (GUANXIONGMIN) 貫匈民 *The Land of the People with Perforated Chests lies farther east of the Land of the Zhi People. The people have holes in their chests.*[364] 凹 Guo Pu and Hao Yixing noted that the People with Perforated Chests were mentioned in

The Bamboo Annals (*Zhushu jinian,* c. 299 B.C.E.) and the *Master Shi.* In the former, a quasi-historical chronicle from the states of Jin and Wei, they and the Long-Thighs People [no. 240] were both recorded as paying a visit of submission to the court of the Yellow Thearch in the fifty-ninth year of his reign. A Yuan dynasty work, *Record of Strange Regions* (*Yiyuzhi*), states that in their society, superiors are carried about by inferiors by means of a bamboo pole inserted through the holes in their chests. This may have been the basis for such a depiction in the Wu Renchen edition.[365]

PLATE XLII

221. THE PEOPLE WITH CROSSED SHINS (JIAOJINGMIN) 交脛民 *The Land of the People with Crossed Shins lies farther east of the Land of the People with Perforated Chests. The people have crossed shins.*[366] In traditional Chinese ethnography, this characteristic was associated with the Vietnamese, whose land as early as the Warring States period was literally called Crossed-Feet (Jiaozhi). Several modern scholars have hypothesized that such strange features were understood in antiquity more symbolically. Later, many readers from the Han dynasty on may have misunderstood this earlier mentality and interpreted such references in a literal and fantastic manner. This tendency could be seen in these illustrations, which naturalistically represent features that appear bizarre. Even when later contact clearly provided evidence to discredit such names, they continued to be used, as in the case of the Vietnamese.[367]

222. THE NEVER-DYING PEOPLE (BUSIMIN) 不死民 *The Never-Dying People dwell farther east of the Land of the People with Crossed Shins. They are black and enjoy longevity, never dying. According to another version, they dwell farther east of the Land of the People with Perforated Chests.*[368] These people are mentioned again in chapter 15 as bearing the surname Ah and are said to eat of the Sweet-Tree. The illustration here is apparently based on this latter description. The idea of a land of people who never die can also be found in the poem "The Far-O Journey" in the *Songs of Chu* as well as in *The Compendium of Mr. Lü,* in which Yu the Great is said to have visited such a place. The *Guideways* treats them as a foreign tribe that is inherently long-lived. However, Guo Pu and other readers of his time such as Tao Qian mistakenly associated the Never-Dying People with the Feathered People [no. 216] of the Daoist cult of Transcendents who achieved their longevity through esoteric techniques of alchemical and spiritual cultivation. Guo commented that on Round-Hill Mountain is the Never-Dying Tree, which confers long life if eaten, as well as the Red Spring, which has a similar benefit if its waters are drunk. Furthermore, he identified this Never-Dying Tree with the Sweet-Tree.[369]

223. THE PEOPLE WITH FORKED TONGUES (QISHEMIN) 岐舌民 *The Land of the People with Forked Tongues lies farther east of the Never-Dying People.*[370] Though Guo Pu believed that these people's tongues were forked, Hao Yixing argued that the graph *qi* ("forked") was interchangeable with *fan* ("reversed"). Thus, these may be a people whose tongues are reversed. He cited *The*





Compendium of Mr. Lü, which characterized the speech of surrounding barbarian tribes as "reversed tongues" (*fanshe*). This land is also called Reversed Tongues in the *Master of Huainan,* where it is listed as one of thirty-six foreign lands, most of which are recorded in the *Guideways.* Commenting on both these texts, Gao You (c. 168–212 C.E.) described the Land of the People with Reversed Tongues in the south as a place whose people have tongues that are attached to the front of their mouths and that move in their throats. Their language was incomprehensible to outsiders. This characteristic probably reflects the eternal difficulty in China of outsiders trying to understand the many local dialects and non-Chinese languages in the south.[371]

224. THE TRICEPHALOUS PEOPLE (SANSHOUMIN) 三首民

The Land of the Tricephalous People lies to the east of Mount Kunlun and the Plain of the Longevity-Flower. The people here have three heads on a single body.[372] 凹 The Plain of the Longevity-Flower is the place where the divine hero Yi the Archer, at the behest

of Thearch Jun, used his bow and arrow to kill Chiseled-Teeth (Zuochi), a man with fangs five or six feet long who had terrorized the people. Though the Tricephalous People have three heads, Guo Pu in his encomium was not overly impressed with this arrangement:

> Although it is said they breathe as one,
> They use di erent paths for respiration.
> When one looks, three can see;
> One eats, all experience satiation.
> In form, they may seem well-rounded.
> Still, something was lacking in their creation.[373]

225. THE ZHOURAO PEOPLE (ZHOURAOMIN) 周饒民 *The Land of the Zhourao People lies farther east of the Land of the Tricephalous People. The people are short and wear caps and sashes.*[374] 凹 The Zhourao are one of several foreign peoples of diminutive stature in the *Guideways.* That they wear Chinese caps and sashes indicates that they are regarded as comparatively civilized. Guo Pu commented that they were only three feet tall, lived in caves, were able to manufacture clever mechanisms, and, like Chinese, ate the five major types of grains. In another version of this passage and in chapter 15, they are called the Jiaoyao and surnamed Ji. There they are said to consume only fine grain. A number of early texts mention them as the smallest people, sometimes no taller than seven inches. In *The Bamboo Annals,* the Jiaoyao are recorded as visiting the thearch Yao in the twenty-ninth year of his reign as a tributary people. They presented a device called "Underwater-Wings" as an example of their technical skills. These were probably used for underwater swimming, for this people was also said to be skilled at diving.[375]

226. THE LONG-ARMS PEOPLE (CHANGBIMIN) 長臂民 *The Land of the Long-Arms People lies farther east of the Land of the Zhourao People. They catch fish in the water by grabbing hold of a fish with each hand.*[376] 凹 Such tribes were also recorded in early sources as dwelling in the south or west, their arms said to span some twenty or thirty feet. Guo Pu cited a reference to these people later preserved in the "Treatise on the Eastern Yi-Barbarians" in the official *History of the Wei Dynasty* (*Weishu,* 554 C.E.):

> During the Huangchu era (220–226) of the Wei dynasty, Wang Qi (n.d.), the governor of Xuantu [Korean: Hyŏnt'o, in modern North Korea-Liaoning-southern Jilin], defeated King Shanshang [Sansang, r. 196–227] of Gaojuli [Koguryŏ, in modern Korea]. He pursued him past the Land of the Woju Tribe [Ŏkcho kuk, in modern northeast Korea], whose eastern boundary bordered the sea close to where the sun rises. Wang asked the elders here if there were any people beyond the sea to the east. They replied that a cloth robe was once recovered from the sea. It resembled Chinese clothing, except that the sleeves were thirty feet long—this must have belonged to one of the Long-Arms People.

Hao Yixing believed that the statement about their grasping fish in each hand referred to how they were depicted in the early illustrations.[377]

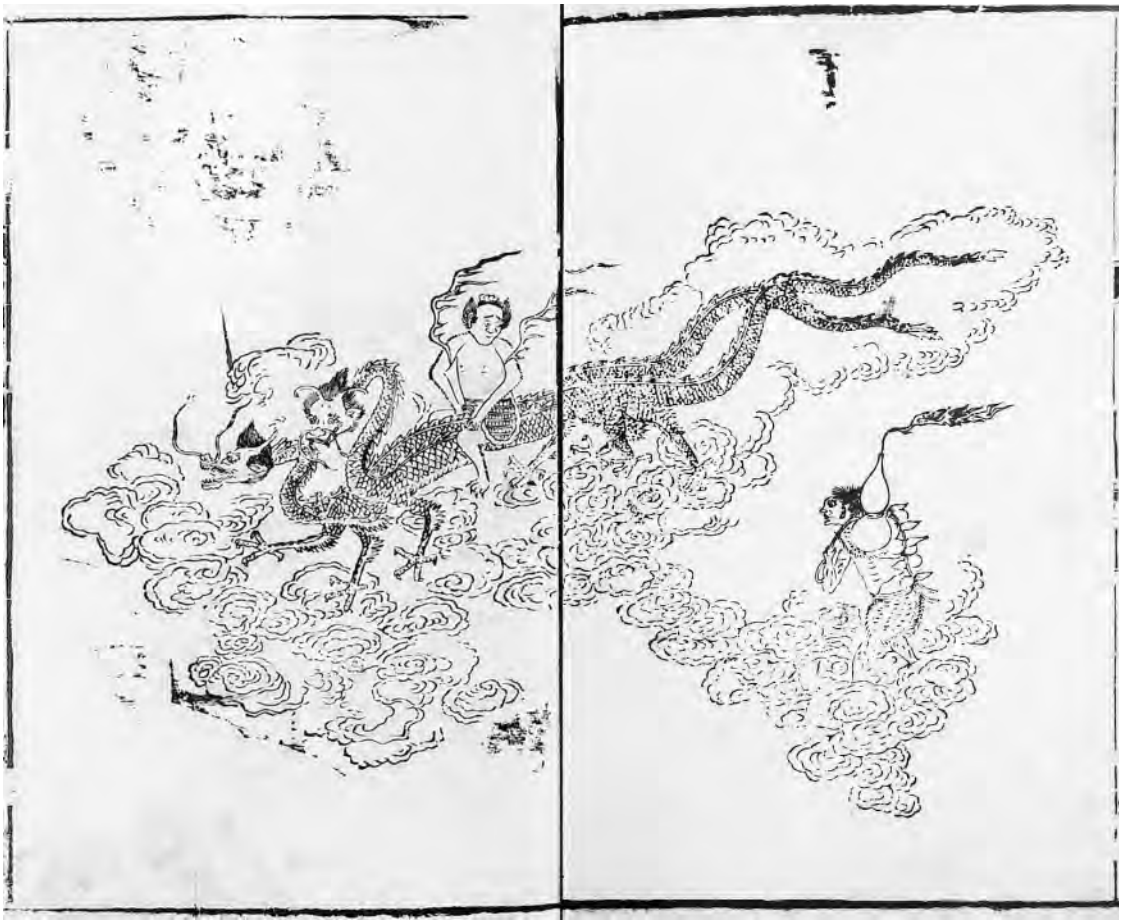
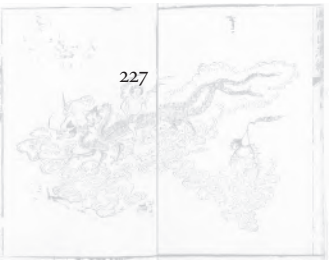
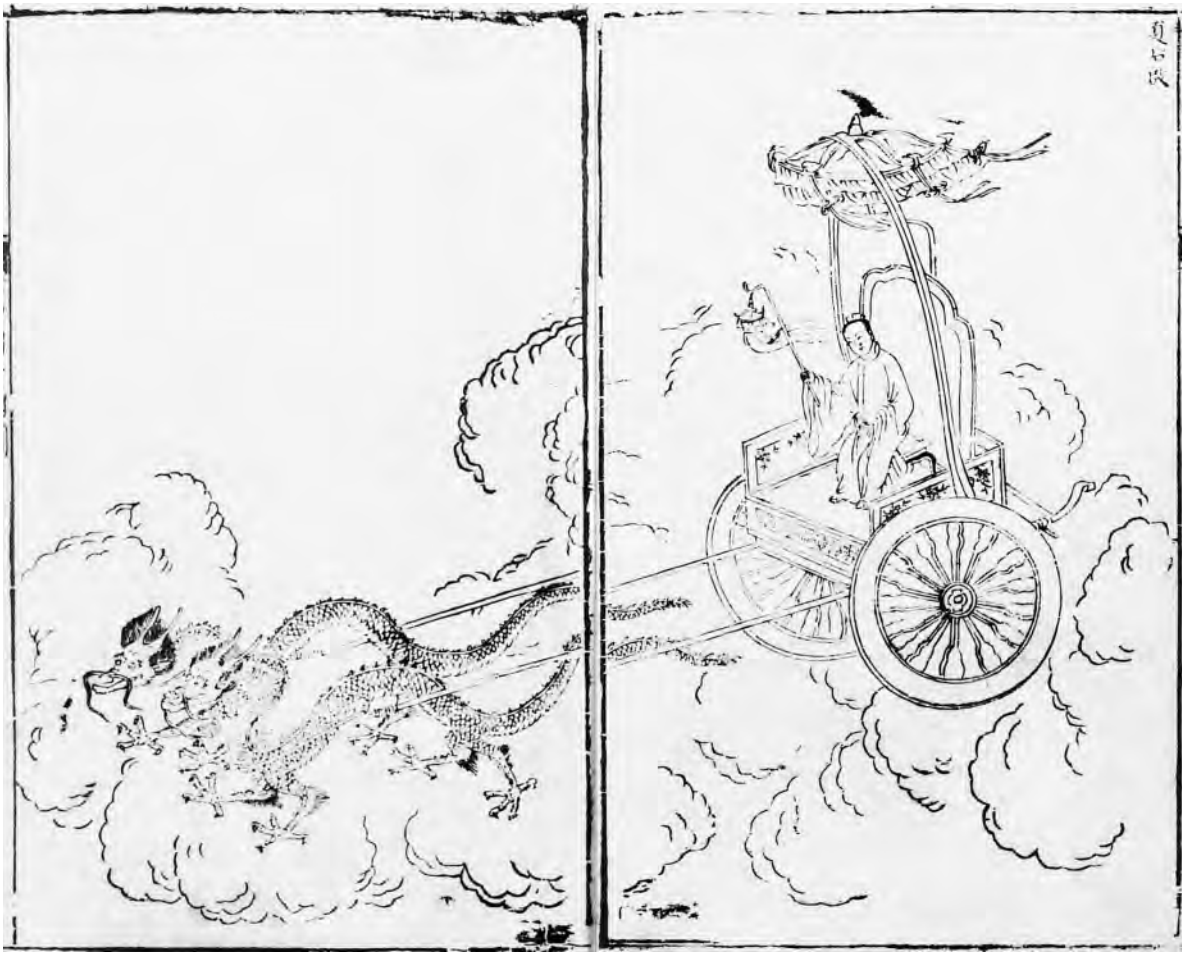
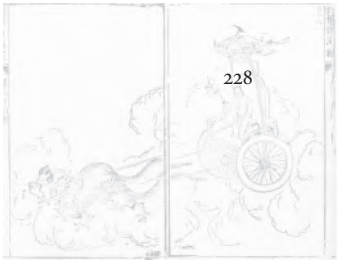


PLATE XLIII



227. ZHURONG 祝融 *Zhurong of the South has the body of a beast and a human face. He rides on two dragons.*[378] 凶 The god Zhurong is located here at the very end of chapter 6, "Southern Lands Beyond the Sea." Varying myths about Zhurong are recorded in other entries in the *Guideways.* In chapter 16, he is the grandson of the thearch Zhuanxu and father of Crown Prince Long-Zither, who is credited with creating musical compositions. Because chapter 18 considers Zhuanxu to be a great-grandson of the Yellow Thearch, Yuan Ke stated that he should be included in the latter's lineage. Alternatively, in chapter 18, he is said to have been born at the Long River, a fourth-generation descendant of the Flame Thearch and father of Gonggong, who unleashed the Deluge. However, the same chapter also records Zhurong as a god of punishments. He is the one who carried out the orders of the Supreme God Di to execute Gun at the sacred altar on Feather Mountain after Gun stole the Expanding Soil to curb the Deluge [see no. 345]. Guo Pu commented here in chapter 6 that he is the god of fire and in chapter 16 further elaborated that he served under the thearch Gaoxin (also





known as Thearch Ku [Diku], trad. r. c. 3rd millennium B.C.E.). This reflects his later identity, which more fully emerged by the Western Han and was elaborated in religious Daoism. In pantheons organized according to Five Agents cosmology, he is often portrayed as an assistant of the Flame Thearch associated with the south and with summer. Eventually, Zhurong was located at Transverse Mountain (modern Nanyue, Hunan), the Southern Marchmount, whose highest peak is named after him. This illustration depicts him with one of his divine subordinates who is bearing fire.[379]

PLATE XLIV

228. THE XIA SOVEREIGN QI (XIAHOU QI) 夏后啓 *On the Plain of the Grand Music, the Xia Sovereign Qi danced "The Nine Dai Dances." He rode on two dragons, and the clouds formed a canopy for him three layers high. In his left hand he held a feathered pennant, in his right, a jade ring, and he wore a jade semicircle from his belt. This is north of the Mountain of the Grand Movement. According to another ver-*

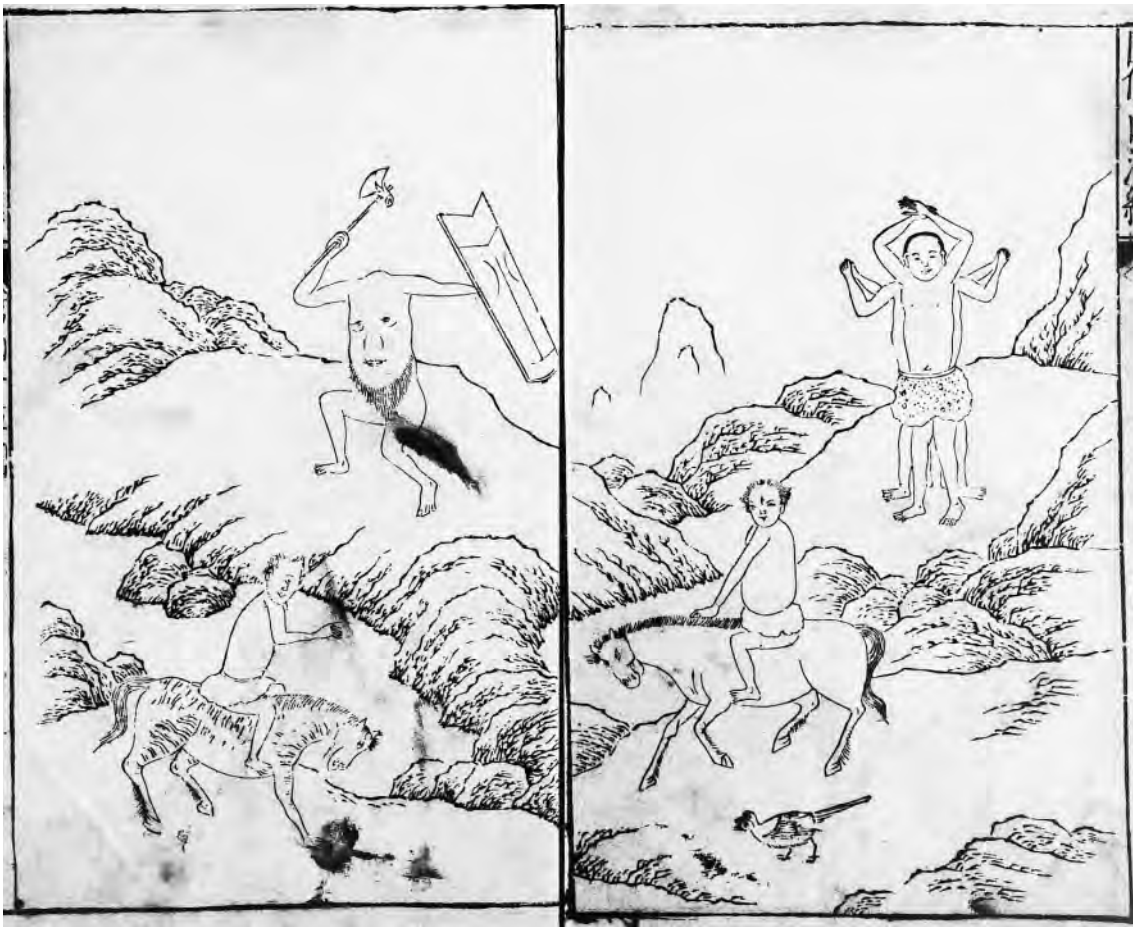
sion, this occurred on the Plain of the Great Bestowal.[380] The Xia Sovereign Qi (trad. r. c. 1978–1965 B.C.E.) is recorded here at the beginning of chapter 7, "Guideway through the Western Lands beyond the Sea," which extends from the southwest corner to the northwest corner of this area. His name, Qi, means "to open up," and he was miraculously born of the union of Yu the Great and a girl of Muddy Mountain, who later metamorphosed into a stone out of fright when Yu transformed himself into a bear. Yu demanded his son, and Qi was born from the stone's north side when it opened up. The second sovereign of the Xia dynasty, he is regarded in some myths as a culture hero who brought divine music and dance to humankind or as a trickster figure who stole the music from heaven. A variant myth is recorded in chapter 16, where he is referred to by a later name, Kai [see no. 325], a Han dynasty usage to avoid the taboo personal name of Liu Qi, Emperor Jing of the Western Han (r. 156–141 B.C.E.). However, other traditions regarded him less favorably. The utilitarian philosopher Mo Di (c. 479–381 B.C.E.), who opposed ceremonial music, described him as a decadent ruler who indulged himself in entertainment and lost heaven's favor. In the "Questions of Heaven" in the *Songs of Chu,* he supplanted his father's choice for a successor and provoked a rebellion in addition to having caused the death and dismemberment of his mother through his miraculous birth.[381]

PLATE XLV

229. THE THREE-BODIES PEOPLE (SANSHENMIN) 三身民 *The Land of the Three-Bodies People is located north of the Xia Sovereign Qi. The people have one head on three bodies.*[382] The Three-Bodies People are recorded in more detail in chapter 15, where they are said to live near Rebel Mountain and to be the descendants of Thearch Jun and his wife Ehuang [see no. 309]. Surnamed Yao, they eat millet and command four kinds of birds. Guo Pu and other commentators, however, noted that the surname Yao indicates that they were descended from the thearch Shun rather than Jun, while Ehuang is usually considered the wife of Shun.[383]

230. THE ONE-ARM PEOPLE (YIBIMIN) 一臂民 *The Land of the One-Arm People is located north of the Land of the Three-Bodies People. The people have one arm, one eye, and one nostril. There is a yellow horse here with tiger's stripes, one eye, and one foreleg.*[384] Guo Pu considered the One-Arm People as similar, if not identical, to the Shared-Shoulder People mentioned in *Approaching Refinement,* which recorded the latter as parallel to other single-featured anomalies dwelling in the four directions such as the Shared-Eyes Fish (east), the Shared-Wings Birds [see nos. 54, 215, south], and the Shared-Shoulder Beasts (west). Guo regarded all these as basically possessing only half a body.[385]

231. THE SINGLE-ARM PEOPLE (JIGONGMIN) 奇肱民 *The Land of the Single-Arm People lies north of the Land of the One-Arm People. These people have one arm and three eyes and both male and female genitals. They ride on patterned horses.*[386] Guo Pu noted that the Single-Arm People's female organs were above their male organs. He also identified the horses as the type known as Lucky-





Measure [no. 279] recorded in chapter 12 as being striped with a white body, red hair, and eyes like gold and as adding one thousand years to one's life if eaten. A well-known collection of anomaly accounts, *A Record of Manifold Curiosities* (*Bowuzhi,* late 3rd cent. C.E.), stated:

> The Single-Arm People are adept at creating mechanical things, which they use in hunting. They can manufacture flying carriages which travel far on the wind. During the time of King Tang [of the Shang], a western wind came and blew them in their carriages to Yu Province [modern Henan]. Tang destroyed their carriages so that the common people would not see them. Ten years later, an eastern wind started to blow. The Single-Arm People rebuilt their carriages and were sent home in them, for their land lay forty thousand *li* beyond the Jade Gate [modern Yumenguan, Gansu].

This myth seems to reflect the importance of chariot technology, which along with horses was of decisive military advantage from the earliest periods of Chinese history

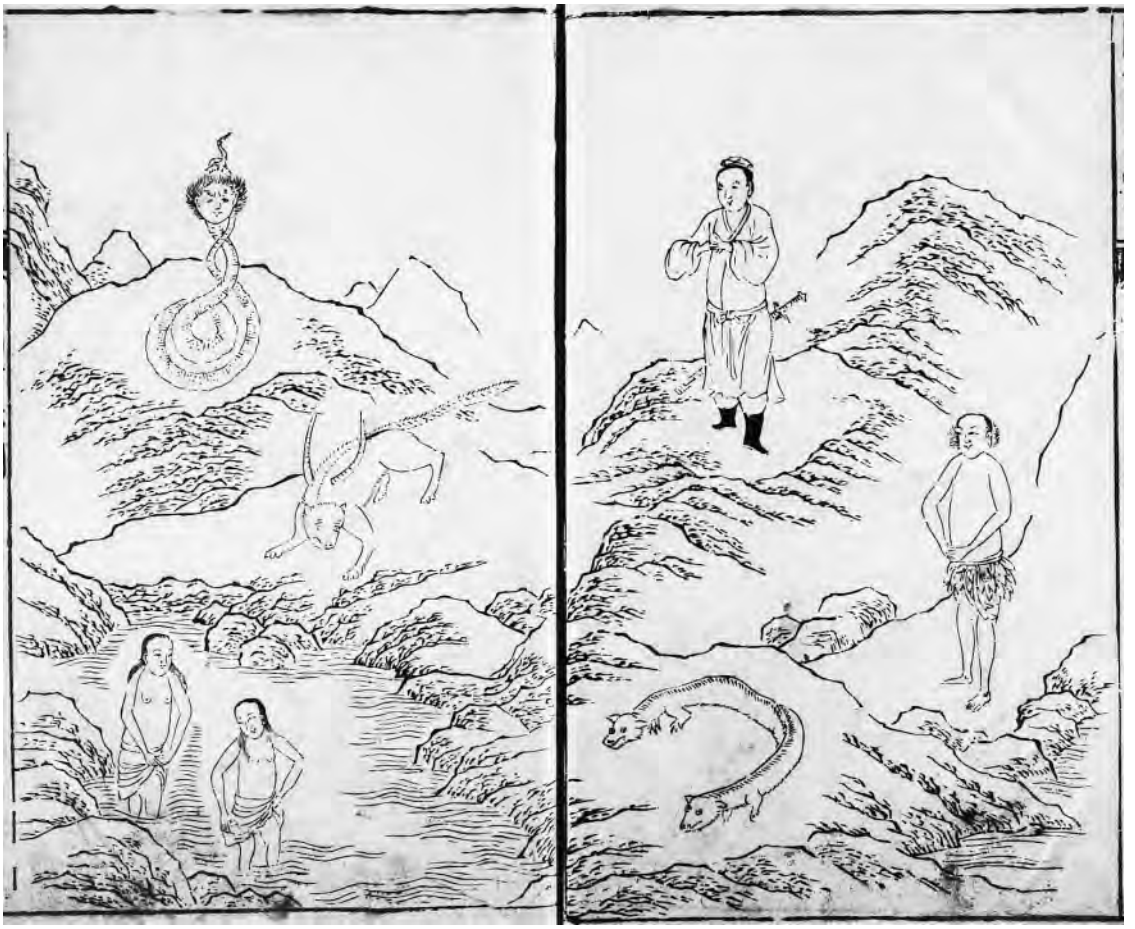
onward. Many technical innovations originated among the peoples of Central Asia, which Chinese rulers sought to obtain and these, perhaps, were symbolized by the image of a "flying carriage." This may also record a mass migration of people from the west who were ultimately expelled.[387]

232. A BIRD (NIAO) 鳥 *There is a bird in the Land of the Single-Arm People that has two heads, is red and yellow, and follows alongside them.*[388]

233. XINGTIAN 形天 *Xingtian and the Supreme God Di came to this place and struggled against each other for ultimate power. The Supreme God cut o Xingtian's head and buried him at Eternally Auspicious Mountain. Xiangtian's nipples then transformed into eyes, and his navel became a mouth. He performs a dance with an ax and shield.*[389] 凶 Based on Yuan Ke's reconstruction, Xingtian was originally an official of the Flame Thearch and continued the latter's losing struggle against the Yellow Thearch for the position of Supreme God. He is thus similar to several other figures such as Chiyou and Kuafu the Boaster [no. 247]. After being defeated and decapitated by the Yellow Thearch, Xingtian was buried at Eternally Auspicious Mountain, the birthplace of the Flame Thearch. However, he managed to regenerate himself and continue his defiance, as expressed by his martial dance. The *Master of Huainan* considered him a corpse, for he resembles other strange creatures in the *Guideways* such as the Corpse of Geng of the Xia [no. 323], who was likewise defeated and decapitated but survived. Xingtian's defiant spirit was celebrated by both Guo Pu in an encomium and by the poet Tao Qian. Tao, in the tenth of his "Thirteen Poems upon Reading the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas,*" saw a parallel between Xingtian's and Spirit-Guardian's [no. 133] persistance in overcoming the tragedies of their pasts but questioned their obsessiveness and implied a contrast with the unrealized political ambitions of his youth.[390]

PLATE XLVI

234. A MAN (ZHANGFU) 丈夫 *The Land of Men is located north of the Wei-Birds. They wear proper robes and caps and carry swords.*[391] 凶 The Wei-Birds were recorded as omens of the destruction of the state wherever they fly. The dress of these men indicates that they were regarded as comparatively civilized. Guo Pu probably combined several accounts when he noted that a Wang Meng (trad. c. 1440 B.C.E.) was sent by King Taimou of the Shang (trad. r. c. 1474–1400 B.C.E.) to search for medicinal herbs and followed the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275] to this place, where he ran out of food and could go no farther. Wang survived by eating the fruit of trees and wearing clothes of bark. Though he never married, he gave birth to two sons who sprang forth from his body, whereupon he died. These were the ancestors of the inhabitants of the Land of Men. In a more historicized version, Wang Meng was recorded in *The Bamboo Annals* as an official of King Taimou, who was dispatched in the twenty-sixth year of his reign to greet the Western Rong tribe when they came to pay a visit of submission. However, no mention is made there of the Queen Mother of the West or of this land. Two other accounts later preserved in the *Imperial Encyclopedia of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan,* 983) stated that the Land of Men lies twenty-thousand *li* beyond





the western frontier marked by the Jade Gate. This land is also recorded in chapter 16 but without any description.[392]

235. BINGFENG 并封 *The Bingfeng dwells east of the Land of Shaman Xian. Its form resembles a pig but with a head both in front and in back. Its color is black.*[393] 凶 Shaman Xian (Wu Xian) is a divine shaman recorded in a number of early texts. He is variously said to have lived during the times of the Divine Farmer (Shennong), the Yellow Thearch, and King Taimou of the Shang. In chapter 16, he is one of ten *wu*-shamans who climb Shaman Mountain to collect herbs. Here he is described as grasping a green snake in his right hand and a red snake in his left. Also active in this land of his descendants are many *wu*-shamans who climb Mount Dengbao, probably also in search of medicinal herbs. Guo Pu considered the Bingfeng as part of a class of two-headed creatures that included two-headed snakes and humorously suggested in his encomium that this characteristic made them particularly obstinate. The modern writer and scholar Wen Yiduo (1899–1946), however, regarded the two-headedness of such creatures as symbolizing

hermaphroditism. Chapter 16 mentions a similar creature known as the Pingpeng though its two heads are on the right and left instead of in the front and back.[394]

236. WOMEN (NÜZI) 女子 *The Land of Women lies north of the Land of Shaman Xian. Two women dwell here in the water, which surrounds them. According to another version, they dwell together in a house.*[395] 凹 These two women are the sole inhabitants of the Land of Women, and in this the place parallels the Land of Men [no. 234]. Guo Pu recorded a myth about a Yellow Lake, where the women bathe and then emerge pregnant. Any sons they give birth to suddenly die after three years. Among other later accounts, the "Treatise on the Eastern Yi-Barbarians" in the *History of the Wei Dynasty* states that there is a land in the sea beyond the Land of Woju [see no. 226] in the northeast inhabited only by women, while Hao Yixing quoted a similar treatise in the *History of the Latter [Eastern] Han Dynasty* (*Houhanshu,* mid-5th cent.) that notes that the women become pregnant by gazing into a divine well. The Land of Women is also mentioned in chapter 16 but without any further description.[396]

237. XUANYUAN'S PEOPLE (XUANYUANMIN) 軒轅民 *The Land of Xuanyuan lies here at the border of Extremity Mountain. Those who do not enjoy longevity live for eight-hundred years. It is located north of the Land of Women. The people have human faces and snake bodies. Their tails twist above their heads.*[397] 凹 Xuanyuan is the personal name of the Yellow Thearch. Extremity Mountain lies just to the north and is a place where people fear to shoot arrows westward for fear of disturbing the thearch's spirit at Xuanyuan's Mountain, a square-shaped formation protected on all sides by four snakes. This mountain is also mentioned in chapter 3 as standing 480 *li* west of Jade Mountain, where the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275] lives. Guo Pu regarded it as a dwelling place of the Yellow Thearch as well as the location where he took a wife. Yuan Ke noted that the appearance of these people is characteristic of gods and suggested that they may reflect the form of the Yellow Thearch himself.[398]

238. YELLOW-STEED (CHENGHUANG) 乘黃 *The Land of the White People is located north of the Dragon-Fish. The people have white bodies and wear their hair long. Yellow-Steed dwells here. Its form resembles a fox and it has horns on its back. Anyone who rides it can live for two thousand years.*[399] 凹 The Dragon-Fish lives on a hill north of the Plain of Plenty and resembles a carp. According to another version, it resembles a crustacean. Also known as the Tortoise-Fish, it was said to have been ridden by a god as he traveled through the nine regions of the world. These White People are also mentioned in chapter 16, while another White People are recorded in chapter 14. The latter, however, dwell in the east, are descended from Thearch Jun, surnamed Xiao, eat grains, and command four kinds of birds as well as tigers, leopards, and bears. Wearing long, untied hair is a characteristic feature of shamans and other powerful figures such as corpses, while people with white skin were regarded in some other early texts such as the *Master Zhuang* as extremely pure and spiritual. Yellow-Steed was considered by some commentators to be identical with other auspicious yellow horses bearing similar names like Flying-Yellow (Feihuang) and Zihuang. Flying-Yellow was an omen of benevolent rule. Zihuang/Yellow-Steed was described as a horse with dragon

wings that the Yellow Thearch rode when he left the human world and became a Transcendent. Yet another marvelous yellow horse of antiquity was ridden by Boyao, God of the Yellow River, as he led the way for King Mu of the Zhou (r. 956–918 B.C.E) on his ritual tour of the west in *The Chronicle of King Mu.*[400]

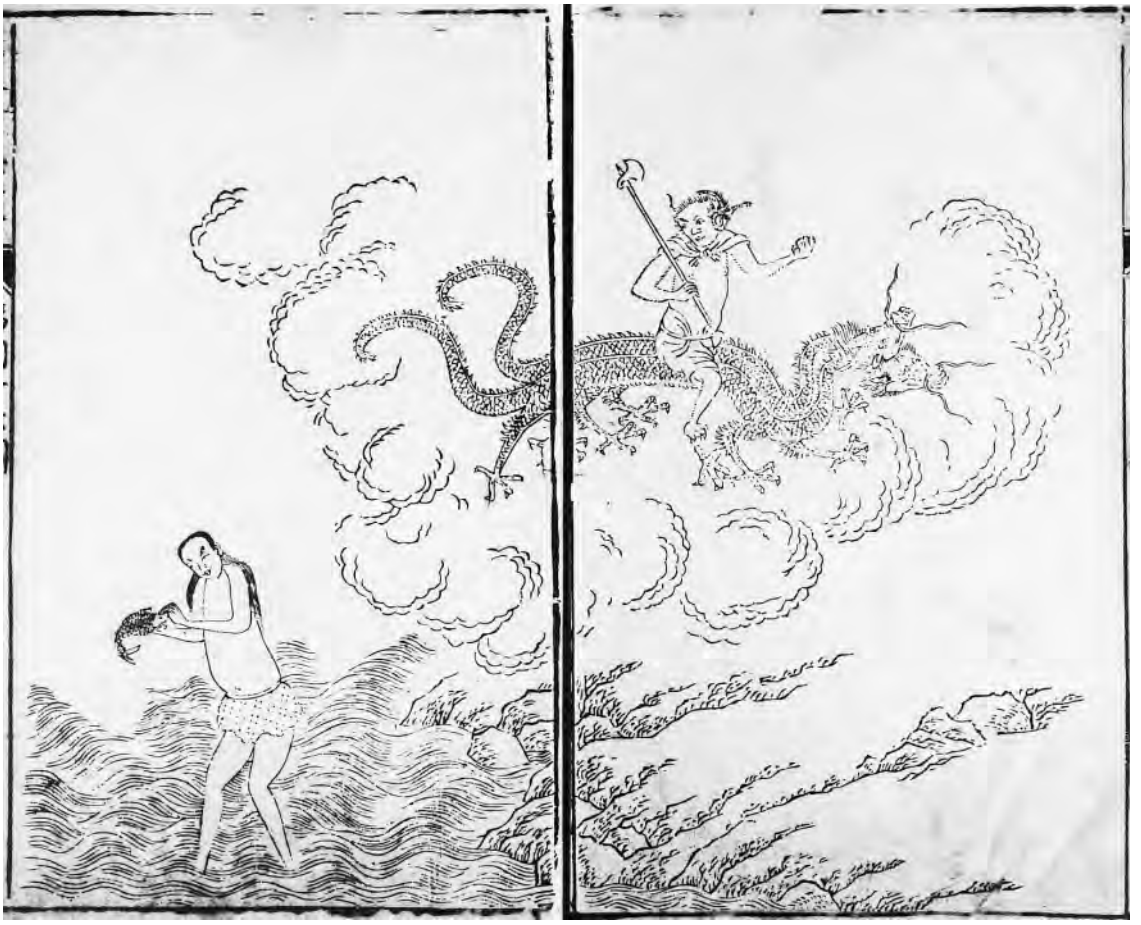
239. THE SUSHEN PEOPLE (SUSHENMIN) 肅慎民 *The Land of the Sushen People lies north of the White People. There is a tree here called the Powerful-and-Constant. When ancient thearchs ruled, the people took from this tree.*[401] 凶 According to Guo Pu, the Sushen People originally went about naked, but later when ancient thearchs ruled in China, clothes were made from the bark of the tree. The illustration shows the figure wearing such an outfit. Other sources indicate that some Central Asian peoples made clothing from leaves that were as fine as silk. According to *The Bamboo Annals,* the Sushen People visited the court of King Cheng of the Zhou in the ninth year of his reign (c. 1034 B.C.E.).[402]

PLATE XLVII

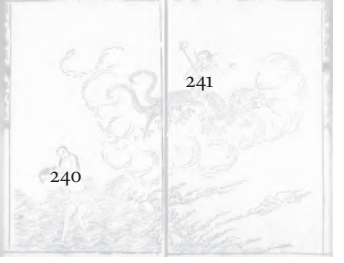
240. THE LONG-THIGHS PEOPLE (CHANGGUMIN) 長股民 *The Land of the Long-Thighs People is located north of the Brave-and-Constant Tree. These people wear their hair long. In another version, they are called the Long-Feet People.*[403] 凶 Guo Pu regarded the Brave-and-Constant Tree as providing bark used by the Supreme God Di to clothe humankind in remote antiquity. Concerning the Long-Thighs People, he commented that their legs are thirty feet in length and cited another account that they bear the Long-Arms People [no. 226] on their backs to fish. Perhaps that is why the illustrator chose to show one of them fishing with his hands. Their land is located east of the Red River. According to *The Bamboo Annals,* they came to the Chinese court to pay tribute to the Yellow Thearch in the fifty-ninth year of his reign, accompanied by the People with Perforated Chests [no. 220]. Chapter 16 also records the Long-Shins People [no. 316] as dwelling beyond the Northwest Sea and east of the Red River.[404]

241. RUSHOU 蓐收 *In the West, Rushou wears a snake through his left ear and rides on two dragons.*[405] 凶 The god Rushou [no. 74] was also recorded in chapter 2 as dwelling on Mount You overlooking the place where the sun sets in the west. Here he is located at the very end of the "Guideway through the Western Lands beyond the Seas" and thus parallels the other gods located at the Four Extremities [see nos. 227, 253, 260]. Rushou was recorded in the following anecdote from the *Conversations from the Feudal States* (*Guoyu,* 4th cent. B.C.E.) in which Chou, Duke of Guo, is forewarned that he will lose his state, which, in fact, occurred six years later, in 655 B.C.E.:

> The Duke of Guo dreamed while in his ancestral temple that he saw a god with a human face, white hair, and tiger's claws who was grasping hold of a yue-ax and standing under the western eave. The duke was afraid and started to run away, but the god said, "Do not go! The Supreme God Di has decreed that the army of Jin



will secretly attack your gate." The duke bowed his head in submission and upon awakening ordered his grand historian, Xiao, to divine the meaning of the dream. Xiao replied, "According to what Your Excellency has said, this was Rushou who is the god of punishments. When heaven decides a matter, the proper god in charge appears."



Another description of Rushou may have been preserved in the poem "The Great Summons" in the *Songs of Chu* (*Chuci: Dazhao*) as having the head of a pig, slanting eyes, disheveled hair, long claws, and serrated teeth and being given to wild laughter. In other early sources, he is described as the god of metal, one of the Five Agents, as ruler over the autumn season, the west, and as an official or descendant of the thearch Lesser-Brilliance. He often carries the yue-ax of execution. Based on this feature, he may have earlier been a god in the Shang royal religion who was paired in the Eastern Zhuo together with Goumang [no. 260] as parallel, fraternal dieties within Five Agents cosmology.[406]

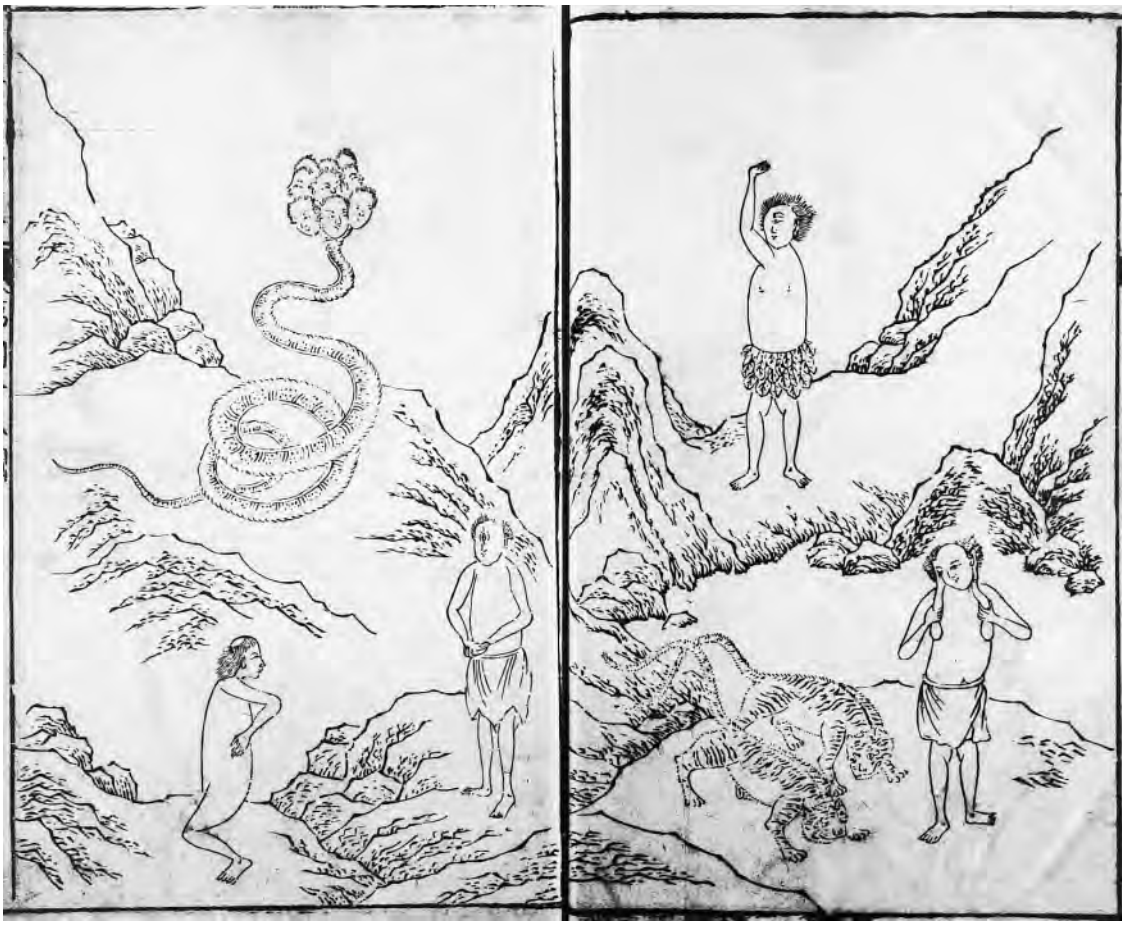
PLATE XLVIII

242. THE ONE-EYED PEOPLE (YIMUMIN) 一目民 *The Land of the One-Eyed People lies to the east of Bell Mountain. The people who dwell here have one eye in the middle of their faces.*[407] These people are mentioned at the beginning of chapter 8, the "Guideway through the Northern Lands Beyond the Sea," which extends from the northeastern corner to the northwestern corner of this area. At the foot of Bell Mountain is where the god Torch-Darkness [see no. 55] dwells. The One-Eyed People are also mentioned in chapter 17, where they are surnamed Wei and are said to be descendants of the thearch Lesser-Brilliance who eat millet. They may be identical to the inhabitants of the Land of the Demon People mentioned in chapter 12. These people also have one eye and the pronunciation of their name, *gui* ("demon"), is close in sound to the surname Wei. Guo Pu in his encomium used the dominant feature of the One-Eyed People to reflect on the nature of vision:

> Four eyes may not be too many;
> For these people, one is not too few.
> The musician Ziye, though blind,
> Required nothing for a clear view.
> Physically, he traveled far and wide
> But found only the infinitesimal
> to be of value.[408]

243. THE FLEXIBLE PEOPLE (ROULIMIN) 柔利民 *The Land of the Flexible People is located east of the Land of the One-Eyed People [no. 242]. The people have one hand and one foot. Their knees are reversed and their feet bend upward. According to another version, their land is called the Land of the Liuli People, and the people's feet bend backward.*[409] A variation on this theme appears in chapter 17, where the Land of the Niuli People contains people who have no bones and who are said to be the children of the Pendant-Ears People, a variant of the People Who Hold Up Their Ears [no. 246].[410]

244. MINISTER LIU (XIANG LIU) 相柳 *An official of Gonggong [no. 314] is called Minister Liu. He has nine heads and consumes the sustenance provided by nine mountains. The tracks of his collisions with the landscape became lakes and streams. Yu the Great killed Minister Liu, and every place stained by his stinking blood could no longer grow the five varieties of grain. Yu excavated the land to a depth of three ren (twenty-four feet), but it still became soaked with blood three times. Thereupon, he constructed the Terrace of the Thearchs with the land. It stands north of Mount Kunlun and east of the Land of the Flexible People [no. 243]. Minister Liu has nine heads with human faces and a snake's body, which is green. None here dare to shoot arrows northward for fear of Gonggong's Terrace. The terrace is located to the east and is square. Each corner has a snake with tiger stripes whose face looks southward.*[411] In Chinese mythology, the god Gonggong unleashed the Deluge and struggled for supremacy against the Supreme God Di. The identity of his adversary varies, but in one version preserved in the *Master of*





Huainan he fought against Zhuanxu and created Cleft Mountain after colliding with it, a place recorded in chapter 2 as east of Mount Kunlun. This snapped the cord joining heaven and earth, causing Heaven to tilt toward the northwest and a gap to open up on earth in the southeast. In this version, however, it is Yu the Great who restores order by killing Gonggong's official. Yuan Ke saw Gonggong in the line of resisters to the power of the Yellow Thearch and his lineage. His terrace is described as similar to Xuanyuan's Mountain [see no. 237]. In chapter 17, Minister Liu is known as Minister You and similarly described with only slight variations. Hao Yixing noted the apparent contradiction in the location of Mount Kunlun. Here it is in a chapter of lands "beyond the sea" while in chapter 12, both it and the Terrace of the Thearchs are located "within the sea."[412]

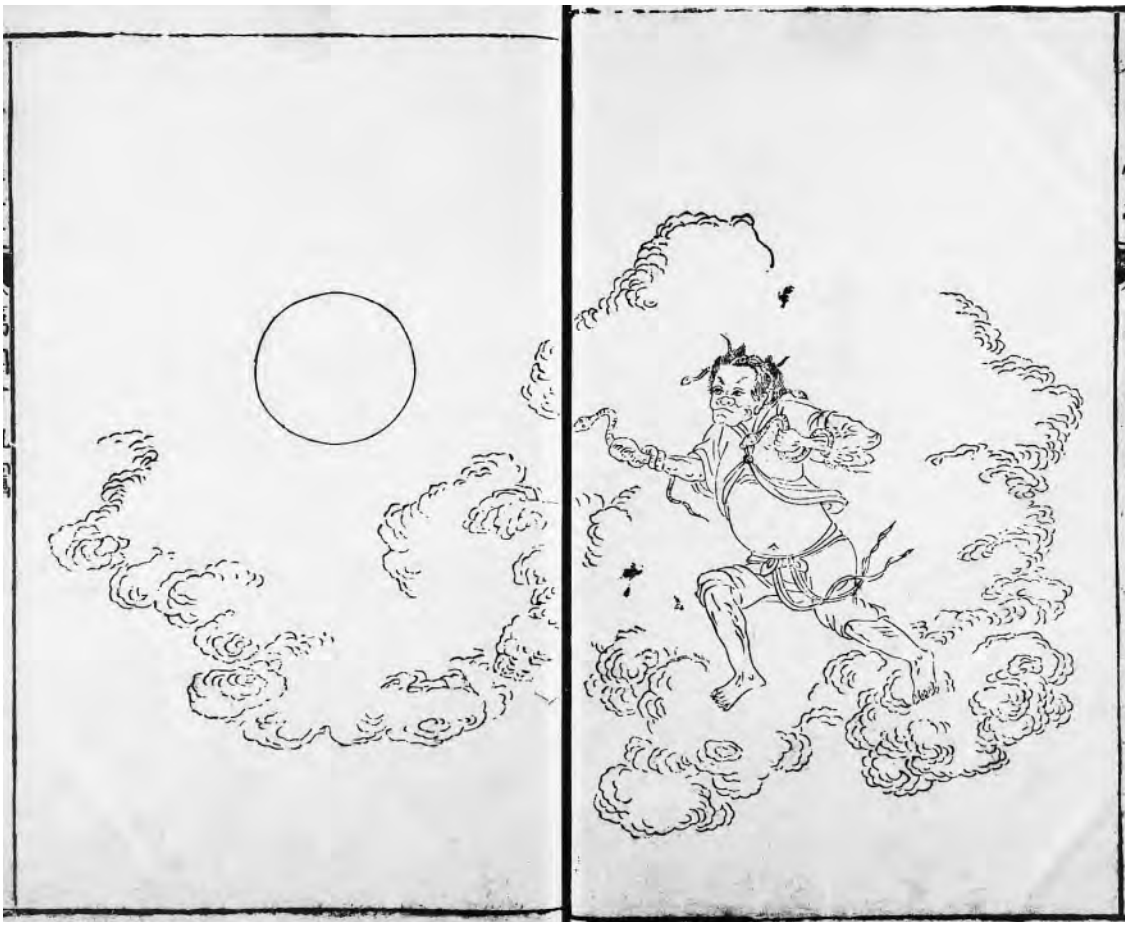
245. THE DEEP-EYED PEOPLE (SHENMUMIN) 深目民 *The Land of the Deep-Eyed People lies to the east of Minister Liu. The people raise one arm and have one eye. They are located east of Gonggong's Terrace.*[413] 凹 The text appears to be

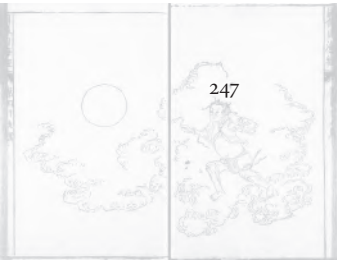
corrupt beginning at the point where it speaks of the people raising one arm. Based on Yuan Ke's reconstruction, it should probably read, "The people have deep eyes and raise one arm. According to another version, they are located east of Gonggong's Terrace." Nevertheless, the illustrator has followed the printed text and depicted this deep-eyed person with only one eye. It is possible that these people were depicted raising one arm in the early illustrations. They are mentioned again in chapter 17, where they are said to be surnamed Fen and to eat fish. Guo Pu noted that they were a barbarian tribe with extremely deep-set eyes that obtained its surname during the time of the Yellow Thearch. Here the text suggests that they were earlier depicted eating fish. They are also mentioned in the *Master Shi* along with the People with Perforated Chests [no. 220] and the Long-Thighs People [no. 240] as tribes that came under the influence of the Yellow Thearch and that were thus comparatively civilized.[414]

246. THE PEOPLE WHO HOLD UP THEIR EARS (NIE'ERMIN) 聶耳民 *The Land of the People Who Hold Up Their Ears is located east of the Land of the People without Intestines. The people command two striped tigers. They hold up their ears with their hands, and they dwell on an island in the middle of the sea and capture many strange things that go in and come out of the water. The two tigers are located to the east of these people.*[415] 凹 A similar people is mentioned in chapter 17, where they are called the Pendant-Ears People. They are surnamed Ren, eat grain, and are descended from Ape-Howl (Yuhao), god of the Eastern Sea and a son of the Yellow Thearch. A more fantastic description was later recorded in the Tang dynasty of the Big-Ears People, which may be a further variation. There it was said that when sleeping they used one ear as a mat and another as a blanket. For an interesting comparison with a strange creature recorded in the *Wonders of the East* dating from the European Middle Ages, see figure 4 (page 21).[416]

PLATE XLIX

247. KUAFU THE BOASTER (KUAFU) 夸父 *Kuafu the Boaster chased after the sun and ran to where it sets. He became thirsty and wanted to drink, so he drank from the Yellow River and the Wei River. The water from the Yellow River and the Wei River was not sufficient for him so he went north to drink from the Grand Lake. But before he reached it, he died of thirst on the road. He threw down his sta , which became transformed into the Deng Forest.*[417] 凹 Kuafu is a divine hero who vainly challenged superior power. He is also recorded in more detail in chapter 17. There his divinity is more apparent, for Kuafu is described as wearing two yellow snakes in his ears and as grasping two yellow snakes, which is how he is illustrated here. A grandson of the god Lord Earth (Houtu), who is symbolically correlated with the color yellow in Five Agents cosmology, Kuafu is located at the Capital City That Supports Heaven, a mountain in the Great Wilds to the North where he is said to have died. The text here states that he failed to estimate the limits of his strength when he chased the sun and reached Ape Valley where the sun sets. He sought to drink from the Yellow River and finding it insufficient, was proceeding toward the Grand Lake when he died. It then appends another myth of Kuafu stating that he was killed by Winged-Dragon [no. 305] after the





latter had executed the rebel Chiyou. Thus, Kuafu was also regarded as a rebel against the Yellow Thearch. The symbolism of Five Agents cosmology is present in all these myths. Kuafu, representing "earth" (yellow; Lord Earth) is overcome by "water" (thirst; or Winged-Dragon) as he struggles against "fire," or the dominant ruler of Earth (the sun; Yellow Thearch). Grand Lake is mentioned in chapters 11 and 17 as one hundred *li* in circumference located north of Geese-Gate (Yanmen, modern Dai District, Shanxi), where flocks of birds hatch and molt. According to a later more widely known version of Kuafu in the *Master Lie* (*Liezi,* c. late 4th cent.), his sta became a forest by soaking up his decaying flesh. Thus, Kuafu was transformed into the phase "wood" and, as trees, remains dependent on the benevolence of the sun, earth, and water and can still be destroyed by fire. In his encomium, Guo Pu interpreted him philosophically as an example of cosmic mystery and saw Kuafu's physical metamorphosis into the Deng Forest as a kind of triumphant compensation. The modern writer and early mythologist Shen Yanbing (1896–1981), however, regarded Kuafu as representing an ancient tribe of giants analagous to the Greek

Titans, for his name has also been interpreted as simply meaning "giant." In contemporary mainland China, Kuafu is one of several mythical figures along with Spirit-Guardian [no. 133] and Old Fool (Yugong), also known from the *Master Lie,* who have been popularly promoted as heroes challenging nature and transformed by official propaganda into icons of the struggle for modernization. Kuafu has even been honored with a public statue.[418]

PLATE L

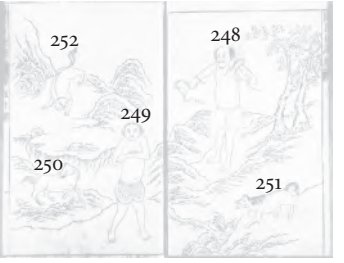
248. THE PEOPLE OF BOFU (BOFUMIN) 博父民 *The Land of the People of Bofu lies east of the Land of the People Who Hold Up Their Ears [no. 246]. They are giants who hold a green snake in their right hand and a yellow snake in their left. The Deng Forest lies to their east. There are two trees here.*[419] 凹 This passage of the text is probably corrupt in places. Yuan Ke argued that Bofu is actually Kuafu [no. 247], since both names can mean "giant" and that this is a land of Kuafu's descendants who were also known as Bofu. Hao Yixing believed the two trees were giant ones that constituted the Deng Forest. They are represented to the upper right of the illustration.[420]

249. THE TIPTOE PEOPLE (QIZHONGMIN) 跂踵民 *The Land of the Tiptoe People is located east of the Land of the Juying People. The people are giants with feet that are also gigantic. According to another version, they are called the Big-Heel People.*[421] 凹 According to Yuan Ke's reconstruction, the Juying People are people who hold up their huge goiters with their hands. Based on Gao You's commentary to the *Master of Huainan,* Guo Pu noted that the Tiptoe People walk on their tiptoes and that their heels never touch the ground. Later commentators argued that, based on a confusion of the graph *qi* (toe) with *fan* (to be reversed), these people are actually the Reversed-Heels People whose feet point backward and that, moreover, they are not giants. The illustrator, however, has clearly followed the existing text. A similarly named people whom Hao Yixing and Yuan Ke believed to be identical to these people, the Zhizhong, are recorded in *The Bamboo Annals* as visiting the court of the Xia-dynasty King Gui [i.e., Jie] in the sixth year of his reign (trad. 1583 B.C.E.).[422]

250. TAOTU 騊駼 *Within the Northern Sea dwells a beast whose form resembles a horse. It is named Taotu.*[423] 凹 The location "within the Northern Sea" implies a land area, either continental or an island. Taotu is also recorded in *Approaching Refinement,* where the commentary quotes this passage of the *Guideways* with the additional phrase that he is green, thus leading Hao Yixing to believe that this was part of the original text. Taotu is also mentioned in the *Recovered Documents of Zhou* (*Yizhoushu,* 4th–1st cent. B.C.E.) as a breed of foreign horses presented to King Tang of the Shang.[424]

251. BO 駮 *There is a beast dwelling here within the Northern Sea named the Bo. Its form resembles a white horse with sawlike teeth, and it devours tigers and leopards.*[425] 凹 This appears to be the same creature as the Bo previously recorded in chapter 2 [no. 82]. However, here it appears without a horn or tiger's claws.

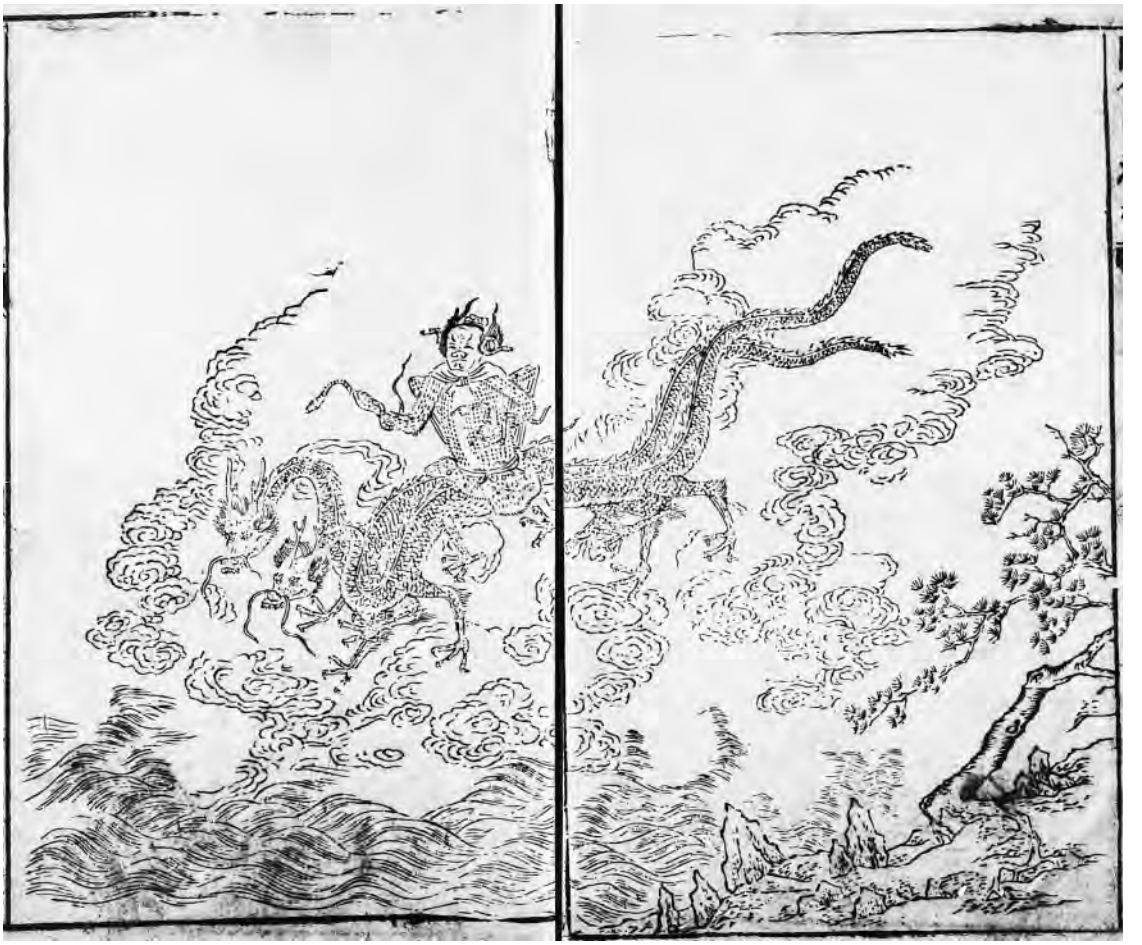


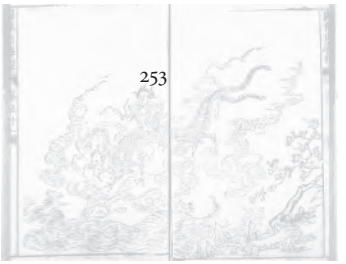


252. LUOLUO 羅羅 *There is a green beast dwelling here within the Northern Sea whose form resembles a tiger. It is called the Luoluo.*[426] 凶 Grouped with the above three beasts is another creature also dwelling within the Northern Sea, the Qiongqiong. It is simply described as a white horse, and according to Guo Pu, it can cover one hundred *li* in a day.[427]

PLATE LI

253. APE-STRENGTH (YUJIANG) 禺彊 *Ape-Strength in the north has a human face and a bird's body. He wears two green snakes through his ears and treads on two green snakes.*[428] 凶 This god dwells at the end of the northern lands beyond the sea. Guo Pu quoted the *Master Zhuang,* which stated that he dwells at the Northern Extremity, and a commentary noting that he is black, possesses hands and feet, and rides on two dragons. The illustrator apparently followed this description as well as the original text. Ape-Strength has been identified by Guo and other commentators with





two other gods mentioned in early texts, Dark-Vastness (Xuanming) and Yujing, both of whom are said to be gods of the Northern Sea. In the Han, the genealogy of the former was traced back to Lesser-Brilliance, and he was said to be an official of Zhuanxu. Yujing is also mentioned in chapter 14 as the grandson of the Yellow Thearch and the son of Yuhao. Yuhao became the god of the Eastern Sea and Yujing, of the Northern Sea. The graph *yu* in both names also means "ape." Etymological arguments have been made by Yuan Ke that the name Yujing suggests a whale and that this god's body is that of a fish and not black. Ape-Strength is similarly recorded again in chapter 17 except that there he treads on two red snakes. He also appears in a later fable in the *Master Lie* about the five sacred mountain-islands of the Transcendents, which were in danger of drifting west. The Supreme God Di commanded Ape-Strength to use fifteen giant tortoises to support the islands on their heads in three shifts, each one lasting for sixty thousand years. Ape-Strength may also be a wind god. The *Master of Huainan* records Ape-Strength as born of the Wind of Cleft Mountain [see no. 314], said to be a violent northwest gale that

harms living things. There a variant graph used for *yu* suggests that his name may literally mean "corner-strength."[429]

PLATE LII

254. THE CORPSE OF SHEBI (SHEBI ZHI SHI) 奢比之尸 *The Corpse of Shebi is located north of the Land of the Giants. He has a beast's body, a human face, and large ears through which he wears two green snakes. According to another version, the Corpse of Ganyu is located north of the Giants.*[430] 凶 The Corpse of Shebi is recorded here in chapter 9, "Eastern Lands beyond the Sea," and was identified by Guo Pu as a god. The Land of the Giants, later recorded again in chapter 14 [see no. 297], is one of several mentioned in early texts. Another in chapter 18 is located in the north, while a third mentioned in the *Master of Huainan* lies in the southeast. Here they are described as gigantic and as piloting boats. Shebi is also recorded again in chapter 14 [no. 302], where he is similarly described, with the additional feature of having dog's ears instead of large ones, the graphs for "dog" (*quan*) and "large" (*da*) being easily confused. Hao Yixing identified Shebi with She-Dragon, who is mentioned in the *Master Guan* as having been banished by the Yellow Thearch to the east, where he became a local god. Variations of his name in other sources include Shebei and Zhubi, the latter said in the *Master of Huainan* to have been born from the Cool-Wind.[431]

255. HONGHONG-RAINBOWS (HONGHONG) 虹虹 *The Honghong-Rainbows are located north of the Land of Gentlemen. Each one has two heads.*[432] 凶 The Land of Gentlemen contains people who wear proper hats and gowns and who carry swords like civilized, upper-class Chinese people. They eat animals and command two tigers who follow by their side. They are recorded as avoiding arguments by yielding to one another. The graph for *hong* is similar to another one with the identical pronunciation that means "rainbow." Rainbows were thought to lack feet and tails. Their two heads may symbolize the conjunction of yin and yang energies, hence, they also functioned as poetic images of love. When appearing over households, rainbows were generally believed to be auspicious, although they could also be evil omens. In some myths, they were associated with divine women. Rainbows were classified into many varieties, and Yuan Ke suggested that the Honghong were specifically evening rainbows, while Mathieu hypothesized that being located in the north, they may be the aurora borealis.[433]

256. TIANWU 天吳 *At Sunrise Valley is a god named Tianwu. He is known as Lord of the Waters and dwells north of the Honghong-Rainbows [no. 255] on land in between two rivers. Tianwu is a beast with eight heads with human faces, eight feet, and eight tails. His back is green and yellow.*[434] 凶 Tianwu is also described in chapter 14 but is said there to have eight heads with human faces, a tiger's body, and ten tails.[435]

257. NINE-TAIL FOX (JIUWEIHU) 九尾狐 *The Land of Green-Hills lies north of Tianwu [no. 256]. The foxes there have four legs and nine tails. According to another version, it is located north of Sunrise Valley.*[436] 凶 Guo Pu described the





people of this land as relatively civilized, for they eat the five kinds of grains and wear silk. The Nine-Tail Fox is also recorded in chapter 14, where Guo noted that it was an auspicious omen that appeared in a time of peace. However, it is also described in chapter 1 at Green-Hills Mountain as a man-eater who makes a sound like a baby and who can protect against insect-poison if eaten. Nine-Tail Foxes appear elsewhere in Chinese mythology. Yu the Great encountered a white one on Muddy Mountain and considered it an auspicious sign that he marry the girl of the mountain, Nüjiao. Later, in Han iconography, it was one of several animals often depicted with the Queen Mother of the West [nos. 65, 275]. Its nine tails were popularly regarded as representing many sons.[437]

258. THE HAIRY PEOPLE (MAOMIN) 毛民 *The Land of the Hairy People is located north of the Land of the Black-Thighs People. The people here grow hair on their bodies.*[438] 凶 The Black-Thighs People wear clothing made of fish skin and eat seagulls. They are flanked by two birds that they command. Yang Shen consid-

ered their land to be an island in the sea. The Hairy People are also mentioned in chapter 17 as dwelling in the north, where they are said to be surnamed Yi and descended from Generous-Man (Chuoren) [see no. 327]. Generous-Man was killed by Tall-Breastplate (Xiujia), a great-grandson of Yu the Great. Yu then took pity on Generous-Man by secretly establishing the Hairy People in their own land. They are said to eat millet and to command four kinds of birds. According to their surname, the Hairy People are also among the descendants of the Yellow Thearch based on a genealogy of twelve clans recorded in the *Conversations from the Feudal States.* Guo Pu described them as living on an island in the sea some two thousand *li* southeast of Linhai Commandery (modern Linhai, Zhejiang). They are small in stature with hair all over their bodies like boars or bears and dwell naked in caves. He also recorded the following contemporary anecdote, which confirmed for him the information in the *Guideways:*

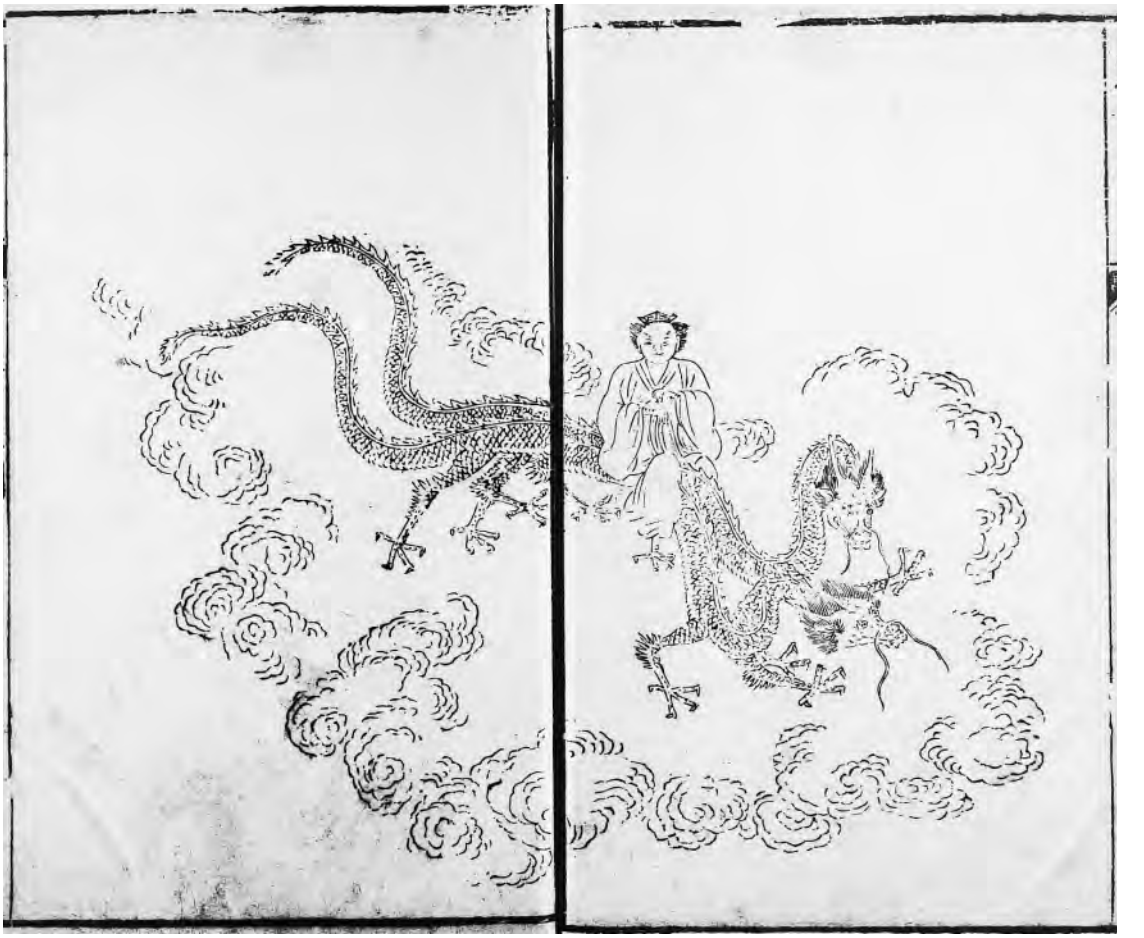
> In the fourth year of the *Yongjia* era of the Jin dynasty (310), the Commandant-in-chief of Salt Distribution for Wu Commandery, Dai Feng, took possession of a boat along shore that contained four men and women who resembled this description. They could not speak our language and were sent to the office of the counselor-in-chief [in Moling, modern Nanjing, Jiangsu], but only one survived the journey. His Excellency bestowed a wife upon him, and he produced sons, coming and going in the marketplace and gradually learning the language. He said he came from the Hairy People.

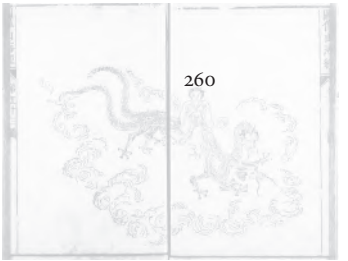
Hao Yixing also noted that he had personally seen such a Hairy Person in Beijing in February or March of 1806 and described him as having hair like a bear all over his face as well as his body. He resembled a monkey around the eyes but was otherwise a human. Though he did not understand Chinese, the owner was able to communicate with him by signifying his intentions. Mathieu and other modern commentators have suggested that the Hairy People may originally have been the Ainu people, who ranged from Siberia to Japan.[439]

259. THE LABORING PEOPLE (LAOMIN) 勞民 *The Land of the Laboring People is located north of the Land of the Hairy People [no. 258]. The people are black. According to another version, they are called the Instructed People, and from their faces and eyes to their hands and feet, they are completely black.*[440] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the Laboring People eat fruits and vegetables and possess two-headed birds, illustrated here to the right. That they are also called the Instructed People may be due to the graphs for "labor" (*lao*) and "instruct" (*jiao*) being roughly homophonous. Hao Yixing believed that this land was the same as the Land of Laborers, which he stated was located northeast of Fish-Skin Island, where the Fish-Skin Barbarians live. These places have not been identified, but Hao also stated that both these peoples were completely black from their faces and eyes to their hands and feet.[441]

PLATE LIII

260. GOUMANG 句芒 *Goumang in the east has a bird's body and a human face. He rides on two dragons.*[442] 凹 Guo Pu noted that he is the god of wood in Five





Agents cosmology, has a square head, and wears white. Located at the end of the eastern lands beyond the sea, Goumang may have originally been a local god worshiped along the eastern coast of China. In other early texts, he is an important god of the east who is sometimes paired with Rushou [nos. 74, 241] of the west as members of a divine bureaucracy. Both appear as messengers of the Supreme God Di bestowing punishments or rewards. The following anecdote in the *Master Mo* is similar to the one quoted earlier about Rushou from the *Conversations from the Feudal States:*

> Once, Duke Mu of Qin [r. 659–621 B.C.E.] was carrying out a sacrifice in his ancestral temple at dawn when a god entered the gate and stood to the left. He had a bird's body, wore white silk with trimmings, and had a dignified, square-shaped face. When Duke Mu saw him, he was fearful and tried to flee. The god said, "Have no fear! The Supreme God Di is pleased with your luminous virtue and has sent me to bestow upon you nineteen more years of life that you may

bring prosperity to your state and family, that your descendants may multiply, and that you may maintain the state of Qin." Duke Mu bowed twice to the ground in submission and said, "May I dare to ask your name, Divine One?" "I am Goumang," he replied.

In the historicized mythology of *Zuo's Narratives,* however, Goumang is already organized into Five Agents cosmology as the god of wood, and the name designates a title in the divine bureaucracy rather than an individual god. Chong, as one of four uncles of the thearch Lesser-Brilliance, was appointed by Lesser-Brilliance as Goumang. The uncle Gai became Rushou (metal), and the uncles Xiu, along with Xi, became Dark-Vastness (water). Similarly, Li [see no. 319], who in the myth of the severing of the ladder between heaven and earth in the *Conversations from the Feudal States* was placed in charge of heaven, is here described as a son of the thearch Zhuanxu appointed to the position of Zhurong (fire) [no. 227], while Ju-Dragon, a son of Gonggong [no. 314], became Lord Earth (earth). In later periods, Goumang's characteristics were further elaborated, and his cult, like that of Rushou, survived to influence both Han and Tang state cults as well as religious Daoism.[443]

This entry marks the end of chapter 9 and the group of four chapters on lands beyond the seas. Directly following it is a note by the Han court bibliographer Liu Xin dated 6 B.C.E. noting that he and other officials had completed their editing of the text for the imperial library. This suggests that the remaining chapters 10 to 18 of the *Guideways* did not originally form part of Liu Xin's edition and were combined with chapters 1 to 9 at a later date, as suggested by Guo Pu.

PLATE LIV

261. THE XIAOYANG PEOPLE (XIAOYANGMIN) 梟陽民 *The Land of the Xiaoyang People is located west of the Land of the Beiqu People. The people have human faces, long lips, black bodies, and are hairy. Their heels are reversed, and when they see people laughing, they also laugh. In their left hands they carry a tube.*[444]

The Land of the Xiaoyang People is located in chapter 10, "Guideway through the Southern Lands within the Sea," which extends westward from the southeast corner. There are a number of similar descriptions of such creatures in early texts. The *Recovered Documents of Zhou,* for example, calls them Fufu and locates them in the Land of Zhoumi in the north, while Guo Pu quoted the *Great Commentary to the Documents of Antiquity* (*Shangshu dazhuan,* 2nd cent. B.C.E.) that the Land of Zhoumi presented some to the court during the reign of King Cheng of the Zhou (r. c. 1042–1006 B.C.E.). He further maintained that such creatures dwelled in Jiaozhi (modern Vietnam) and identified the Xiaoyang with beasts also called Fufu recorded in *Approaching Refinement,* though the graphs are written slightly di erently. Gao You's commentary to the *Master of Huainan* regarded them as mountain spirits. Hao Yixing quoted *A Record of Strange Things* (*Yiwuzhi,* c. 90 C.E.), which described them in more detail:





The Xiaoyang like to eat humans, and they have large mouths. When they first capture someone, they laugh so hard that their upper lip rises over their foreheads. Then, after a while, they eat the person. But knowing that the Xiaoyang carries its arm in a tube, people wait until it grabs hold of someone, then they pull its arm through the tube, nail its upper lip to its forehead, and capture it.

Based on this passage, Yuan Ke believed that the Xiaoyang spontaneously laughed rather than only in response to people. Almost identical creatures called Giants of Gan [no. 339] are recorded in chapter 18.[445]

262. SI-RHINOCEROS (SI) 兕 *The Si-Rhinoceros dwell east of Shun's Tomb and south of the Xiang River. Their form resembles an ox that is blue-black with a single horn.*[446] 凹 The tomb of the thearch Shun is described in this chapter as being on the southern slope of the Mountain of the Green Paulownia Trees. Chapter

18 further states that this is in the area of Changsha and Lingling (in modern Hunan) and locates the tomb specifically on the Mountain of Nine Similar Peaks. Si-Rhinoceros are mentioned in nine places in the *Guideways* [see no. 26]. Such animals appear in ancient carvings and apparently dwelled north of the Yellow River as late as the Shang. *The Bamboo Annals* recorded that in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Zhao of the Zhou (c. 962 B.C.E.), huge Si-Rhinoceros were encountered in a military campaign against Chu after the Zhou army crossed the Han River in what is now central China. As late as the Tang, there were still native rhinoceros in the area of present-day Hunan, though exotic species for imperial parks were imported, mostly from Champa in modern Vietnam. Based on epigraphical and archaeological evidence, some modern scholars have argued that the ancient Si was not a rhinoceros at all but a wild bu alo.[447]

263. XINGXING 狌狌 *The Xingxing can identify people by name. They are beasts that resemble pigs but with human faces. They are located west of Shun's Tomb.*[448] 凹 Yuan Ke believed this Xingxing to be a variant of no. 2, although the physical descriptions are di erent. Guo Pu noted that in his time, Xingxing dwelled in Fengxi district, Jiaozhi (modern Vietnam). The Xingxing, written with di erent graphs, is also recorded in chapter 18. There, it is said to be a green beast with a human face, and Guo Pu noted that it can speak. *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* regarded its lips as a delicacy. Other early accounts, however, give further varying descriptions such as the *Recovered Documents of Zhou,* which says that it resembles a yellow dog with a rooster's head and that eating it can cure nightmares. The *Master of Huainan* says it understands the past but not the future, to which Gao You added that it was a beast of the north but with a human face and a beast's body, and it was yellow.[449]

264. XI-RHINOCEROS (XINIU) 犀牛 *Northwest of the Xingxing dwell Xi-Rhinoceros. Their form resembles an ox that is black.*[450] 凹 The Xi-Rhinoceros appears in ten places in the *Guideways* and is also illustrated in chapter 1 [no. 26]. Guo Pu commented here that it resembles a water bu alo with the head of a pig and has short legs and three horns. Rhinoceros horn has long been associated with male potency and was used for decorative carvings such as wine cups. Despite the decimation of the remaining population in the world, the horn continues to be in demand in traditional Chinese medicine.[451]

265. YAYU 窫窳 *Yayu has a dragon's head and dwells in the Weak River west of the Xingxing [no. 263] who know people's names. His form resembles a dragon's head, and he is a man-eater.*[452] 凹 The Weak River is usually said to be located near Mount Kunlun. A creature also named Yayu previously appeared in chapter 3 but was described di erently [see no. 108]. Here he has been transformed from his original appearance as a god with a snake's body and a human face. Yayu was killed by Erfu [no. 281] and his minister, Wei [no. 268], who were later punished by the Supreme God. Yayu is also mentioned in chapter 11 [no. 270], where his corpse was revived by *wu*-shamans west of the Beast-Facing-East [no. 269], guardian of Mount Kunlun. They gave him the Never-Dying Herb, and he then metamorphosed into this form.[453]

266. THE DI PEOPLE (DIREN) 氐人 *The Land of the Di People is located west of the Firm-Tree. The people have a human face and a fish's body, and they lack feet.*[454]

The Firm-Tree, illustrated here, is a kind of "world tree" described as resembling an ox with bark like cap strings or yellow snakes. It grows west of Yayu by the Weak River and is used by supreme gods and thearchs to travel between heaven and earth. Another description and location of it is provided in chapter 18, where it is said to have green leaves, purple veins, black flowers, and yellow fruit. It stands one hundred *ren* (800 ft.) high without any branches and was used by Greater-Brilliance (Taihao) and the Yellow Thearch. Concerning the Di People, Guo Pu noted that they were human from the waist up and fish below. Commentators believed that they are the same as the Hu People recorded in chapter 16, the graph of whose name may be a variant of Di. The Hu People are descended from Lingqi, a grandson of the Flame Thearch, and they can travel between heaven and earth.[455]

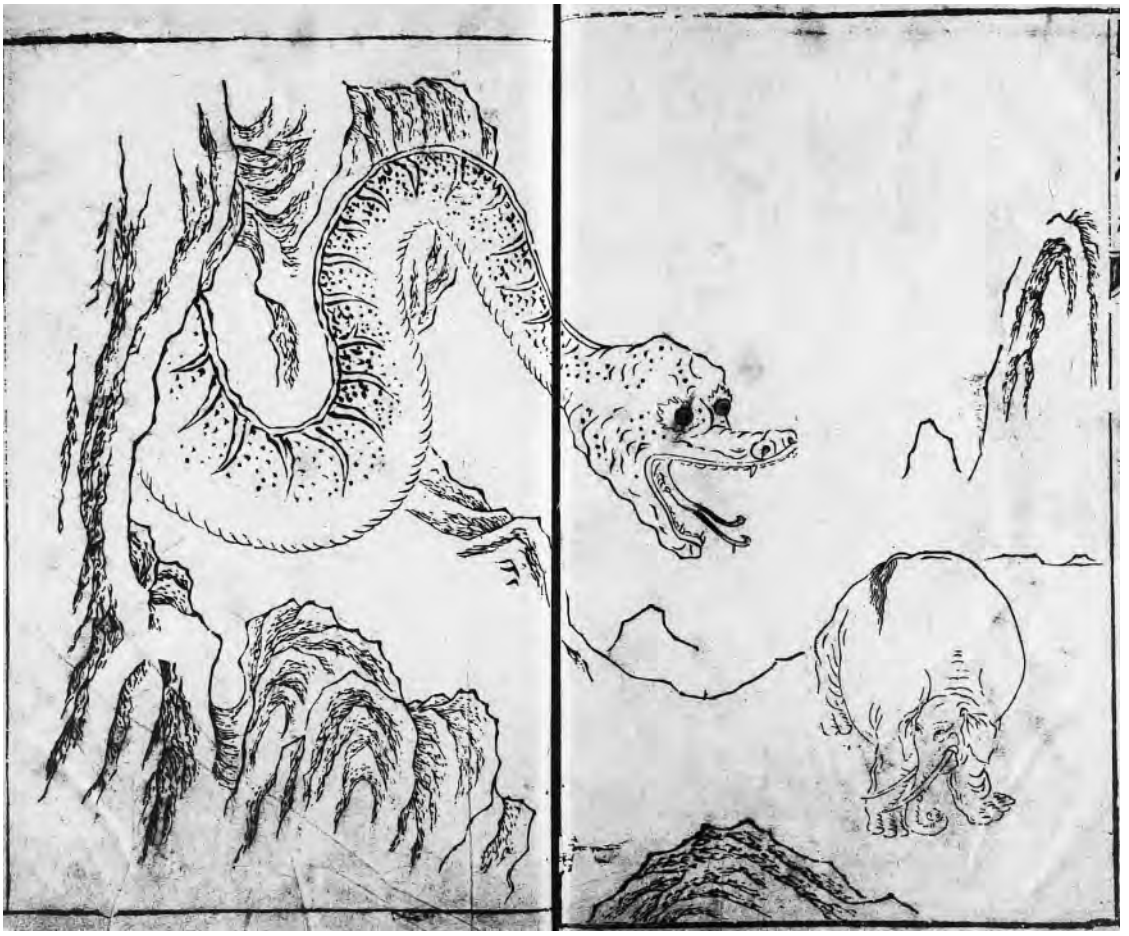
PLATE LV

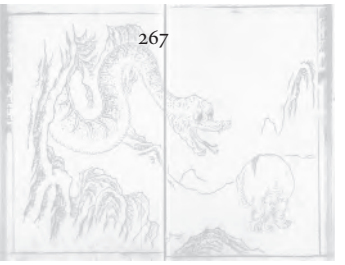
267. BA-SNAKE (BASHE) 巴蛇 *The Ba-Snake devours elephants. After three years, it expels the bones. If a gentleman wears part of it against his skin, he will not su er from heart or lung ailments. It is green, yellow, red, and black. According to another version, it is described as a black snake with a green head. It is located west of the Xi-Rhinoceros [no. 264].*[456]

Explanations and Analyses of Graphs defines *ba* as originally a pictograph of a snake eating an elephant. A black snake with a green head that devours elephants at Mount Vermilion-Roll, which Guo Pu believed was the Ba-Snake, is recorded in chapter 18. He and other commentators considered it a kind of python and likened it to other snakes found in the south as far as Jiaozhi (modern Vietnam) that were commonly known to devour deer and that were also used for medicine. A creature similar to the Ba-Snake is mentioned as early as the "Questions of Heaven," which asks, "How can the snake that can swallow an elephant devour its bones?" The *Master of Huainan* states that a long snake was killed by Yi the Archer at Grotto Lake. Later commentators to both texts identified these snakes with the Ba-Snake of the *Guideways.* These myths were further elaborated in the city of Baling (literally, "hill of the Ba-Snake," in modern Hunan) beside Grotto Lake at least since the Song. After it was killed by Yi the Archer, the snake was said to have been buried under a large hill in the city, where a temple was later built to worship its spirit. A pond next to Elephant-Bones Mountain nearby is supposed to be where the Ba-Snake expelled the elephant's bones. Images of the predatory Ba-Snake about to swallow an elephant continued to fascinate the popular imagination, and a fine rendition by the late Ming artist Xiao Yuncong (1596–1673) circulated in a book of woodblock prints titled *Illustrations to the "Questions of Heaven"* (*Tianwentu,* early to mid 17th cent., see fig. 24) around the same time as these illustrations to the *Guideways.*[457]

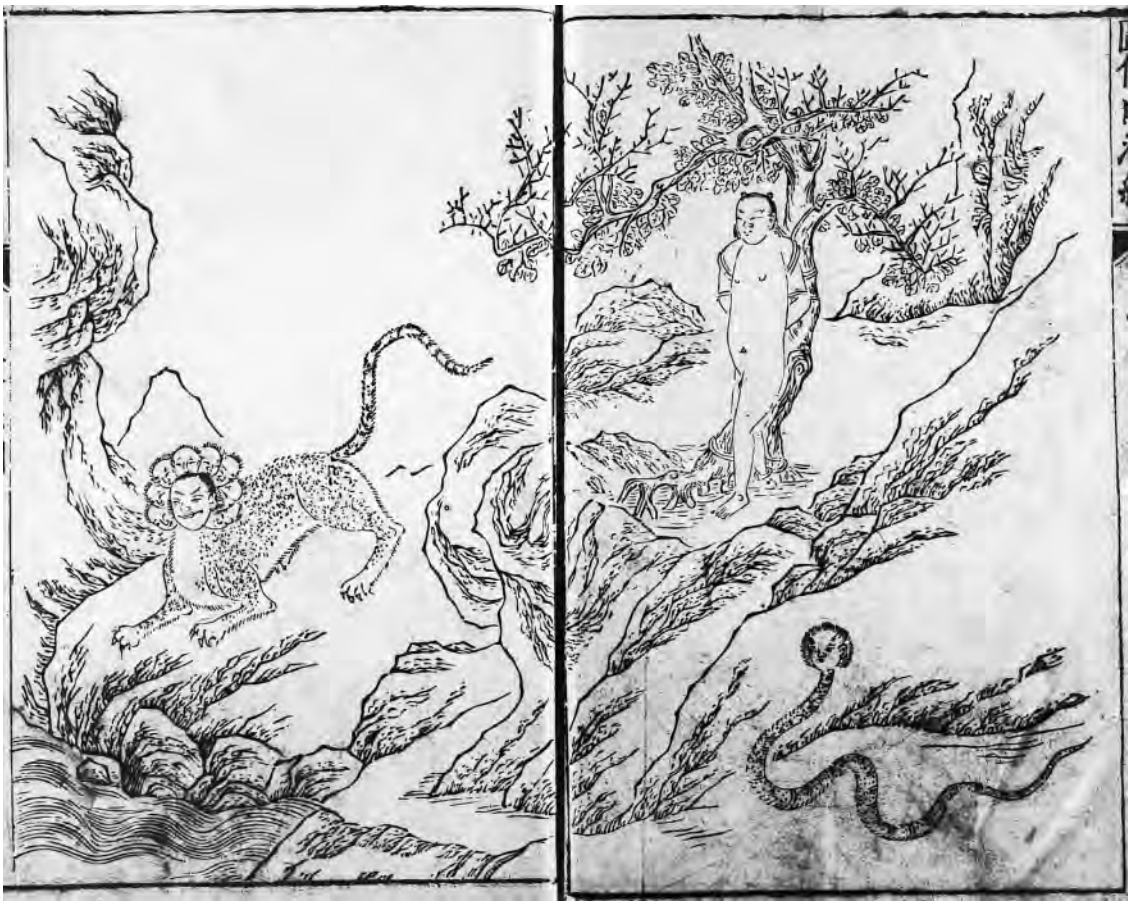
PLATE LVI

268. THE MINISTER OF ERFU (ERFU ZHI CHEN) 貳負之臣 *The Minister of Erfu is named Wei. Together Wei and Erfu [no. 281] killed Yayu [nos. 108, 265, 270]. The Supreme God Di therefore bound Wei on Mount Shushu. His right leg was*





fettered, both his hands and hair were fastened behind his back, and he was tied up to a tree on the mountain. This is northwest of the Land of Kaiti.[458] 山 The Minister of Erfu is located at the beginning of chapter 11, "Guideway through the Western Lands within the Sea," which extends northward from the southeast corner. The Land of Kaiti is actually recorded at the end of the previous chapter, but according to Wu Chengzhi (fl. early 20th cent.), that section probably belongs here. Erfu is also recorded in chapter 12 as a corpse and as a god with a snake's body and human head [see no. 281], and Wu also believed that this passage in chapter 11 was wrongly placed here by later editors. Guo Pu expressed the view that the Minister of Erfu's long hair was used to tie up his hands. Yuan Ke believed that this description reflected the early illustrations and also identified the Supreme God Di mentioned here with the Yellow Thearch. This is the passage that the court bibliographer Liu Xiang (79–8 B.C.E.) quoted to Emperor Xuan of the Han (r. 74–49 B.C.E.) to explain the discovery of a bound corpse in a cave. His son, Liu Xin, claimed that this passage led to a revival of interest in the *Guideways* among scholars at the time, including





the *Ru*-Confucians. The obvious di erence between the two locations has led commentators to articulate elaborate theories about the ability of corpses or other spiritual figures to transform themselves and move about. Another figure similarly punished is the Corpse of Minister Gu recorded in chapter 18.[459]

269. BEAST-FACING-EAST (KAIMINGSHOU) 開明獸 *The front of Mount Kunlun contains nine gates guarded by a Beast-Facing-East. . . .*[460] *The Beast-Facing-East has a body as large as a tiger's with nine heads, each with a human face. . . . It stands facing eastward on the heights of Mount Kunlun.*[461]

凶 The Beast-Facing-East is mentioned in two places in this chapter. Yuan Ke suggested that he might be identical to the god Luwu [no. 60] mentioned earlier based on their similar forms. Here the *Guideways* o ers a further description of the mythical Mount Kunlun:

> Mount Kunlun within the sea is in the northwest and is the earthly capital of the Supreme God Di. It is eight hundred *li* in circumference and ten thousand *ren*

high (eighty thousand feet). On its heights is the Grain-Tree which is five *xun* (forty feet) high and five arm spans around. The front of Mount Kunlun contains nine wells encompassed by jade railings and nine gates guarded by a Beast-Facing-East. This is where a hundred gods dwell in the caverns of an eight-cornered cli bordered by the Red River. Only Humane Yi the Archer (Ren Yi) can climb to the ridge of this cli .

The Grain-Tree apparently produces an abundant source of food, while the wells are said to be of the highest purity, their water being considered superior in *The Compendium of Mr. Lü.* Yi the Archer is noted for having rescued humankind by shooting down nine of the ten suns, among other deeds. In addition to five rivers flowing forth from the mountain, there is a pool on its south side that is 300 *ren* (2,400 feet) deep.[462]

270. YAYU 窫窳 *East of the Beast-Facing-East are the wu-shamans Peng, Di, Yang, Lü, Fan, and Xiang, who bear the corpse of Yayu, each holding the Never-Dying Herb to revive him. Yayu has a snake's body and a human face. He was killed by the Minister of Erfu [no. 268].*[463] 凹 This apparently is Yayu's original form before he transformed into a snake with a dragon head as well as other shapes [see nos. 108, 265]. This form is identical to that of Erfu [no. 281]. The shamans are acting here as "divine physicians."

PLATE LVII

271. FENGHUANG-BIRD (FENGHUANG) 鳳凰 *West of the Beast-Facing-East are Fenghuang-Birds and Luan-Birds. Both wear and tread on snakes. There is a red snake on their breasts. . . .*[464] *[North of the Beast-Facing-East] are the Fenghuang-Birds, all of whom carry shields.*[465] 凹 The Fenghuang-Bird, also known simply as the Feng-Bird (Feng), appears here with a similar creature, the Luan-Bird [no. 49], as guardians of the environs of Mount Kunlun. The illustrator has apparently taken artistic license by representing the Fenghuang-Bird with a spear. Feng-Birds or Fenghuang-Birds appear in eight places in the *Guideways* and Luan-Birds in ten. The Feng/Fenghuang-Bird is usually given primacy in Chinese mythology; however, the iconography and significance of the Luan-Bird is sometimes indistinguishable from it. Recorded as early as the Shang dynasty oracle-bone inscriptions, the Feng-/Fenghuang-Bird emerged in Zhou texts as a primary omen of political harmony. In what is probably a later interpolation, it is recorded in chapter 1 at Cinnabar Cave Mountain as a symbol of Confucian values. It is described as five-colored and resembling a chicken with the markings of the graph for *virtue* on its head, *duty* on its wings, *ritual* on its back, *humaneness* on its breast, and *trust* on its stomach. It eats, drinks, sings, and dances at will and, if seen, is an omen of world peace. Elsewhere, in chapters 7 and 16, the Feng-Bird and Luan-Bird are found in paradisical places where the people consumed their eggs. Though almost universally mistranslated in the West as the "phoenix," with which it has little in common, the Feng-Bird's origins have been traced by some modern scholars to the ostrich, eagle, pheasant, or peacock. Its depiction has varied over the centuries and be-





come increasingly flamboyant. Later, it was commonly paired with the Luan-Bird or dragon as an imperial symbol and has become a popular decorative motif denoting yin-yang conjugal harmony.[466]

272. THE THREE-HEADED MAN (SANTOUREN) 三頭人 *On top of the Fuchang-Tree is a Three-Headed Man who oversees the Langgan-Tree.*[467] 凹 Guo Pu was unable to identify the Fuchang-Tree, but the commentator Wu Renchen thought it may be a misprint for the Sand-Pear mentioned instead in a similar passage in the *Master of Huainan,* which locates both it and the Langgan-Tree on Mount Kunlun. Guo identified *langgan* as a kind of pearl, which the *Approaching Refinement* considered as one of the treasures of the northwest. He also cited a now-missing passage in the *Master Zhuang* stating that the Three-Headed Man alternately sleeps and awakes. The artist has apparently illustrated this by creating two images of him. Yuan Ke hypothesized that the man is Li Zhu, who in another myth was dispatched in vain by the Yellow Thearch to search for a treasured black pearl that the thearch had lost while on Mount Kunlun.[468]

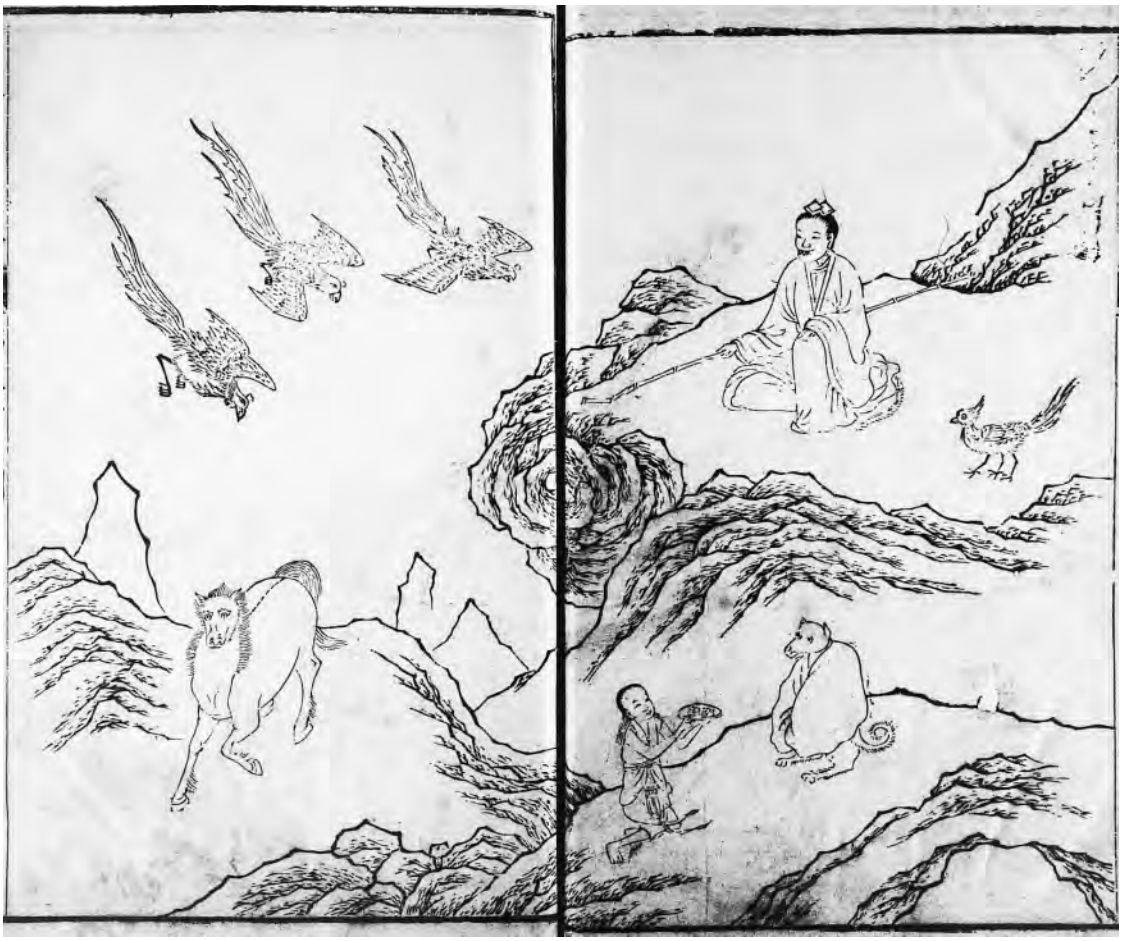
273, 274. SIX-HEADED BIRD (LIUSHOUNIAO) 六首鳥 AND JIAO-DRAGON (JIAO) 蛟 *South of the Beast-Facing-East is a tree, a Six-Headed Bird, [and] a Jiao-Dragon.*[469] 凹 Hao Yixing identified the tree as the Red-Tree, said to grow on the south of Mount Kunlun in the *Master of Huainan.* Both he and Yuan Ke identified the Six-Headed Bird with the Chu-Bird [no. 326] described in chapter 16 as a green bird with a yellow body, red feet, and six heads. The Jiao-Dragon is found in five places in the *Guideways.* Guo Pu only noted here that it resembles a snake with four feet and is a type of dragon. However, in chapter 5, where it is found in the Han River, he commented that it had a small head and a narrow neck with a white goiter. Large ones were more than ten arm spans in width and could swallow a person whole. In traditional Chinese belief, it was thought to dwell in watery bodies or to be hidden under the desert sands and was generally regarded as malevolent. These confused images of the Six-Headed Bird and the Jiao-Dragon seem to be the result of the illustrator's misreading of the text as meaning "a bird and a Six-Headed Jiao-Dragon." In addition, probably for the sake of the composition, he decided to locate the bird on the Fuchang-Tree, along with the Three-Headed Man [no. 272].[470]

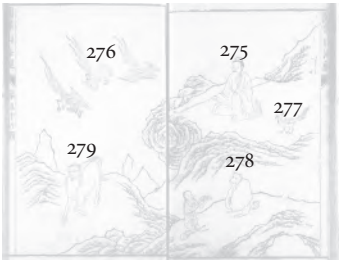
PLATE LVIII

275. QUEEN MOTHER OF THE WEST (XIWANGMU) 西王母 *The Queen Mother of the West leans on a low table, wears a Sheng-Crown, and carries a sta .*[471] 凹 In contrast to her earlier appearance in chapter 2 [no. 65] at Jade Mountain, the Queen Mother of the West is described more simply here in chapter 12. She is located north of Mount Kunlun toward the beginning of the guideway through the northern lands within the seas, which extends eastward from the northwest corner. In chapter 16, she is recorded again as a god with a human face and a tiger's body with stripes and a tail, both white, and as dwelling on Mount Kunlun. A further description is appended to this that almost repeats the entry here and adds that she lives in a cave. Both Yuan Ke and Hao Yixing believed that the graph *zhang* ("sta ") was mistakenly added later. The illustration here, however, indicates the sta but not the low table, while also including the leopard's tail mentioned in the earlier and later entries. Guo Pu tried to resolve the textual discrepancies in the location of the Queen Mother of the West by stating that she had her primary residence on Mount Kunlun with additional residences on other mountains.[472]

276. THE THREE GREEN-BIRDS (SANQINGNIAO) 三青鳥 *To the south of the Queen Mother of the West are the Three Green-Birds that fetch food for her. They are located north of Mount Kunlun.*[473] 凹 In chapter 2, these birds are said to actually dwell on Three-Dangers Mountain [see no. 71]. In chapter 16, they are described again as having red heads and black eyes and as dwelling on the Mountain of the Queen Mother of the West. They are named Dali, Shaoli, and Green-Bird.[474]

277. THREE-LEGGED BIRD (SANZUNIAO) 三足鳥 Although not mentioned in the text of the *Guideways,* Guo Pu's commentary to the passage on the Queen Mother of the West above [no. 275] notes that she is also brought food by





this divine bird. It became a regular part of her entourage in later mythology. According to Yuan Ke, this bird is actually a crow.[475]

278. THE DOG PEOPLE (QUANRONG) 犬戎 *The Land of the Enfeo ed Dogs is also known as the Land of the Dog People. The people have the form of a dog. There is a girl who is kneeling and o ering one of them wine and food.*[476] The name "Land of the Enfeo ed Dogs" suggests that their ancestor may have achieved merit in the eyes of the Chinese court and was awarded this territory. The text also suggests that the early illustrations depicted a kneeling girl o ering one of them food and wine. Guo Pu commented that they are the o spring of a two-headed, white, hermaphroditic dog sired by Bianming, a descendant of the Yellow Thearch, and that their land is also simply known as the Land of the Canines. The Dog People are also mentioned in chapter 17 as fourth-generation descendants of the Yellow Thearch and as carnivorous. The same passage also notes a red beast resembling a headless horse named the Corpse of King Xuan of the Rong, whom Guo Pu identified as a god of the Dog

People. A number of tribes in the northwest were collectively referred to as the Rong and as the Dog People, and the Dog-Rong were considered the group farthest to the west. The more neighboring Rong tribes occasionally caused military and diplomatic problems for the Chinese feudal states but also interacted with them as tributaries and allies. Some also migrated to areas within the Chinese world in the northwest. Mathieu believed that the association of this particular tribe in the *Guideways* with dogs is totemic and that the descent from a hermaphoditic dog signifies highly endogamous practices. Myths of dog ancestors can also be found in the south and southwest. The most notable of these is the story of the dog Panhu. In early written versions, he is variously credited with fathering the population of a similarly named Land of the Dog People or the southern Man-Barbarian tribes. Even today, some southern minority tribes still claim descent from him. For another di erently described creature in the *Guideways* also named Quanrong who dwells in the Land of the Dog People, see no. 334.[477]

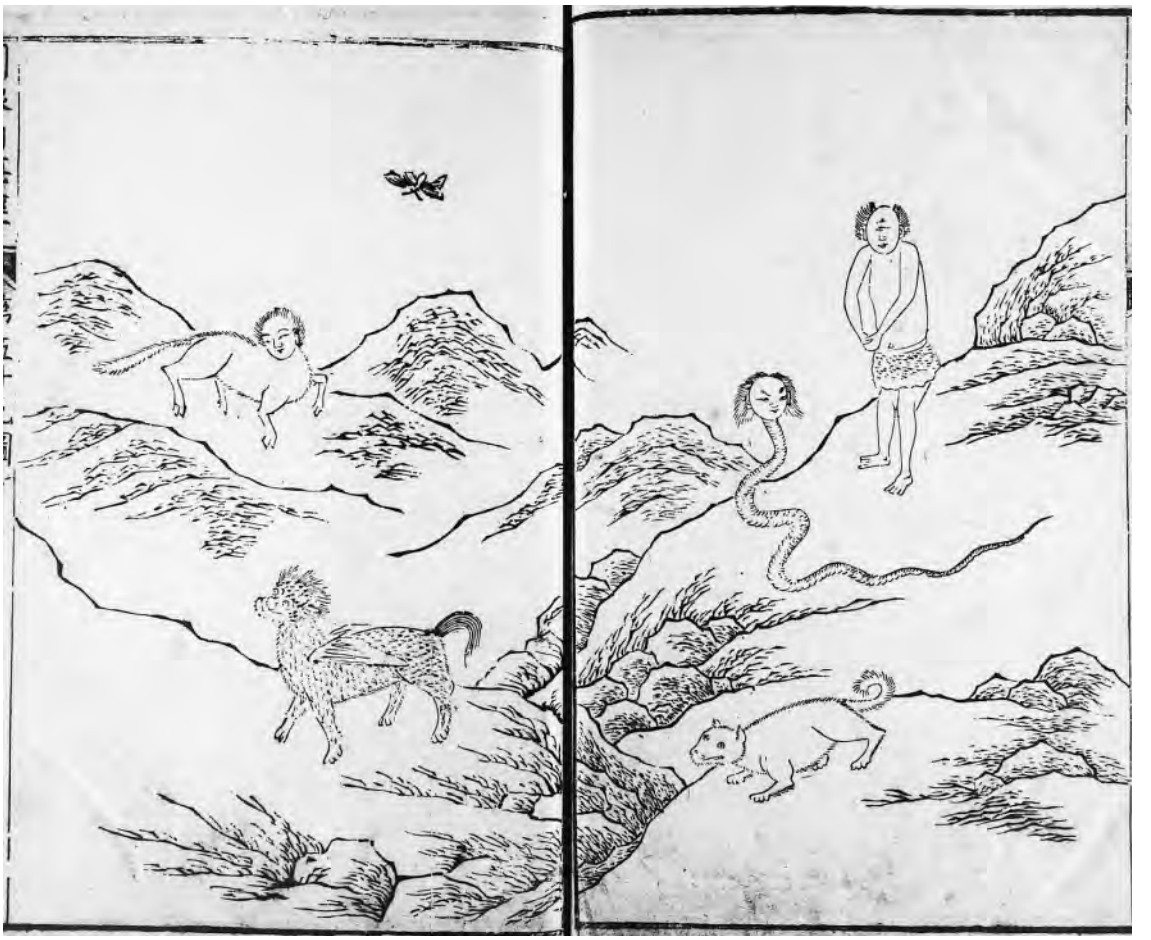
279. LUCKY-MEASURE (JILIANG) 吉量 *There is a patterned horse in the Land of the Dog People with a white body, red mane, and eyes like gold called Lucky-Measure. Anyone who rides on him will live a thousand years.*[478] 凹 There are a number of myths recorded in early texts of extraordinary patterned horses whose names are slight variations of Lucky-Measure. These were obtained by Shang and Zhou dynasty kings from the Dog People through tribute or purchase. Guo Pu's encomium celebrates one legend that such a horse was presented as ransom for Bochang, later King Wen of the Zhou (r. c. 1099–1050 B.C.E.), enabling him to escape imprisonment by the last Shang king, Zhou (trad. r. c. 1150–1099 B.C.E.):

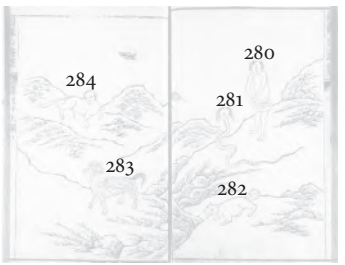
> With eyes of gold and mane of red,
> He races like a dragon
> and halts like a thoroughbred.
> Soaring high like geese and ducks,
> Stirring up the dust below—
> This is Lucky-Measure
> Who rescued a sage
> from the village of You.

Attributing divine qualities to Lucky-Measure is similar to the celebration of Yellow-Steed [no. 238] and a further reflection of the military importance to the Chinese of fine Central Asian horses.[479]

PLATE LIX

280. THE DEMON PEOPLE (GUIGUOMIN) 鬼國民 *The Land of the Demon People lies north of the Corpse of Erfu [see no. 281]. The people have human faces with one eye.*[480] 凹 Because of the Demon People's appearance, Hao Yixing and Yuan Ke suggested that they may be the One-Eyed People [no. 242] mentioned in chapters 8 and 17. Yuan also noted, however, that the location of the Land of the Demon People varies in other early texts. The concept of the north as the loca-





tion of demons or ghosts, which were identified with barbarian tribes, can be seen as early as the Shang dynasty oracle-bones, which recorded a land known as the Realm of the Demon People (Guifang). The *Book of Changes* (*Yijing,* 9th cent. B.C.E.–2nd cent. C.E.) and *The Bamboo Annals* state that King Wuding of the Shang (trad. r. 1273–1224 B.C.E.) conquered it in 1240 B.C.E. after an arduous campaign of three years that was criticized in an ode in the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing,* c. 1000–600 B.C.E.). According to some later beliefs, the souls of the dead became demons who congregated in the north, and cemeteries were deliberately located in this direction.[481]

281. ERFU 貳負 *According to another version, the god Erfu dwells east of the Land of the Demon People. He has a human face and a snake's body.*[482] 凶 The text is appended to the previous entry about the Land of the Demon People. Hao Yixing noted that here, Erfu's appearance is similar to that of Yayu [nos. 265, 270], whom he killed.[483]

282. TAO-DOG (TAOQUAN) 蜪犬 *The Tao-Dog resembles a dog that is green. It is a man-eater and devours its prey head first.*[484] 凹 Guo Pu in his encomium regarded both the Demon People and the Tao-Dog as evil creatures who presided over disasters.[485]

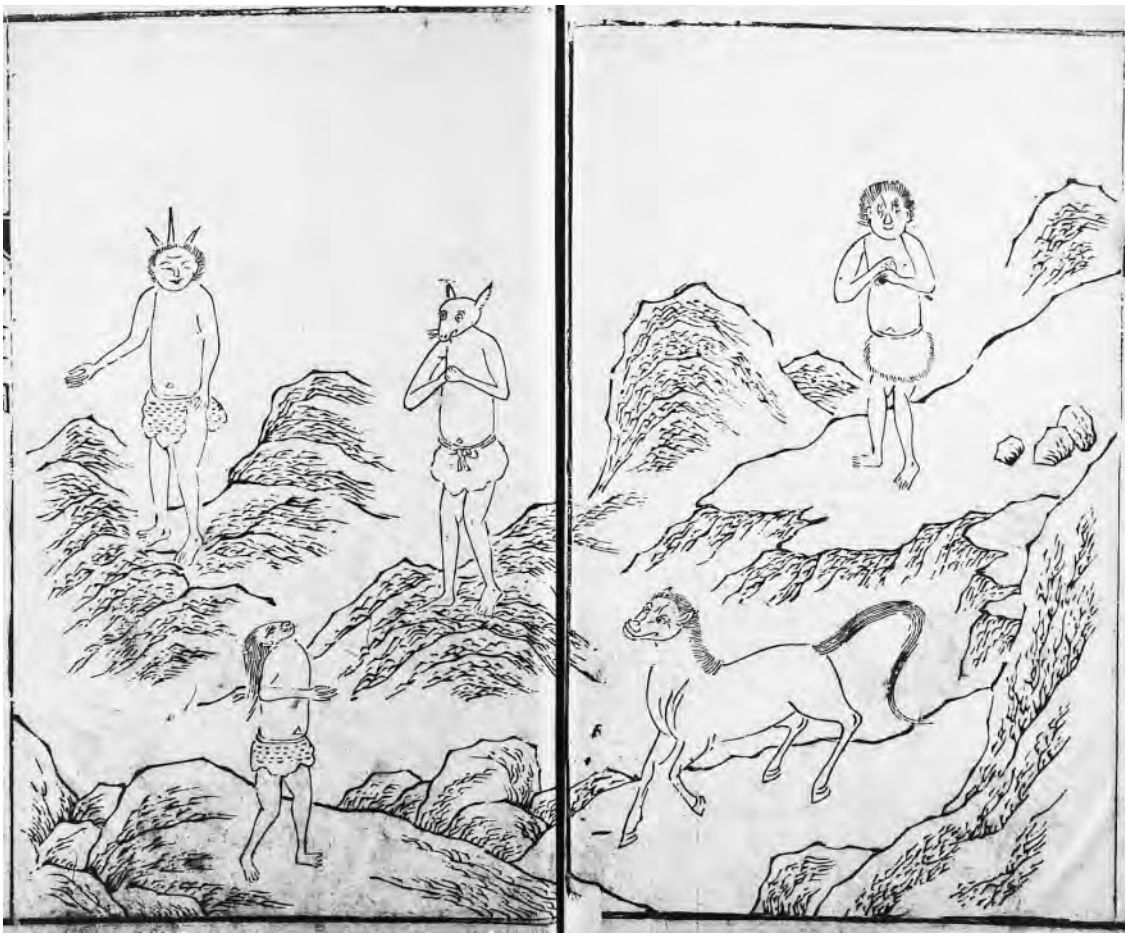
283. THOROUGHLY-ODD (QIONGQI) 窮奇 *Thoroughly-Odd resembles a tiger with wings. He devours people head first, and those he devours wear their hair long. He dwells north of the Tao-Dog. According to another version, he devours people feet first.*[486] 凹 That Thoroughly-Odd prefers to devour those with long hair suggests that he may be particularly dangerous to *wu*-shamans or to demons. His hair is like the spines of hedgehogs, according to Guo Pu. Thoroughly-Odd was also mentioned in chapter 2 [no. 83] where he is said to dwell at Mount Gui and is described as a man-eater resembling an ox with hedgehog's hair who makes a sound like an angry dog. Various other early texts also mention figures named Thoroughly-Odd, though with differing descriptions. *Zuo's Narratives* lists him as a wayward o spring of the thearch Lesser-Brilliance, whose tribe of descendants are finally banished to the periphery and charged with controlling the Chimei-Hobgoblins [see no. 287]. Gao You's commentary to the *Master of Huainan* said that Thoroughly-Odd was born of the Northern Desert Wind. During the Han, he was one of twelve gods who chased away evil demons in the Grand Exorcism ritual and was considered particularly e ective against insect-poison. Guo Pu's encomium praises Thoroughly-Odd's exorcistic ability despite his ugly appearance and calls him a Divine Dog. This description in the *Guideways* was further elaborated in the *Guideway to Gods and Anomalies,* where Thoroughly-Odd was given a morally perverse disposition:

> To the northwest is a beast resembling a tiger with wings who can fly and who also catches and devours men. He understands human language, and when he hears men quarreling, he immediately devours the one who is right. When he hears of someone who is loyal and trustworthy, he immediately eats their nose; if he hears someone who is rebellious and evil, he immediately kills an animal and presents it to him. He is called Thoroughly-Odd and devours all other kinds of birds and beasts.[487]

284. TAFEI 闟非 *Tafei has a human face and a beast's body that is green.*[488] 凹 Tafei is not mentioned elsewhere and it is unclear whether the name refers to an individual creature or to a tribe. Above Tafei is a Giant Wasp.[489]

PLATE LX

285. THE CORPSE OF JUBI (JUBI ZHI SHI) 據比之尸 *The Corpse of Jubi is a person who has a broken neck and long hair and is missing an arm.*[490] 凹 Jubi is another example of the "living dead" who seems to have su ered punishment for a crime or perhaps defeat in war. The *Master of Huainan* later recorded another figure with a similar name, Zhubi, whom Yuan Ke suggested was identical to Jubi. He is recorded as having been born of the Cool-Wind and described as a god by the commentator Gao You.[491]





286. RING-DOG (HUAN'GOU) 環狗 *Ring-Dog is a person with a beast's head and a human body. According to another version he is called Wei, and his form resembles that of a yellow dog.*[492] 凹 Hao Yixing believed that the Ring-Dogs were the inhabitants of the Land of the Canines mentioned in several early texts, while Yuan Ke thought they were identical to the Dog-People [no. 278]. The word *wei* commonly denotes a hedgehog.[493]

287. MEI-HOBGOBLINS (MEI) 袂 *A Mei is a creature with a human body, black head, and vertical eyes.*[494] 凹 Most commentators believe that this creature is the same as the Mei-Hobgoblin usually paired with the Chi-Hobgoblin as Chimei, though the graphs for *mei* are slightly di erent in each case. The Chimei are sometimes associated with yet another group, the Wangliang-Goblins. All are dangerous creatures lurking in the mountains and waters who are said to attack unwary travelers, but descriptions of their appearances vary. Hao Yixing thought the Mei was similar to a monster said to be lurking in the west in the poem "The Great Summons" in the *Songs of*

Chu anthology. It has a pig's head, vertical eyes, and long hair. Another description was later provided by the Eastern Han scholar Fu Qian (fl. c. 184–189), who stated that the Chimei have human faces on beasts' bodies and four legs. According to *Zuo's Narratives,* it was to help the common people identify the Chimei and Wangliang and to avoid danger that Yu the Great had the Nine Bronze Vessels cast with illustrations of strange creatures. The same text also states that the thearch Shun while still a minister of the thearch Yao banished four rebellious tribes, including those of Hundun [see no. 73] and Thoroughly-Odd [no. 283], to the four ends of the world to control the Chimei in these barbaric places.[495]

288. RONG 戎 *The Rong are a people with human heads and three horns.*[496] These people, like the Dog People [no. 278], are also considered one of the Rong tribes, but since they dwell closer to the Chinese heartland, they are somewhat less strange in appearance, though not by much. Mathieu surmised that the three "horns" might actually be a headdress or shamanistic hairstyle. Hao Yixing believed that these people were the Lirong mentioned in the *Recovered Documents of Zhou:*

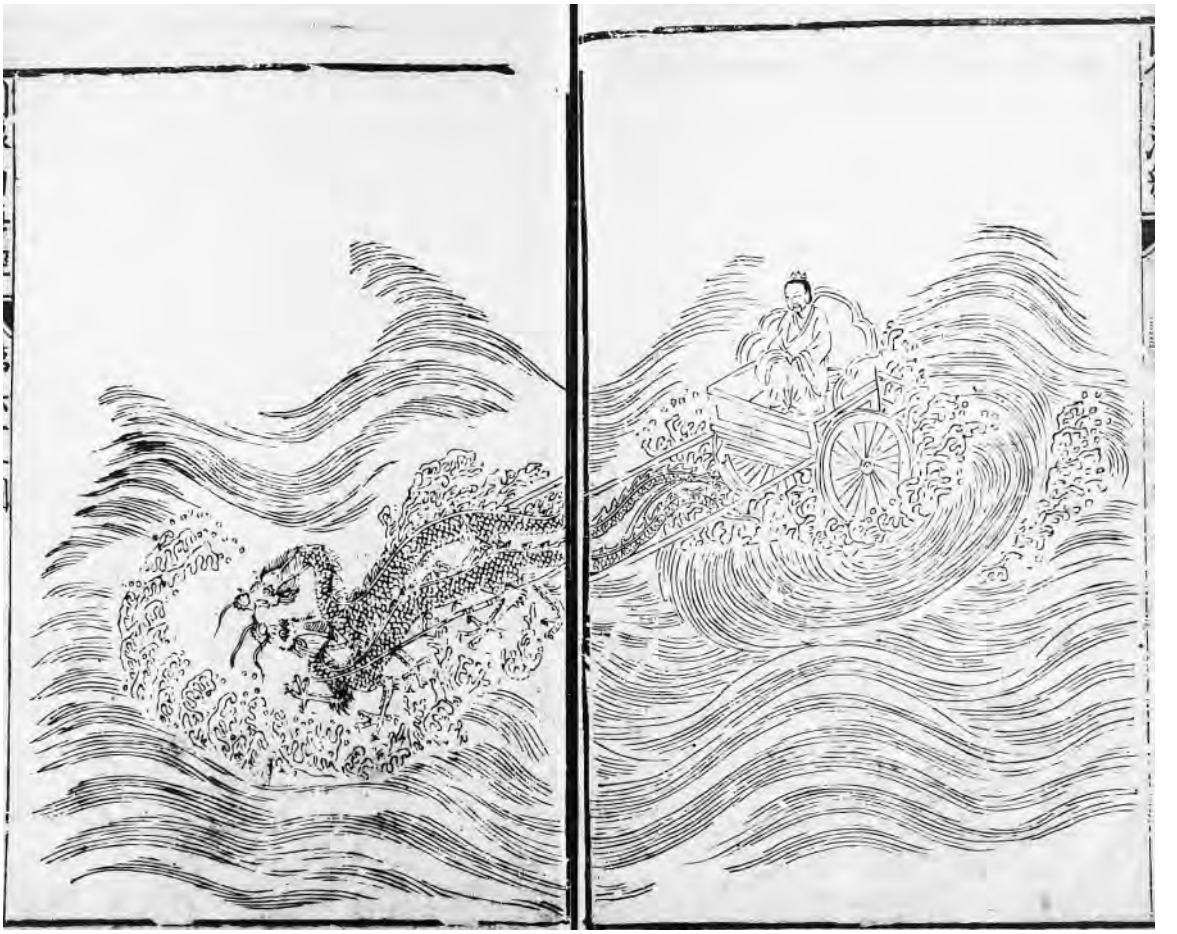
> In the past, the Lin Clan summoned the ruler of the Lirong to its court, but when he arrived, they failed to treat him according to the proper ritual. The ruler was held without being granted an audience until he escaped and fled. The Lin Clan had him killed, and then the world revolted against them.

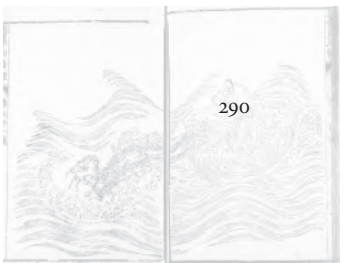
The Land of the Lin Clan is mentioned in the next passage in the *Guideways* [see no. 289]. They were considered overbearing nobles whose domain, according to the *Recovered Documents of Zhou,* was later destroyed in a conflict with the rival Shangheng Clan.[497]

289. ZOUWU 騶吾 *In the Land of the Lin Clan is a rare beast as large as a tiger, five-colored, and with a tail longer than its body. It is called the Zouwu. When riding it, one can cover one thousand li in a single day.*[498] Rare creatures similar to the Zouwu obtained from the Lin Clan are mentioned in several other early texts, though with variant names and appearances. Guo Pu noted a myth in the *Six Bow-Bags* (*Liutao,* c. late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) that is virtually identical to the one about Lucky-Measure [no. 279]. In this case, it is the Zouwu that is obtained from the Land of the Lin Clan and presented to King Zhou of the Shang as a ransom for Bochang, the future King Wen of the Zhou.[499]

PLATE LXI

290. BINGYI 冰夷 *The Gorge of Extreme Verticality is three hundred ren [2,400 feet] deep. Here is the permanent capital of Bingyi. Bingyi has a human face and rides on two dragons. According to another version, this place is known as the Gorge of Extreme Loyalty.*[500] Bingyi is the god of the Yellow River, and sacrifices to him are recorded as early as the Shang dynasty oracle-bones. Widely mentioned in ancient texts, he was also known as Pingyi and as Lord of the River (Hebo), among other names. Guo Pu commented that early illustrations depicted him riding in all four directions through





the clouds on chariots pulled by two dragons. In some early accounts, he is described as having a white, human face and a fish's body as in the *Master Shi* when he encountered Yu the Great and bestowed on him the River Diagram, a magic square of the cosmos. The Yellow River was believed to originate at Mount Kunlun, and the cult of this river god was important to the religious life of the northwestern and central Chinese states, eventually spreading to the more southern ones as well. As late as the Warring States period, human and animal sacrifices to the god were still drowned in the river, including young women destined to become the god's "wives." In one of "The Nine Songs" in the *Songs of Chu* anthology, the performer narrates a wedding journey with him in a chariot drawn by two dragons. The *Master Zhuang* noted that the *wu*-shamans and *zhu*-priests in charge of such rituals considered oxen with white foreheads, pigs with turned-up snouts, and humans with piles to be unsuitable o erings to him. Others attempted to pacify him or gain his favor by drowning horses and casting gold, jade, and other valuables into the river. As the personification of the awesome power of the Yellow River, this god was thus regarded as occasionally benevolent but also greedy, unpredictable, and dangerously destructive. Some myths celebrate his pun-

ishment and even execution. The "Questions of Heaven" poem refers to a myth about Yi the Archer shooting Lord of the River to which the Han commentator Wang Yi added the following story:

> Lord of the River transformed himself into a white dragon and was traveling alongside the river when Yi the Archer saw him and shot an arrow at him, hitting his left eye. Lord of the River complained to the Supreme God of Heaven, Di, and said, "Kill Yi to avenge me!" The Supreme God asked, "Why were you struck by an arrow?" and he answered, "I had transformed myself into a white dragon and was traveling about." The Supreme God stated, "If you had only dedicated yourself to carrying out your duties as a god, how would Yi have transgressed? Now you became a beast, and it is natural that someone would shoot at you. Yi acted properly, so what crime has he committed?"

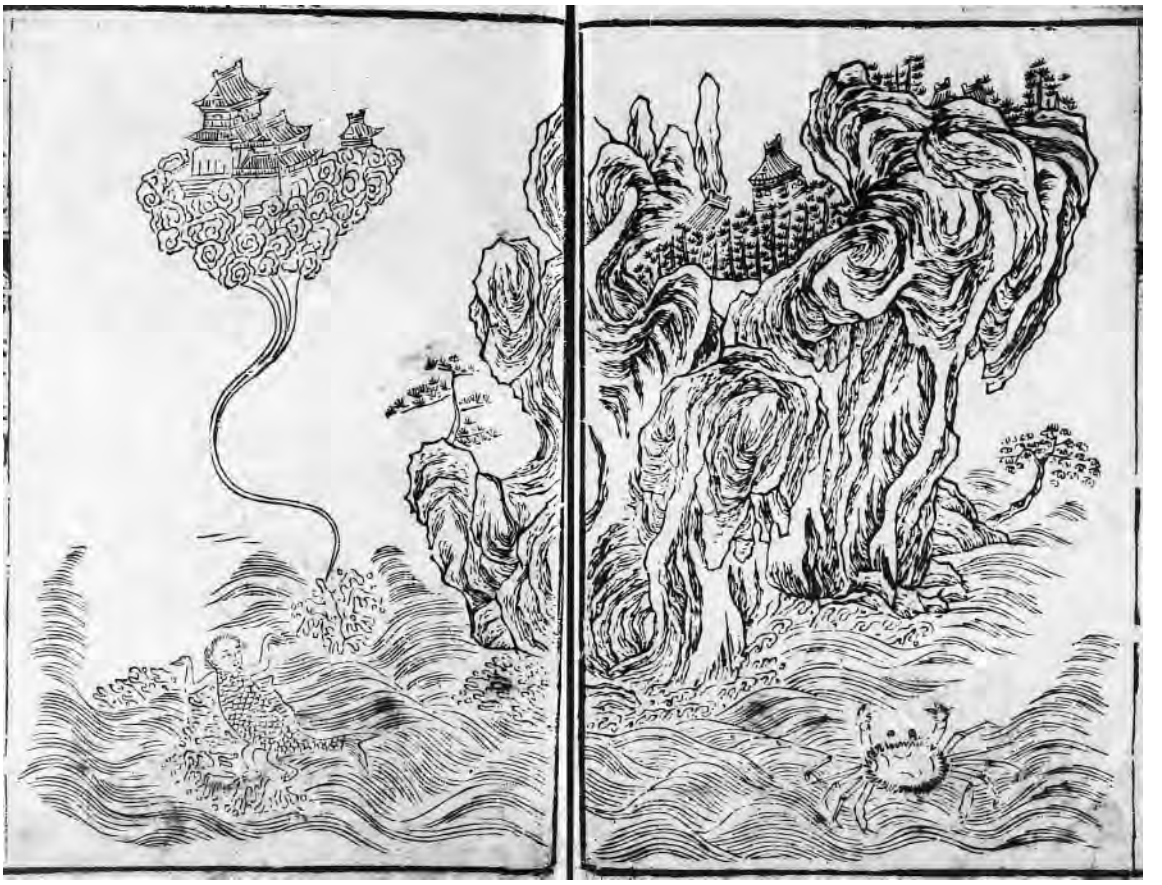
The *Master of Huainan* stated more explicitly that Yi shot at Lord of the River because the latter had drowned people. Lord of the River was historicized in later Chinese religion, which provided various biographies of him as a human who had cultivated spiritual powers or had been appointed after death by the Supreme God. In his encomium, Guo Pu celebrated him as a kind of Daoist Transcendent while alluding to a fable in the *Master Zhuang* in which the proud Lord of the River flows down in autumn to meet Ruo, the god of the Northern Sea, only to discover his relative insignificance:

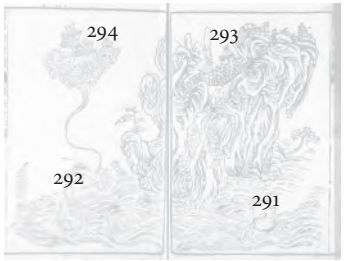
> Endowed with the essences of flowers,
> Eight precious minerals does he eat.
> Astride dragons, he hides within the torrent,
> Flowing onwards, the sea-god Ruo to meet.
> Indeed he is a Transcendent of the waters:
> "Lord of the River" is his name, complete.

The Lord of the River also appears in chapter 14 in connection with King Hai [no. 300] and the Youyi People.[501]

PLATE LXII

291. GIANT CRAB (DAXIE) 大蟹 *There is a giant crab in the middle of the sea.*[502] 凶 This sea in the north probably refers to the Gulf of Bohai and the Yellow Sea, as the previous entries mention the feudal state of Yan (modern Hebei-Liaoning) and the lands of Chaoxian (modern Liaoning-Korea) and Wo (modern Japan). According to Guo Pu, the crab is one thousand *li* in size. A giant crab is also mentioned in chapter 14 where it is owned by Woman Chou (Nüchou) who is probably identical to the Corpse of Woman Chou [no. 317], a shamaness. Among other early Chinese texts, a giant crab in the Northern Sea is also mentioned in the *Recovered Documents of Zhou* while *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* notes the existence of the giant crab together with the Hill-Fish [no. 292] and states that these barbarian areas, unlike the civilized Chinese states, lack sovereigns. Mathieu suggests that this "Giant Crab" must be the name of an island and notes that the northern Pacific Ocean has always contained large crabs which some local peoples have deified.[503]





292. HILL-FISH (LINGYU) 陵魚 *The Hill-Fish has a human face, hands, feet, and a fish's body. It dwells in the sea.*[504] This appears to be a kind of Human-Fish, variations of which are mentioned in seven places in the *Guideways* [see no. 125]. However, as Yuan Ke pointed out, they are all fish with human characteristics rather than mermen or mermaids. The latter appear somewhat later in Chinese mythology, beginning in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. According to Sima Qian's *Historical Records,* candles in the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin were made from the fat of "Human-Fish."[505]

293. THE TOWN OF MINGZU (MINGZUYI) 明組邑 *The Town of Mingzu is located in the sea.*[506] This could also illustrate another island in the area, Liegushe. Guo Pu identified it with Gushe Mountain in the *Master Zhuang,* where an austere, light-skinned divinity protects from sickness and ensures a bountiful harvest.[507]

294. MOUNT PENGLAI (PENGLAISHAN) 蓬萊山 *Mount Penglai is located in the sea.*[508] There is little indication in the *Guideways* of the impor-

tant role of Mount Penglai in later Chinese religion and mythology. Like the Supreme Mountain, it was a major spiritual site promoted by the *fangshi*-wizards, and the relative unimportance of these places in the text suggests that they were originally more significant to eastern Chinese beliefs, whereas the *Guideways* primarily records western and southern myths and presents Mount Kunlun as the *axis mundi.* The search for paradisical isles in the Gulf of Bohai apparently began in the Warring States period and was recorded by Sima Qian in his *Historical Records:*

> Ever since the time of Kings Wei (r. 356–320 B.C.E.) and Xuan (r. 319–301 B.C.E.) of Qi (modern Shandong) and King Zhao (r. 311–279 B.C.E.) of Yan (modern Hebei), expeditions were dispatched to the three divine islands of Penglai, Fangzhang, and Yingzhou. They were said to lie in the Gulf of Bohai not far beyond where men dwelled. Unfortunately, whenever anyone approached them, winds would arise and blow his boat o course. No doubt, some must have arrived there in the past. All the Transcendents and the Never-Dying Herb can be found there. Everything including birds and beasts are white, while the palaces are made of gold and silver. Before some reached these places, they appeared from afar like clouds, but as they arrived, the three divine islands submerged into the sea. As the people approached, winds suddenly arose and carried their boats farther away so that in the end, none of them were able to get there. Every ruler has yearned for these places.

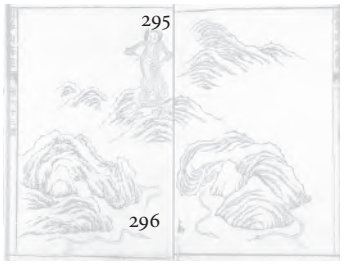
Fangshi-wizards continued to propound myths of Penglai and the other islands to credulous emperors during the Qin and Han dynasties. Some supported costly expeditions to find them, most notably the First Emperor of Qin. Since none were successful, in later centuries the search was gradually abandoned, though Penglai became a major paradise in religious Daoism rivaling Mount Kunlun and a popular symbol of immortality. That this brief entry without further details is the sole mention of it in the *Guideways* may suggest that the cult of Penglai was either in its infancy or that its actual location was regarded as an occult secret not to be widely disseminated.[509]

PLATE LXIII

295. THE GOD OF THUNDER (LEISHEN) 雷神 *The God of Thunder dwells in Thunder Lake. He has a dragon's body and a human head. He drums on his stomach. This place is to the west of Wu.*[510] 凹 The God of Thunder dwells along the guideway through the eastern lands within the sea described in chapter 13, which extends from the northeast corner southward. Yuan Ke argued that Thunder Lake is the Great Lake, also known in antiquity as Thundering Lake, just west of the city of Wu (modern Suzhou, Jiangsu). As the text indicates, this god creates thunder by using his stomach as a drum. In another myth in chapter 14, he appears to have been killed by the Yellow Thearch, who frightens the world by using a bone of the Thunder God to beat a drum made from the skin of the beast Kui [no. 304], which can be heard for five hundred *li.*[511]

296. THE FOUR SNAKES (SISHE) 四蛇 *The thearch Zhuanxu is buried on the southern slope of Carp Mountain, and his nine consorts are buried on the northern*





slope. Four snakes protect them.[512] Guo Pu noted that these snakes are located at the foot of the mountain. This mountain appears in both chapters 8 and 17, written with variant graphs. In the latter entry, it is also identified as the source of the Han River, which geographers locate in modern southwestern Shaanxi. Another name for the mountain may be Mount Bozhong, which in chapter 2 is also identified as the source of the Han River. The tomb, therefore, seems to be in the northwest, and Hao Yixing suggested that it is mistakenly recorded in this chapter. The motif of four guardian snakes also appears at Gongong's Terrace [see no. 244], where each one guards a corner.[513]

PLATE LXIV

297. GIANTS (DAREN) 大人 *There is a Land of the Giants. There is a marketplace of the Giants called Hall of the Giants. There is a Giant crouching on top who extends his two ears.*[514] Guo Pu considered the Hall of the Giants to be a mountain shaped like a hall on top of which the Giants regularly held their market. This description of a Giant probably referred to an early illustration, though a later version





of this passage recorded that he extended his two arms instead of his ears. Mathieu commented that the Giant must be crouching down while selling merchandise at the market. In chapter 12, the market of the Giants is said to be located in the Northern Sea. Commentators such as Yang Shen and Hao Yixing speculated that this may have been a mirage seen by sailors o the coast of Shandong. A Land of Giants is also mentioned in chapter 9, where the people are said to sit down in order to punt their boats. It is also recorded in chapter 17, in which the inhabitants are surnamed Li and eat millet. Yuan Ke argued that several early sources record that they were descended from the Yellow Thearch. All these passages refer to the north or east, leading to speculation that ancient mythology located such a giant people somewhere between China and the Korean Peninsula. Other early Chinese texts contain a number of myths about tribes of giants, some of whom are said to grow to fantastic proportions.[515]

298. MIDGETS (XIAOREN) 小人 *There is a Land of the Midgets who are called the Tiny People.*[516] 凹 Like the Zhourao/Jiaoyao People [nos. 225, 312] in the south, these people also dwell in their own country. Their location close to the Gi-

ants [no. 297] seems highly symbolic, suggesting the extremism that prevails among strange peoples. They are said to dwell at the northeast extremity and to grow only nine inches tall, according to the *Divine Mists of Poetry* (*Shi han shenwu,* Han dynasty), a lost text quoted by Guo Pu. He praised their minimalism in his encomium:

> The Jiaoyao are infinitesimal:
> The Tiny People are also small.
> Just depict four limbs,
> Add the face,
> and that's all.[517]

299. THE CORPSE OF LILING (LILING ZHI SHI) 犁䰠之尸 *There is a god with a human face and a beast's body named the Corpse of Liling.*[518] 凹 The first graph of his name indicates a plow ox, while the second is defined in *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* as "an old spirit."[519]

300. KING HAI 王亥 *There is someone named King Hai who is grasping a bird in each hand and is about to eat their heads. King Hai entrusted his oxen to the leader of the Youyi People and to the Lord of the River. The leader of the Youyi killed King Hai and stole the oxen. But the Lord of the River took pity on the leader of the Youyi who took refuge underwater and emerged to establish his own kingdom among the wild beasts. The people are shown about to eat them. They are called the Yao People. The thearch Shun begat Xi, and Xi begat the Yao People.*[520] 凹 King Hai (trad. d. 1714 B.C.E.) was mentioned in the "Questions of Heaven" and in a number of early myths and historical accounts that vary as to details as well as to his identity. Also known as King Gai in some versions, he is the seventh king of the Shang people, in others, the Marquis of Yin (i.e., Shang) or Crown Prince of Shang during the Xia dynasty. Here the *Guideways* records fragments of a myth that has been loosely reconstructed with other evidence from *The Bamboo Annals* and the "Questions of Heaven": King Hai was visiting the Youyi tribe and entrusted his herd of oxen to them and to Hebo, the Lord of the Yellow River [no. 290]. However, Hai was killed by Mianchen, leader of the Youyi, because he had an a air with Mianchen's wife and impregnated her. Hai's younger brother, Shangjia Wei, succeeded to the Shang throne and avenged him by compelling the Lord of the River to give him military support, killing Mianchen and destroying the Land of the Youyi. The Lord of the River, out of friendship for the Youyi, secretly transformed them into the Yao People (literally, the "shaking people"). In the traditional dating of *The Bamboo Annals,* King Hai was killed in 1714 B.C.E. and avenged four years later by Shangjia Wei. Birrell considers this myth significant as an example of the motif of the first cattle raid found in other cultures, while the Chinese historical tradition regarded King Hai's transgression as indicative of the moral decline of the Shang state, which was reversed by Shangjia Wei's campaign of revenge. The final passage in the *Guideways* presents an alternate genealogy of the Yao People, where they claim a more prestigious ancestor.[521]

301. A CROW (WU) 烏 *In the midst of the Great Wilds to the East is a mountain named Nieyaojundi. On its heights is the Supporting-Tree, whose trunk rises three hun-*

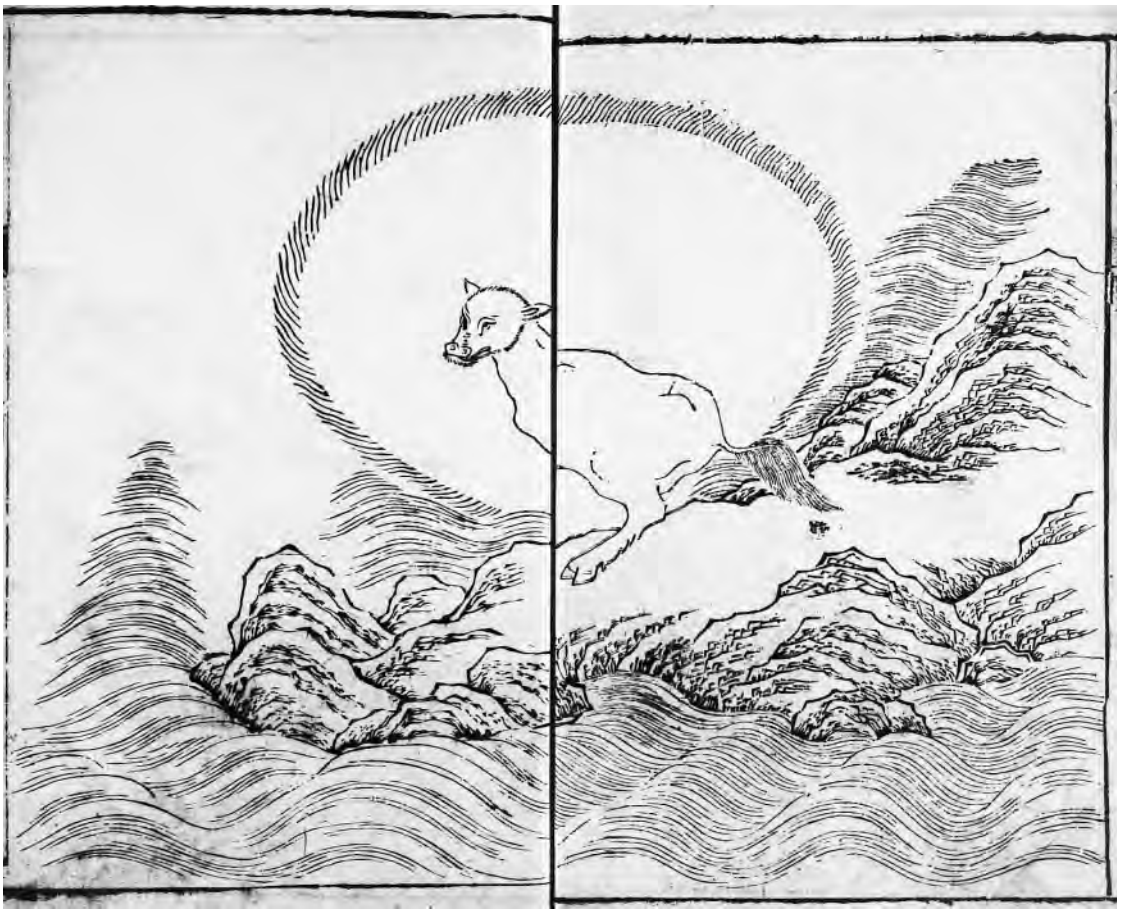
dred li and whose leaves resemble mustard greens. There is a valley here named Hot-Springs Valley. Above Hot-Valley is the Supporting-Tree. When one sun arrives here, another leaves, and they are all borne by a crow.[522] 凹 Guo Pu noted that the crow has three feet in accordance with references to this myth in a number of other early texts. He also identified Hot-Springs Valley with Hot-Valley and the Supporting-Tree with the Supporting-Mulberry Tree. The cycle of ten suns, which set out from and return to the top of this world tree in the east, has been regarded as an important founding myth of the Shang dynasty. It is also mentioned in chapter 9, which states that nine suns rest on the lower branches, while one occupies the topmost. The suns are believed to represent the ten days of the week in the ancient calendar.[523]

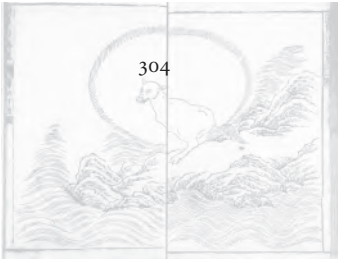
302. THE CORPSE OF SHEBI (SHEBI [ZHI] SHI) 奢比〔之〕尸 *There is a god with a human face, dog's ears, and a beast's body. He wears two green snakes through his ears and is called the Corpse of Shebi.*[524] 凹 The Corpse of Shebi is also mentioned in chapter 9 [no. 254] where he is described as having "big ears" instead of "dog's ears," suggesting that the latter is a misprint.[525]

303. FIVE-COLORED BIRD (WUCAI ZHI NIAO) 五彩之鳥 *There are Five-Colored Birds that face one another and flutter their wings. Only Thearch Jun is their companion. The two altars to the thearch at the foot of the mountain are overseen by the Five-Colored Birds.*[526] 凹 Mathieu suggested that the description of the birds may reflect an illustration or sculpture. The divine Luan- and Feng-Birds [nos. 49, 271] are usually described as varieties of five-colored birds. Here Yuan Ke suggested that only Thearch Jun can consort with these birds because he was originally Black-Bird. Guo Pu identified the thearch of the altars they oversee as Shun. In a subsequent passage in this chapter, more Five-Colored Birds are mentioned, following a list of mountains without further comment.[527]

PLATE LXV

304. KUI 夔 *In the Eastern Sea stands Ripples Mountain, which is seven thousand li out in the sea. On its heights is a beast whose form resembles an ox with a blue-black body, no horns, and a single leg. Whenever he enters or comes out of the water, wind and rain arise. His aura is as brilliant as the sun and the moon, and his sound is like thunder. He is called Kui. The Yellow Thearch obtained him and made his skin into a drum, which he beats with the bone of the Thunder-Beast. The sound can be heard for five hundred li and creates terror throughout the world.*[528] 凹 Kui is described with varying appearances in several other early texts. He was historicized in the chapter on the thearch Yao in the *Documents of Antiquity* (*Shangshu,* Zhou dynasty) as an official whom Yao placed in charge of music and who could miraculously make animals dance. In other myths, the use of Kui's skin as a drum to create terror is also part of the power struggle between the Yellow Thearch and Chiyou in which the latter loses his ability to fly and is killed when frightened by the drumbeats. Guo Pu identified the Thunder-Beast with the God of Thunder [no. 295]. The Kui remained a creature in later mythology, in which he is sometimes described as a dragon. The illustrator has reversed the order

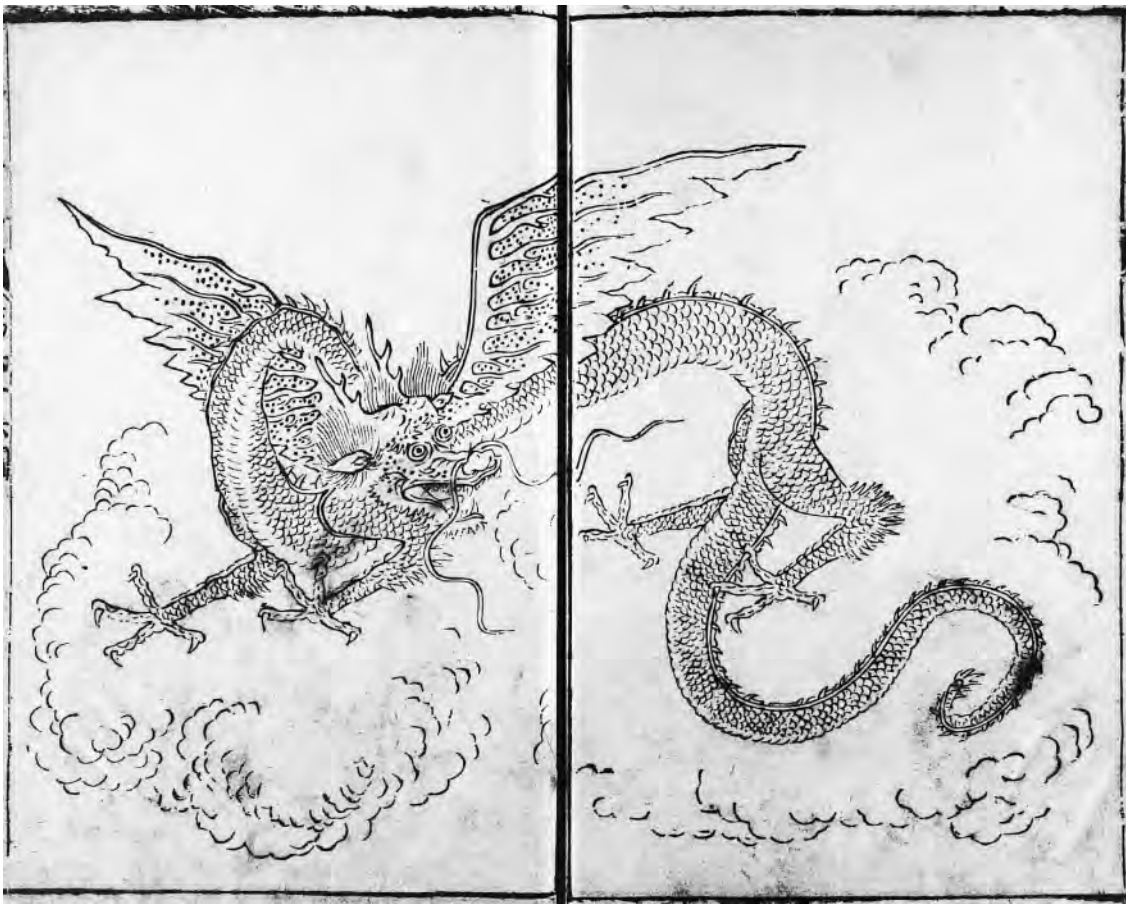


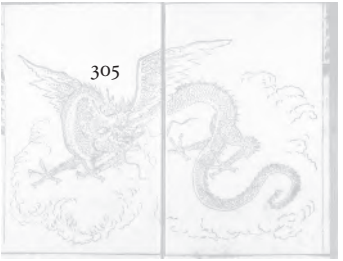


of images, for the entry on Kui in the text actually follows the next one for Winged-Dragon [no. 305].[529]

PLATE LXVI

305. WINGED-DRAGON (YINGLONG) 應龍 *In the northeast corner of the Great Wilds to the East is Mount Fierce Plow-Ox. Winged-Dragon dwells on its southern extremity. He killed Chiyou and Kuafu the Boaster [no. 247] but could not return to the mountain afterward. Therefore, many droughts fell upon the world. When there is a drought, people make an image of Winged-Dragon in order to obtain rain.*[530] 凹 Winged-Dragon killed Chiyou and Kuafu the Boaster here on the orders of the Yellow Thearch. The droughts occurred on earth below because he could no longer send down rain from the mountain. Guo Pu noted the persistence of the custom of fashioning images of Winged-Dragon in his time but stated his belief that weather responded to natural conditions and could not be induced by human prayers. Another early myth about Winged-Dragon in the "Questions of Heaven" associates him with the e orts of Yu the Great to control the rivers. He is said by the commentator Wang Yi to have used his tail to

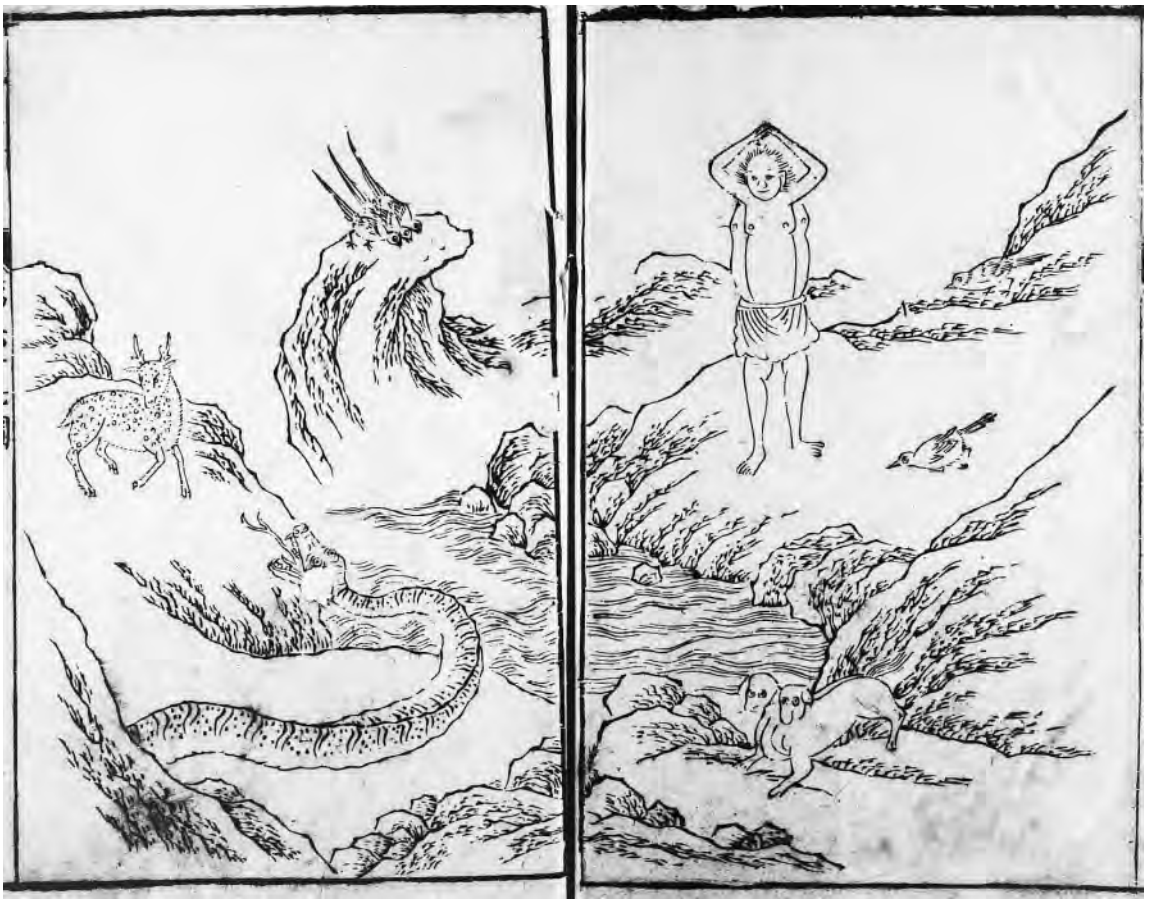


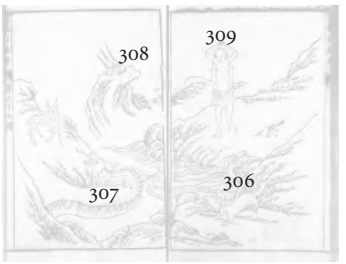


cut channels in the earth to drain o the floodwaters. During the Han dynasty Winged-Dragon was represented as killing Chiyou at the Wu Liang Shrine. Winged-Dragon is also recorded in chapter 17 in connection with the demoness Drought-Fury [see no. 332].[531]

PLATE LXVII

306. CHUTI 趎踢 *Beyond the Southern Sea, west of the Red River, and east of the Desert of Shifting Sands is a beast who has heads on both the right and left sides. It is called Chuti.*[532] This creature is described here in chapter 15 as dwelling in the Great Wilds to the south. In chapter 11, the Red River was said to originate at the southeast corner of Mount Kunlun in the western lands within the sea and flow into the Southern Sea, while the Desert of Shifting Sands begins at Bell Mountain to the northeast. As with Bingfeng [no. 235], the Chuti's two heads may signify hermaphroditism. Guo Pu noted that it comes from the Land of Yanming, a place otherwise unidentified, though Hao Yixing thought it might have been mentioned in a lost passage. Also found here is another combined creature, the Double-Double (Shuangshuang), actually three green beasts joined together, which the il-





lustrator of the Wu Renchen portraits represented as a creature with three heads.[533]

307. BLACK-SNAKES (XUANSHE) 玄蛇 *South of the Black River are the Black-Snakes that eat deer.*[534] 凶 Guo Pu noted that these resemble pythons found in south China, which are also known to devour deer.[535]

308. YELLOW-BIRDS (HUANGNIAO) 黃鳥 *There is a Shaman Mountain. On its western side are found the Yellow-Birds, the herbs of the Supreme God, and his eight chambers for purification. The Yellow-Birds control these Black-Snakes [no. 307] on Shaman Mountain.*[536] 凶 The graph for "yellow" (*huang*) is a homophone for the graph for "divine majesty" (*huang*), and Yuan Ke identified the Yellow-Birds as a kind of Fenghuang-Bird [no. 271] based on a gloss in the *Approaching Refinement.* These birds are apparently in charge of controlling the Black-Snakes to protect the Supreme God's herbs, which are probably Never-Dying Herbs. This place appears similar to several other mountains in the *Guideways* that shamans are said to climb to collect herbs.[537]

309. THE THREE-BODIES PEOPLE (SANSHENMIN) 三身民 *In the midst of the Great Wilds to the south is Rebel Mountain. It is where the Glorious River reaches its end. There are people here with three bodies. Thearch Jun and his wife Ehuang established this Land of the Three-Bodies People. They bear the surname Yao, eat millet, and command four kinds of birds. There is a square gorge with four corners, each of which connects to other rivers. On the north, it becomes the Black River, and on the south it leads to the Great Wilds. The one on the north is called the Gorge of Lesser Harmony, and the one on the south is called the Vertical Gorge. The latter is where Shun bathed.*[538] 凹 The Three-Bodies People were also recorded in chapter 7 [see no. 229]. Hao Yixing and Yuan Ke believed that it was Shun, rather than Thearch Jun, who begat the Three-Bodies People or that the two figures have been identified with each other here. Ehuang was the wife of Shun, and, as Guo Pu noted, Yao was the surname of Shun. One of the birds that the Three-Bodies People train is indicated to the right.[539]

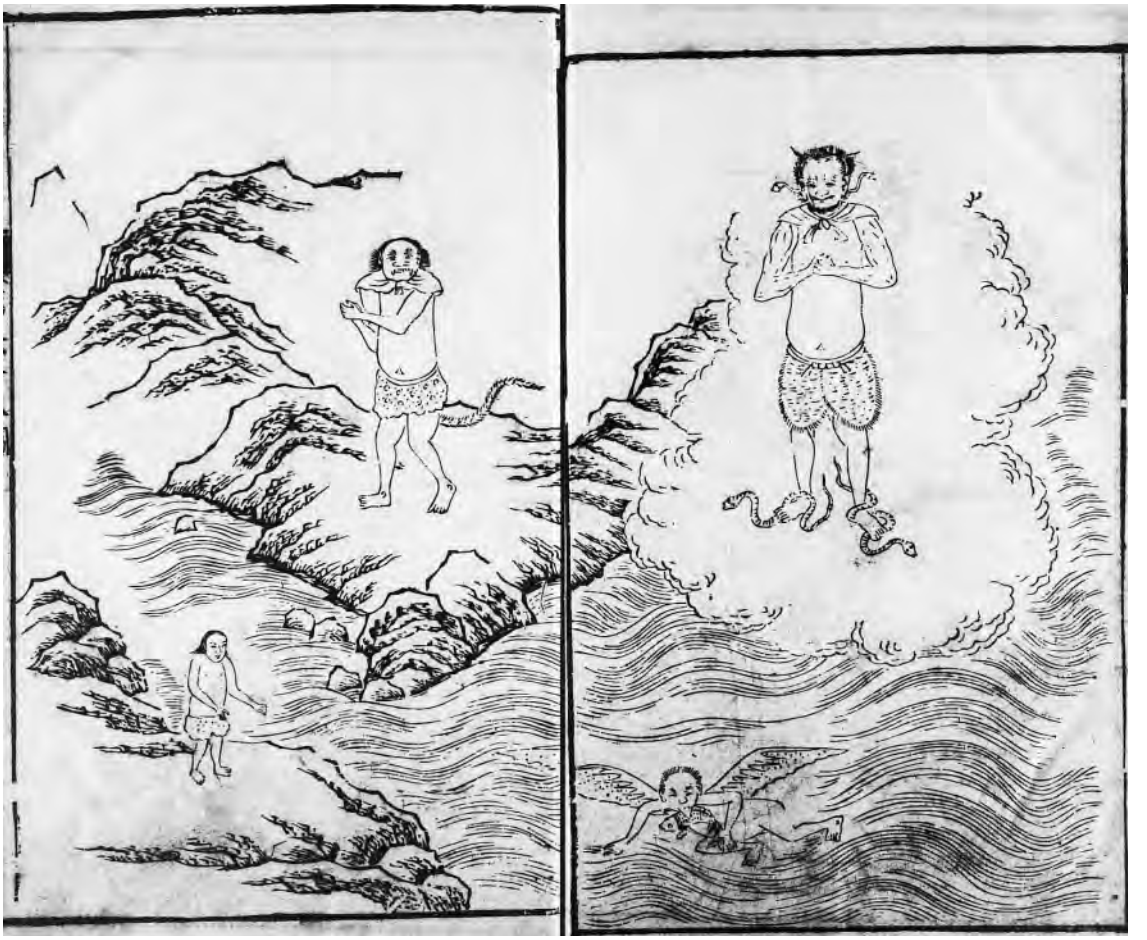
PLATE LXVIII

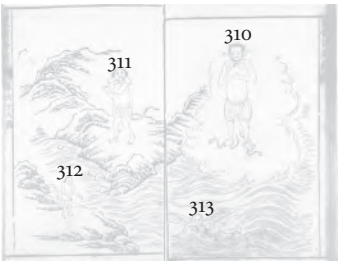
310. BUTINGHUYU 不廷胡余 *On an island in the Southern Sea dwells a god who has a human face, wears two green snakes through his ears, and treads on two red snakes. He is called Butinghuyu.*[540] 凹 This god has not been further identified. However, the graphs for *buting* may mean "rebel" or one who does not send tribute to the Chinese court, as in "Rebel Mountain" [see no. 309]. "Huyu" may be a word used by the ancient Ba People in modern Sichuan to denote foreigners.[541]

311. THE CORPSE OF ZUZHUANG (ZUZHUANG ZHI SHI) 祖狀之尸 *There is a person with squared-o teeth and a tiger's tail who is called the Corpse of Zuzhuang.*[542] 凹 The graph *zu* ("ancestor") in the name Zuzhuang (literally, "ancestor shape") is also believed by Mathieu to have denoted ancient phallic images worshiped for fertility and may indicate that this creature was a vestige of an ancient cult.[543]

312. JIAOYAO PEOPLE (JIAOYAOMIN) 焦僥民 *There are midgets whose land is called the Land of the Jiaoyao. They are surnamed Ji and eat fine grains.*[544] 凹 They were mentioned in chapter 6 as the Zhourao People [no. 225]. Guo Pu noted here that they are three feet high. In addition to the Tiny People [no. 298] in the previous chapter, this chapter records yet another midget people, the Mushroom People, but without providing any details.[545]

313. HUANTOU 驩頭 *In the middle of the Great Wilds to the west is someone named Huantou. Gun's wife, Tujing, had a son named Fire-Melt (Yanrong) who begat Huantou. Huatou has a human face with a bird's beak and feathers. He eats fish from the sea and uses his wings as sticks to walk. He consumes Qi-Berries, Black-Millet, Lu-Grain, and the poplar tree. There is a Land of Huantou here.*[546] 凹 Before this passage is a similar one stating that "there is someone with a bird's beak and wings who is catching fish in the sea." It is assumed to also refer to Huantou and probably describes an early illustration, which the artist followed here. The land and people of Huantou were





recorded earlier in chapter 6 [no. 217] but appear here again with the addition of a genealogy from Gun. The identification of the items in Huantou's choice of food remains obscure; however, the "Questions of Heaven" mentions that after Gun was revived by *wu*-shamans, they both went about sowing *ju,* written with a variant graph that means "black millet." Myths of Huantou became amalgamated with those about Danzhu as indicated by the alternate name for this land in chapter 6, "Huanzhu." As historicized in a number of early texts, Danzhu was the unworthy son of Yao who was passed over for the succession in favor of the more virtuous Shun, an outsider to the royal lineage. With the aid of the Three-Sprouts People [see nos. 71, 218, 335], he revolted but was defeated and either was killed or committed suicide. The Three-Sprouts People, who had advanced northward during the neolithic period, were exiled back to the distant south, where they are traditionally said to have become the Man-Barbarians, and Yao took pity on Danzhu's descendants and gave them their own land in the south. As Birrell has pointed out, the myth of Danzhu may have served to explain an archaic social practice of eliminating a competitor for tribal power

who advanced a stronger claim of kinship to the previous ruler. In the historical and philosophical texts of the Warring States period, however, the story of Shun also supported the ethical idea of promoting the worthy that was particularly championed by the *Ru*-Confucian school.[547]

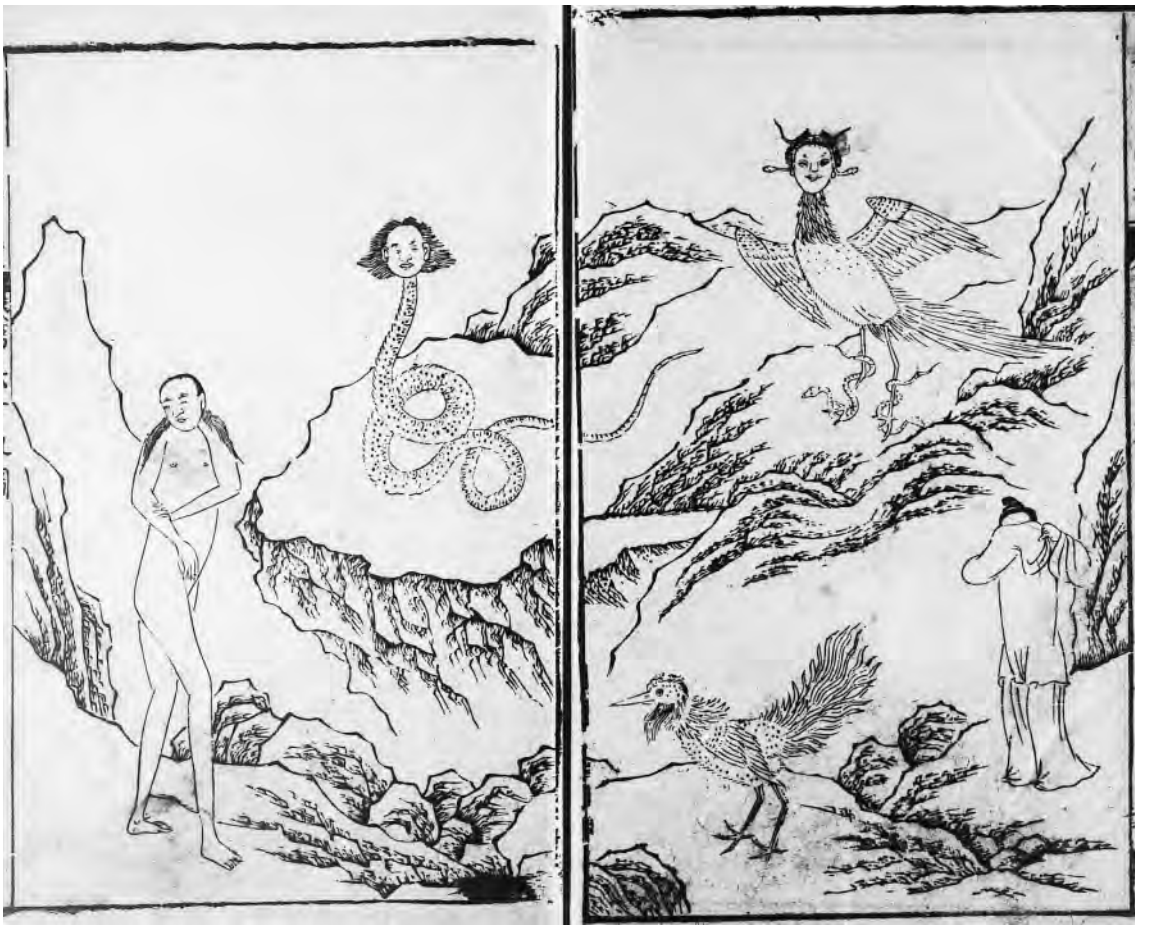
PLATE LXIX

314. GONGGONG 共工 *Beyond the Northwest Sea in a corner of the Great Wilds to the West is a mountain that is split called Cleft Mountain. Two yellow beasts guard it. There is a river called Winter-and-Summer River. West of the river stands Wet Mountain, and east of the river is Tent Mountain. There is a Mountain Where Yu Attacked the Land of Gonggong.*[548] 凶 Gonggong is an ancient god who may originally have been a personification of the Deluge, but he was transformed into a violent figure in later mythology. Perhaps he had been venerated under the Shang dynasty and was degraded under the succeeding Zhou. The *Guideways* only records the Mountain Where Yu Attacked the Land of Gonggong here in chapter 16, "Guideway through the Great Wilds to the West." The name of this mountain refers to a historicized myth in which the thearch Yao orders his official, the future thearch Yu the Great, to attack Gonggong while Yu is in the process of quelling the floods. The struggle results in the death of Gonggong's official, Minister Liu [no. 244]. Guo Pu quoted the *Explanations of Divinations in the Storehouse of All Things,* stating that Gongong has a human face, a snake's body, and red hair, a description the illustrator apparently followed. Cleft Mountain is the location of another myth set in an earlier period in which Gongong rebels against the thearch Zhuanxu and splits the mountain in the course of battle. According to versions preserved in the "Questions of Heaven" and the *Master of Huainan,* this destroyed a pillar of heaven, resulting in the sky with its heavenly bodies tilting toward the northwest, while the rivers and the silt they carried flowed into a cavity created in the southeast. Still other myths suggest that Gonggong was either exiled or executed by various thearchs.[549]

315. CRAZY-BIRD (KUANGNIAO) 狂鳥 *There is a five-colored bird with a comb named Crazy-Bird.*[550] 凶 Guo Pu identified this bird with the Dream-Bird (Mengniao) mentioned in *Approaching Refinement,* and Yuan Ke thought that it was another kind of Feng-Bird [nos. 271, 330].[551]

316. THE LONG-SHINS PEOPLE (CHANGJINGMIN) 長脛民 *Beyond the Northwestern Sea east of the Red River is the Land of the Long-Shins People.*[552] 凶 Guo Pu commented that their legs are thirty feet long, and Hao Yixing considered them identical to the Long-Thighs People [no. 240].[553]

317. THE CORPSE OF WOMAN CHOU (NÜCHOU ZHI SHI) 女丑之尸 *There is a person who wears green clothes and covers her face with her sleeve. Her name is the Corpse of Woman Chou.*[554] 凶 Woman Chou is a shamaness who was ritually exposed to end a drought. According to Yuan Ke, the ritual involved impersonating the demon Drought-Fury [no. 332]. In chapter 7, the shamaness covers her



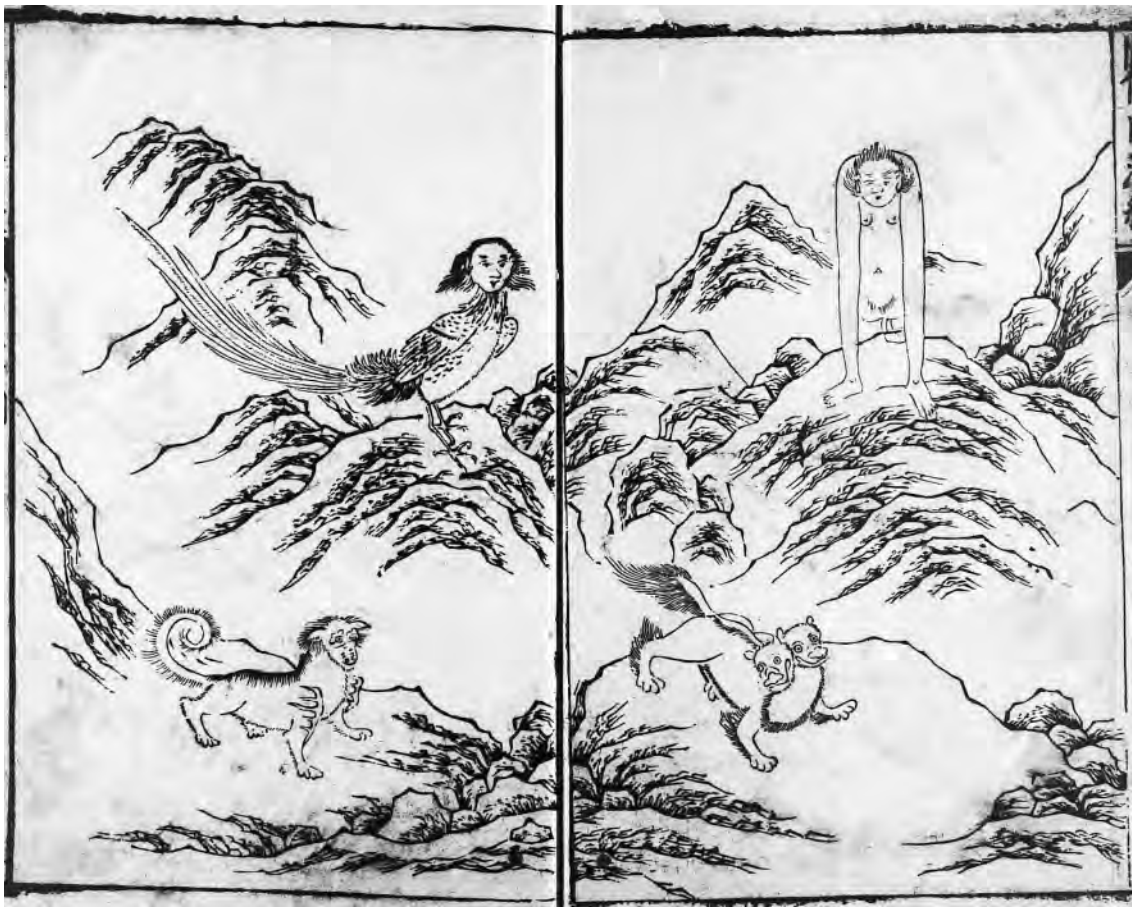


face with her right hand and is described as having been scorched to death on the summit of a mountain by the ten suns when they all came out together, probably during an ancient drought. In another earlier reference in chapter 14, she is said to possess a giant crab [see no. 291], although there she is located in the east.[555]

318. YANZI 弇茲 *On an island in the Western Sea is a god with a human face and a bird's body who wears two green snakes through his ears and treads on two red snakes. His name is Yanzi.*[556] Hao Yixing suggested that Yanzi appears to belong to the same category of sea and wind gods as Ape-Strength [no. 253].[557]

PLATE LXX

319. BLOW (XU) 噓 *In the midst of the Great Wilds to the West is a mountain named Sun-and-Moon Mountain, which is a pivot of heaven. The Wuju-Gateway-to-Heaven is where the sun and moon enter. There is a god here with a human face and*





no arms whose two feet are attached to his head. His name is Blow. Zhuanxu begat Old Child (Laotong), and Old Child begat Chong and Li. The Supreme God ordered Chong to elevate heaven so that it would stay above and Li to depress the earth so that it would remain below. On earth below Li begat Ye, who dwells at the Western Extremity, where he coordinates the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, and constellations.[558] This passage presents a number of textual difficulties. The meaning of the two graphs for Wuju is not clear. Most commentators and translators have understood the actions of Chong and Li to be based on the story recorded in the *Conversations from the Feudal States* in which the thearch Zhuanxu orders them to sever the connection between heaven and earth to prevent social chaos caused by the uncontrolled interactions between humans and gods. Yuan Ke further identified Ye as Blow, though this remains hypothetical. In early China, hereditary officials with responsibilites for astrology and calendrical calculation evolved into the grand historians, such as Sima Qian, who traced his own lineage back to Chong and Li. Although not specifically stated, Blow's name suggests that he may also be a wind god.[559]

320. FIVE-COLORED BIRD (WUSENIAO) 五色鳥 *There is Black-Cinnabar Mountain. There is a Five-Colored Bird with a human face and hair. There are also Green Wen-Birds and Yellow Ao-Birds here. That state will be destroyed whenever these green and yellow birds gather.*[560] 凶 Hao Yixing noted that the Ci-Birds and Zhan-Birds in chapter 7 are also green and yellow and are similarly omens of a state's destruction.[561]

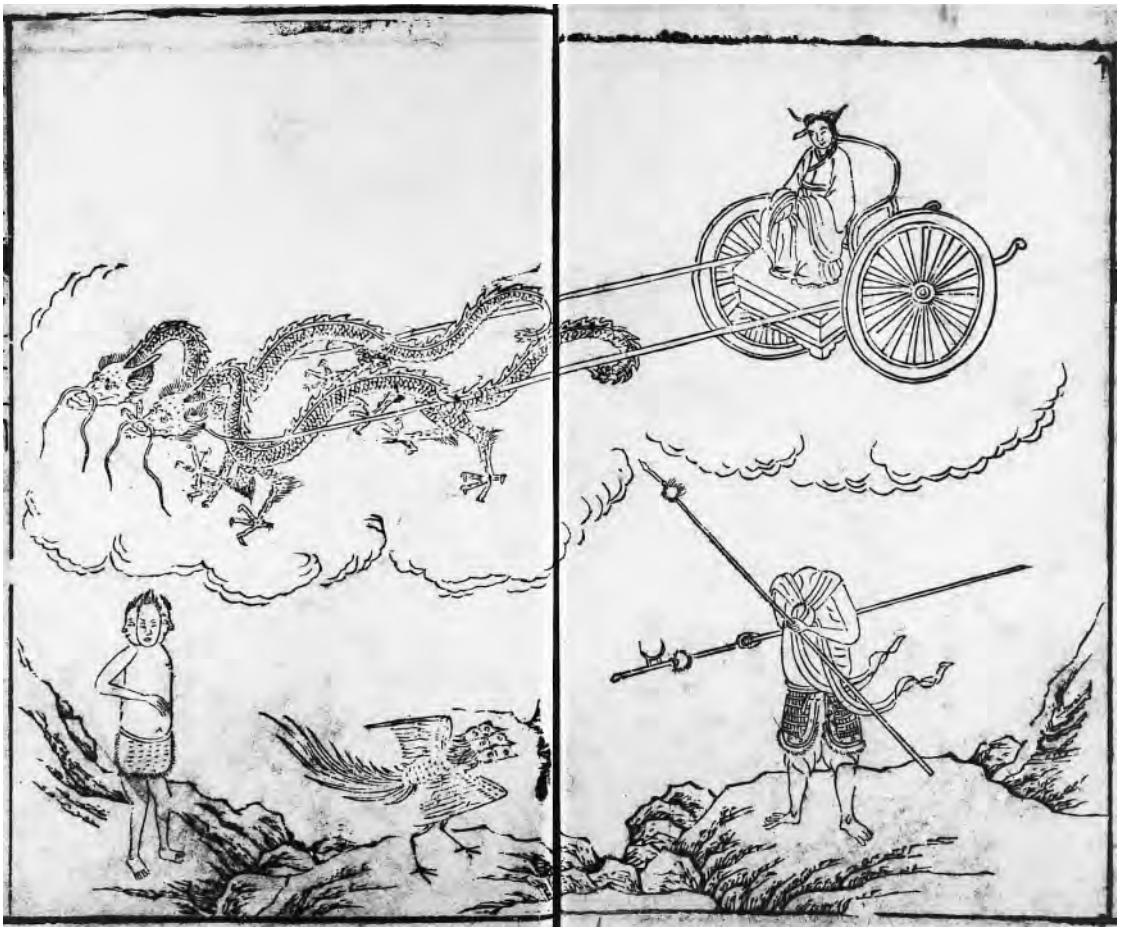
321. PINGPENG 屏蓬 *In the Great Wilds to the West is a mountain called Aoaoju where the sun and moon enter. There is a beast with heads to the left and right called the Pingpeng.*[562] 凶 Guo Pu considered the Pingpeng identical to the Bingfeng [no. 235], although the latter is described as having heads to the front and rear. Another two-headed creature is the Chuti [no. 306]. In such cases, the two heads may signify hermaphroditism.[563]

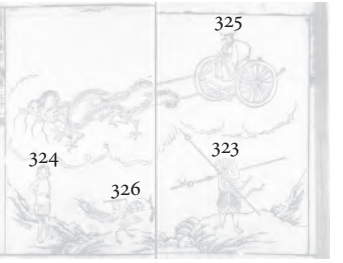
322. CELESTIAL-HOUND (TIANQUAN) 天犬 *There is a red dog called Celestial-Hound. There will be war wherever he descends.*[564] 凶 Another more benevolent creature, Celestial-Dog [no. 70], is mentioned in chapter 2 as dwelling at Dark Mountain. It resembles a wildcat with a white head, makes a sound like a cat, and guards against evil.[565]

PLATE LXXI

323. THE CORPSE OF GENG OF THE XIA (XIA GENG ZHI SHI) 夏耕之尸 *There is a person without a head who stands brandishing a halberd and shield named the Corpse of Geng of the Xia. Of old, when Tang the Victorious attacked King Jie of the Xia at Mount Zhang and defeated him, Geng was decapitated, and his head fell down in front of him. But Geng stood up without his head and fled from his calamity, finally finding refuge at Shaman Mountain.*[566] 凶 According to the traditional dating of *The Bamboo Annals,* Tang the Victorious conquered Jie in 1558 B.C.E. Guo Pu considered Geng to be similar to Xingtian [no. 233] as a vanquished hero who regenerated himself and continued his resistance.[567]

324. THE THREE-FACED MAN (SANMIAN ZHI REN) 三面之人 *In the Great Wilds to the West is a mountain called the Mountain of the Great Wilds where the sun and moon enter. There is a person here with three faces. He is a son of Zhuanxu with three faces and one arm. The Three-Faced Man never dies. This place is known as the Plain of the Great Wilds.*[568] 凶 Guo Pu noted specifically that it was his left arm that was missing. *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* recorded a "Land of the One-Armed, Three-Faced" once visited by Yu the Great. Guo Pu believed in the probability of such a person by comparing it to the passage later included in the "Treatise on the Eastern Yi-Barbarians" about the Governor of Xuantu, Wang Qi [see no. 226]. Upon arriving at the Land of the Woju (Ŏkcho) Tribe in modern northeast Korea, Wang learned from local elders about a shipwrecked sailor who had two faces. The man couldn't understand Chinese and later died of starvation.[569]





325. THE XIA SOVEREIGN KAI (QI) 夏后開(啓)

Beyond the Southwest Sea, south of the Red River and west of the Desert of Shifting Sands, is a man who wears two green snakes through his ears and rides on two dragons, named the Xia Sovereign Kai. Kai ascended to heaven three times as a guest and obtained "The Nine Arguments" (Jiubian) *and "The Nine Songs," which he brought down when he descended. At this place called the Plain of Celestial Majesty, two thousand ren [16,000 feet] high, he first sung "The Nine Summons"* (Jiuzhao).[570]

The son of Yu the Great, Kai is recorded earlier in chapter 7 [no. 228] by his original name, Qi. At the end of this chapter is a note by an unknown commentator indicating that Qi was changed to Kai to avoid the taboo personal name of Liu Qi, Emperor Jing of the Western Han (r. 157–141 B.C.E.). This note indicates that this chapter of the *Guideways,* and probably chapters 14 to 18 as a group, were more heavily edited after Liu Qi's reign. This passage about the Xia Sovereign Kai (Qi) also locates him elsewhere than the earlier one and presents varying details about his role as a culture hero.[571]

326. CHU-BIRD (CHUNIAO) 蠋鳥 *There is a green bird with a yellow body, red feet, and six heads called the Chu-Bird.*[572] 凹 Hao Yixing identified this bird with another six-headed bird [no. 273] described in chapter 11 as dwelling on a tree near Mount Kunlun south of the Beast-Facing-East [no. 269].

PLATE LXXII

327. THE HAIRY PEOPLE (MAOMIN) 毛民 *There is a Land of the Hairy People. The people are surnamed Yi, eat grains, and command four kinds of birds. Yu the Great begat Balancer of the Feudal States (Junguo), and Balancer begat Yicai who begat Tall-Breastplate (Xiujia). Tall-Breastplate killed Generous-Man (Chuoren), but the Supreme God took pity on Generous-Man and secretly established him in his own kingdom. This was the origin of the Hairy People.*[573] 凹 The Hairy People were earlier recorded in chapter 9 but located in the eastern lands beyond the sea [see no. 258]. Here, they are recorded in chapter 17 as dwelling in the Great Wilds to the North. Yi is one of the twelve surnames granted to sons of the Yellow Thearch, according to the legend preserved in the *Conversations from the Feudal States.*[574]

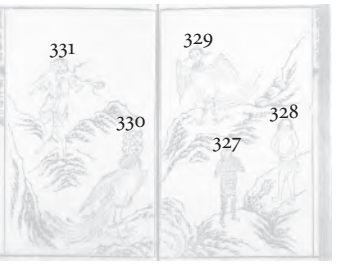
328. THE PENDANT-EARS PEOPLE (DANERMIN) 儋耳民 *There is a Land of the Pendant-Ears People. They are surnamed Ren, are the descendants of Ape-Howl (Yuhao), and eat grains.*[575] 凹 According to Guo Pu, their ears hang down to their shoulders and are also tatooed. Their surname, Ren, also indicates descent from the Yellow Thearch. Yuan Ke considered these people the same as the People Who Hold Up Their Ears [no. 246]. He also identified Ape-Howl with Yukuo, who was earlier said to be a god of the Eastern Sea [see no. 253].[576]

329. APE-STRENGTH (YUJIANG) 禺彊 *On an island in the Northern Sea is a god with a human face and a bird's body who wears two green snakes through his ears and treads on two red snakes. He is named Yujiang.*[577] 凹 Ape-Strength was also mentioned in chapter 8 [no. 253], where he is said to tread on two green snakes and in chapter 14, where Guo Pu considered him to be identical with Yujing, a son of Yuhao and god of the Northern Sea. The graph *yu* in both cases also signifies "ape."[578]

330. NINE-HEADED FENG-BIRD (JIUFENG) 九鳳 *In the Great Wilds to the North is a mountain called Celestial-Co er-at-the-Northern-Extremity. The sea flows northward into it. There is a god with nine heads, human faces, and a bird's body named Nine-Headed Feng-Bird.*[579] 凹 This creature appears to be a guardian of the mountain and, unlike other Feng-Birds, is considered a god.

331. STRONG-AND-GOOD (JIANGLIANG) 彊良 *There is also a god here who bites hold of snakes and grasps snakes. His form resembles a tiger's head on a human body with four hooves and long arms. His name is Jiangliang.*[580] 凹 Guo Pu noted that this god was also depicted in the *Illustrations of Frightening Animals.* Strong-and-Good continued to be an important god during the Han dynasty. Like





Thoroughly-Odd [nos. 83, 283], he was one of twelve gods invoked to combat demons at the Grand Exorcism and specifically devoured those vengeful spirits who had been publicly executed.[581]

PLATE LXXIII

332. DROUGHT-FURY, DAUGHTER OF THE YELLOW THEARCH (HUANGDINÜ BA) 黃帝女魃 *There is a person who wears green clothes named Drought-Fury, Daughter of the Yellow Thearch. When Chiyou fashioned weapons to war against the Yellow Thearch, the Yellow Thearch commanded Winged-Dragon [no. 305] to attack him on the Plain of Jizhou. Winged-Dragon accumulated water, but Chiyou asked the Lord of the Wind and the Master of Rain to unleash a great storm. The Yellow Thearch then sent down his divine daughter who was named Ba, and the rain ceased. Afterward, Chiyou was killed, but Drought-Fury was unable to ascend back to heaven. Wherever she dwells, there is no rain. Shujun reported this to the Supreme God, who then confined her north of the Red River with Shujun appointed*





as Ancestral-God of the Fields. Ba occasionally escapes, and anyone who wishes to expell her should utter, "O Goddess, get ye north!" Before doing so, clean out the water channels, and dredge the canals and irrigation ditches.[582] Drought-Fury is a figure widely found in popular religion who was ritually expelled from a locality su ering from lack of rain. Shamanesses such as the Corpse of Woman Chou [no. 317] who were ritually exposed to obtain rain may have been performing impersonations of Drought-Fury. This passage also contains a rare shamanistic curse to ward o Drought-Fury, which is probably an interpolation. Guo Pu noted that in his time such ceremonies were still held, and Drought-Fury continued to appear in later mythology as well. Hao Yixing recorded various later accounts that describe her as bald and as standing from one to three feet tall with additional eyes on her forehead and able to move as rapidly as the wind. The discovery of her body was even officially reported on a few occasions. The location of the critical battle between Chiyou and the Yellow Thearch varies according to the account. Guo Pu located the Plain of Jizhou somewhere in the Central Plains area as Jizhou

was traditionally one of the Nine Regions divided by Yu the Great and was centered around modern Hebei province. Shujun, also known as Shangjun, is mentioned elsewhere in the *Guideways* as a grandson of Lord Millet who was buried with the thearch Shun at the Plain of the Green Paulownia Trees. An Ancestor-God of the Fields who bestows rain is also mentioned in the poem "The Big Field" (*Datian*) in the *Book of Songs.*[583]

333. THE ONE-EYED PEOPLE (YIMUMIN) 一目民 *There are people with one eye in the middle of their faces. According to another version, they are surnamed Wei and are the descendants of Lesser-Brilliance. They eat grains.*[584] 凹 Hao Yixing identified these people with the One-Eyed People [no. 242] mentioned in chapter 8. Yuan Ke, however, identified them with the Demon People [no. 280] in chapter 12 based on the homophony between the surname Wei and the word *gui* ("demon").[585]

334. QUANRONG 犬戎 *There is the Land of the Dog People. There is a god here with a human face and a dog's body named Quanrong.*[586] 凹 The Quanrong tribe, earlier translated here as the Dog People [no. 278], were recorded in chapter 12. They are mentioned again in this chapter several passages before this one, where they are described as descendants of the Yellow Thearch and as hermaphrodites who are also known as the White-Dogs. This passage is then followed by the mention of another figure, the Corpse of King Xuan of the Rong, who is a headless red beast with the form of a horse. Although the creature here named Quanrong is identified as a god, Hao Yixing considered this an error and believed that he is human and one of the Dog People. Mathieu, on the other hand, pointed out that his hybrid form is consistent with that of other gods.[587]

335. THE SPROUTS-PEOPLE (MIAOMIN) 苗民 *Beyond the Northwestern Sea and north of the Black River are people who have wings called the Sprouts-People. Zhuanxu begat Huantou [no. 313], and Huantou begat the Sprouts-People. The Sprouts People are surnamed Li and eat meat.*[588] 凹 Based on their surname, they are also descendants of the Yellow Thearch. According to Guo Pu, they are the same as the Three-Sprouts People [see nos. 71, 218, 313] allied with Huantou, whose land is recorded in chapter 6; however, there they are located in the distant south, where they were banished for rebelling against the Yellow Thearch. Thus, the passage here probably reflects a conflation of myths.[589]

336. TORCH-DRAGON (ZHULONG) 燭龍 *Beyond the Northwestern Sea and north of the Red River is Mount Zhangwei. There is a god here with a human face and a snake's body that is red. His eye is vertical. When he closes it to sleep, it becomes night, and when he opens it to gaze, it becomes day. He neither eats nor sleeps nor breathes, but he can summon the wind and rain. He illuminates the ninefold darkness. This is Torch-Dragon.*[590] 凹 Torch-Dragon is also mentioned in chapter 8 as Torch-Darkness [see no. 55] but is said to dwell at the foot of Bell Mountain, where in addition his exhaling causes winter, his inhaling causes summer, and his breathing causes the wind.[591]





PLATE LXXIV

337. HAN LIU 韓流 *East of the Desert of Shifting Sands and west of the Black River lies the Land of the Morning Clouds and the Land of the Overseer of Hogs. Lei Zu, wife of the Yellow Thearch, gave birth to Changyi, and Changyi descended to dwell at the Ruo River. He begat Han Liu. Han Liu has a long head, acute ears, a human face, a pig's snout, the body of a Lin, thighs as thick as cartwheels, and pig's feet. He married a daughter of Zhuo named Lady E (Enü), who gave birth to the thearch Zhuanxu.*[592] 凹 Han Liu is recorded in the final chapter, chapter 18, "Lands within the Seas." The illustrator apparently read the graph *lin* referring to an auspicious beast as the homophone *lin* ("scales") and thus depicted him with a scaly body.[593]

338. THE BIRD TRIBE (NIAOSHI) 鳥氏 *There is the Land of the Supervisor of Salt. There is a people dwelling here with a bird's head called the Bird Tribe.*[594] 凹 In some later versions of this passage, the Land of the Supervisor

of Salt is written as the Land of the Chief Supervisor and is said to be in the Western Sea. Though they are not necessarily related, commentators have identified the Bird Tribe with peoples of similar features mentioned in other texts such as the Bird People and the Bird Yi-Barbarians, the latter generally located in the east or northeast.[595]

339. THE GIANTS OF GAN (GANJUREN) 贛巨人 *In the South dwell the Giants of Gan. They have human faces, long arms, a black body, hair, and feet turned backward. When they see people laughing, they also laugh, their lips covering their faces. That is when their captives can flee.*[596] 凹 Guo Pu identified these giants with the similarly described Xiaoyang People [no. 261]. Hao Yixing considered the graph *bi* ("arm") a mistake for *chun* ("lips") so that the description should read "long lips" instead of "long arms." However, the illustrator clearly followed the existing text.[597]

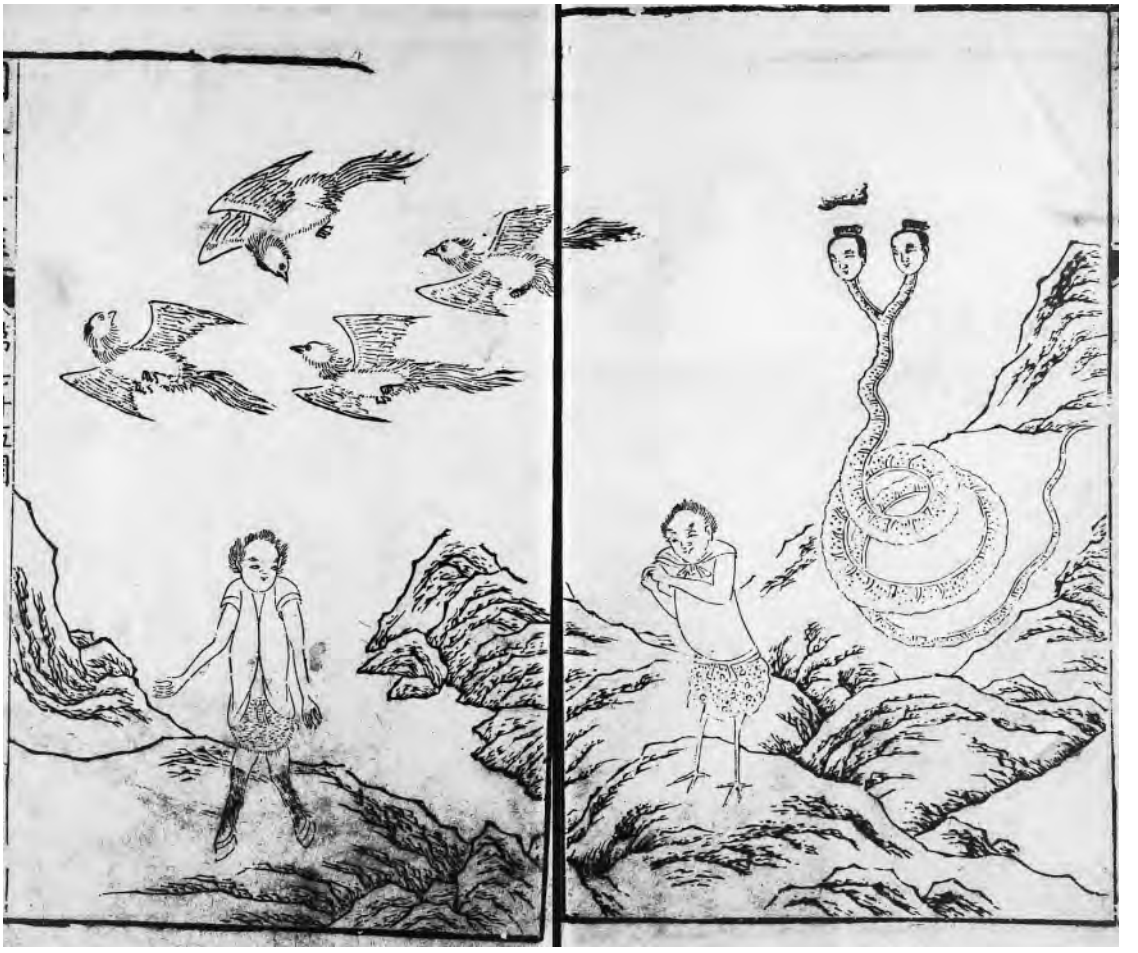
340. THE BLACK PEOPLE (HEIREN) 黑人 *There are also Black People dwelling in the south that have a tiger's head and bird's feet. They grasp snakes that they are eating in both their hands.*[598] 凹 The latter statement probably indicates an early illustration.

PLATE LXXV

341. THE YING PEOPLE (YINGMIN) 嬴民 *There are the Ying People who have bird's feet.*[599] 凹 These people are not otherwise described or commented upon, though Mathieu noted that Ying is the surname of the thearch Lesser-Brilliance.[600]

342. YANWEI 延維 *There is a god here in the south with a human head and a snake's body as long as a carriage shaft. He has heads on his left and right side and wears a purple robe and felt hats. His name is Yanwei. A ruler who can encounter Yanwei and sacrifice food to him will dominate the world.*[601] 凹 Yanwei is a god who dwells beyond the Sprouts-People [no. 335], according to the text, and may be their ancestral spirit. Guo Pu considered him identical to a demon of the lake known as Wei-Snake mentioned in a fable in the "Mastering Life" chapter of the *Master Zhuang.* There Wei-Snake is described as the god of a large lake who is as large as a wheel hub and as long as a carriage shaft and wears a purple robe and a vermillion hat. He detests the sounds of thunder and of carriages, sounds that cause him to stand up and raise his head(s). One day, Duke Huan of Qi sees a demon while hunting in a marsh and falls ill. He recovers when he realizes that he has seen Wei-Snake, and it is explained to him that this means he will become ruler over the other feudal states. Yuan Ke cited the hypothesis of Wen Yiduo that the Yanwei/Wei-Snake figure evolved into the Fuxi and Nüwa motif in Han painting and was the ancestral spirit of the Sprouts Tribe.[602]

343. SHADE-BIRDS (YINIAO) 翳鳥 *Within the Northern Sea is Snake Mountain, where the Snake River emanates and flows eastward into the sea. There are five-colored birds who can overshadow an entire township when they fly by. They are called Shade-Birds.*[603] 凹 Guo Pu considered these birds a variety of Feng-Bird [nos. 271, 330]. He also noted that five-colored birds, which he identified as Shade-Birds, were





recorded as flying over the capital of Shu (modern Chengdu, Sichuan) in 65 B.C.E. during the reign of Emperor Xuan of the Western Han. A later description of these birds states that when they fly, they blot out the sun.[604]

344. THE DINGLING PEOPLE (DINGLINGMIN) 釘靈民 *There is a Land of the Dingling People. Its people have hairy legs below their knees as well as horse hooves. They are adept at running.*[605] 凹 According to the *Divine Mists of Poetry* quoted by Guo Pu, they can run three hundred *li* in a single day. A later account called this place the Land of the Horse-Calves People and added that the people make a sound like geese and ducks.[606]

PLATE LXXVI

345. YU THE GREAT 禹 *The waters of the Deluge swelled up to heaven. Gun stole the Expanding Soil of the Supreme God Di to dam up the waters of the Deluge without*




345

awaiting the command from Di. Di ordered Zhurong [no. 227] to execute Gun at the altar at Feather Mountain. Afterward, Gun gave birth to Yu the Great. Di then commanded Yu to complete the earthworks. He was thus able to define the Nine Provinces.[607] This final passage in the text pays tribute to Yu the Great, founder of the Xia Dynasty. According to several myths, Yu was born from the belly of Gun three years after Gun was executed at Feather Mountain. The latter was also said to have transformed into a yellow bear or a yellow dragon. Liu Xin in his preface stated that:

> Yu spent four years notching trees along the mountains as he fixed the courses of the great rivers by the tall mountains. Yi and Boyi were in charge of driving out the birds and beasts, naming the mountains and rivers, classifying the plants and trees, and distinguishing the features of watery bodies and land masses. The Four Marchmounts assisted them as they traveled throughout the four directions to where men seldom venture on foot and boats and carriages rarely reach. Within, they distinguished the mountains of the five directions and beyond, they identified the seas in the eight directions. They recorded rare treasures and extraordinary objects, things living in foreign places, the locations on land and sea of plants and trees, birds and beasts, insects, Lin-Beasts and Feng-Birds [nos. 271, 330], wherever auspicious omens hide themselves, and, beyond the Four Seas, the lands in far-o regions and the strange peoples there. Yu defined the Nine Provinces and determined which products were to be submitted as tribute. Yi and the others classified things into beneficial and harmful, writing down the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* as a record of matters pertaining to sages and worthies, all clearly set down in ancient graphs.

In this final illustration, Yu the Great appears in the upper right inspecting workers who are cutting a channel to drain the floodwaters. To the left is an official holding a sword, probably either Yi or Boyi, though neither appears in the text of the *Guideways.* Like plate I, this plate was also eliminated from later editions.[608]

Notes

Introduction

1. The *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 山海經 has been commonly translated as the *Classic of Mountains and Seas,* which assumes that the graph *jing* 經 in the title means "classic." However, it was never canonized by any early intellectual or religious tradition, and most bibliographers classified it as either a geographical work or later as a collection of fictionalized "minor narratives" 小說. In the sixteenth century, the commentator Wang Chongqing 王崇慶 (1484–1565) argued that the graph *jing* in the title is better understood as "route" or, as I have translated, "guideway." Recently, this translation has been further elaborated by the modern commentator Yuan Ke 袁珂 (1916–) based on internal evidence and the predominant use of the term in other early Chinese texts. See Y181–83; F4. The origin of the Chinese title *Shanhaijing* remains unknown. The first mention of an early form of the text in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (c. 145–c. 86 B.C.E.) *Historical Records* 史記 (c. 90 B.C.E.) included *jing* in the title (see *Shiji* [1975 ed.] 10:3179); significantly, he did not use this graph elsewhere when referring to Confucian texts already canonized as "classics." While *jing* meaning "book" appears as early as the *Master Mo* 墨子 (c. late 5th–3rd cent. B.C.E.), especially after the canonization of the Confucian classics in the Western Han, it became fashionable to append *jing* meaning "classic" or "book" to a variety of texts for which special claims of authority were made. Thus, in the minds of later Chinese editors and readers, it was more natural to interpret the graph as "classic," an assumption reinforced by the antiquity of the text. It is also worth noting that, following the *Guideways,* other texts were compiled based on geographical routes that also employed *jing* in the title such as the *Guide to Waterways* 水經 (Han–Three Kingdoms) and the *Guideways to Gods and Anomalies* 神異經 (late Han–4th cent. C.E.). The former was later expanded by Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527) into the monumental *Guide to Waterways with Commentary* 水經注 (early 6th cent.), often similarly translated as the *Water Classic.* For a further discussion of *jing* as originally meaning "something running throughout an area and serving to define or regulate it," see Lewis (1999), 297–302.

2. *Guanzi* 51 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:276). For a brief discussion of the hegemonic career of the historical Duke Huan and the role of Guan Zhong, see Hsu (1999), 553–57.

3. *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 220. The commentator Guo Pu (276–324) later defined the use of *guai* in the *Guideways* as follows: "Whenever the term '*guai*' appears, it always denotes that which is bizarre, unique, and out of the ordinary in appearance" (H1:2a).

4. See *Shizi* 2:3b (*Sbby* ed.). A number of legends about King Yan of Xu 徐偃王 circulated through the centuries, and some still survive in modern Zhejiang and Fujian provinces. The king was evidently a bit of a strange creature himself, for he was said to have had eyes that could not look down and his body was said to contain muscle but no bones. According to historical sources, he ruled the state of Xu in the northwest of modern Jiangsu during the time of King Mu of the Western Zhou (r. 956–918 B.C.E.) and formed a confederation of thirty-six other states that stretched from modern Hubei in the area later considered within the state of Chu to modern Shandong, where the Eastern Yi-Barbarians 東夷 predominated. This alliance threatened the royal

Zhou capital in 942 B.C.E. and forced King Mu to recognize King Yan's influence. Since both Xu and the confederation were regarded as eastern barbarians di erent from the Huaxia 華夏 peoples of the Central Plains area, the legends associating him with strange creatures and suggesting that he was one himself may reflect this ethnic bias. Other legends preserved in the later anomaly account *Record of Manifold Curiosities* 博物志 (3rd cent.) state that he was born from an egg that was rescued by a dog and that he was a humane ruler who fled with thousands of his people rather than defend himself against Chu, which King Mu had ordered to attack him. However, according to another tradition, he was said to have reigned in the seventh century B.C.E. For a historical account of him, see Shaughnessy (1999), 323–25. For various legends, see Yuan, ed., *Zhongguo shenhua chuanshuo cidian* (1985), 322–23; also B125–27.

5. See *Lunyu* 7 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2483): "The Master did not speak of strange phenomena, the use of force, rebellions, or the gods." Like their counterparts in ancient Greece, some of the important Chinese philosophers and historians were critical of mythology and popular religious beliefs, while others, particularly the school of Mo Di 墨翟 (c. 479–381 B.C.E.), advocated continued reverence for gods and demons. Even the early Confucians, however, promoted ritual sacrifices, sacred dances, divination, and elaborate funerals. Confucius was also quoted as urging his students to "demonstrate respect for demons and gods so as to keep them at a distance" (*Lunyu* 6 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2479]) as an intelligent means of governing the people.

6. See the comprehensive reinterpretation of ancient Chinese religion in Poo (1998), which argues that the conventional distinction between "official" and "popular" is less useful than recognizing a broader "personal religion" in which most believers regardless of status or ideology were motivated by concerns of personal welfare. Pages 92–101 specifically look at the *Guideways* in terms of its reflections of popular beliefs.

7. See, for example, the story dated 541 B.C.E. about an illness of Duke Ping of Jin 晉平公 (r. 557–32 B.C.E.) in *Zuo's Narratives to the Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋左傳 (c. late 4th cent. B.C.E.). A diviner identifies the demonic cause as the gods Shichen 實沈 and Taitai 臺駘, but neither he nor the court scribe-astrologer can provide any further information about their identities. Finally, a visiting aristocrat, Zichan of Zheng 鄭子產 (fl. mid-6th cent. B.C.E.), is able to o er details of their genealogies and characters. This not only reveals the professional cooperation between spirit-mediums and officials in identifying strange creatures but also the difficulty that both had in this case in providing information about two local gods (*Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Zhaogong* 1 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2023–24]; translated in Legge [1966 ed.] 5:580).

8. Liu Xin (Xiu) 劉歆(秀), "Memorial upon Submitting the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*" 上山海經表(H: *Xulu* 敘錄: 1b; Y477).

9. Juan Yuan 阮元, "Preface to the Printed Edition of the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Commentaries*" 刻山海經箋疏序 (H: *Ruan xu* 阮序: 1a).

10. Hu, *Sibu zheng'e.* In *Shaoshishanfang bicong* 16:3a (*Skqs* ed., 886:332).

11. Ji (1971 ed.) 3:2939.

12. Yuan, foreword (Bxii).

13. Zheng (1933), 127.

14. Kalgren (1946), 269.

15. Mathieu, "Introduction à l'étude de la mythologie de la Chine ancienne: considérations théoriques et historiques" (M:c).

16. Schi eler (1980), 41.

17. Jiang (1966 ed.), 41.

18. Fracasso (1983), 661.

19. Lu Xun (1973 ed.), 9. See also note 27.

20. Some of the complex issues surrounding the origins and transmission of the text have been summarized in FXIII–XXXII and in Fracasso (1993), 359–61. See Meng (1962), Yuan Ke (1978, 1986), and Yuan Xingpei (1979) for representative studies and opinions.

21. See Harper (1999) for a more detailed definition of this area of knowledge primarily based on recently discovered archaeological texts.

22. These and other traditional dates for the reigns of the ancient thearchs are based on the chronology of *The Bamboo Annals* 竹書紀年 (c. 299 B.C.E.), which has been translated in Legge (1966 ed.) 3:105–83. None of these is reliable, but they are conventional and used in the absence

of better data. Regarding Yu the Great, his historical existence and that of the Xia dynasty remain controversial and are as yet unconfirmed by indisputable archaeological evidence. Some modern scholars would identify the Erlitou period and the area around modern Luoyang, Henan, as a plausible time and place for the Xia. There is, however, a wealth of mythology about him, and the traditional Chinese historical view regarded him as a sage ruler. *The Bamboo Annals* notes that he was actually in power for forty-five years, although during most of these, his predecessor Shun was alive. Hence, his own reign as first emperor of the Xia is only counted as eight years. For translations of various myths about Yu, see B9 passim (*Zhushu jinian* 1 [*Sbck* ed., 1:10–11]; Legge 3:117–18).

23. *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Xuangong* 3 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1868). All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. For other translations, see Legge (1966 ed.) 5:293, Watson (1989), 82, and B153–55. This passage is also discussed in Jiang (1934), 6–12 and Campany (1996), 102–4.

24. The myth of Yu's Nine Bronze Vessels as it evolved through the Han dynasty has been studied in Tang (1979), while a further interpretation is presented in Chang (1983), 95–101. For a recent view of the vessels as symbolic of the monumental impulse in early Chinese art, see Wu (1995), 4–15.

25. For the earliest extant statement of this view, see the preface by the Han dynasty court bibliographer Liu Xin (Xiu) 劉歆(秀, 46 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) in 6 B.C.E., "Memorial upon Submitting the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*" 上山海經表:

> The *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* appeared during the time of the thearchs Yao 堯 [trad. r. 2145–2046 B.C.E] and Shun 舜 [trad. r. 2042–1993 B.C.E.]. In antiquity, the floodwaters of the Deluge inundated China and the common people lost their homes, fleeing to inaccessible corners of hills and mountains or building nest-like dwellings in trees. Gun 鯀 failed to accomplish his mission of curbing the floods so the thearch Yao appointed Yu the Great to succeed him. Yu spent four years notching trees through the mountains and determining the locations of the high mountains and the courses of the great rivers. Yi 益 and Boyi 伯翳 were responsible for clearing out the birds and beasts, naming the mountains and rivers, classifying the plants and trees, and distinguishing the salient features of the watery bodies and the landforms. The four sacred peaks aided them as they circulated through the four directions to places where men, boats, and carriages rarely reach. In the inner regions, they distinguished the mountains in the five directions while in the outer regions, they di erentiated the seas of the eight directions. They recorded the treasures and rare objects, the products of these strange places as well as where plants, trees, birds, beasts, insects, fish, and Feng-Birds are found on land and water together with hidden omens and strange tribes dwelling in distant lands beyond the four seas. Yu the Great defined the nine provinces and obtained tribute from each territory while Yi and the others classified these things according to whether they were beneficial or harmful, compiling the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas* (H:*Xulu*:1ab).

The original text has been reprinted in Y477–78 and also translated in Eitel (1888) and in S383–85.

In addition to an explicit statement attributed to Yu about his travels recorded in the *Master Guan* and interpolated at the end of chapter 5 (H5:53b–54a); see no. 214. Another reference to Yu in the "Seeking Out People" chapter of *The Compendium of Mr. Lü* 呂氏春秋：求人篇 (c. 239 B.C.E.) also seems especially to connect him with the content of the *Guideways.* This passage notes his travels to the lands of various foreign tribes, each of which is also recorded in the *Guideways.* This fact would suggest that Yu was already considered the author of the *Guideways* in the late Warring States period. The association of Yu the Great with other cosmographies can be seen from a fragment of a pre-Qin text, the *Basic Annals of Yu* 禹本紀 cited in Sima Qian's *Historial Records.* This text contains a description of Mount Kunlun similar to the format of the *Guideways* and is briefly discussed in Campany (1996), 36–37 (*Guanzi* 77 [*Zzjc* ed., 5:382]; *Lüshi chunqiu* 22 [*Zzjc* ed., 6:292]).

26. For a study of the Paces of Yu 禹步, which is still performed by Daoist priests today, see Andersen (1989–1990); also Granet (1925). Harper (1999), 872–73, discusses the "Promptuary of Yu" 禹須臾 among the Shuihudi 睡虎地 almanacs buried in Yunmeng, Hubei, c. 217 B.C.E. that includes a ritual performed before traveling outside a city. He also notes that the Paces of Yu was

employed for both traveling and medical exorcism and assumes that by this time the elite were also capable of performing these occult rituals.

27. Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), then a professor of Chinese literature at Beijing University, was one of the first modern scholars to recognize the value of the *Guideways* as a source of mythology in his lectures later published in 1923 as *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* 中國小說史略, although his view that it constituted the origins of Chinese fiction has been largely abandoned. Yuan Ke's arguments on the general origins of the text and the special role traditionally ascribed to Yu the Great are persuasive, although some of his specific comments on pp. 238–40 concerning the supposed evolution of the text from Yu's Nine Bronze Vessels are less so. See Lu (1973 ed.), chap. 2; Yuan (1986).

28. For discussions of the recently discovered daybooks, most of which date from the late third century B.C.E., see Harper (1985, 1997, 1999); also Poo (1998), 69–92.

29. The term "*wu*-shaman" 巫 is used here advisedly for want of a more accurate designation of an unorganized class of spirit-mediums that long existed in almost every traditional Chinese community and whose practices reflected considerable local variations. These shamans generally gained their status either through inheritance or by demonstrating personal charisma, and scattered exponents of these techniques can still be found today. More than a millennium after the Shang, the dictionary *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* 說文解字 (100 C.E.) glossed *wu* as *zhu* 祝 or "priest-invocator," a temple ritual official who in other texts is distinguished from the *wu*-shamans in status and function. It also considered *wu* a derivation of a homophonic pictograph *wu* 舞 ("dance"), said to represent the fluttering sleeves of female shamans as they danced to invoke the gods to descend. The lexicographer Xu Shen 許愼 (c. 55–c. 149 C.E.) here followed the distinction of *wu* as female and *xi* 覡 as male found in the *Conversations from the Feudal States* 國語 (late 5th–4th cent. B.C.E.). He also paraphrased the *Conversations* by defining *xi* as "those who are capable of maintaining a reverential attitude in serving the gods." Later, the commentator Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920–974) added that *xi* was written with the radical *jian/xian* 見 ("to see/manifest"), because they were capable of seeing or manifesting these gods. In most Chinese texts, however, *wu* has usually referred generically to shamans of both sexes. See *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 100. For a discussion of *wu*-shamans recorded in the *Guideways,* see below under "The Typology of the Strange: *Wu*-shamans," 51–53.

30. *Guoyu* 18: *Chuyu* 2 (1978 ed., 2:559–60). For an interpretation of this passage as indicating the central role of shamanism in early Chinese politics, see Chang (1983), 44–45.

31. In the modern period, a number of Chinese scholars, notably Chen, "Shangdai" (1936), and Chang (1981, 1983) have espoused the view that the *wu* were shamans who, with the aid of strange creatures, ascended to heaven to communicate with gods and who also engaged in other ecstatic practices on earth, especially those involving song and dance. However, other scholars, principally Keightley (1983) have pointed out the di erences between the *wu* as recorded in late-Shang-dynasty oracle-bone inscriptions and the Central and Northern Asian shamans studied by Mircea Eliade in *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton, 1964), in which he considered ecstatic communication their definitive characteristic. More recently, Keightley (1995, 133) has suggested that the practices of the *wu* could be regarded as "shamanism with Chinese characteristics," while noting that much work needs to be done to identify these characteristics, particularly for the Neolithic and Shang periods. More evidence is available from the Eastern Zhou dynasty, however, especially from the *Guideways* itself, providing a broader indication of the range of the activities of the *wu.* This suggests that they may not have been fundamentally di erent from their cultural neighbors. Another view advanced by Mair (1990) based on archaeological and linguistic evidence argues that some of the *wu* of the Shang and Western Zhou periods were non-Chinese "europoids" and that the Archaic Sinitic pronounciation, "*m^{y}ag," is connected to the Ancient Persian "maguš," indicating a class of "magicians" found across the Eurasian continent. For some representative studies of *wu*-shamans, see Chan (1972), Chang (1976, 1981, 1983), Chen (1936), Chow (1978), de Groot (1892–1910) 6:2:1187–1242, Hayashi (1967, 1972), Hu (1956), Keightley (1983, 1989, 1995), Liang (1989), Schafer (1951), Von Falkenhausen (1995), and Zhou (1979). The role of ecstatic practitioners throughout the history of Chinese popular religion has also been explored in Paper (1995). The relationship between *wu*-shamans and the *Guideways* is specifically considered in Cheng (1943), Yuan Ke (1986), and Yuan Xingpei (1979). For surveys of the current

state of the field of early Chinese religion, see the various essays on each period in Overmeyer et al. (1995). For the role of shamans in late Chu religion, see Major (1999), 135–39.

32. The process whereby intellectuals during the Warring States, Qin, and Han periods constructed new forms of political authority through written texts has been extensively studied in Lewis (1999).

33. Guan Yifu, in his response to King Zhao of Chu, also discussed the government establishment in charge of sacred a airs in antiquity and subordinated *xi*- and *wu*-shamans to higher ritual officials, ranking them below *zhu*-priests 祝 in charge of ceremonial a airs, *zong*-scribes 宗 in charge of textual matters such as genealogy, and, finally, the Five Administrators 五官. However, this system probably reflects a Warring States ideal proposed by intellectuals that for rhetorical purposes was transferred back into mythological time, though perhaps with some basis in historical reality. Guan also suggested that this earlier political structure weakened when high-ranking families began to sacrifice to and invoke the higher gods on their own. The tension between these superior ritual officials and *wu*-shamans can be seen in an incident recorded in the "Understanding Demons" chapter of the *Master Mo* 墨子：明鬼 (late 5th to late 3rd cent. B.C.E.). During the time of Duke Wen of Song 宋文公 (r. 610–589 B.C.E.), Guangu 觀辜, identified by commentators as a *zhu*-priest at the state ancestral temple, was murdered by a figure identified as a *wu*-shaman who was enraged at Guangu's failure to follow the proper form in ritual sacrifices. The text clearly implies that the shaman was possessed and speaking righteously on behalf of the gods, while the official is portrayed as arrogant and heedless of the interests of the duke, then still a child. See *Mozi jiangu* 31 (*Zzjc* ed., 4:143); translated in Watson (1963), 98.

Another source indicating the superior position of higher ritual officials over *wu*-shamans is the *Government Organization of the Zhou Dynasty* 周禮 (late Warring States period). Though presenting an idealized view of the early Zhou central government, it probably reflects a certain view of *wu* current during the late Warring States period. The text di erentiates between *wu* and higher ritual officials whose ranks are based on hereditary privilege. The majority of *wu* employed in the Ministry of Rites 春官 are only ad hoc appointments and overseen by non-*wu* administrators in the Division of Priests 大祝 headed by someone of the Lower Magnate 下大夫 rank. Although the text stipulates that a few of the most educated and efficacious *wu* may become ennobled, most remain outside the normal bureaucratic system. They perform at certain public functions such as sacrifices to the gods of mountains and rivers, the annual Great Exorcism 大儺, anointments, healing rituals, funerals, and prayers to relieve droughts and other calamities, carrying out their primary function of communicating with the gods by going into shamanistic trances. See Von Falkenhausen (1995). During the Han, the political position of the *wu* continued to deteriorate under pressure from the Confucian officials until by the latter part of the Eastern Han dynasty, *wu* were proscribed from taking the official examinations. For a study of the final political decline of the *wu* under the Han, see Lin (1989).

34. For an essay on early Chinese philosophical attitudes toward gods and demons, see Qian (1955). The development of the theory of the ethereal and earthly souls is also described in Yu (1964–1965; 1981).

35. For discussions of what some Western scholars have called "reverse euhemerism," that is, the transformation of mythological gods into historical personages in Chinese historiography, see B13–20, Bodde (1961), Boltz (1981), Chang (1976), and Maspero (1924).

36. For discussions of the rise of "correlative" cosmologies or correspondence systems among certain philosophical schools in the Warring States period, see Graham (1986), Henderson (1984), esp. 1–58, and Sivin (1995). Their application to certain early religious pantheons is discussed in Riegel (1989–1990). Although one can trace the origin of these views to the late Warring States period, it was only from the Qin-Han period onward that they were more fully articulated and widely promoted to support the authority of the centralized imperial state.

37. Like the *wu*-shamans, the *fangshi*-wizards were increasingly opposed by the Confucians and other members of the bureaucracy and lost most of their prestige among the elite by the end of the Eastern Han. They practically disappeared as a distinct group by the fourth century C.E., although some of their knowledge, particularly alchemy and the cult of the Transcendents 仙, was absorbed into religious Daoism. A survey of the *fangshi*-wizards, along with biographies of some of them from the early dynastic histories, is presented in DeWoskin (1983).

38. The bifurcation of medical treatment into *wu*-shaman and the more prestigious *yi*-physician 醫 medicine can be seen in the historian Sima Qian's biography of the Warring States physician Bian Que 扁鵲 (fl. c. 501 B.C.E.), who served various rulers and actively opposed shamanistic methods, although such an early date may be anachronistic. See *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 9:2785–794.

39. For an analysis of the patterns of social mobility during the Eastern Zhou period, see Hsu (1965). The e ect on religious practice of the devolution of central Zhou authority is discussed in Bilsky (1975) 1:159–90. The feudal states increasingly developed religious autonomy from the state cult as local rulers directly worshiped heaven, usurping clans appropriated more powerful gods as ancestors, and the pantheons of conquered neighbors were annexed or eliminated. Among the consequences of these shifts were the continuous revision of earlier myths and the creation of new divine genealogies. The competition against popular religion and the *wu*-shamans by the Celestial Masters school is discussed in Robinet (1997), 62–65.

40. For a discussion of the role of these texts during what he has called the "encyclopedic epoch," see Lewis (1999), 287–336. Lewis extends this process of encyclopedic compilation to include Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 (c. 179–117 B.C.E.) *fu*-rhapsodies 賦, Sima Qian's *Historical Records,* and the bibliographical projects of Liu Xiang 劉向 (c. 79–c. 8 B.C.E.) and his son Liu Xin.

41. Despite the abundance of examples of this genre that once existed, the "Tributes of Yu" 禹貢 (late Warring States) is the only other cosmography to have survived before the Han dynasty. It is a short text only 1,200 graphs in length containing elements of fabrication and purports to describe the world order established by Yu the Great. It was later incorporated as a chapter of the canonical *Documents of Antiquity* 尚書 (Zhou dynasty), in which it was traditionally read as an accurate historical record. Long revered as China's oldest geography, it describes Yu's itinerary in curbing the Deluge and then his division of the world into nine provinces and five dependencies, listing mountains, trading routes, and products submitted as tribute to the central Chinese court. Modern scholars now consider it either slightly earlier or later than the *Guideways,* though some believe it to be as late as the Qin dynasty. Far from being an accurate historical and geographical record, much of it is probably a fabrication by the *Ru*-Confucian school designed to support their mythology of the golden age of the sage-kings. By comparison, the *Guideways,* containing more than thirty thousand graphs, is a far more extensive and eclectic work whose earlier strata are probably much older. For a summary of six di erent views of the date of its authorship, see Yu (1990), 37–40 and for other views Li (1982) and Wang (1982), 4–13. For an annotated reading of the text by the modern historian Gu Jiegang, see Gu ed. (1959), 1–55. An English translation appears in Karlgren (1950), 12–18. It is significant that the *Guideways,* the "Tributes," and the *Basic Annals of Yu* were all connected with Yu the Great. See *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 10:3179. For an astronomical and cosmological interpretation of the myths associated with Yu, see Porter (1996), 27–56.

42. For a discussion of the generic characteristics of the cosmography and its relationship to the later genre of anomaly accounts 志怪 in early medieval China, see Campany (1996), 1–17.

43. See Harbsmeier (1985), 298, who characterized the Chinese worldview as follows: "The spatializing e ectivity of the sino-centric social cosmology consisted in transforming such dangerous temptations to go back to other times into movements away from the center such that distance and direction in space seen from the center alone appear as the only possible coordinates of movement."

44. In the "Measurements of the Earth" chapter in the *Master Guan* 管子：地數, Guan Zhong, in reply to Duke Huan of Qi's question about the extent of the earth, emphasizes the importance of the ruler identifying and taking control of special mountains that are discovered to contain "manifest e ulgences" 見榮, principally metals for military use. Such materials were regarded as divinely present and necessitating sacrifices to the resident gods and severe punishments against unauthorized venturing onto the mountain. See *Guanzi* 77 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:382–83).

45. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Xianggong 25* (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1985–986). The translation is from Yee, "Taking the World's Measure" (1994), 98–99, with slight modifications made by me.

46. For studies of travel in early China, see Gu (1962), Jiang (1934, 1937, 1966), Schaberg (1999), and Strassberg (1994), 12–33, 57–62.

47. *Zhushu jinian* 1 (*Sbck* ed.) 1:2b.

48. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Xianggong 14* (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1955–56).

49. Wang Yi's 王逸 (c. 89–c. 158 C.E.) opinion has been regarded by some scholars as having implications for the origins of the *Guideways* as well. Most scholars now doubt the traditional attribution to Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 339–c. 278 B.C.E.) and Song Yu 宋玉 (c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.) of the poems in the *Songs of Chu* anthology that seems to have arisen in the Han dynasty. The major extant edition of the songs with commentaries was edited by the Song scholar Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090–1155) as *The Songs of Chu with Additional Commentaries* 楚辭補注 (first half of 12th cent.). For a complete translation of the anthology, see Hawkes (1962). For translations of "The Nine Songs" 九歌, see Waley (1955). For a recent translation of the "Questions of Heaven" 天問, see Ch'ü Y'üan (1986). For studies of this poem, see Field (1992), who relates the structure of the poem to cosmographs and reads it as an intellectual questioning of certain religious and historical views; also Xiao (1991), 763–996, who considers the role of murals in the genesis of the poem on pp. 844–79. The "Questions of Heaven" and the *Guideways* have been compared in Fu (1969). Wang Yi's opinion about the murals appears in *Chuci buzhu* (1983 ed.), 85.

50. For representative arguments supporting a Chu origin for the *Guideways,* see Meng Wentong (1962) and Yuan Ke (1978). For recent essays on aspects of Chu culture, see Cook and Major, eds. (1999). The geographical expansion and political history of Chu is surveyed in Blakeley (1999).

51. In his postscript comment on his account of Zhang Qian's mission to Central Asia, Sima Qian criticized the *Basic Annals of Yu* and the *Guideways* while praising the geography in the *Documents Classic,* by which he probably meant the "Tributes of Yu." This skepticism reflects his more rationalistic approach to source material as well as his own experience as a widely traveled youth and official. It may also be a critique of Emperor Wu, who was particularly fond of works about strange creatures and supported expeditions of *fangshi*-wizards, who catered to his yearning for the secret of longevity. See *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 10:3179.

52. For discussions of how criteria of factuality and verisimilitude influenced the development of traditional Chinese narrative, especially the genres of anomaly accounts, historical biography, and fiction, see Campany (1991, 1996), Lu (1993), and Porter (1996).

53. For studies of omenology in the Han, see Bielenstein (1984), Powers (1983), Powers (1991), 192 passim, and Wu (1989), 76–85.

54. Liu Xiang's work *Biographies of Various Transcendents* 列仙傳 (1st cent. B.C.E.) follows the model of Sima Qian's biographies, while espousing the beliefs of the *fangshi*-wizards and early Daoists. It has been translated in Kaltenmark (1953). Some scholars have questioned Liu Xiang's authorship, however. See Campany (1996), 40–41, for a brief discussion of the text.

55. Liu Xin, "Memorial upon Submitting the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*" (H:*Xulu:*1b; Y477–78). The information in the extant version does not exactly conform to the figure, which Liu Xiang identified as the Minister of Erfu, suggesting that the information in the *Guideways* was loosely interpreted in the past or that the text itself was subsequently altered.

56. Liu Xin, "Memorial" (H:*Xulu:*1b; Y477).

57. Liu Xin, "Memorial" (H:*Xulu:*1b; Y477). Liu Xin submitted his version of the *Guideways* shortly before he was briefly forced to leave the court owing in part to partisan opposition to the "Ancient-Text School." For a discussion of the role of the Liu family in restoring a "universal library," see Lewis (1999), 325–32.

58. In addition to his preface, Liu Xin left two colophons announcing the completion of his editorial work at the end of chapters 9 and 13 in the present version. That he did so would suggest that his edition stopped here, although he stated in the preface that he had taken thirty-two chapters and reorganized them into eighteen. Guo Pu's edition, however, contains eighteen chapters but includes an additional group, the present chapters 14 to 18. This disparity creates one of the many difficulties of defining Liu's exact editorial role that textual scholars have since tried to solve though so far without conclusive results.

59. Wang, *Lunheng: Bietong* (*Zzjc* ed., 7:133).

60. *Houhanshu* (1965 ed.) 9:2465.

61. See the discussion in Huang (1994), 8, which argues that the work listed in the "Techniques and Calculations" section is another text entirely di erent from Liu Xin's version of the *Guideways* as well as the views of Yuan Xingpei (1979) and Suh (1993), 24.

62. *Hanshu* (1975 ed.) 3:1774–775.

63. Guo Pu's edition continues to be the basic one followed by all subsequent commentators.

However, later counts of graphs in individual chapters and other quantitative information indicates that there have been minor additions and deletions to the text since Guo Pu's time. Among later printed editions, there are also variations in the graphs themselves as well as in syntax. There is no single urtext, and modern readers have primarily followed the commentary editions of Hao Yixing (1809) and Yuan Ke (1980).

64. For translations of some of these works, see Kan (1996) (*Soushenji*), Graham (1960) (*Liezi*), Legge (1966) (*Zhushu jinian*), Mathieu (1978) (*Mutianzi zhuan*), Watson (1968) (*Zhuangzi*).

65. Translated in Ware (1966), 279–80.

66. Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324), courtesy name Jingchun 景純, was born in Wenxi, Hedong, in modern Shaanxi province and emigrated to the southeast to avoid the civil war, which led to the collapse of the Western Jin dynasty. He served the succeeding Eastern Jin dynasty under several local commanders as an administrator and as secretarial court gentleman under Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 317–322). He was later executed by one of his patrons, General-in-Chief Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324), when he prognosticated Wang's failure if he rebelled. He also achieved note for his poetry, some of which, like "Roaming the Realm of Transcendents" 游仙詩 and "Rhapsody on the Long River" 江賦, included strange creatures. Guo annotated the *Songs of Chu,* the glossary *Approaching Refinement* 爾雅 (c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.) to which he also added a set of encomiums, and *The Chronicle of King Mu* 穆天子傳 (Warring States–Six Dynasties) as well as the poetry of Sima Xiangru. Among his friends was Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. first half of 4th cent.), compiler of *Collected Accounts in Search of Spirits* 搜神記. In addition to his official biography in the *History of the Jin Dynasty* 晉書 (644–646), Guo was later considered to have been a Transcendent himself and was mythologized in various Daoist religious texts. For a short biography of Guo, see Pease (1998). For a discussion of Guo and the *Guideways,* see Yuan (1979), 19–21.

67. Guo Pu, "Zhu Shanhaijing xu" 注山海經敘 (H:*Xulu:*2a; Y478) Translated into English in S387–400; also Eitel (1881), 331–34. The Chinese text has also been reprinted in Y478–80.

68. The *Encomiums* 山海經圖贊 (c. 320) celebrate not only strange creatures but also important places, trees, plants, and minerals. It began to be mentioned in the bibliography sections of the Sui and Tang dynastic histories and was also included in Guo Pu's collected works. However, the set of illustrations to which it was originally appended disappeared. Many of the later printed editions of the *Guideways* with Guo Pu's commentary included the *Encomiums* based on the Ming *Daoist Canon* 道藏 version of c. 1444–45. In particular, the Qing commentator Hao Yixing used this text as a basis for his corrected series, which he appended to the main text in his 1809 edition. Translations of these appear in S265–381. The *Encomiums* were also used as captions in some of the later series of portraits popular during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries based on those in the 1667 Wu Renchen 吳任臣 edition. However, not all the 265 poems in Hao Yixing's edition match the extant portrait illustrations, and it is believed that there were originally more poems. A few additional ones have been preserved within Guo's commentary to the text. Another series of 303 poems was transcribed during the Yuan dynasty by Cao Zhongliang 曹仲良 (n.d.). This series was recently discovered a few decades ago preserved in the Palace Museum, Beijing, and was published in Shanghai in 1958. It had passed through the hands of late Ming scholars such as Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) and the painter-calligrapher Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) and may transmit a Song version of the text. This set was apparently not seen by Hao Yixing and contains a number of variations from his version. At least two other scholars, Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1795) and Yan Kejun (1762–1843) 嚴可均, collected a similar number of poems, some from other sources. In addition, there was another set of encomiums slightly later than Guo Pu's by Zhang Jun 張駿 (310–346), which has not survived. See Guo (1958) and Zhu (1998).

69. H:*tuzan* 圖贊:13b.

70. The scholar and aesthetic theorist Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443) advocated the use of landscape paintings as part of Daoist self-cultivation involving the viewer's imagining of a journey of the spirit. See Clunas (1997), 83. Zong Bing's remarks are translated in Bush and Shih, trans. (1985), 36–38.

71. Tao, *Jingjie xiansheng ji* (*Sbby* ed.) 4:15a. A summary of Song dynasty readers' responses to this poem follows on pp. 15a–17b. For studies of Guo Pu's encomiums and subsequent poetic responses to the *Guideways* by Tao and other writers, see Davis (1983), Guo (1958), Kadowaki (1985), Lin (1976), Long (1986), Lu Xun (1958), Matsuda, "Tō Enmei" (1984), and Sun (1979).

72. This image actually appeared a few decades earlier as a design for letter paper printed by the Ten Bamboo Studio 十竹齋 (c. 1643) in modern Nanjing, Jiangsu. It was then titled, less appropriately, "Writing a Book" 著書 and is reproduced in Wood (1985), p. 7, with the full set of designs briefly discussed on p. 60. The *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* 芥子園畫傳 (1679) often reproduced earlier images and, in this case, altered the colophon to better suit the scholar's pose of casual reading.

73. The continuing use of the *Guideways* is indicated by an anecdote in the official *History of the Southern Dynasties* 南史 (c. 629), which recorded an incident concerning Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) and a dozen recently acquired female attendants. To pacify the jealousy of the empress, his courtiers cited a passage in the *Guideways* (H3:18a) that supposedly recommends eating the flesh of the Canggeng-Bird 鶬鶊. However, the extant text actually refers to this bird by an alternate name, Yellow-Bird 黃鳥, thought by commentators to be an oriole. The anecdote was transmitted, especially among writers about jealousy, and was later satirized in a pseudo-biography of a Canggeng-Bird by the Ming scholar Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559), a later commentator on etymology in the *Guideways.* See Yenna Wu (1995), 79–81.

74. *Suishu* (1973 ed.) 4:982. The Four Libraries 四部 system (classics 經, history 史, philosophy 子, and collected writings 集) began to evolve during the Six Dynasties and was established as the standard categorization in the "Bibliographical Treatise" in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* 隋書：經籍志 (656). The bibliographers here also noted an unconfirmed tradition that the early Western Han minister Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 B.C.E.) obtained a copy of the *Guideways* after gaining the maps of the fallen Qin dynasty from the captured imperial library. This kind of information was credited with his helping the military forces of Liu Bang 劉邦 (c. 256/247–195 B.C.E.) to defeat his rival Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 B.C.E.) and establish the Han dynasty.

75. For a summary of some Song views of the *Guideways* as the origin of local gazetteers, see Huang et al. (1993), 96–97.

76. You Mao's 尤袤 (1127–1193) 1180 edition was printed by the Chiyangjunzhai 池陽郡齋 in modern Guichi, Anhui, and survives in only one copy now in the National Library of China, Beijing. It was reprinted in 1983 in a facsimile edition as the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas with Commentary* 山海經傳. See *Shanhaijing zhuan* (1983 reprint). You's preface stated that in the course of thirty years he had investigated an old printed edition from the capital, the Song *Daoist Canon* edition, Liu Xin's edition, and ten other versions. The earliest extant *Daoist Canon* edition is the Ming printing of 1444–45, which is without illustrations and also missing two chapters. For more on these versions, see Fracasso (1993), 363.

77. Yan, *Yanshi jiaxun* 430 (*Sbck* ed., 2:15b–16a).

78. You, *Shanhaijing zhuan,* 1a.

79. The *Songs of Chu* continued to enjoy a high status in the Chinese poetic tradition. That the *Guideways* remained a valuable source of information for scholars can be seen in the quotations from it in Hong Xingzu's edition, especially to illuminate passages in the "Questions of Heaven." See *Chuci buzhu* (1983 ed.), 91. Hong also cited another work, *The Illustrated Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 山海經圖, now lost. Zhu Xi朱熹 (1130–1200), in his research on the *Songs of Chu,* mistakenly believed that the *Guideways* was based on the "Questions of Heaven." See Ji et al., eds. (1971 ed.) 3:2939.

80. For a study of Zhu Xi's attitude toward spiritual beings, see Gardiner (1995). The translated excerpt of his remarks is taken from Gardiner, 605–6, with minor changes by me. For a broad survey of Neo-Confucian attitudes toward gods and demons, see Qian (1955), 23–43.

81. For a study of the tradition of the *Marvels of the East,* which includes the principal manuscripts and books and a number of illustrations, see Wittkower (1942). For a reproduction of three medieval versions of the text, see James (1929).

82. Except for You Mao's Southern Song edition of 1180, no other early edition has survived before the Ming. The following are the major extant editions from the Ming and Qing periods with locations of original editions or information on reprinted versions:

Shanhaijing 山海經 (The guideways through mountains and seas). Commentary and encomiums by Guo Pu 郭璞. 1444–45 *Daoist Canon* 道藏 edition. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1962.

Shanhaijing 山海經 (The guideways through mountains and seas). Commentary by Guo Pu. Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435–1508) 1465 hand-written manuscript copy of Yuan dynasty Tianzizhi 田紫芝 edition. National Library of China.

Shanhaijing 山海經 (The guideways through mountains and seas). Commentary by Guo Pu. 1468 Beijing Directorate of Education 北京國子監 edition. National Library of China; Shanghai Library. Reprint, *Sbck* ed., series 1, vols. 465–66.

Shanhaijing shiyi 山海經釋義 (The guideways through mountains and seas with explanatory comments). Commentary by Wang Chongqing 王崇慶 (1484–1565). Preface 1537. Various Jiajing (1522–1567) era editions. National Library of China; Beijing University Library; Shanghai Library; Chongqing City Library; Changshu Committee for Cultural Artifacts.

Shanhaijing shiyi 山海經釋義 (The guideways through mountains and seas with explanatory comments). With illustrations. Commentary by Wang Chongqing. 1597 Yaoshantang 堯山堂 edition. National Library of China; Capital Library, Beijing; Literature and Art Research Institute, Ministry of Culture, Beijing; Shanghai Library; Zhejiang Library.

Shanhaijing shiyi 山海經釋義 (The guideways through mountains and seas with explanatory comments). With illustrations. Commentary by Wang Chongqing. 1619 Preface. Dayetang 大業堂 edition. Library of Congress; Harvard-Yenching Library; National Central Library, Taipei (illustrations incomplete).

Shanhaijing guangzhu 山海經廣注 (The guideways through mountains and seas with extensive commentaries). Commentary by Wu Renchen 吳任臣 (c. 1628–c. 1689). 1667 edition. Various locations including Library of Congress; University of California, Berkeley Library; Harvard-Yenching Library.

Zengbu huixiang Shanhaijing guangzhu 增補繪象山海經廣注 (An expanded and illustrated edition of the guideways through mountains and seas with extensive commentaries). 1786 edition. Various locations including University of California, Los Angeles and Berkeley, Libraries; Harvard-Yenching Library.

Shanhaijing cun 山海經存 (A preserved edition of the guideways through mountains and seas). Commentary and illustrations by Wang Fu 汪紱 (1692–1759). 1895 Lixuezhai 立雪齋 edition. Various locations including University of California, Berkeley, Library. Reprint, 1984: Hangzhou guji shudian.

Shanhaijing xinjiaozheng 山海經新校正 (A newly corrected editon of the guideways through mountains and seas). Commentary by Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797). Preface 1781. In 1783 Lingyan shanguan 靈巖山館 edition of Jingxuntang congshu 經訓堂叢書. Various locations including National Library of China; Nanjing Library; Changshu City Library. Reprint, 1969: *Bbtsjc.*

Shanhaijing jianshu 山海經箋疏 (The guideways through mountains and seas with supplemental commentary). Commentary by Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825). Preface 1804. 1809 Langhuan xianguan 琅嬛仙館 ed. Various locations including University of California, Berkeley Library; National Library of China.

For a more complete listing of twenty-seven rare editions in mainland Chinese libraries, see *Zhongguo guji* (1985), part 3, 5:19:11a–12a. For further descriptions and comments on the above editions, see Fracasso (1993), 363–64; also Fxxvii–xxxii.

83. For a brief discussion of the role of religion in Chinese vernacular fiction, see Shahar (1998), 1–19.

84. Hu, *Sibu zheng'e,* in *Shaoshishanfang bicong* 16:3a–6b (*Skqs* ed., 886:332–34). For a study of Hu Yinglin's 胡應麟 (1551–1602) theory of "minor narratives" 小說 as a genre, see Laura Wu (1995).

85. See Strassberg (1994) for an anthology of classical Chinese travel writing.

86. For a discussion of the *Records of Foreign Guests* 咸賓錄 (1590–1591), see Yu ed. (1974), 652–654. The *Illustrations and Records of Foreign Regions* 異域圖志 (Ming dynasty) is discussed on p. 70.

87. Ricci (1953), 103.

88. The current version of this book was previously reprinted in 1909 from a Ming edition believed to have been derived from earlier Yuan editions such as the *Collected Gleanings in Search of Spirits* 搜神廣記. It was recently reissued by the Sanqin chubanshe of Xi'an in 1989. See *Daojiao dacidian* (1993), 104.

89. For a study of Ming Confucian iconoclasm, see Sommer (1994). Opposition to the use of

images in Confucian temples can be seen as early as the beginning of the Ming with such influential court scholars as Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), although he did not extend this to include those in Buddhist or other temples.

90. For a study of Yang Shen, see Schorr (1993), especially pp. 118–28, concerning his interest in the strange.

91. For the most part, Wang's version was almost completely ignored by later commentators and dismissed by the official Qing bibliographer Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805). See Ji et al., eds. (1971 ed.) 3: 2993.

92. Reprinted in 1786 as *Zengbu huixiang Shanhaijing guangzhu* 增補繪像山海經廣注 (An expanded and illustrated edition of the guideways through mountains and seas with extensive commentaries). See also note 82 above.

93. For the entries on editions of the *Guideways* in the catalogue of the *Complete Works of the Four Libraries* 四庫全書, see Ji et al., eds. (1971 ed.) 3:2238–2239, 2293.

94. Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) collection, *Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio* 聊齋志異 were written from 1679 to 1707 and published posthumously. Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1798) authored two collections of stories of the strange entitled *What Confucius Wouldn't Discuss* 子不語 (1788; later retitled *New Tales from Qi Xie* 新齊諧). Ji Yun, who was critical of Pu's eclectic literary style, authored his own collection as *Random Notes from the Cottage of Close Observations* 閱微草堂筆記 (1789–1798). For recent bibliographies of studies and translations of all three works, see the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (1998), 2: 270–72, 364–65, 488.

95. See *Shanhaijing xinjiaozheng* 山海經新校正 (1781). In addition to his concern with geography, Bi's commentary also focused on historical linguistics and issues of textual composition such as authorship, dating, and especially the various divisions into chapters.

96. Hao Yixing presented the following two sets of statistics. The first is from the encyclopedia *Ocean of Jade* 玉海 (1266): number of graphs in text, 30,919; number of graphs in (Guo Pu's) commentary, 20,350; total, 51,269. Hao Yixing's own count in the early nineteenth century was: number of graphs in text, 30,825; number of graphs in (Guo Pu's) commentary: 20,383; total, 51,208. The most recent count can be found in the *ICS* concordance, *Shanhaijing zhuzisuoyin* 山海經逐字索引 (1994), 323: total number of graphs in text, 31,395. This latter version has undergone slight textual revision, however (H:*Xulu:*3b–5a).

97. So enduring was Hao Yixing's edition that it was not until 1980 that another attempt at a complete and comprehensive commentary was published, that of Yuan Ke, which remains the only significant Chinese edition to date to use modern scholarship. In the period between these two, the only full-length studies worthy of note are the valiant but misguided e orts of Wu Chengzhi 吳承志 (fl. early 20th cent.), whose *Contemporary Explanations of the Geography of the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* 山海經地理今釋 (printed 1922) and the more recent but equally questionable Wei Tingsheng 衛挺生 and Xu Shengmo 徐聖謨, *A Modern Geographical Study of Shanching with Maps* 山經地理圖考 (1974). Both works again sought to identify the geographical locations of the mountains and rivers utilizing the traditional textual methods of Qing scholarship.

98. For an abridged translation of Li Ruzhen's 李汝珍 (c. 1763–c. 1830) novel, see Li (1965). It is possible that Li was inspired by examples of contemporary Chinese maps of the world, which tended to represent foreign lands from the *Guideways* as island countries. For a study of the religious elements in the novel, see Chan (1989).

99. See the piece "Achang and the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*" 阿長与山海經 in Lu (1958) 2:226–31. Lu's relationship with the *Guideways* is briefly discussed in Sun (1979).

100. Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰 (1896–1981), under the pen name Mao Dun 矛盾, began writing on Chinese mythology in 1925. In 1929, he published under another alias, Xuanzhu 玄珠, *Zhongguo shenhua yanjiu ABC* 中國神話研究 ABC (*Studies in Chinese Mythology*) in two volumes. This was the first important survey of Chinese myths to use comparative mythology and thematic classifications of material from the *Guideways* as well as other sources. In 1932, Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤 (1908–1992) published an article on the *Guideways* that classified the myths according to disciplinary categories such as philosophy, science, history, and so on. The poet Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1899–1946), working during the 1930s and 1940s, studied such ancient texts as the *Songs of Chu,* the *Book of Changes,* and the *Book of Songs.* For a brief survey of modern Chinese and Japanese studies of Chinese mythology, see B13–17.

101. See note 27.

102. For a study of Gu Jiegang's work in reevaluating the Chinese intellectual tradition, see Schneider (1971), especially chaps. 2 and 4. It is noteworthy that the work of the Han dynasty bibliographer and editor Liu Xin remerged as an issue among modern Chinese intellectuals, who either castigated him as a forger or gave him qualified recognition as the preserver of ancient texts. Gu fell into the latter camp. His views on Liu are summed up in Schneider, 244–51.

103. For some noteworthy articles on the *Guideways* in the "*Tributes of Yu*" *Bimonthly* 禹貢半月刊 journal, see He Cijun (1934); Hou (1937); and Zhang (1934). The journal was coedited by the geographer Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (1911–1992), who later published studies on the geographical locations of some of the places in the *Guideways.*

104. See Zhong (1931) and Ling et al. (1976 rpt.). The latter volume also contains an article by one of Gu Jiegang's students in the Folkstudies Movement, Rong Zhaozu 容肇祖 (1897–1994).

105. For important early-modern Chinese studies of the text, see Cheng (1933), He Guanzhou (1930), He Cijun (1934), Jiang (1934), Ling et al. (1934), Lu (1918), Wang (1934), Xuan (1929), Zhang (1934), Zheng (1933), and Zhong (1931).

106. For a review of Yuan Ke's edition, see Mathieu (1983).

107. Among the more important Japanese scholarship are the studies of Itō (1969 .), Kiuchi (1985), Matsuda (1971 .), Mitarai (1984), Mori Mikisaburō (1944), Mori Yasutarō (1943), and Ogawa (1931). Among early European sinological studies are those of Bazin (1839), Eitel (1888), de Rosny (1891), de Harlez (1894) and de Mély (1897). The following complete translations have appeared in recent years: Kōma (1969) and Maeno (1975) (Japanese); Ianshinoi (1977) (Russian); Mathieu (1983) (French); Cheng et al. (1985), Birrell (1999) (English); Fracasso (1996) (Italian). For a review of Mathieu's edition, see Casu (1988) and for Cheng et al., see Fracasso (1987). For detailed bibliographies on the *Guideways* arranged by subject, see Fracasso (1991), especially 366–67; also Suh (1993), 501–35.

108. The name Five Mountain-Treasuries 五藏山 refers to the strings of major mountains located along the five directions in chapters 1–5. It apparently derives from a statement ascribed to Yu the Great, which was interpolated at some point at the end of chapter 5 (see no. 214). It quotes Yu as stating that he traveled to 5,370 notable mountains along a route of 64,056 *li* and that the major mountains are here recorded as the Five Mountain-Treasuries. Hao Yixing and some modern scholars felt that this statement may be dated to the Zhou-Qin or, more narrowly, to the Warring States period because of a similar statement in the "Measurements of the Earth" chapter of the *Master Guan* 管子：地數. However, Mathieu believes that both passages were interpolated at a far later date (H5:53b–54ab; M372n10; F115n365; Y179–80, 183n2; C103; *Guanzi* 77 [*Zzjc* ed., 5:382]).

109. In Yuan Ke's edition, chapters 14–18 as well as 6–13 are grouped together as the *Guideways through Seas* following the opinion of Bi Yuan. See Y183n2.

110. It is this group that commentators from Guo Pu on have believed were not originally part of Liu Xin's edition. Although they contain many variations from the content of the other chapters, their content is not necessarily from a later date. They may have been submitted separatedly by Liu Xin to the imperial library and later included by Guo. Some scholars consider chapter 18 as separate in origin from chapters 14–17 (H14:la; Y337–38n1).

111. The count of graphs appears in *Shanhaijing zhuzisuoyin* (1994), 323. The number of passages appears in Suh (1993), 6. The eighteen chapters of Guo Pu's edition are as follows:

1. Guideways through the Southern Mountains 南山經
2. Guideways through the Western Mountains 西山經
3. Guideways through the Northern Mountains 北山經
4. Guideways through the Eastern Mountains 東山經
5. Guideways through the Central Mountains 中山經
6. Guideway through the Southern Lands beyond the Seas 海外南經
7. Guideway through the Western Lands beyond the Seas 海外西經
8. Guideway through the Northern Lands beyond the Seas 海外北經
9. Guideway through the Eastern Lands beyond the Seas 海外東經
10. Guideway through the Southern Lands within the Seas 海內南經
11. Guideway through the Western Lands within the Seas 海內西經

12. Guideway through the Northern Lands within the Seas 海內北經
13. Guideway through the Eastern Lands within the Seas 海內東經
14. Guideway through the Great Wilds to the East 大荒東經
15. Guideway through the Great Wilds to the South 大荒南經
16. Guideway through the Great Wilds to the West 大荒西經
17. Guideway through the Great Wilds to the North 大荒北經
18. Guideway through Lands Within the Seas 海內經.

112. The textual history of the *Guideways* has inspired a considerable amount of scholarship over the centuries and produced widely varying views about the dating and early organization of its content as well as slightly di erent graph counts. For a recent survey of the textual issues, including a chart of eleven main theories of the book's date and place of composition, see Fracasso (1993), especially 359–61. A bibliography of articles on textual issues appears in Fracasso (1991), 87–89.

113. Yuan Ke (1983) listed ten common textual problems in the *Guideways* as follows: 1) wrong graphs; 2) missing graphs; 3) later interpolations; 4) reversed order of graphs; 5) incorporating the text within a commentary; 6) incorporating a commentary within the text; 7) lost lines or confused order of lines; 8) incorporation of other texts into the main text; 9) deliberately substituted graphs; 10) miscellaneous problems.

114. The Umbrella-Heaven 蓋天 theory, also known as the Gnomon of the Zhou dynasty 周髀 theory, was traditionally credited to the ancient thearch Fuxi 伏羲 and was said to have been later transmitted by the Duke of Zhou 周公 (r. 1042–1036 B.C.E.). It was particularly associated with the Zhou dynasty period and by the Eastern Han was discredited among official astronomers because of the inaccuracies of its calculations. In one of its later elaborations, earth, though still regarded as square, was seen as convex and highest at the northern extremity, the center of both heaven and earth. For summary discussions of the theory, see Needham (1959) 3:210–16; also Cullen (1993).

115. For this and other myths of Gonggong, see B97–98. It is also discussed in Major (1978), 6, as an astronomical myth enacted on the terrestial plane that describes the tilting of the ecliptic in relation to the celestial equator. See also Porter (1996), 31 *passim.* The *Guideways* only mentions the location of Cleft Mountain 不周之山 in the west, not the accompanying myth itself, the earliest surviving version of which is in the "Patterns of Heaven" chapter of the *Master of Huainan* 淮南子：天文訓 (c. 139 B.C.E.). See *Huainanzi* 3 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:35); H2:16a; Y40n1.

116. Various other mountains in the *Guideways* that may also relate to the concept of heavenly pillars are denoted by remarks in the text that they are "places where the ocean enters." Among this group are "Lofty Celestial Terrace Mountain 天臺高山" and "Celestial Co er at the Northern Extremity" 北極天櫃. The most important mountain in the text that can be regarded as the *axis mundi* is clearly Mount Kunlun 昆侖之丘. See H15:5b, 17:4b; Y380n2.

117. Guo Pu commented that the phrase "nine divisions of heaven" (*tian zhi jiubu* 天之九部) meant "nine areas" (*jiubujie* 九部界) of heaven (H2:21b).

118. The Firm-Tree 建木 is mentioned in chapter 10 as resembling an ox with bark like cap strings or yellow snakes. Its leaves are like netting, its fruit is like that of the Luan-Tree 欒, and its wood is like the Qiu-Tree 藍, which resembles the thorny elm. However, in chapter 18, it is described as having green leaves with purple veins, black blossoms, and yellow fruits. It is one hundred *ren* (approx. eight hundred feet) in height without any branches until the top, where there are nine that swirl upward, entangled, while below are nine huge roots. Its fruit is like hemp seed, and its leaves are like Mang-Grass 芒 (*Miscanthus sinensis*). It was planted by the Yellow Thearch 黃帝 and used by another thearch, Greater-Brilliance (Taihao) 大皞 (both trad. r. c. 3rd millennium B.C.E.) to ascend and descend from heaven. The *Master of Huainan* later stated that it is used by all the thearchs to ascend and descend. For a discussion of mountains in the *Guideways* that are considered ladders to heaven, see Y450–52n13 (H10:4b–5a, 18:4b; B232–33; *Huainanzi* 4 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:57]).

119. The myth in which the divine officials Chong 重 and Li 黎 are ordered by their grandfather, the thearch Zhuanxu 顓頊 (trad. r. c. 3rd millennium B.C.E.), to sever the links between heaven and earth is briefly recorded in chapter 16. See H16:5b; Y403n7. It was elaborated in more detail in the course of Guan Yifu's reply to King Zhao of Chu in the *Conversations from the Feudal States* mentioned above (see notes 30, 33). King Zhao had originally asked Guan the following: "When the *Documents of Zhou* [i.e., "The Prince of Lü on Punishments" chapter of the *Doc-*

uments of Antiquity 尚書：呂刑, early Spring and Autumn period] states that Chong and Li were ordered to sever the connection between Heaven and Earth, what does this mean? Had they not done so, does it mean that the common people would be able to ascend to Heaven?" After describing the proper administration of spiritual matters by *wu*-shamans and other ritual officials in early antiquity, Guan went on to state:

> During the decline of a airs under Lesser-Brilliance (Shaohao 少皞, trad. r. c. 3rd millennium B.C.E.), the nine Li 黎 brothers disrupted the cosmic powers. People and gods intermingled and could not be distinguished by their proper names. Ordinary people o ered up sacrifices and noble families took over the roles of *wu*-shamans and scribe-astrologer, acting without sincerity. The common people found it difficult to carry out sacrifices correctly so they were unable to obtain blessings. The winter sacrifice was not held at the appropriate time; people and gods occupied the same ritual positions. The people neglected their contractual obligations so there was no sense of respect or awe. Gods practiced the ways of men and behaved impurely. Life-giving sustenance was not bestowed from on high so there was nothing to o er up. Manifold disasters arrived and seemed endless. When Zhuanxu succeeded to the throne, he therefore commanded the Director of the South, Chong, to take charge of heaven and establish order among the gods. And he commanded the Director of Fire, Li, to establish order among the people. The old regulations were restored and these two groups no longer infringed upon one another. This is what is meant by the statement "to sever the connections between Heaven and Earth" (*Guoyu* 18: *Chuyu* 2 [1988 ed., 2:562–63]).

For another translation of this and for translations of other versions of this myth, see B91–95.

120. This passage also appears in the "Forms of the Earth" chapter of the *Master of Huainan* 淮南子：墜形訓. See *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:55); H6:1a; Y184.

121. This passage also appears in the "Measurements of Earth" chapter in the *Master Guan,* where it is spoken by Guan Zhong in response to Duke Huan of Qi's inquiry about the extent of the world. It was believed by later commentators to be a Zhou dynasty interpolation. See *Guanzi* 77 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:382); H5:53b; Y180n8.

122. For a discussion of various geographical concepts of centrality during the Zhou dynasty, see Xiao (1996). For studies of the Luo River Diagram 洛書 and its multivalent applications, see Cammann (1969) and Bergland (1990), and for an elaboration of magic squares in the Han as an expression of correlative cosmology, see Major (1976). Early Chinese textual sources for the Luo River diagram and its derivative, the Yellow River diagram 河圖, are discussed in Bergland, 56–88. Among its many applications were Yu the Great's Nine Provinces and versions of the Paces of Yu dance, which trace the diagram while reenacting Yu's journey throughout the world to curb the Deluge.

123. The text of the "Tributes of Yu" does not specify the exact shape of the five dependencies, but it seems natural that they have been depicted as rectangles, given the general belief that the earth was unequally squared. This description apparently inspired some Han cartographers to also conceptualize Yu's Nine Provinces as concentric squares. For a brief discussion of the Five Dependencies see Yee, "Chinese Maps in Political Culture" (1994), 76. Most Chinese, regardless of their education, continued to believe that the earth was flat well into the nineteenth century, despite the influence of Jesuit and other Western cartographers. For Chinese scholars' resistance to Western depictions of a spherical world that was not Sinocentric, see Smith (1997), 7, 14–15.

124. See Hao Yixing's commentary in H2:19a, which quotes various early sources to the e ect that in early China large bodies of water and those that lay beyond the borders were called "seas" 海. In the same passage, he noted that in the case of a river said to flow into the Eastern and Western Seas, the Eastern Sea in this case was probably a branch of the Western Sea and not the ocean in the east.

125. For a short study of Zhurong, see Yang (1940), 535–37. For a study of the evolution of Rushou and Goumang in some other early cosmologies, see Riegel (1989–1990).

126. For reproductions, see Needham (1959) 3:548; also Smith (1996), 27. These may derive from even earlier lost traditions of world maps by notable cartographers such as Pei Xiu 裴秀 (224–271) and Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805). There are numerous references in early texts to the use of maps by rulers, military figures, and emissaries during the Zhou, Qin, and Han dynasties. For surveys of the history of Chinese cartography, see Needham (1959); Smith (1996); and Yee (1994).

127. Also reproduced and briefly discussed in Smith (1996), 36.

128. Reproduced in Smith (1996), plates 12–14, and briefly discussed on p. 56. That many of the places selected from the *Guideways* are located elsewhere on these maps suggests that a divergent tradition arose among cartographers that was highly selective and was perpetuated among them without referring back to the original textual source.

129. In the *Guideways* only chapters 14–17 forming the third section follow the later sequence of east, south, west, and north. This fact may cast some light on the place of origin of these chapters or on the dates of their compilation and inclusion with the other sections. Among the arguments made by those who believe in a Chu authorship is the fact that most groups of chapters begin with the south and then proceed to the west.

130. The modern geographer Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (1911–1992) reported the following conclusions on the measurements in seven individual guideways in the *Guideways through Mountains:* a) more than half the mountains mentioned can be identified today; b) the directions of the guideways are generally accurate with slight deviations; c) most distances between mountains are inaccurate, and the total distances at the end of each chapter are highly exaggerated; d) the most accurate statistics are for the areas covering modern southern Shanxi, central Shaanxi, and western Jiangxi. Unfortunately, Tan's short report does not provide evidence of his methods, and his other conclusions about dating and authorship are unsupported. See Tan (1986), 13–14. In an earlier article (1978), Tan traced the course of the lower Yellow River and its tributaries in the third guideway through the Northern Mountains and asserted that this section of the *Guideways* represents the oldest description of the river's course and probably predates the "Tributes of Yu." Additional assessments of the geographical accuracy of these chapters appears in Wang (1982), 18–21, who concluded that the topographical information is hopelessly confused while arguing that the *Guideways through Mountains* nevertheless represents an advance in geographical thought and is thus later in date than the "Tributes of Yu." He also observed that in general, those mountains whose names employ two graphs utilizing the formula "*X* 山" were more verifiable, while the majority whose names contain four graphs using the formula "*XX* 之 山" were fabricated. All studies to date that have sought to identify the places in the text remain largely hypothetical and unconvincing, since they are mostly based not on direct exploration but on correlations with other traditional texts. For a bibliography of such studies, see Fracasso (1991), 90–92.

131. The Five Marchmounts later became the principal sacred mountains located in each of the five directions. Special groupings first appear in such late Warring States texts as the glossary *Approaching Refinement* and the *Government Organization of the Zhou Dynasty,* though the number and identity of these peaks has varied somewhat over time. By the Han, the following grouping of five mountains was most common and has largely remained so through the later centuries: the Supreme Mountain (Taishan 泰 山) in the east, Transverse Mountain (Hengshan 衡 山) in the south, Lotus Mountain (Huashan 華 山) in the west, Constancy Mountain (Hengshan 恆 山) in the north, and Eminent Mountain (Songshan 嵩 山) in the center. Before the Han, however, there were also other groupings of three, nine, and twelve sacred mountains. Still other groupings were promoted by the Buddhist and Daoist religions. For essays on the Five Marchmounts, see Robson (1995) and Wu (1993). A survey of sacred mountains in Chinese art is presented in Munakata (1991).

132. H2:1b–2a.

133. H4:3ab. Similarly, Mount Penglai 蓬 萊 山 [no. 294], one of the isles of the Transcendents in the Eastern Sea also promoted by the *fangshi*-wizards, is given a perfunctory entry in contrast to the elaborate description of Mount Kunlun. This is especially surprising, since some scholars have connected the authorship of the *Guideways* with the *fangshi*-wizards who were believed to have originated in this eastern area of China.

134. The scale for the central portion of the map has been estimated at between 1:80,000 and 1:100,000 and considered remarkably accurate. The original maps are reproduced and briefly discussed in Yee, "Reinterpreting Traditional Chinese Geographical Maps," 40–46. For a bibliography of more detailed studies, see Yee, "Reinterpreting," 41n13. Various studies and the reconstructed version of the map also appear in *Guditu lunwenji* (1975).

135. In only a few cases are any references made to political divisions, but these have sometimes been used to date the particular passage. For example, Yan Zhitui remarked that names such

as Changsha 長沙, Lingling 零陵, and Guiyang 桂陽 were clearly later interpolations but still believed that the book was originally written by Yu the Great. Similarly, Hao Yixing pointed out that the system of commanderies 郡 and districts 縣 mentioned in some passages was of Zhou dynasty origin, though this also did not change his belief in the traditional authorship of the *Guideways through Mountains,* at least. See H: *Xu* 敘: 1b–2a.

136. See no. 202 and "Plates," note 330.

137. Mount Kunlun has been widely believed to be a geographical place in the west or northwest, and even modern scholars have continued to search for its location. For myths of Mount Kunlun, see Yuan and Zhou eds. (1985), 83–90; also B183–85. An astrological interpretation of Mount Kunlun mythology is presented in Porter (1993).

138. H2:21b–23a. Some commentators and translators regard the Pin-Plant 蘋草 as a duckweed or mallow.

139. Although some believe the compilation of chapters 14–18 to be the latest in date, Yuan Ke argued that they contain some of the earliest material and dated them to no later than the middle Warring States period. See H14:1a; also Yuan (1978), 156–57.

140. H17:4a–5a; C185–86.

141. See, for example, the Yellow-Birds 黃鳥 [no. 308] and their imperial connection based on the homophony *huang* (Y367n2).

142. Y367n2.

143. For views of hybrid gods in China, see Chang (1981), Loewe (1978), and Fracasso (1983).

144. See He (1930), 1350–354.

145. For a recent consideration of composite construction in Chinese art, see Ledderose (1998).

146. See *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 27. The examples and terminology are taken from Boltz (1999), 118–23, where this is called "The Determinative Stage" in the development of the Chinese script. Boltz also hypothesizes the parallel process whereby various phonetic determinatives were added to a single semantic determinative, although this is admittedly less easy to document.

147. There are more than thirty creatures explicitly denoted as *shen* in the *Guideways,* although the total number that could be classified as such is greater. See Itō (1969, 1972, 1989) and Matsuda (1984, 1988) for comprehensive studies of these gods and strange creatures and Xu Xianzhi (1989), who views the gods as the totems of primitive tribes and local kinship groups. Thirty-five other studies on the religion, mythology, and divination in the *Guideways* are listed in Fracasso (1991), 93–98. For a collection of specific studies on individual gods that also interprets them anthropologically, see Mitarai (1984).

148. While scholars have generally regarded the Supreme God Di in Shang religion as referring to a single individual, Eno (1990) has argued persuasively that the term Di 帝 in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions indicated a group of high royal ancestors, either individually or collectively. Furthermore, he maintains that the concept of Di as a single, supreme god only appears in Zhou texts. This may have been an adaptation of the Shang concept by the official Zhou dynasty religion, which originally regarded Tian 天 (Heaven) as its supreme god.

149. According to one theory recently proposed by Yuan Ke, the Supreme God Di in the *Guideways* has already been conflated with the Yellow Thearch. Thus, Yuan argues that in most cases when a figure is identified simply as Di, this should be read as signifying the Yellow Thearch. The concept of Di during the Zhou dynasty was not monolithic, though it seems to have been more anthropomorphic than that of the ancestral Zhou god, Tian (Heaven), who, at the hands of some philosophers and historians, evolved into a more impersonal cosmic force. See Y188n1.

150. Lesser-Brilliance was associated with avian imagery. In early mythology, he and his divine bureaucracy employed bird nomenclature in official titles and were probably represented as bird or hybrid bird forms. This was historicized in *Zuo's Commentary* where, in an anecdote dated 525 B.C.E., a nobleman from the Shandong area who claimed descent from Lesser-Brilliance explained the bird nomenclature of the latter's government as symbolic rather than literal. He stated that it was designed to celebrate the appearance of a Feng-Bird at the beginning of his reign. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Zhaogong* 17 (*Ssjzs* ed. 2:2083); translated in Legge (1966) 5:667–68; also B267–68. For a study of bird motifs in the art of the ancient Yi-Barbarians and their relationship to early mythology, see Wu (1985). In the *Guideways,* the Land of Lesser-Brilliance 少昊之國 is located in the east. However, in another passage, the commentator Hao Yixing also lo-

cated Lesser-Brilliance in the west as a divine official (H2:25b; 14:1a). For a short summary of myths of Lesser-Brilliance, see Yuan ed., *Zhongguo shenhua* (1985), 78–79, and for a discussion of him together with the thearch Greater-Brilliance, see Rao (1996).

151. See the first chapter of Sima Qian's *Historical Records,* "The Basic Annals of the Five Thearchs" 史記：五帝本紀, which represents the culmination of the historicization of the ancient thearchs. Beginning with the Yellow Thearch, it defines the orthodox genealogy of political legitimacy through Zhuanxu, Thearch Ku 帝嚳, Yao, and Shun before turning in subsequent chapters to the dynastic rulers. *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 1:1–48. Myths of the thearchs and their connections with sanctioned violence are discussed in Lewis (1990), 165–212. For a short discussion of the Yellow Thearch in the *Guideways* and comparison of these genealogies with that of Sima Qian, see Xu and Tang (1986). For a summary of various myths and origins of the Yellow Thearch, see Yuan ed., *Zhongguo shenhua* (1985), 347–48; also Wang Zhongfu (1996). Early narratives about the struggle between the Yellow Thearch and Chiyou 蚩尤 are analyzed in Puett (1998).

152. H16:2ab.

153. Thearch Jun 帝俊 appears to be unique to the *Guideways* and does not seem to be mentioned in any other early surviving text. For a study of Thearch Jun, see Kiuchi (1985). For various opinions on the genealogies in the *Guideways,* see Meng (1962), 44–48; Yuan Ke (1978), 1154–156, (1979), 60–68; Yuan Xingpei (1979), 25–29. Among modern scholars who follow an ethnographic interpretation of Chinese mythology, the thearchs have been seen as deified totems of warring tribes who were later historicized by the philosophers and historians, especially the *Ru*-Confucians. For a still valuable but highly opinionated study along these lines, see Karlgren (1946). A survey of many of the modern approaches to Chinese mythology appears in B1–22.

154. This ambiguity in the presentation of Di has led to di erent scholarly interpretations. On the one hand, Suh (1993), 154–59 passim, argues for a distinction between the two types of Di and believes that the similarity between Di in the first five chapters and the Shang royal god reveals the origins of this part in Shang cultural traditions. On the other hand, some modern scholars who regard the pseudohistorical thearchs as heroes of ancient warring tribes attempt a unified interpretation of all the chapters by identifying Di with specific thearchs, especially the Yellow Thearch. For example, in the passage on Mount Kunlun just cited, the commentator Hao Yixing took particular issue with Guo Pu's assertion that Di was the Yellow Thearch, while Yuan Ke and, somewhat more tentatively, Mathieu, supported Guo's argument (H2:21ab; M91n5; Y294–95n2).

155. The god Shiyi 石夷 is also in charge of the duration of the sun and moon. These gods are recorded respectively in H14:5a, 15:3a, 16:1b, 14:7a. See also Y349 nn5–8. Some of these gods can be related to the names of wind gods inscribed in the Shang dynasty oracle bones. For studies of the ancient wind gods, see Hu (1956) and Matsuda (1986).

156. For a study focusing on these more organized gods, see Itō Seiji (1982).

157. H16:9b.

158. See Chang (1981), 540, where the Xia Sovereign Kai (Qi) and similar figures in the *Guideways* are identified as *wu*-shamans. "The Nine Arguments" 九辯 may refer to nine musical movements in the accompaniment. See Chen (1936), 541–43, where he argues that "The Nine Arguments" dance was synonymous with the Dai Dance 代舞 of the Shang, which was a supplication for rain. A poem in the *Songs of Chu* anthology also titled "The Nine Songs" 九歌 contains short pieces invoking a variety of spirits, most of whom are associated with water or rain. Another poem in the anthology titled "The Nine Summonses" 九招 contains invocations to the dead soul of a ruler to return to his body. The Xia Sovereign Kai (Qi) is also mentioned in chapter 7, where he is called Qi and described as dancing "The Nine Dai Dances" 九代 on the Plain of the Grand Music 大樂之野. For further discussion of myths about the Xia Sovereign Kai (Qi), see B83–85 ; H7:1a; Y209–210.

159. This kind of natural medicine is older than what is now called "Traditional Chinese Medicine" 中醫, whose theory integrated yin-yang 陰陽 and Five Agents 五行 cosmology, along with the concept of vital-energy 氣, and was codified in the *Yellow Thearch's Classic of Internal Medicine* 黃帝內經 (c. 1st cent. B.C.E.). Harper (1990), 218n34, argues that despite later competition among professional *yi*-physicians, *fangshi*-wizards, and *wu*-shamans, the pragmatic nature of medical practice during the Qin and Han supported the continuation of earlier methods. Specifically, he finds linguistic parallels between passages in the *Guideways* and a medical text from a tomb in

Fuyang, Anhui, dated c. 165 B.C.E. (214n15). See Zhong (1931), Itō (1969–1971), Shi eler (1980), and Zhao (1986) for specific studies of early Chinese medicine in the *Guideways* and its connection with *wu*-shamans. For further bibliography on this subject, see Fracasso (1991), 98–100.

160. See note 53.

161. Fracasso (1983), 670–71, counted fifty-four events in the first five chapters, of which forty-five are evil, seven are auspicious, and two are neutral. He argued that the information on ominous creatures reflects an art of "teratoscopy" or divination by monsters that flourished from the Warring States period through the Han and was similar in some ways to practices in Babylonia and ancient Italy. Wu Hung o ered a slightly di erent count: fifty-two omens in the *Guideways* as a whole, with forty-seven evil prognostications, the latter all in the first five books. He provided further evidence on the use of the *Guideways* as an omen book in the Han by identifying the caption to a carving of the Bifang-Bird 比方鳥 at the Wuliang Shrine 武梁祠 (c. 151 C.E.) in modern Jiaxiang, Shandong, and suggested that the evil omens depicted at the shrine were all taken from the *Guideways.* See Wu (1989), 76–85. Similarities between the *Guideways* and a demonological occult manuscript recently excavated from a third-century-B.C.E. tomb at Shuihudi, Hubei, are discussed in Harper (1985), especially p. 479.

162. H2:19ab.

163. H16:8b.

164. The text here is problematical. According to Guo Pu, the herb provides longevity. However, the term *bazhai* 八齋 is understood by Hao Yixing as "eight chambers." Other commentators and translators suggest "eight chambers for purification," "eight chambers containing the Herb of the Supreme God Di," "eight plants consumed during a period of purification," and "Eight Purification Rites" (H15:2a, 16:6b, 8b; M549; C167; F203n59; Y366n1).

165. H16:3ab. Yuan Ke suggested that the graph *ling* 靈 be read as *wu* 巫 (*wu*-shaman) based on the usage in the *Songs of Chu* as well as a gloss in the *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs.* See Y396n1.

166. For a discussion of these shamans, see Chow (1978), 72–83 (H11:6a).

167. The cult of the Transcendents is believed to have originated in the eastern states of Yan 燕 and Qi 齊 (modern Hebei-Shandong) and presented a mythology focused on islands in the Eastern Sea such as Penglai [no. 294] where beings who had perfected elixirs of longevity dwelled. It was largely spread by *fangshi*-wizards who gained influence at court during the Qin and Han dynasties by persuading rulers that they could communicate with the Transcendents and obtain the alchemical formulas for the elixirs. By the Six Dynasties, the cult was substantially absorbed by Daoism and has remained popular in Chinese folklore through the modern period. Later commentators from Guo Pu on sometimes mistakenly identify elements in the *Guideways* in terms of this cult, and some modern scholars have continued to find traces of influence in the text from *fangshi*-wizards. Nevertheless, the *Guideways* overwhelmingly represents a much earlier spiritual outlook, particularly with regard to the secrets of longevity obtained from trees and herbs, not alchemical drugs. Although Penglai is mentioned in chapter 12 as a mountain located in the Eastern Sea and given prominence in the late Ming illustrations, there is no detailed description of it in the text, and it clearly does not rival Mount Kunlun as an *axis mundi.* Furthermore, the graph for Transcendent 仙 *(xian),* does not appear anywhere in the *Guideways.* See H12:6b; Yuan Xingpei (1979), 18–21.

168. Like the Never-Dying Herb 不死藥, the tree is associated with the cult of Mount Kunlun and located nearby. Guo Pu commented elsewhere in chapter 6 that eating another Never-Dying Tree 不死樹 on Round Hill Mountain can produce longevity, as can drinking from the Red Spring on the same mountain (H6:4a; H11:5b, 6a).

169. H18:2b; 6:4a.

170. H15:3a.

171. H7:4a; 16:5a. Xuanyuan 軒轅 is the personal name of the Yellow Thearch.

172. This cult of divine *wu*-shamans continued into the early Han, when it was officially established along with other sacrifices by the first Han emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 206–195 B.C.E.). *Hanshu* (1975 ed.) 4:1211.

173. In addition to the people of the Land of Shaman Xian 巫咸國, another tribe identified as shamans is the Zhi People 載民 [no. 219], who are descended from the thearch Shun. They are

surnamed Ban 肹 like one of the *wu* on Shaman Mountain, eat grains, and live in a paradise where they can obtain food and clothing without working. The *Guideways* notes that they are also known as the People of Shaman Zhi 巫𢦏民 but o ers no further description of their activities. This people is also mentioned in chapter 6, where they are described as yellow and able to kill snakes with bows and arrows. According to some commentators, the graph *zhi* 𢦏 should be read as *die,* meaning "abundance" (H6:3a; 15:3b).

174. See *Chuci buzhu* (1983 ed.), 36–37; also translated in Hawkes (1962), 31. Nine-Similar-Peaks 九疑山, where Xian descends, is a mountain in modern Ningyuan, Hunan, and a traditional burial site of the thearch Shun.

175. H18:2b.

176. See, for example, Chang (1983), 65 , Major (1999), 129–131, and He (June, 1934): 28–29.

177. Translated in Hawkes (1962), 101–9 and 109–14, respectively. In "The Great Summons" 大招, the performer of the ritual is specifically identified as Shaman Yang 巫陽. The Song commentator Hong Xingzu identified him with one of the six mentioned in chapter 11 who revived Yayu [no. 265] with the Never-Dying Herb and quoted Guo Pu's commentary to this entry further identifying Yang as a "divine physician" 神醫. See *Chuci buzhu* (1983 ed.), 198. Beginning in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.E., the concept of an ethereal soul (*hun* 魂) and an earthly soul (*po* 魄) developed and gradually became the most common Chinese view of the human spirit. After death, these two souls separated, with the ethereal soul seeking immortality in a heavenly paradise and the earthly soul proceeding to the underworld while still somehow remaining connected with the interred body for a period.

178. For discussions of early Chinese views of death, see Carr (1985), Erkes (1952), Keightley (1991), and Yu (1964–65, 1981). Han views of the hereafter are surveyed in Loewe (1979), 6–9, and (1982), 25–37. In a reinterpretation of the meaning of the Han tomb number one at Mawangdui (c. 168 B.C.E.) near modern Changsha, Hunan, Wu Hung (1992) describes the ritual of summoning the soul during the Warring States and Han and contrasts the arrangements for the corpse with that for the interred body. Another approach to resurrection of the dead in which the living legalistically petition an underworld bureaucracy for release of the soul is not represented in the *Guideways.* It can also be traced to the Warring States period, however, and is discussed in Harper (1994).

179. In certain cases of demonic activity, it was believed that the natural process of the separation of the two souls had been interrupted, perhaps through improper burial or violent death. In an anecdote in *Zuo's Narratives* dated 534 B.C.E., the aristocrat Zichan of Zheng replied to an inquiry about ghosts by stating that even in the case of ordinary people, the ethereal and earthly souls can remain conjoined in the person's body if they have died a violent death, becoming demonic, and that this was even truer in the case of an aristocrat with higher spiritual qualities. This seems similar to the corpses in the *Guideways,* though the passage in *Zuo's Narratives* does not identify them as such. Conversely, the *Guideways* does not mention either the ethereal or the earthly soul. In any event, the corpses in the *Guideways* are not ghosts but strange creatures who are still alive. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Zhaogong 7* (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2050); translated in Legge 5:618.

180. Wang Ziye, who may be identified with another mythical figure, King Hai 王亥 [see no. 300], is described by Guo Pu as someone whose "body has been dismembered but whose spirit is intact; whose appearance is bizarre but whose vital-energy is harmonious" (H12:4b). Yuan Ke, however, believes this may be too mystical a reading. However, if these corpses were merely unburied bodies without any spiritual power, they would not have been recorded in the *Guideways* as strange creatures. See Y319–20 (H18:7ab, 12:1b, 12:4b–5a).

181. H12:3a, 15:4b, F207n84.

182. H17:7b.

183. H9:1b, 14:3a.

184. H7:3a, 16:4b.

185. For an interpretation of the ten suns myth as the founding myth of the Shang dynasty, see Allan (1991), 19–56. In the *Guideways,* the ten suns are the children of Xihe 羲和, the wife of Thearch Jun, who dwells in her own land beyond the Southeast Sea and bathes the suns in the Sweet Depths. For translations of these and other myths of Xihe, see B123–25. The ritual exposure of female shamans is discussed in Schafer (1951) and Qiu (1983). In Shang times, female *wu*

as well as certain kinds of physically deformed people termed *wang* 尪 were burned to invoke rain during a drought. By the Warring States period, burning seems to have evolved into exposure for about eight or nine days, a practice that continued into the Han.

186. H17:6b; Y218, 430–34. This exorcistic curse is a unique piece of shamanistic information preserved in the *Guideways.*

187. For a thesis along these lines, see Yu (1992).

188. Legends of dog ancestry are known to have existed among Asian peoples from Siberia to Indonesia. Dubois St. Marc documented legends of the dog-tailed people of Java and reproduced photographs taken there of congenital anomalies such as a child born with a "tail" and a hairy-faced man. See Liu (1932). In China, the myth of the union of the dog Panhu 盤瓠 with a princess, first recorded during the early fourth century C.E., has formed part of the origin myths of local aboriginal tribes in the central and southern regions. See B118–20.

189. *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:62–64); H:*Xulu:*1b.

190. See He (June, 1934) and Wang (1934).

191. A chapter on maps is included in the "Maps of the Earth" chapter of the *Master Guan* 管子：地圖, and it is reasonable to suppose that many early works concerned with geography were accompanied by some kind of image or map. In addition to the Nine Bronze Vessels of Yu, other hypotheses about the origin of the illustrations to the *Guideways* are that they are: 1) maps recording territories o ering tribute; 2) didactic pictures displayed by *wu*-shamans for an audience during the performance of religious rituals; 3) frescoes in temples and palaces; 4) images of strange creatures in omen or demonological catalogues. For a history of the illustrations, see Fracasso (1988), especially 93–94.

192. The earliest statement connecting the *Guideways* with the Nine Bronze Vessels of Yu appears in the "Rhymeprose on the Capital of Wu" 吳都賦 by Zuo Si 左思 (c. 253–c. 307). See *Wenxuan* (*Sbby* ed.) 5:6b. The view that the text was originally a commentary on the images was later elaborated on by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72), Yang Shen, and Bi Yuan, among others.

193. See Zhu (1998), 64, who argues that neither Liu Xin nor the "Treatise on Literature" in the *History of the Han Dynasty* mentioned illustrations. While the burden of proof that early illustrations existed remains and may, at this point, only be resolved by archaeological discovery, it is quite possible that the text in its early phases circulated separately from illustrations in some cases, as it did throughout later periods. Zhu, moreover, disregards the internal evidence in the text that seems to suggest references to images.

194. For remarks on the difficulties surrounding the graph *tu* 圖 see Sivin and Ledyard (1994), 26–27, Clunas (1997), 102–111, and Yee, "Chinese Maps in Political Culture," 72n9.

195. H:*Xu:* 3a.

196. Given the presence of variant myths and descriptions of strange creatures in texts as well as the absence of a national religious establishment and an organized priesthood, it is unlikely that there was much consistency in the style or content of divine representations. The remark in the *Master Hanfei* 韓非子 (c. before 233 B.C.E) that artists found it easier to depict ghosts and demons rather than dogs and horses because no one had ever seen the former suggests a considerable range in the details of these images. See *Hanfeizi* 21 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:202); also note 210.

197. For a creative but controversial theory of the meaning of animal decoration on Shang and Zhou bronzes, see Chang (1981). Chang argues that some of these motifs represent mythological animals that act as agents of shamanistic communication between man and the spiritual world of ancestors and gods, citing the *Guideways* as textual confirmation. Among the motifs he discusses are the Taotie 饕餮. Feiyi-Snake 肥遺 [no. 113], Kui 夔 [no. 304], and Dragon 龍 and notes that not only do examples of these types vary considerably in their features but that their designations were applied retroactively by later scholars without much foundation. The comparatively recent identification of the Feiyi-Snake motif, for example, is based on a description in the *Guideways.* It is worth noting that the so-called Taotie widely represented on early bronzes is not mentioned in the *Guideways* at all.

198. For the theory that these tomb guardians are Earth Lord (Tubo) 土伯 and, moreover, that Earth Lord can be considered a transformation of both Earth God (Houtu) 后土 and Yu the Great, see Sun (1973). According to Sun, all three could be represented as a dragon with horns. Early tomb guardians are also briefly discussed in Ho (1991), 86–87.

199. Wang Yi 王逸 (c. 89–c. 158), compiler and annotator of the poems of the *Songs of Chu* believed that the "Questions of Heaven" was composed by the poet Qu Yuan in response to viewing depictions of gods and spirits of the landscape, ancient heroes, and strange creatures on a mural in the ancestral temple of former kings of Chu and in the sacrificial hall for aristocrats and high ministers. The poem was supposedly written by Qu on a wall next to the mural. See *Chuci buzhu* (1983), 85.

200. These have been reproduced and described in detail in *Zenghouyi mu* (1989), 1:26–45.

201. Among the hypotheses are Earth Lord, a kind of occult expert in charge of exorcisms known as the *fangxiangshi* 方相氏, and a kind of Transcendent known as "feathered-man" 羽人 (*yuren*). See *Zenghouyi mu* 1:43.

202. This enumeration of the strange creatures in the Chu Silk Manuscript follows Hayashi (1972).

203. See H5:28b, in which these gods are described as having three heads with human faces. These three special mountains along the seventh guideway through the Central Mountains are identified as *zhong*-level 冢 sacred peaks requiring Grand Corral 太牢 sacrifices.

204. H6:4a.

205. H3:8a.

206. H1:5b.

207. The Chu Silk Manuscript now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., has been documented and analyzed in Barnard (1973), while the significance of the twelve figures has been studied by Hayashi (1970, 1972), Rao (1972), Rao and Zeng (1985), Li Xueqin (1987), and Li Ling (1985). For brief, updated remarks by Rao and Li Ling at a recent symposium, see Lawton (1991), 175–83. These scholars have all correlated the twelve gods with a set recorded in the early glossary *Approaching Refinement,* which is believed to reflect Chu usage. Hayashi o ered a further hypothesis that five of these bear names similar to those of *wu*-shamans mentioned in the *Guideways,* specifically Peng 彭, Gu 姑, Xie 謝, Yang 陽, and Xiang 相. Thus, he argued, they may also represent divine *wu*-shamans, though it is not clear how these two groups might have been related. This view is specifically rejected in Li Ling (1985), 33–34, who maintains that the figures are only the gods of the twelve months. This conclusion has been further refined by Li Xueqin (1987), and he and Li Ling both now believe that the Chu Silk Manuscript reflects the form of a practical cosmic diagram known as the *Liuren shipan* 六壬式盤 as used by exponents of the School of Techniques and Calculations. The Chu Silk Manuscript was also briefly discussed in Loewe (1978), 102–8, which o ered another set of hypotheses about the shamanistic nature of the twelve figures. For a recent translation of the text see Li Ling and Constance A. Cook (1999).

208. Although pre-Qin sources mention the existence of murals, illustrated books, and maps, it is only beginning in the Han that more detailed descriptions about book formats have survived. In the "Treatise on Literature" in the *History of the Han Dynasty* 漢書：藝文志 (late 1st cent. B.C.E), a number of texts are recorded as written on bamboo slats 篇, while the accompanying illustrations or maps are noted as depicted on scrolls 卷. The Eastern Han scholar Ying Shao 應劭 (c. 140–c. 204) noted that it had been the practice of the Western Han court bibliographer Liu Xiang to first transcribe ancient texts onto bamboo slats for editing, then recopy them onto silk scrolls for the imperial library. Another possibility, the use of closely bound bamboo or wood slips as a surface for illustration as well as text, is suggested by the recent discovery of the Shuihudi manuscripts (c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.). See Harper (1985), 466n13. For a survey of early Chinese writing formats, see Tsien (1988), especially 59–89. Recently, the idea that the *Guideways* originated as captions to a mural has been revived by Yu Quanzhong (1992), who argues that at least as far as chapters 6–9 are concerned, the text derives from captions to an early Zhou mural that preserved Shang worldviews.

209. For a concise description of this piece, see the explanation of plate 53 in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (1986), vol. 1, 26–27.

210. See *Huainanzi* 13 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:216): "Nowadays, painters like to depict demons and Mei-Hobgoblins and dislike painting dogs and horses. Why? Because demons and Mei-Hobgoblins do not reveal themselves to people while dogs and horses can be seen every day." See also *Hanfeizi* 21 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:202).

211. The colophons to these strange creatures on the Wu Liang Shrine do not exactly coincide with the extant version of the *Guideways.* They may reflect an earlier version of the text or perhaps were based on similar omen catalogs. Yet another possibility is that they may have been free transformations by artisans.

212. For a study of the ideological significance of these and other omen creatures depicted in Han tombs, see Powers (1991), 246–78. The twenty-odd creatures selected for representation in the Wu Liang Shrine were intended as political criticism of contemporary problems such as humane government, political oppression, and official recruitment. The relationship of these creatures to omen books and to the *Guideways* is also discussed in Wu Hung (1989), 79–84.

213. This scroll is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (P. 2683). The front and end portions are damaged, as are the illustrations in nineteen out of forty-two sections. A commentary added to the text of section 25 on the Jiao-Dragon [no. 274] quotes the *Guideways* but actually paraphrases Guo Pu's commentary. For a discussion and reproduction of the scroll, see Matsumoto (1956).

214. This scroll was divided into two sections: P. 2682 containing nineteen images with texts is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and S. 6261 with six images and texts is in the British Library, London. According to a statement in P. 2682, it originally depicted more than one hundred creatures. The Beast of the White Marsh (Baize) 白澤 was said to be a divine, talking animal obtained by the Yellow Thearch when the latter visited a mountain. In response to the Yellow Thearch's inquiry, the Beast told him about 11,520 strange creatures, and the thearch ordered that they be illustrated. Texts titled *The Beast of the White Marsh's Illustrations* 白澤圖 are first mentioned in Ge Hong's *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity* but may well predate the Six Dynasties. For a study and reproduction of these two scrolls, see Rao (1969). A version of the myth of the Beast of the White Marsh has been translated in B235–36.

215. Guo Pu's commentary occasionally contains such comments as "this creature is included in the depictions of frightening creatures" 在畏獸畫中 (see no. 39n74). It is not clear exactly what this refers to. A later description of the set painted by Shu Ya 舒雅 (c. 935–1005) indicated that these images were organized into categories (see note 216). Perhaps "frightening creatures" was such a category or a well-known genre of painting not directly related to the *Guideways* but overlapping some of its content.

216. See the quotation from the *Bibliography of the Era of Dynastic Revival* 中興書目 preserved in the encyclopedia *Ocean of Jade* 玉海 (1266) (*Yuhai* [1964 ed.], 6b).

217. *Yuhai* (1964 ed.), 6b.

218. For comments on this painting, see Cahill (1980), 5, and Liu (1958), 38–40.

219. Another clear example of this mode of pictorially domesticating the strange can be seen in a Song painting, which may be a later copy, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. It is said to be the unpredictable god of the Northern Sea, Ape-Strength 禺彊 [no. 253]. The *Guideways* describes him as having a bird's body with a human face wearing two green snakes through his ears as he treads on two green or red snakes. In the painting, however, he has been represented as a quiescent Buddhist monk listening to the doctrine to express the culture's desire to subdue the unruly passions of this demonic natural force. Reproduced in Christie (1996 ed.), 71.

220. For a study and reproduction of tomb guardian statuettes of the twelve calendrical animals, which were especially popular during the Sui and Tang dynasties, see Ho (1991).

221. For more details on these editions, see Fracasso (1988), 94–96.

222. See the preface dated Nov.–Dec., 1801 by Zeng Yu 曾煐 (d. c. 1831), "Preface to the Reprint of the Song Edition of the *Approaching Refinement with Illustrations and Pronunciations*" 爾雅音圖重刊影宋本. In *Erya yintu* (1884 ed.), 1a–2b.

223. The Shared-Wings Birds are described in chapter 6 of the *Guideways* as green and red and dwelling in the south. They possess one wing each, requiring them to fly in pairs. Guo Pu noted that they resemble ducks. In chapter 16, however, they are said to dwell in the Great Wilds to the west (H6:1b, 16:6b).

224. The Ming edition of *The Complete Collection of Gods of the Three Teachings* 三教源流搜神大全, which expanded an earlier Yuan version, was reprinted by the bibliophile Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864–1927) in 1909 and more recently in 1989 in a reedited format as *A Catalog of Collected Gods* 搜神譜. For two recent studies on the relationship among illustrations, texts, and

changes in the viewing and reading habits in the Ming and early Qing periods, see Clunas (1997) and Hegel (1998).

225. Because of the nature of traditional Chinese bookprinting, which utilized carved woodblocks instead of movable type, editions could be printed in small numbers as the market demanded, thus costing far less than comparable European methods at the time. Editions could also be reprinted easily enough at later dates, often requiring only a new frontispiece, a more recent preface, and, perhaps, the addition of illustrations. Some surviving editions of the *Guideways* were republished in this way. For a discussion of the material nature of late Ming book production, see Hegel (1998), 72–163, and for information on commercial illustration, see Hegel (1998), 164–289.

226. See the prefaces by Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (fl. c. 1593–1596) and Zhuang Rujing 莊如敬 (n.d.), also of Hangzhou, the latter dated 1593. This work was obtained by the modern scholar and bibliophile Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898–1958), who identified it in 1956 as part of the *Collectanea for Investigating Things and Extending Knowledge* 格致叢書 (late 16th cent.) also edited by Hu of which about 168 titles survive. It is now in the collection of the National Library of China, Beijing.

227. See Moule (1930). He concluded that the book was originally compiled from 1392 to 1430 under the patronage of Zhu Quan 朱權, Prince Ning 寧王 (1378–1448), but not printed until 1489 under the auspices of a prefect, Jin Xian 金銑 (n.d.), who mistakenly considered it a book from the Song. However, the Cambridge copy is incomplete and lacks a title page. It contains a number of textual errors, and the quality of printing is not that of a publication sponsored by an official. Thus, it may be an even later, more popular version, perhaps from the late Ming.

228. See Yu ed. (1974), 650–52, which compares the illustrations of foreign peoples in the Library of Congress version of the *Complete Handbook* with the Cambridge *Records and Illustrations* and concludes that the latter work is the source for the former. Selections of images from the *Collected Illustrations* were published in an English-language edition in Goodhall (1979). For specific remarks on the images related to the *Guideways,* see 12–13 .

229. Ji Yun doubted Wu's claims and considered all the illustrations to be the creations of later artists' imaginations. Therefore, he declined to reproduce any of them when Wu's edition was reprinted in the *Complete Works of the Four Libraries.* See Ji et al., eds. (1971 ed.), 3:2939.

230. This set of portraits was appended to some editions of Hao Yixing's version and has been partially reproduced in C, S, and Y.

231. It is worth noting that a bias against representations of gods developed in the late Ming among certain segments of the Neo-Confucian elite who felt that these were not only without foundation but interfered with the more abstract understanding of the Way (Dao 道). This led to the elimination of such images in state cults, although not in popular religion. Such an attitude, which may also have been held by some elite readers, may explain why the Supreme God Di and the thearchs are not represented in the *Guideways,* with the exception of Yu the Great [no. 345]. Even this figure, however, was later dropped from the Chongchen-period reengravings. See Clunas (1997), 77.

232. The name Suming 素明 appears in the upper righthand corner of plate 1. Wang Xingchun's name appears in the lower lefthand corner of plate LXII and in the upper right of plate LXVI. Although the artistic style of all the plates is fairly consistent, close comparison reveals subtle di erences between the first sixty-one plates and plates LXII–LXXIV, leading to the conclusion that Liu Suming may have been responsible for the first group and Wang Xingchun for the latter. For more information about Liu Suming, see Fang (1988), 220–22. An example of this edition is preserved in the Harvard-Yenching Library, which also preserves a reprint from the same woodblocks but with a di erent title page dated 1689.

233. See *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng: Shanchuan zhushen bu* (1934 reprint) 29:34–42.

234. This edition titled *Shanhaijing tushuo* 山海經圖說 with Guo Pu's commentary was published by the Guangyi shuju 廣益書局 in Shanghai but is undated. The illustrations follow a similar series in a slightly older edition with the same name but with Bi Yuan's commentary published in Shanghai by the Huiwentang 會文堂 in early 1918. The images have clearly been redrawn, but both series can be seen to originally derive from the Ming and Qing portrait tradition. The *Encomiums,* which sometimes appear as colophons, are mistakenly attributed to Hao Yixing instead of to Guo Pu. The 1918 edition was also cheaply printed and probably sold for between twenty-five and forty cents in Chinese money.

235. On plates I–XXII, an earlier Chinese reader wrote in the names of the creatures next to their images, a practice sometimes found in other extant editions of the *Guideways.*

Plates I to LXXVI

1. See "Introduction," 70 and note 226. Beier is also the name of a mountain located in modern Pinglu, Shanxi. Because Yuer does not appear in the text of the *Guideways,* later editions of these illustrations from the seventeenth century onward did not reproduce plate I but began with plate II, which was renumbered as plate I. Plate LXXVI was also dropped (*Shanhaijing tu* 1:6b; *Guanzi* 16 [*Zzjc* ed., 5:277]).

2. H1:1a–2b.

3. In chapter 18, the graphs for Xingxing are written as 猩猩 (H18:4b–5a).

4. *Lüshi chunqiu* 14 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:141).

5. In more recent centuries, the name Xingxing was sometimes used to refer to monkeys such as the orangutan or chimpanzee. Ailao, literally "Sorrowful Cage," was a prosperous barbarian kingdom that entered into tributary relations with the Han court and whose territory was eventually reorganized into districts by the Eastern Han (H1:1b, 10:3b, 18:4b–5a; M3n4; Y275–76nn2–3).

6. "Hall Mountain" is alternately transcribed as 常庭之山 (Changting zhi shan; Eternal-Court Mountain) (H1:1b–2a).

7. See *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 282, where the graph for *yuan* (gibbon) is written as 蝯.

8. H: *tuzan* 圖讚:1b.

9. H1:2a.

10. Gibbon-Wings Mountain 猨翼之山 is alternately transcribed here as 稷翼之山 (Jiyi zhi shan; Millet-Wings Mountain). Following the commentator Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832), Yuan Ke (1916–) suggests that it is probably 即翼之山 (Jiyi zhi shan; Carp-Wings [or Carp-Fins] Mountain) reading 即 (*ji*) as 鯽 (*ji;* Golden-Carp), which is similar to the name of a lake in the region later mentioned in no. 15. This is one of several places whose names contain the graph *yi* 翼 (wings), but it is not clear exactly what this signifies. *Yi* is also the name of one of the twenty-eight constellations, so the word may also possess an astronomical significance (H1:2ab; Y3n1).

11. H1:2a.

12. H1:2b; C3.

13. H1:2b.

14. The Niu-Tree is mentioned in the poem "On the Mountain Is the Thorn-Elm" in the *Book of Songs* 詩經：山有樞 (c. 11th cent. B.C.E.–Han). Commentators noted that it was also known as the "Everlasting-Tree" 萬歲 and provided strong wood for bows and wheels. It appears to be a kind of ilex or oak. Guo Pu interpreted "red-metal" 赤金 as copper and "white-metal" 白金 as silver, even though the *Guideways* generally denotes these elsewhere by the more common terms *chitong* 赤銅 and *yin* 銀, respectively. However, Hao Yixing argued that these referred to purple gold 紫磨金 and white bronze 鋈. Both Fracasso and Mathieu agreed with Guo Pu (H1:2b–3a; F10n3; M6n3; *Maoshi zhengyi* 6 [*Ssjzs* ed., 1:361–62]).

15. H:*tuzan:*1b.

16. H1:3a.

17. Both Guo Pu and Hao Yixing read the graph 留 (*liu;* lingering) as 犁 (*li;* plow). The Plow-Ox 犁牛 is mentioned later in chapter 4 [see no. 139] and described by Guo as "an ox with tiger stripes" (H1:3ab, 4:1ab).

18. H1:3ab.

19. According to Guo Pu, the graph 亶 should be pronounced as 蟬 (*chan*) in Mount Chanyuan (H1:3b).

20. For a short discussion of female jealousy and the *Guideways,* see Yenna Wu (1995), 40, 79–80. In addition to the Lei, chapter 3 of the *Guideways* states that eating the flesh of the Yellow-Bird 黃鳥, which is perhaps an oriole, could also cure jealousy. Chapter 5 mentions the pear-shaped, red-veined leaves of the Yu-Tree 楰木 as having a similar e ect when worn against the body. See also *Zhuangzi yinde* 40:14:79, in which the Old Master (Laozi) 老子 praises the Lei along

with other strange creatures in a fictional dialogue with Confucius 孔子. This chapter has been dated c. 180 B.C.E. (H1:3b, 3:18a, 5:25b; Y5n2).

21. H1:4a.

22. The Chinese denote both goats and sheep as *yang* 羊. The *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* records that a sheep's skin 祋 (*dui*) was hung high on the city wall to discourage anyone from entering unauthorized areas by frightening their oxen and horses. See *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 66 (H1:4a, *tuzan:*1b–2a).

23. H1:4a.

24. It is not clear which mineral "green cinnabar" 青䨥 refers to, though Mathieu quotes various opinions such as green jade or malachite (H1:4b; M11).

25. In later usage, *gu* 蠱 refers both to poison produced by insects and reptiles as well as to shamanistic black magic in general. Guo Pu's commentary notes both meanings, so that eating the Nine-Tail Fox may also undo the e ects of the latter. For more about insect-poison, see Deng (1996); Feng and Shryock (1935); Harper (1990), 225–30 (H1:4b).

26. The myth of Yu the Great's encounter is recorded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yue* 吳越春秋 (mid-1st cent. C.E.) and is translated in B156. Depictions of the Nine-Tail Fox in Han art are briefly surveyed in Loewe (1979), 108; for a representation on a pictorial tomb relief, see Lim, ed. (1987), 34, 166–67 (*Baihutong zhuzisuoyin* 18:39:12, 22).

27. H1:4b.

28. *Lüshi chunqiu* 14 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:141); Tao, *Jingjie xiansheng ji* (*Sbby* ed.) 4:17a. Another translation of Tao's poem appears in Davis (1983) 1:163.

29. See "Plates," note 10 (H1:5a).

30. H1:5a.

31. This passage records the number of mountains and length of the first guideway through the Southern Mountains as stated in the text. However, Hao Yixing noted that only nine mountains along 2,700 *li* have actually been recorded in the extant version, indicating that a section has been lost. Mathieu noted that Winnower 箕 and Tail 尾 are two constellations appearing in the *Master Zhuang,* while Hao Yixing indicated that a citation of this text in the dictionary *Chapters in Jade* 玉篇 (*Yupian,* c. 6th cent.) reprints it only as Winnower Mountain. According to Guo Pu, the graph 毛 (*mao*) indicates o ering up sacrificial animals that possess the same color. Yuan Ke, however, disagreed and argued that it indicates a class of animals with hair such as pigs, chickens, dogs, and goats that are appropriate to sacrifice. Modern translators such as Mathieu, Fracasso, and Birrell have followed Guo (H1:5ab; F11; M14; C5; Y8n2).

32. Although identically named, this Eminent River is apparently di erent from the one mentioned in no. 15 (H1:5b).

33. *Shizi* (*Sbby* ed.) 2:3b; H1:6a, 11:2a, 18:5a; Y454n2.

34. H1:6a.

35. See Tao, *Jingjie xiansheng ji* (*Sbby* ed.) 4:17a. Translated in Davis (1983) 1:163. The extant versions of Tao's poems identify the bird by other names but later commentators have changed this to the Zhu-Bird to conform to the text of the *Guideways.* See Davis 2:129. See also Yuan Ke's theory that the Zhu-Bird is related to myths of Huantou [no. 313] and Danzhu [see no. 313] through linguistic linkage, the bird motif, and the theme of banishment (Y190n2, 274n2).

36. H1:6a.

37. H1:6b.

38. The forms of the graphs 繇 (*yao;* forced labor) and 亂 (*luan;* chaos) may have been confused with each other, according to commentators (H1:6b; M18n3; Y10n4).

39. The text actually mentions three other mountains standing between Lofty-Brilliance and Floating-Jade. Here and in similar cases below, I have added together the distances between each for the sake of continuity (H1:7ab).

40. H1:7ab.

41. The graph 鴜 should be pronounced as 咨 (*zi*), according to Yuan Ke (H1:7b; Y12n3).

42. H1:7b.

43. Five mountains separate Floating-Jade and Mount Xun (H1:9a).

44. H1:9a, *tuzan:*2b.

45. Two mountains separate Mount Xun and Mount Luwu (H1:9b).

46. The portrait is reproduced in Y14.

47. The distance recorded in the extant version is actually 7,210 *li* (H1:10a).

48. H1:10a.

49. For a discussion of the graph 兕 (*si*) as denoting a kind of wild bu alo in antiquity, see Lefeuvre (1990–1991); also Jenyns (1957). A reader wrote in both the graphs *Xi* and *Si* (H1:10a, *tuzan:*2b–3a; Y273n2).

50. H1:10b.

51. H1:10b.

52. H1:10b–11a.

53. H1:10b.

54. Six mountains stand between Pray-and-Pass Mountain and Chicken Mountain (H1:12a).

55. H1:12b.

56. Hao Yixing noted that in other versions of this passage, the graph 鵨 is written as 鵨 (H1:12b).

57. Hao Yixing noted that the extant version of the text lists only thirteen mountains for a length of 5,730 *li* (H1:13b).

58. Hao and Bi read the graph 祈 (*qi;* to pray) as 鱰 (*ji;* to smear with blood and sacrifice). Following this section is a summary statement believed to have been added by early editors that this chapter comprises forty mountains both big and small along a length of 16,380 *li.* However, as Hao noted, based on the counts at the end of each guideway, it should have stated that there are forty-one mountains along a length of 16,680 *li.* This may indicate a copyist's error. However, the extant text records only thirty-nine mountains along 15,640 *li* (H1:13b).

59. H2:1a.

60. Guo Pu noted the pronunciation of the graph 䖳 as similar to that of 針 (*zhen*). However, Yuan Ke, perhaps following the *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs,* stated that it should be pronounced like the graph 咸 (*xian*). For further notes on the Xian-Antelope, see Itō (1979) (H2:1a, *tuzan:*3b; Y21n2).

61. H2:1b.

62. H2:1b, *tuzan:*4a.

63. H2:1b–2a.

64. H2:2a, *tuzan:*4a.

65. H2:2b–3a. Mount Fuyu is separated from Greater Lotus Mountain by one other mountain. Based on early sources, Mathieu proposed that the Veined-Plant is a kind of grapefruit. See M44n3. However, in the next entry in the *Guideways* about Brittle-Stone Mountain, another plant of the same name is described di erently, as resembling a scallion with white flowers and black fruit that can cure itching (H2:3b).

66. H2:3a.

67. H2:3a.

68. H2:3a.

69. The graph 招 should be pronounced like 韶 (*shao*), according to Guo Pu. Eminent Mountain is separated from Mount Fuyu by one other mountain (H2:3b–4a).

70. Guo Pu also noted that the graph 癘 (*li;* contagious disease) was interpreted in some other early texts as 惡 創 (*echuang;* severe wounds) (H2:2a, 4a; *Shuijingzhu yinde* 19:31b).

71. H2:3b–4a.

72. The modern equivalent of the Yellow Guan-Plant 黃 藿 remains unidentified. Guo Pu noted that it was purple and red. *Approaching Refinement* identified it with the Huan-Orchid 芄蘭, while according to Mathieu a commentary to the *Book of Songs* equated it with the *luomo* 籮藦, which may be a kind of asclepiad (*Erya zhushu* 13 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2627]; H2:4ab, 3:13b–14a; M50, 50nn1,2; *Shiji* [1975 ed.] 1:265; *Shuijingzhu yinde* 19:30a; Y323n1).

73. One mountain stands between Bamboo Mountain and Black-Ewe Station Mountain. Yuan Ke cited Jiang Shaoyuan's (20th cent.) interpretion of the term *Yingyuan zhi yu* (Yingyuan-Jade) 嬰垣之玉 as a misprint for *Yingdou zhi yu* (Yingdou-Jade) 嬰脰之玉, meaning a kind of jade suitable for necklaces. Guo Pu noted several variations in the transcription of *Yingyuan* (H2:5b; Y27n2, 57n3; Jiang [1966 ed.], 23n10).

74. H2:5b.

75. H2:5b–6a.

76. H2:5b–6a.

77. One mountain separates Black-Ewe Station Mountain from South Mountain. Hao Yixing considered the Cinnabar River a tributary of the Red River mentioned above, but Mathieu suggested that it might have been a textual error confusing this river with the previously mentioned Cinnabar River (H2:6ab; M54n5).

78. H2:6ab.

79. Both Hao Yixing and Mathieu suggested that the graph 尸 be read as 鳲 (*shi*) based on the glossary *Approaching Refinement* (H2:6b; M56n1; *Erya zhushu* 17 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2648]).

80. H2:6b.

81. Two mountains stand between South Mountain and the Mountain of the Supreme God of Heaven (H2:7b–8a).

82. H2:8a.

83. Guo Pu noted that the graph 薔 should be pronounced as 色 (*se*). He also indicated alternative names of the Rose River as 簣 (Kui; Straw Basket) and 葍 (Fu; Fu-Plant) (H2:8a–9a).

84. H2:8a–9a, *tuzan:* 5a; M60nn2,3.

85. H2:9a.

86. H2:9a.

87. H2:9a. It is not clear here if the graph 黃 (*huang*) in the name of the mountain refers to the color yellow or the Yellow Thearch or is a homonym for "imperial."

88. H2:9a.

89. For a study of parrots in China, see Schafer (1959) (H2:9ab, *tuzan:*5a).

90. H2:9b.

91. H2:9b.

92. Lady's Bed Mountain is the fifth mountain along the second guideway through the Western Mountains. Guo Pu identified Shinie-Stone 石涅 as alum 礬石. However, several later commentators have suggested that it denotes another mineral known as "black cinnabar" 玄丹, also 黑丹, which can be used as mascara, writing ink, or fabric dye. It is also said to appear when the king's virtue extends to the hills and mountains (H2:12a; Y35n1).

93. Among the birds that have been suggested as origins for the mythical Luan-Bird are the pheasant, argus, and peacock. A number of inappropriate translations have appeared over the years including "roc," "phoenix," and "simurgh." The latter, appropriated by the American sinologist Edward Schafer (1913–1991), originally denoted a legendary Persian bird, but there is no convincing evidence of a connection with the Chinese Luan. For a detailed inquiry into the Luan-Bird in early and medieval Chinese literature, see Hargett (1989) (H2:12ab; Schafer [1985], 288n251; *Shuowen jiezi* [1977 ed.], 79).

94. One mountain stands between Deer-Terrace Mountain and Lady's-Bed Mountain. Various commentators have identified the name Baihao 白豪 as referring to the Brave-Pig [no. 38] (H2:13a).

95. H2:13b.

96. H:*tuzan:*5b.

97. According to Hao Yixing, the extant text records a distance of 4,670 *li.* He also noted that the graph 鈐 should be read as 祈 (*qi;* prayer). Guo Pu noted that other names for Seal Mountain 鈐山 were Cold Mountain 冷山 and Muddy Mountain 塗山 (H2:14b–15a).

98. The Zhi-Citrus 枳 is said to be found north of the Huai River 淮 and resembles an orange, according to the *Records for Examining the Artisans* 考工記 (Warring States–Han) quoted by Hao Yixing. Mathieu cited identifications of it as the *Poncirus trifoliata.* See also Fracasso, who notes that the tree is thorny. According to Yuan Ke, 虎 (*hu;* tiger) should be read as 尾 (*wei;* tail) so that the phrase "leopard and tiger markings on its arms" would read "markings on its arms and a leopard's tail." Guo Pu noted without explanation that in another version, Lifter is called Boaster (Kuafu 夸夫 [no. 247]). However, there seems to be little connection between the two creatures, leading Yuan Ke to hypothesize that perhaps divine creatures of great power and speed were generically called Boaster the way other mythologies might term such creatures Giant. The graph 淵 (*yuan;* gorge) often designates a deep lake or river at the bottom of a chasm (H2:15ab; F263; M52n3; Y39n9).

99. H2:15b–16a.

100. H2:15b–16a, 6:1b, 16:6b.

101. Three mountains separate Bell Mountain from Mount Chongwu. There is no scholarly agreement on the meaning of Yao-Stone 瑤, which has been translated as "jade," "emerald," "turquoise," "jasper," and so forth. See also F261. The *Guideways* denotes the area of an omen's e ect by various terms expressing di erent degrees of power. Here, the appearance of Gu as a Jun-Bird a ects the *yi* 邑, which has been variously translated. K. C. Chang described it as indicating a walled town or city in early China, which was sometimes organized as an aristocratic estate or fief. Mathieu translated *yi* as "les exploitations agricoles," while Fracasso preferred "area abitativa." In the *Guideways,* it denotes the smallest area in contrast to the larger district 縣, commandery 郡, state 國, and the world 天下. I have translated it as "town," though the size of these places varied, and some might be better thought of as ancient cities (H2:18a–19a; F29, 29n53; M84; Chang [1976], 61).

102. The *Guideways* as well as later sources identifies Torch-Darkness 燭陰 with Torch-Dragon 燭龍, despite several discrepancies. In chapter 8, Torch-Darkness is described as similar to the Torch-Dragon of chapter 17. However, in chapter 8, Bell Mountain is located in the northern lands beyond the seas, while in chapter 17, Torch-Dragon is located on Mount Zhangwei 章尾山 [no. 336] (H2:18a–19a, 8:1ab, 17:8b–9a; Y43n2, 231n1, 438–9; *Zhuangzi yinde* 16:6:32; B68, 232; *Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 93; Hawkes [1962], 49).

103. H2:19ab.

104. H2:19ab; *Lüshi chunqiu* (*Zzjc* ed., 6:142); *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 79.

105. The graph 招 should be pronounced as 韶 (*shao*), according to Guo Pu. He also stated that the term 蠃母 (*luomu*) referred to 蜾蠃 (*puluo;* snails) (H2:19a–20b).

106. The Ruo-Tree is further discussed in Y437n2. The *Guideways* also locates the site of Lord Millet's burial elswhere in chapters 11 and 18. In the latter, it is specifically at the paradisical Plain of the Broad Citadel 都廣之野. For other myths of Lord Millet, see B20 (H2:19a–20b, 11:2a, 17:8b, 18:2b–3a; M90n2; Y291n1, 445n2).

107. H2:20b–21a.

108. H2:21a–23a. For a complete translation of this passage, see "Introduction," 39.

109. See the opinions of Guo Pu, Yuan Ke, and Mathieu, which are opposed to that of Hao Yixing that the Supreme God Di mentioned here is the Yellow Thearch 黃帝. For a possible representation of Luwu in Han art, see Powers (1991), 77–79 (H2:21a–23a, *tuzan:*6b; M91n5; Y294n1, 299n3).

110. H2:21b.

111. H2:21b–22a.

112. H2:23a.

113. H2:16b–17a.

114. H2:23ab.

115. H:2:23b, *tuzan:*7a.

116. H2:23b–24a.

117. Hao Yixing noted other early texts where "Xiwangmu" refers to a foreign land. Fracasso, "Holy Mothers" (1988), argues that the various entries in the *Guideways* reflect three separate mythological traditions that cannot be combined into a single figure and rejects attempts to trace her back to the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions that speak of a "Western Mother" 西母. Her meeting with King Mu is recorded in chapter 3 of *The Chronicle of King Mu* (*Mutianzi zhuan* 3 [*Sbck* ed., 3:8–9]). The line that Guo Pu quotes to mean that she is a daughter of the Supreme God (*Mutianzi,* 8) was read by later commentators in various other ways. Some have suggested that she appears in this text as a tribal chieftain, but Guo, who wrote the earliest surviving commentary to it, clearly regarded her here as also a goddess. Cahill (1993), 17, and Mathieu (M100–101n4) note that she appears in the *Guideways* as a shamaness. For studies of her iconography in the Han, see Loewe (1979), 86–126, especially 103–4 for an illustration of the Sheng-Crown 勝; also Wu (1989), 108–41. For a study focusing on the Queen Mother of the West in the Tang, see Cahill (1993). A brief summary and translations of other early textual evidence appears in B171–75 (H2:23b–24a, *tuzan:*7a).

118. H2:24b.

119. H2:24b.

120. The graph 胜 should be pronounced as 姓 (*xing*), according to Guo Pu, and 錄 (*lu;* record) is a homophone for 鹿 (*lu;* deer), according to Hao Yixing (H2:24b).

121. Three mountains separate Mount Zhang'e from Jade Mountain (H2:26a).

122. H2:26a.

123. For a reproduction of the Bifang-Bird at the Wu Liang Shrine, see Hayashi (1973), fig. 46; also Wu Hung, 81, 243. (H2:26a, *tuzan:*7b; *Hanfeizi* 10 [*Zzjc* ed., 5:44]; *Huainanzi* 13 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:231]; Y188–89n1).

124. The graph 榴 should be read as 貓 (*mao;* cat), according to Guo Pu (H2:26b).

125. H:*tuzan:*7b.

126. One mountain separates Three-Dangers Mountain from Dark Mountain (H2:27a).

127. H2:27a, 12:1a, 16:4ab.

128. H2:27a.

129. H2:27a.

130. One mountain separates Celestial Mountain from Three-Dangers Mountain (H2:27b–28a).

131. The fable about the Thearch of the Center can be found in *Zhuangzi yinde* 21:7:33–35. For the entry on Hundun in *Zuo's Narratives,* see *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 20: *Wengong* 16 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1862–63); also Legge (1966 ed.), 5:282–83. For translations and studies of these and other Hundun myths, see B95, 98–100; Eoyang (1989); Giradot (1983), 77–133. While Mathieu and Birrell both follow Chinese commentators by connecting Dijiang with Hundun here, Fracasso refrains from doing so and translates this passage without reference to the personified Hundun. Yuan Ke's identification of Dijiang with Thearch Hong (Dihong) 帝鴻, who appears in chapter 14, is not entirely implausible if one accepts that the graph 江 (*jiang*) may be a variation of 鴻 (*hong*) without the righthand element 鳥 (*niao;* bird). It also reinforces the alternate transcriptions of this passage that indicate that he is a divine bird. Hao Yixing noted other sources that identified Thearch Hong with the Yellow Thearch (H2:28a, 14:4a, *tuzan:*8a; F34; M110; Y56n5).

132. H2:28ab.

133. Hao Yixing believed that the discrepancy between Guo's two descriptions of Rushou was due to a confusion of the graphs 尾 (*wei;* tail) with 毛 (*mao;* hair). For a study of Rushou in early Chinese texts, see Riegal (1989–1990), who notes that the synthesizing tendencies of Warring States religion tended to represent gods in three ways: 1) as agents of heaven bestowing rewards and carrying out punishments; 2) as members of a cosmological system such as the Five Agents correlated with temporal and spatial schemes; 3) as historicized figures incorporated into the divine genealogies of the major ruling houses of the Eastern Zhou (H2:28ab, 7:6a; Y57n2, 227n1).

134. H2:28b–29a.

135. H2:29a.

136. H2:29a, *tuzan:*8a.

137. According to Hao Yixing, the extant text records only twenty-two mountains along 6,240 *li* (6,440 *li* if the Desert of Shifting Sands is included) (H2:29ab).

138. Upper-Shen Mountain is the sixth along the fourth guideway through the Western Mountains. Shen was a feudal state in modern Shaanxi and Shanxi that was destroyed by King Wen of Chu (r. 689–677 B.C.E.). Its remnants remained militarily active until they were later destroyed again by the state of Qin. In the text, Upper-Shen Mountain is located 320 *li* north of Shen Mountain 申山 (H2:30b–31a).

139. The last two lines of Guo's encomium echo chapter 11 of *The Old Master:* "The thirty spokes of a wheel share a single hub but the cart uses the hub's emptiness to function. . . . Therefore, one can take advantage of what exists while making use of what is empty" (H:*tuzan:* 8a; *Laozi zhuzisuoyin* 11A:4:6).

140. Six mountains separate Hard Mountain from Upper-Shen Mountain. The graph 漆 should be read as 柒 (*qi;* lacquer), according to Wang Fu (1692–1759). The graph 欽 should be read as 吟 (*yin;* to chant) according to Guo Pu. For other interpretations, see Hao Yixing 呵欠 (*heqian;* yawning), F36 ("un gemito"), M124 ("un carillon") (H2:33a; Y61n1).

141. Hao Yixing believed that the graph 魌 (*chui*) should be read as 魋 (*tui*) defined in the *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* as a divine beast (H2:33a; *Shuowen jiezi* [1977 ed.], 189).

142. This Luo River is di erent from the better-known one that flows through the later city of Luoyang (H2:33a).

143. H2:33a.

144. The graph 浼 should be read as 冤 (*yuan*), according to Guo Pu. Though Hao Yixing cited the *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* as indicating that the graph 眯 (*mi*) meant "a piece of grass getting in the eye," Yuan Ke argued that it meant 厭夢 (*yanmeng;* nightmare) based on a reading in the *Master Zhuang.* See also F37 ("accecati") and M125 ("une optalmie") (H2:33ab; Y62n2).

145. M127n2 identified the Huai-Tree (*Huai*) 櫰 as the similarly pronounced Huai-Tree (*Huai*) 槐, a kind of sophora (H2:33a–34b).

146. See "Introduction," 1 (H2:33a–34a, 8:5b).

147. H2:34ab.

148. H2:34ab, 12:2ab; Y312n1; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:65); *Shenyijing* (*Bbcs* ed.), 10b.

149. The graph 銚 if read as *diao* is defined in *Explanations and Analyses of Graphs* as a vessel for warming things, a reading favored by Hao Yixing. See also M130 ("une bouilloire") (H2:34b–35a; *Shuowen jiezi* [1977 ed.], 295).

150. H2:34a–35b, *tuzan:*9a.

151. Hao Yixing noted that the text literally states that the Rupi-Fish has "fish's wings" 魚翼 but cited two other versions that state that it merely has wings (H2:35ab).

152. H2:34b.

153. H2:35b–36a.

154. For the mention of Mount Yanzi in the poem "On Encountering Sorrow," see *Chuci buzhu* (1983 ed.), 27; also Hawkes (1962), 28 (H2:35b–36a, *tuzan:*9b).

155. H2:36a.

156. The text states that the Slippery-Fish makes a sound like 梧 (*wu*), which Guo Pu interpreted as 枝梧 (*zhiwu;* to quarrel). Hao Yixing interpreted it to mean the paulownia 梧桐 and, by extension, the sound of the zither that often was made from the wood of this tree. Since both interpretations are hypothetical, I have followed Guo's simply because of its comparative antiquity. See also M135 ("leur crie ressemble [au son d'une guitare] de sterculie platanifoliée"), while Finsterbush (1952), 16, prefers Guo's explanation. F39n92 reproduces both versions in a footnote maintaining that the sense of the text here remains obscure (H3:1b).

157. H3:1b.

158. H3:2a.

159. According to Guo Pu, the name should be pronounced like the graph 由 (*you*); however, Hao Yixing stated that the graph 鯈 should be read as 鯈 (*shu*) as in the version in the *Ocean of Jade* 玉海 (1266), which also describes the fish as having a red tail instead of red feathers and three tails (H3:2a).

160. The Wu Renchen portrait is reproduced in Y69 (H3:2a).

161. H3:2a.

162. Y69–70n1.

163. H3:2b.

164. H:*tuzan:*10a.

165. H3:2b.

166. H3:2b.

167. H3:2b–3a.

168. H3:3a.

169. H3:3a.

170. H3:3a.

171. One mountain stands between Mount Guo and Cinnabar-Smoke Mountain (H3:3b).

172. H3:3b.

173. H3:3b–4a.

174. H3:4ab.

175. The literal name of the Youyan, Secluded-Quail, does not seem to fit its categorization as a beast. The graph 鵪 (*yan;* quail) should be pronounced like the graph 遏 (*e*) according to Guo Pu, while Yuan Ke noted that Guo's encomium and another version of this passage printed the graph as 頞 (*e;* nose bridge) (H3:4ab, *tuzan:*10a; Y73n7).

176. H3:4b.

177. Guo Pu noted that the graph 鵸 was also pronounced like the graph 渴 (*ke*). According to another version cited by Hao Yixing, only the tail of the Jiao-Bird resembles that of female pheasants, not their feathers (H3:4b).

178. H3:4b–5a.

179. H3:5a.

180. H3:5a.

181. H3:5ab.

182. H3:5b.

183. H3:5b, *tuzan:*10b–11a.

184. One mountain stands between Greater Unity Mountain and Marquis Pan Mountain (H3:6a).

185. H3:6a, *tuzan:* 11a.

186. One mountain stands between Greater and Lesser Unity Mountains (H3:7a).

187. H3:7a, 10:4b, 11:1a, 6a, 18:4b; Y278nn1,4; *Erya zhushu,* 18 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2651).

188. H3:7ab.

189. H3:7b.

190. H3:7b–8a.

191. H3:7b–8a.

192. H3:8a

193. H3:8a.

194. H3:8a; *Guanzi* 14 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:237).

195. Three mountains separate Dike Mountain from Murky-Dusk Mountain (H3:8b–9a).

196. H3:9a

197. Most commentators have regarded the text as indicating a single strange creature; however, the ambiguity of the language has led Hao Yixing and Mathieu to consider the possibility that it may refer to "dragons and turtles" (H3:9a; F44n111; M157).

198. According to Hao Yixing, the actual length of this guideway as recorded in the extant version of the text is 5,680 *li* (H3:9a).

199. *Dadai liji zhuzisuoyin* 9.1:52:8,9; H3:9a; *Huainanzi* 1 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:6).

200. Hao Yixing cited both a later passage and another version of the text in which the graphs for 印澤 (Yinze; Imprint Lake) are written as 邛澤 (Qiongze; Hilly Lake [see no. 120]) (H3:11a).

201. The *Guideways* only includes one statement that might refer to a Qilin. In chapter 18, the god Han Liu 韓流, a descendant of the Yellow Thearch, is described as having "the body of a lin" 麟身, which may refer to a Qilin (H3:11a, 18:2a).

202. H3:11ab.

203. The controversial question of the meaning of the Taotie decorations on ancient bronze vessels has been surveyed in Kesner (1991). For a further theory that attempts to relate the rebellious god Chiyou with the Taotie and Paoxiao myths based on their common feature of devouring people, see Y374n2 (H:3:11ab, *tuzan:*11b; *Lüshi chunqiu* 16 [*Zzjc* ed., 6:180]).

204. H3:11b.

205. H3:11b–12a.

206. The graph 彙 should be pronounced as 渭 (*wei*), according to Guo Pu. This Wei is thought by commentators to be the same as the Wei-Porcupine 蝟 mentioned in connection with Thoroughly-Odd [nos. 83, 283] (H3:12ab; M127n4).

207. The assocation with Lifter (Jufu) may result from the similar sound of its name to Boaster (Kuafu) in Chinese, according to Hao Yixing (H3:12ab).

208. The Great-Line Mountains are located in modern Jiyuan and Huolu districts, Henan. Guo Pu noted that the Ling-Antelope 麢羊 resembled a goat with a large horn. It eats little and likes to roam among the mountains (H2:9b, 13ab; M171n4).

209. H3:13b.

210. H3:13b–14a.

211. H3:14a.

212. For a record of the Celestial-Horses from the Western Regions, see *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 10:3157–80, and for the celebration of these and other horses in the Tang, see Schafer (1985), 58–70.

213. The graph 寓 (*yu*) has been glossed by commentators as 疣 (*you;* tumor) (H3:14b; M174n1).

214. One mountain separates Celestial-Lake from Horse-Succeeds Mountain (H3:14b–15a).

215. Hao Yixing noted that the *Explanation and Analyses of Graphs* defines *ling* 領 as meaning "neck" and *hu* 胡 as "protruding chin or jaws" (H3:15a; *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 89, 182).

216. H3:15a; *Erya zhushu* 19 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2653).

217. H3:15a.

218. H:*tuzan:*12ab.

219. H3:15ab.

220. Three mountains separate Scenic Mountain from Bright Mountain (H3:16ab).

221. H3:16b; *tuzan:*12b.

222. Eleven mountains separate Departing-Doves Mountain from Scenic Mountain (H3:19b–20a).

223. For Tao Qian's poem, see *Jingjie xiansheng ji* (*Sbby* ed.) 4:15 and for a translation, Davis (1983) 1:161–62. The early myth of Spirit-Guardian is briefly discussed in B214–15, and some later versions are mentioned in H3:20a and Y92–93n4.

224. Eleven mountains separate Great-Play Mountain from Departing-Doves Mountain. The graph 液 is pronounced as 懌 (*yi*), according to Guo Pu (H3:23ab).

225. H3:23a.

226. Seven mountains separate Dry Mountain from Great-Play Mountain (H3:24b–25a).

227. The text only identifies this creature as Pi, which usually denotes a species of bear. However, Guo Pu's encomium and Hao Yixing's commentary identify it as the Pijiu (H3:25a; *tuzan:*12b).

228. Three mountains separate Inverted Bell and Mufeng Mountains from Dry Mountain. For the pronunciation of the graphs 鉼于 (*chunyu*), see F56n149, 92n274. Mufeng Mountain 毋逢之山 could be translated as Mother-Peak Mountain, reading the graph 逢 as 峰 (*feng;* peak). However, see no. 138 and note 230, in which Mufeng is written as 無逢 (*wufeng;* literally, "without peaks") (H3:25b–26a).

229. H3:26a; 18:7b–8a.

230. According to Hao Yixing, the extant text lists forty-seven mountains along 12,440 *li.* The text here prints Mufeng Mountain as Wufeng Mountain 無逢之山, which could mean "mountain without peaks." Since the total number of gods is only forty-four, Hao Yixing speculated that some must control several mountains. See Jiang (1966), 26n10, and Yuan Ke's commentary, which suggest that the graphs "aquatic grass and angelica" 藻芑 are a misprint for "mottled jade scepter" 藻珪 as such sacrifices in the *Guideways* usually involve burial of jade objects (H3:26ab; Y99n1).

231. H4:1ab.

232. H4:1ab.

233. One mountain separates Mount Xunzhuang from Mount Shuzhu (H4:1b).

234. H4:1a–2b.

235. Six mountains separate Solitary Mountain from Mount Xunzhuang (H4:3a).

236. H:*tuzan:*13a.

237. H4:3ab.

238. The later cults of the Supreme Mountain have been studied in Chavannes (1910) and Kroll (1986). For a record of the Eastern Han emperor Guangwu's 漢光武 (r. 25–57 C.E.) pilgrimage to the mountain in 56 C.E., see Strassberg (1994), 57–62 (H:*tuzan:* 13a).

239. According to Hao Yixing, the distance recorded in the extant text is only 3,500 *li* (H4:3b–4a).

240. H4:4ab; F61n164; Y105n1.

241. Vine Mountain is the fifth along the second guideway through the Eastern Mountains (H4:4b–5a).

242. A passage in the now lost *Record of Nanyue* 南越志 (n.d.) reprinted in the Tang dynasty *Encyclopedia for Elementary Studies* 初學記 (early 8th cent.) states that a similar creature has four eyes. This portrait from the Wu Renchen edition is reproduced in Y106 (*Lüshi chunqiu* 14 [*Zzjc* ed.] 6:141–42; H4:4b–5a; *tuzan:* 13b).

243. The graph 犰 should be 仉 (*ji*), according to Hao Yixing (H4:5a).

244. H:*tuzan:*13b.

245. One mountain separates Shining Mountain from Exceedingly Lofty Mountain (H4:5b).

246. H4:5b.

247. H4:5b–6a.

248. Five mountains separate Mount Gufeng from Mount Luqi. If the graph 逢 is read as a variant of 峰 (*feng;* peak), then this mountain could be translated as "maiden peak mountain" (H4:6b).

249. Hao Yixing believed that the graph 姪 should be written as 蛭(H4:6b).

250. H4:2b, 4:6b.

251. The graph 磌 is pronounced as 真 (*zhen*) according to Guo Pu (H4:6b–7a).

252. H:*tuzan:*14a.

253. H4:7a.

254. H4:7a.

255. H4:7ab.

256. H4:7ab.

257. H4:7b.

258. Four mountains separate Tiptoe Mountain from Forked Mountain (H4:8ab).

259. *Erya* 16 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2641; *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 282; H4:8a.

260. H4:8b.

261. According to Hao Yixing, the extant text only measures 6,400 *li* (H4:9a).

262. Y113n1.

263. According to Guo Pu, the graph 猲 should be pronounced like the graph 葛 (*ge*). However, Hao Yixing argued that its name should actually be 猲狙 (Gedan) (H4:9a).

264. H4:9b.

265. The text of the "Questions of Heaven" prints the graph 堆; however, most later commentators have followed Liu Zongyuan's 柳宗元 (773–819) "Answers to the 'Questions of Heaven' " 天對, which treated it as a mistranscription for 雀 (*que;* magpie) and assumed that these lines allude to the creatures recorded in the *Guideways.* See also Hawkes's translation of the Qi-Magpie as "monster bird" (H4:9b; *Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 96; Hawkes [1962], 49).

266. H4:9b.

267. H4:9b; M236; Y114n1.

268. One mountain stands between Tail-Banner Mountain and Woman-Boiling Mountain (H4:10a).

269. H4:10ab.

270. H4:10a.

271. The graph 子 is read as 梓 (*zi;* catalpa) as suggested by Hao Yixing (H4:10b).

272. H4:10b.

273. H4:10b.

274. H4:11a.

275. *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 119 (H4:11a).

276. The Tuo-Rat remains unidentified (H5:1ab).

277. One mountain separates Mount Quzhu from Sweet-Jujube Mountain. According to a passage in the *Record of Collected Places* 括地志 (Tang dynasty) cited by Hao Yixing, the name of this mountain, literally "Canal-Pig" 渠豬, may be a combination of two di erent names for this mountain, Canal 渠 and Pig 豬. This mountain is also considered part of the Bo Mountains (H5:2a).

278. Seven mountains separate Oxhead Mountain from Mount Quzhu (H5:3ab).

279. Guo Pu gave the pronunciation of the graph 胚 as *pei,* while Wang Fu glossed it as *fei* and Mathieu and Fracasso read it as *ku* (H5:3b; F73; M248; Y120n1).

280. Fresh Mountain is the fourth mountain along the second guideway through the Central Mountains (H5:5b).

281. H5:5b.

282. The description of this Longzhi di ers from another beast also named Longzhi [no. 150]. The graphs for *zhi* are written slightly di erently in both cases. Most Chinese commentators believed them to be identical, however. Concerning the graph 昧 (*mi;* blindness), see note 144 (H5:5b–6a).

283. H5:5b–6a; F75n206; Y62n2, 377–78n3.

284. Two mountains separate Vine-Channel Mountain from Mount Kunwu (H5:6b–7a).

285. H5:7a.

286. Guo Pu noted that other versions record the name of Tall-Bank Mountain 敖岸之山 as Presentation Mountain 獻山 and that the place produced "fine stone" rather than "fine jade." He also was unable to identify the trees in the Yellow River Forest; however, Hao Yixing and Mathieu believed the Qian 蒨 is the Qiancao 蒨草 (*Rubia cordifolia,* i.e., madder bush) and that the Ju 擧 is the willow 柳 (H5:7b; M258nn5,6).

287. Hao Yixing identified the graph 墠 as a variant of 禪 (*shan*) while Guo Pu noted that it should be pronounced like the graph 填 (*tian*) (H5:7b–8b).

288. For various myths of Gun, see B79–81 (H5:7b–8a, 18:10b–11a; F77; M260–61; Y125–26, 472–75).

289. Guo Pu noted that the Gaoben 稟本 was a fragrant plant, and in another version of the text, the Xun-Plant 荀草 is called the Bao-Plant 苞草 (H5:8b–9a).

290. H5:8b–9a.

291. H5:9a.

292. One mountain separates Harmony Mountain from Black-Horse Mountain (H5:9b–10a).

293. H5:10a; *Lüshi chunqiu* 6 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:58).

294. According to Hao Yixing, the distance recorded in the extant text is only 80 *li* (H5:10ab).

295. Supported-Pig Mountain is the second along the fourth guideway. Guo Pu noted that the graph 麏 is also pronounced like the graph 麋 (*mi*). The graph 瓀 is a variant of 礝 (*ruan*), according to Hao Yixing (H5:10b–11a).

296. H5:10b–11a; C74.

297. While Guo Pu pronounced the graph 薆 as 搜 (*sou*) and believed it to be a kind of madder, Hao Yixing argued that based on the glossary *Approaching Refinement* it refers to a kind of orchid and is properly pronounced like 鬼 (*gui*) (H5:11a).

298. H5:11a.

299. H5:11ab.

300. H5:11ab.

301. Head Mountain is the second along the fifth guideway. Hao Yixing read the graph 錄 as a variant of 鹿 (*lu;* deer) (H5:13ab).

302. H5:13ab; F81; M271–72; Y132–33.

303. If the graph 逢 is read as 峰 (*feng;* peak), then Pingfeng could mean "flat-peak" (H5:16ab).

304. H5:16ab; Y136n1, 137n5; *Hanshu* (1975 ed.) 7:2038.

305. One mountain separates Mount Gui from Mount Pingfeng (H5:16b–17a).

306. Four mountains separate Secret Mountain from Mount Gui (H5:18ab).

307. Great Misery Mountain is the seventh along the seventh guideway through the Central Mountains. The graph 辈 is a variant of 苦 (*ku;* misery), according to Hao Yixing (H5:23b–24a).

308. Hao Yixing suggested that perhaps Noble Mountain was located in the area of Guiji Commandery (modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang), since there were no other records confirming a Yangxian district in Wuxing (H5:23b–24a; *Erya* 16 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2640]).

309. H5:24ab.

310. H5:24ab.

311. According to Hao Yixing, the distance recorded in the extant text is only 1,056 *li* (H5:28a).

312. The final phrase repeats the earlier description of the sixteen gods (H5:28b).

313. The graph 杼 is read as 柱 (*zhu*), according to Guo Pu. This illustration may also be the Jiao-Fish 鮫魚, a kind of shark that is found in the Zhang River 漳水 farther on (H5:28b–29a; G355–56).

314. One mountain separates Proud Mountain from Scenic Mountain. The commentator Wu Renchen read the graph 蠪 as 鼉 (*tuo;* alligator). See also no. 198 (H5:30a; C85; F95).

315. H2:7a, 5:29b; *Erya* 13 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2629).

316. H5:30ab.

317. H5:14b, 30ab; *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 202, 203; Y134n1.

318. Three Mountains separate Brilliance Mountain from Lady's-Table Mountain (H5:31a).

319. H5:31b; C86; F95.

320. H5:31b.

321. According to Hao Yixing, the distance recorded in the extant text is 3,010 *li.* Portions of

this passage appear to be corrupt. The translation follows the reconstruction of Yuan Ke based on Jiang Shaoyuan. For a more literal rendering, see F97 (H5:33ab; M318–19; Y156n2).

322. H5:34ab.

323. Although the shape of this creature is clearly that of a turtle, the dragon-like face and relatively large size suggest that it might be the artist's attempt to depict a Tuo-Alligator (G366; H5:34ab; Y156n1; *Lüshi chunqiu* 5 [*Zzjc* ed., 6:52]; *Erya* 19 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2653]).

324. One mountain separates Mount Ju from Mount Min. The reading North River instead of Long River is based on Guo Pu's annotation (H5:35ab).

325. H5:35ab.

326. One mountain separates Snake Mountain from Mount Ju. The graph 狆 is pronounced as 已 (*si*), according to Guo Pu as corrected by Hao Yixing (H5:36a).

327. H2:14a, 5:24ab, 36b; F262.

328. H5:36a.

329. H5:36a.

330. According to Hao Yixing, the extant text records the length of this guideway as 3,650 *li.* This passage is corrupt in several places and has been corrected according to the suggestions of Hao Yixing and Yuan Ke: the graph 文 is read as 岷 (*min*), 毛 is read as 用 (*yong*), and 席 is read as 帝 (*di*) (H5:38ab; Y160–61).

331. Mount Fuzhou is the fifth mountain along this guideway. The commentary to this passage contains an encomium by Guo Pu that di ers from the one collected in the *Encomiums* (H5:39a, *tuzan:*18b).

332. H4:8ab, 5:39a, 8:4a; Y242n2.

333. Abundance Mountain is the sixth mountain along this guideway (H5:41b).

334. H5:41b.

335. Two mountains separate Yaobi-Stone Mountain and Abundance Mountain (H5:42a).

336. *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Huigong* 1, *Zhuanggong* 29 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1718, 1782); H5:42a.

337. Hao Yixing and other commentators considered the graphs 濟水 (Jishui; Relief River) to be a mistake for 淯水 (Yushui; Nurturing River), since the Ji River does not flow into the Han but into the sea. They also argued that 支離之山 (Mount Zhili) was a mistake for 攻離之山 (Mount Gongli) (H5:42ab; Y166nn1,2).

338. H5:42b.

339. One mountain stands between Mount Jinli and Mount Zhili (H5:43a).

340. The graph 黏 is read as 枯 (*ku*), according to Guo Pu (H5:43a).

341. The meaning of protecting against the e ect of wind (*feng* 風) here is ambiguous, but it may be a misprint for a homonym, 瘋 (*feng;* insanity, paralysis, apoplexy). Among various translations and commentaries are "preventing fear of winds from heaven" (Guo Pu, H5:43a); "non resta paralizzato" (F106); "maux de tête" (M343); "gouty arthritis" (S133); rheumatism and other illnesses caused by moisture (Wang Fu, cited in Y167n5); and "lunacy" (C95).

342. Four mountains separate Follow Mountain from Mount Yiku (H5:44a).

343. H5:44a; *Erya* 16 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2640).

344. Two mountains separate Happy-Horse Mountain from Follow Mountain (H5:44b).

345. Six mountains separate the Mountain That Relies on the Supreme God Di from Happy-Horse Mountain (H5:45ab).

346. *Erya* 19 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2652).

347. Six mountains separate the Mountain That Relies on the Supreme God Di from Fresh Mountain. The expression 膜大 should be read as 膜犬 (*moquan;* desert dog), according to Hao Yixing (H5:46b–47a).

348. H5:46b.

349. Grandee Mountain is the sixth mountain along this guideway. The graphs 夫夫 should be read 大夫 (*dafu;* grandee) and 雞鼓 should be read as 雞穀 (*jigu;* chicken grain), according to Bi Yuan and Hao Yixing. The latter is identified as a kind of dandelion with medicinal properties according to Mathieu (H5:42a, 49b–50a; F254; M340n2; Y176n1).

350. H5:53a.

351. H5:50a–51b; M119n6; F257; C100.

352. For a translation of this and other accounts of the goddesses, see B167–69. A more complex biography of them appears in *Biographies of Virtuous Women* 列女傳 (c. Six Dynasties) 1:1a–1b (*Sbby* ed.). For the poems "The Queens of the Xiang River" and "The Lady of the Xiang," see

Chuci buzhu (1983 ed.), 59–68, translated in Hawkes (1962), 37–39, also Waley (1955), 29–36 (H5:50a–51b).

353. The commentators Bi Yuan and Hao Yixing considered this an interpolation of the late Zhou-Qin period and not part of the original text of the *Guideways,* since clearly these remarks could not have been uttered by Yu the Great. Both Guo Pu and Hao noted that these lines appear in the "Measurements of the Earth" chapter of the compendium *Master Guan,* where they are spoken by Guan Zhong in response to a question by Duke Huan about the extent and bounty of the earth. The text concludes with an early count, perhaps by Liu Xin, of 15,503 graphs for the first five books of the *Guideways.* However, Hao Yixing counted 21,265 graphs, indicating considerable expansion of the work over the centuries (H5:53b–54b; *Guanzi* 77 [*Zzjc* ed., 5:382]).

354. H6:1ab.

355. H6:1ab, *tuzan:*20a.

356. The graph 羽 (*yu*) may mean "wings" and/or "feathers." The illustration here depicts them as having human bodies with wings. However, the portrait in the Wu Renchen edition reproduced in Y187 depicts their entire bodies covered with feathers as well. The text here and in many later places records alternative versions. Some scholars have seen this as the work of Liu Xin, for when alternative versions are noted by Guo Pu, they usually appear within his own commentary (H6:1b–2a).

357. The depiction of Transcendents as Feathered Men was conventional in the Eastern Han. However, such illustrations were derided by the iconoclastic thinker Wang Chong 王充 (27–c. 100 C.E.) in the "Formless Things" chapter of his collection of philosophical essays, *Judicious Disquisitions* 論衡：無形篇 (c. 70–80 C.E.). The Bifang-Bird was earlier described in more detail in chapter 2. Hao Yixing believed that the human face mentioned here is a textual error. This bird was mentioned in the "Ten Faults" chapter of the philosophical work *Master Hanfei* 韓非子：十過 (before 233 B.C.E.) as one of the guardian animals of the Yellow Thearch when he met with a group of demons and gods. In later mythology, it was regarded as the essence of wood, one of the Five Agents (*Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 167; Hawkes [1962], 83; *Hanfeizi* 10 [*Zzjc* ed., 5:44]; H2:26a, 6:2a; *Lunheng* [*Zzjc* ed., 7:15]).

358. H6:2b; Y190nn1, 2.

359. H6:2b; Y190nn1, 2.

360. H6:2b.

361. H6:2b; Y191, 192n4.

362. The graphs 三毛 (*sanmao;* three hairs) appears to be a textual corruption of 三苗 (*sanmiao;* three sprouts) based on homophonic graphs (H6:3ab).

363. The graph 𢦏 is also pronounced as 替 (*ti*), according to Guo Pu (H6:3a, 15:3b).

364. H6:3b.

365. The Yuan dynasty text *A Record of Strange Regions* 異域志 by Zhou Zhizhong 周致中 (n.d.) cited by Yuan Ke appears to be di erent from the Ming text of the same name discusssed in the "Introduction" (H6:3b; Y194n1, 195, 195n2; *Shizi* 2:4a [*Sbby* ed.]; *Zhushu jinian* 1 [*Sbck* ed., 1:2b]).

366. H6:3b–4a.

367. M383n3.

368. H6:4a.

369. *Chuci buzhu* (1983 ed.), 167; H6:4a, 15:3a; Hawkes (1962), 83; *Lüshi chunqiu* 22 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:292); Y196n1.

370. H6:4ab.

371. H6:4a; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:62); *Lüshi chunqiu* 2 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:21).

372. Mount Kunlun is located here in the south between the Land of the Tricephalous People and the Land of the People with Forked Tongues (H6:5a).

373. For more myths of Yi the Archer see B77 (H6:4b–5a, *tuzan:* 21b).

374. H6:5a.

375. For a discussion of this and other midget peoples, see Y200n2 (H6:5a, 15:4b; *Zhushu jinian* 1 [*Sbck* ed., 1:5a]).

376. H6:5b–6a.

377. The entry in the extant text of the *History of the Wei Dynasty* is less detailed than Guo's

description but includes reports of other strange peoples in the area (H6:5b; *Weishu* [1963 ed.] 3:847).

378. H6:7a.

379. Zhurong appears in three chapters in the *Guideways.* For a study of these, see Duan (1986), also Yang, "Danzhu" (1940) (B79; H6:7a, 16:3a, 18:10ab; Y206).

380. H7:1ab.

381. Various opinions exist about the exact name and meaning of the Nine Dai Dances 九代. For a summary of these, see Y209n1. For other myths about the Xia Sovereign Qi, see B83–85, 122–23 (H7:1ab, 16:9b; *Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 98–99; Hawkes [1962], 50; *Mozi jiangu* 8 [*Zzjc* ed., 4:161–62]).

382. H7:1b.

383. H7:1b, 15:2a; Y368n4.

384. H7:2a.

385. The creatures mentioned in *Approaching Refinement* are illustrated in fig. 23 (*Erya zhushu* 9 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2615]; H7:2a; Y212n2).

386. According to Guo Pu, an alternate form of the graph 肱 is 弘, and the graph 奇 should be pronounced like 羈 (*ji*) (H7:2a).

387. In the Wu Renchen edition portrait reproduced in Y213, one of the Single-Arm People is depicted riding in a flying carriage (B247; Zhang, *Bowuzhi* 8:8a [*Bbcs* ed.]; H7:2b).

388. H7:2a.

389. Reading 羊 as 祥 (*xiang;* auspicious) (H7:2b).

390. Tao Qian's poem is translated in the "Introduction," 18. For a discussion of the etymology and variations of Xingtian's name, see Y214n1. In the *Master of Huainan,* he is called "the Corpse of Xingcan" 形殘之尸. The myth of Xingtian as a failed hero is discussed in B216–17. For the war between the Flame Thearch and the Yellow Thearch, see Y215n6; B130–37; H7:3b, *tuzan:*22b; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:59).

391. H7:3a.

392. H7:3a, 16:5a; *Taiping yulan yinde* 790:4a; *Zhushu jinian* 1 (*Sbck* ed., 1:24b).

393. H7:3b.

394. H7:3b, 16:3ab, 6b, *tuzan:*23a; Y220n1.

395. H7:3b–4a.

396. H7:3b, 16:4b.

397. H7:4a.

398. H2:24b–25a, 7:4ab, 16:5a; Y221n4.

399. H7:4b–5a.

400. For further discussion of Yellow-Steed and yellow horses, see Gu Shi (1976 ed.), 40n1; also Porter (1993), 99n89. Excellent yellow horses used for drawing a chariot in hunting are also mentioned in the poem "Shu is in the Hunting-Fields," in the *Book of Songs* 詩經：大叔于田 (H7:5ab, 14:4ab, 16:2a; *Shijing: Dashu yu tian* [*Ssjzs* ed., 1:338]; Y225n1, 347n2).

401. H7:5b–6a.

402. The text has been reconstructed by Guo Pu and other commentators (G451; H7:5b–6a; Y226; *Zhushu jinian* 2 [*Sbck* ed., 2:5a]).

403. H7:6a.

404. H7:6a, 16:2a; *Zhushu jinian* 1 (*Sbck* ed., 1:2b).

405. H7:6a.

406. The identification of these features with Rushou in the commentary to the poem "The Great Summons" in the *Songs of Chu* 楚辭：大招 was actually made by the Han commentator Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. c. 122–144 C.E.) (*Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 218; *Guoyu* 10: *Jinyu* 4 [1978 ed., 2:356]; Hawkes [1962], 110; H7:6a; Y227–28).

407. H8:1b.

408. In chapter 12, another version of the text states that the Demon People have human faces and snake's bodies, features often denoting divinity. Ziye 子野 was the courtesy name of the Master Musician Kuang 師曠 (fl. c. 557–532 B.C.E.), the most famous musician of ancient China who served Duke Ping of Jin 晉平公 (r. 557–532 B.C.E.) and was noted for his ability to correctly standardize sound pitch. Guo Pu's encomium contains a pun on the graph 眇 (*miao;* infinitesimal), which can also mean "one eyed" (H8:1b, 12:2a, 17:7b, *tuzan:*24a).

409. Hao Yixing noted that the pronunciation of the graph 留 (*liu*) in 留利 (Liuli) is roughly homophonous with 柔 (*rou;* flexible) in 柔利 (Rouli) (H8:1b).

410. The pronunciation of the graphs 牛犁 (Niuli) appears to be roughly homophonous with Liuli and Rouli. See note above (H8:1b, 17:8b; Y232–33n1).

411. H8:1b–2a.

412. For other myths of Gonggong, see B97–98; also Boltz (1981), who interprets Gonggong as a personification of the Deluge and of chaos, with Yu the Great as the restorer of order (H2:16a, 8:1b–2a, 12:2b, 17:5b; *Huainanzi* 3 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:35]; Y233n1).

413. H8:2ab.

414. Hao Yixing noted that the graphs 一目 (*yimu;* one eye) were probably a misprint for 一曰 (*yiyue;* another version states . . .) (H8:2ab, 17:7a; *Shizi* 2:4a [*Sbby* ed.]; Y236n2).

415. H8:2b; F147.

416. While Hao Yixing doubted that the Pendant-Ears People were the same as these people, Yuan Ke and Mathieu believed the two were identical. The Tang myth about the Big-Ears People appears in Li Rong (Yuan) 李冗(元) (fl. 10th cent.), *A Record of Singular and Strange Things* 獨異志 (n.d.) (H8:2b, 17:4a; M418n4; Y237n1).

417. H8:2b–3a.

418. The theory of Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰 (also known as Mao Dun 矛盾 and Xuan Zhu 玄珠, 1896–1981) is briefly stated in Xuan Zhu (1929) 2:1–17. Yuan Ke interpreted Kuafu's name to mean "giant" and traced his lineage back to the Flame Thearch. For a further discussion of Kuafu, see B215–16, which interprets his name to mean "boastful father" or "braggart man." A photograph of the contemporary statue of Kuafu appears as the frontispiece to *Shanhaijing xintan* (1986) (H5:20a, 8:2b–3a, 11:1b–2a, 17:3b, 4b–5a, *tuzan:*24b; B218–19,Y238, 427–28; *Liezi zhuzisuoyin* 5:27:15–5:28:5, 5:28:7–8).

419. H8:3ab.

420. This passage concludes with the phrase "in another version, they are called 'Bofu,'" which contradicts the beginning and supports the view that initially this place was identified as the Land of [the People of] Kuafu 夸父國 (H8:3b; M420–21; Y240n1).

421. H8:4a.

422. Yuan Ke's reconstruction is based on reading the graph 纓 as 癭 (*ying;* goiter) (H8:4b; Y242nn2, 3; *Huainanzi* 4 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:63]; *Zhushu jinan* 1 [*Sbck* ed., 1:19a]).

423. H8:5b.

424. *Erya zhushu* 19 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2652); H8:5b; Y247n1; *Yizhoushu zhuzisuoyin* 59:36:9.

425. H8:5b.

426. H8:5b–6a.

427. For a survey of the scholarly problems involving the Qiongqiong 蛩蛩, see F150n105 (H8:5b–6a; Y247n3).

428. Reading the graph 彊 as 強 (*qiang;* strength) (H8:6a).

429. See also Yuan Ke's ingenious but highly speculative theory that myths of Ape-Strength and Yujing provide the foundation for the fable of the Peng-Bird 鵬 and the Kun-Fish 鯤 in the *Master Zhuang.* The story in the *Master Lie* is translated in B185–87. For a Song dynasty portrait said to be Ape-Strength depicted as a pacified Buddhist monk listening to the doctrine, see Christie (1996), 71. For a study of the god Xuanming, see Yang, "Gun" (1940) (C124; H8:6b, 14:5ab, 17:4ab, 18:8b; *Huainanzi* 4 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:65]; *Liezi zhuzisuoyin* 5:26:15; M427–28; Y248–49n1, 350, 465n1; *Zhuangzi yinde* 1/1/1–1/2/2, 16/6/34).

430. H9:1b.

431. *Guanzi* 41 (*Zzjc* ed., 5:242); H9:1b, 12:6b, 14:6b, 17:2a; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:63, 65).

432. H9:2a.

433. H9:2a; M433n3; Y255–56n2.

434. H9:2ab.

435. The graph 皆 should be read as 背 (*bei;* back) according to Yuan Ke and other editors (H9:2ab, 14:5a; Y256n2).

436. H9:2b.

437. See Plates, note 26 (B156; H1:4b, 9:2b, 14:4b; Y257n2).

438. H9:5a.

439. Twenty-five clans were established from among the descendants of the Yellow Thearch. Fourteen among his children were elevated to official rank because of their virtue, and twelve of them received surnames. In the *Guideways,* foreign peoples who have these surnames could claim kinship to the rulers of the Chinese feudal states and were regarded as less barbarian than other peoples (*Guoyu* 10: *Jinyu* 4 [1978 ed., 2:356]; H9:5a, 17:3b–4a; M445n1; Y264nn1,2, 425n2).

440. H9:5a.

441. H9:5a; Y265n2.

442. H9:5b.

443. For a discussion of Goumang, see Riegel (1989–1990) (*Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Zhaogong 29* [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2124]; *Guoyu* 18: *Chuyu* 2 [1978 ed., 2:559–60]; H9:5b; *Mozi jiangu* 31 [*Zzjc* ed., 4:141–42], Y266n1).

444. The Land of the Beiqu People is not otherwise described (H10:2b–3a).

445. *Erya zhushu* 18 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2651); H10:2b-3a; *Huainanzi* 13 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:231); *Yizhoushu zhuzisuoyin* 59:35:14; Y271–73n4.

446. H10:3a.

447. For a discussion of the ancient Si, see Lefeuvre (1990–1991) (H10:3a, 18:6b; Y273n2; *Zhushu jinian* 2 [*Sbck* ed., 2:8b]).

448. H10:3b–4a.

449. In the *Recovered Documents of Zhou,* the Xingxing is written as 生生 (Shengsheng) (H10:4a, 18:4b–5a; *Lüshi chunqiu* 14 [*Zzjc* ed., 6:141]; Y275–76; *Yizhoushu zhuzisuoyin* 59:35:16).

450. H10:4a.

451. H10:4a.

452. H10:4b.

453. H3:7a, 10:4b, 11:6a; Y278nn1–4.

454. H10:5a.

455. H10:5a, 16:10a, 18:4ab; Y280n1, 448, 450–52n13.

456. H10:5a.

457. For various myths of the Ba-Snake, see Yuan ed. (1985), 101–2 (*Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 95–96; H10:5ab, 18:5b; Y281–82; Hawkes [1962], 49; *Huainanzi* 8 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:118]).

458. H11:1ab.

459. Liu Xiang and the Han emperor Xuan are discussed in the "Introduction," 13. (H11:1a, 6a, 12:1b, 2a, 18:7b, *Xulu:*1b; Y285–89).

460. H11:3b.

461. H11:5a.

462. H11:2b–4a, 5a; F167–68; *Lüshi chunqiu* 14 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:142); Y48n4, 294–97, 299n4.

463. H11:6a.

464. H11:5a.

465. H11:5b.

466. For a study of the Feng-Bird in early Chinese texts and a comparison with the phoenix, see Diény (1989–1990); also Matsuda, "Gosai" (1984) (H1:11a, 7:4b, 11:5ab, 16:3b).

467. H11:6ab.

468. *Erya zhushu* 9 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2615); H11:6ab; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:56); Y192n2, 203–4n6, 302n3.

469. H11:6b.

470. H5:40a, 11:6b, 16:10a; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:56); Y303n1.

471. H12:1a.

472. H12:1a, 16:7b, 2:23b–24a; Y306n2.

473. H12:1a.

474. H2:27a, 12:1a, 16:4ab.

475. The graph 鳥 was corrected to 烏 (*wu;* crow) by Yuan Ke based on the Song and *Daoist Canon* editions (H12:1a; Y306n4).

476. 12:1b.

477. For an example of the historian's presentation of the Rong tribes see *Zuo's Narratives:* "14th Year of Duke Xiang." For a note on the Dog People and their horses recorded in the *Recovered Documents of Zhou* see Liu (1907), 4705–6. Versions of the Panhu 盤瓠 myth are trans-

lated in B118–20 and Kan (1996), 160–62. These and related myths are briefly discussed in Kaltenmark (1991), 1026–27. Dog ancestor myths in southern China were recorded in Liu (1932) (*Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Xianggong* 14 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1955–956]; H12:1b, 17:7ab; Legge [1966 ed.] 5:463–64; M483n4; Yuan, ed., *Zhongguo shenhua* [1985], 358; *Yizhoushu zhuzisuoyin* 59:35:19).

478. H12:1b.

479. See also Liu (1907), 4705–6 (H12:1b–2a, *tuzan:*28a; Y310n7).

480. H12:2a.

481. H8:1b, 12:2a, 17:7b; F177n213; Legge (1966 ed.) 3:136; *Maoshi zhengyi: Dang* (*Ssjzs* ed., 1:553); *Zhouyi zhengyi:* Hexagram nos. 63 (*Jiji* 既濟), 64 (*Weiji* 未濟) (*Ssjzs* ed., 1:72, 73); Y311n1; *Zhushu jinian* 1 (*Sbck* ed., 1:39a).

482. H12:2a.

483. H12:2a.

484. H12:2a.

485. H12:2a; *tuzan:*28b.

486. H12:2ab.

487. Guo Pu's encomium on Thoroughly-Odd appears only in his commentary to the text in chapter 2 and not in the collected encomiums appended to the Hao Yixing edition (H2:34a, 12:2ab; *Huainanzi* 4 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:65]; *Shenyijing* 10b [*Bbcs* ed.]; Y312n2).

488. H12:3a.

489. Hao Yixing, quoting *Yi Yin's Orders to the Peoples in the Four Directions* (*Yi Yin sifang ling,* n.d.), suggested that Tafei refers to the Taer People 闟耳, who are listed there as dwelling to the west, as the graphs 非 (*fei*) and 耳 (*er*) are similar in form. Mathieu, however, o ers various other hypotheses based on linguistic arguments (H12:3a; M489n4).

The Giant Wasps 大蠭 along with the Red Ants 朱蛾 are located before the entry for Tafei in the text. According to Guo Pu, these are identical to the Black Wasps 玄蠭 and Red Ants 朱蝘 mentioned in the poem "The Summons of the Soul" in the *Songs of Chu.* The Black Wasps have bodies as large as gourds and, according to the commentator Wang Yi, are poisonous while the Red Ants resemble elephants. However, in the poem, both are located in the west rather than the north (*Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 200; G522; H:12:3ab; Hawkes [1962], 104; M489n4).

490. H12:3a.

491. H12:3a; *Huainanzi* 4 (*Zzjc* ed., 7:65).

492. H12:3a.

493. H12:3a; Y314n1.

494. H12:3ab.

495. The Nine Bronze Vessels are discussed in the "Introduction," 4. For the banishment of the four rebellious tribes, see *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi: Wengong* 18 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:1863); translated in Legge (1966 ed.) 5:283. Fu Qian's description was quoted in a commentary to a passage in the "Basic Annals of the Five Thearchs" chapter of the *Historical Records* that records a variation of this myth from *Zuo's Narratives.* It is also recorded in Yuan, ed., *Zhongguo shenhua chuanshuo cidian* (1985), 449 (*Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 218; H12:3ab; Hawkes [1962], 110; F179n222; *Shiji: Wudi benji* [1975 ed.] 1:38; Y314n2).

496. H12:3b.

497. H12:3b; M491n2; Y315n1; *Yizhoushu zhuzisuoyin* 61:37:21.

498. H12:3b.

499. The passage about Zouwu cited by Guo Pu does not appear in the extant text of the *Six Bow-Bags* (H12:3b; Y315n3).

500. H12:4ab.

501. Hao Yixing suggested that the alternate name for Bingyi's location might be 中極之淵 (Zhongji zhi yuan; Gorge of Extreme Centrality), arguing that the homophonous graphs 忠 (*zhong;* loyalty) and 中 (*zhong;* centrality) were interchangeable in antiquity. Mathieu regarded this segment as a later interpolation, perhaps by Guo Pu. The Confucian concept of "loyalty" does seem inappropriate here (*Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 76–78, 99; H12:4ab, *tuzan:*28b; Hawkes [1962], 42; *Huainanzi* 4 [*Zzjc* ed., 7:233]; M492–93; *Shizi* 2:14a [*Sbby* ed.]; Y316–18; *Zhuangzi yinde* 12/4/82, 42/17/1–44/17/53).

502. H12:6a.

503. H12:6a, 14:6a; *Lüshi chunqiu* 20 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:255); M497n; Y322n1, 354n3; *Yizhoushu zhuzisuoyin* 59:35:6.

504. H12:6a.

505. H12:6a; *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 1:265; Y323n1.

506. H12:6b.

507. G532; H12:5b; M498n2; *Zhuangzi yinde* 2/1/28.

508. H12:6b.

509. Guo Pu's short comments on this passage reiterate the description found in the "Treatise on the *Feng*- and *Shan*-Sacrifices" in the *Historical Records.* See *Shiji* (1975 ed.) 4:1369–370 (H12:6b).

510. H13:2a.

511. For a study of myths of the God of Thunder 雷神, see Wang Sanqing (1996) (H13:2a, 14:8a; Y329–30nn1–3).

512. H13:4ab.

513. H2:6b–7a, 8:2a, 4b–5a, 13:4ab, 17:1a.

514. H14:2ab.

515. Hao Yixing and Yuan Ke read the graphs 兩耳 (*lianger;* "both ears") as 兩臂 (*liangbi;* "both arms") based on a similar passage in the *Imperial Digest of the Taiping Era,* though this interpretation is not accepted by Mathieu. For a brief survey of other myths of giants, see Y252n1, 341n1 (H9:1ab, 12:6b, 14:2b, 17:2ab; M527n2; *Taiping yulan yinde,* 377, 494).

516. H14:3a.

517. H14:3a, *tuzan:*29b.

518. H14:3a.

519. H14:3a; *Shuowen jiezi* (1977 ed.), 188.

520. H14:5b–6a.

521. In the alternate genealogy of the Yao People 搖民 in the *Guideways,* Yuan Ke considered the graph 戲 (*xi*) as a homophone for 易 (*yi*), thus indicating another way the Youyi 有易 tribe was connected with Xi and Shun (B105–8; *Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 106–7; H14:5b–6a; Hawkes [1962], 52; Legge [1966 ed.] 3:122; Y351–54; *Zhushu jinian* 1 [*Sbck* ed.], 1:16ab).

522. H14:6ab.

523. For the myth of the ten suns and the crow, see B35–39; also Allan (1991), 19–46; Loewe (1979), 127–31 (H9:3b–4a, 14:6ab; M541n1).

524. H14:6b.

525. H9:1b, 14:6b; Y355n1.

526. The interpretation of this passage follows Yuan Ke (H14:6b; Y356nn2,3).

527. H14:6b–7a; Y355–56.

528. H14:7b–8a.

529. B134–35; H14:7b–8a; *Shangshu zhengyi* 3 (*Ssjzs* ed., 1:131); Y362.

530. H14:7b.

531. Although the name Yinglong is sometimes translated literally as "responding dragon," Wang Yi and Guo Pu commented that it means "a dragon with wings." The custom of fashioning clay dragons to invoke rain during a drought is discussed in Qiu (1983). An artist's interpretation of the image from the Wu Liang Shrine dated 1821 appears in B133 (B132–34; *Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 91; H14:7b, 17:5a, 6ab; Hawkes [1962], 48).

532. H15:1a.

533. For a reproduction of the Wu Renchen portrait of the Double-Double 雙雙, see Y364 (H11:2a, 4a, 15:1a).

534. H15:1b.

535. H15:1b.

536. H15:2a. See also the "Introduction," note 164.

537. The term 八齋 (*bazhai;* eight chambers) is highly problematic here. Guo Pu left no comment, though Hao Yixing interpreted it as "eight meditation chambers." Mathieu suggested that it signifies eight plants consumed during a ritual of purification. The translation follows Hao in assuming that it refers to eight structures of some kind (*Erya zhushu* 17 [*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2649]; H15:2a; F203n59; M549n3).

538. H15:2a.

539. H15:2a; Y368n4.

540. H15:3a.

541. The graphs 廷 and 庭 can both be read as "court" in the expression *buting* 不庭, or someone who does not send tribute to the court, that is, a rebel.

542. H15:4b.

543. M559n2.

544. H15:4b.

545. H15:4b, 6b.

546. H15:5b.

547. For arguments identifying Huandou with Danzhu, see Yang, "Danzhu" (1940), 529–33 (B193–95; *Chuci buzhu* [1983 ed.], 100–1; H6:2b, 15:3b; Hawkes (1962), 50; F208n92, 257; M563–64n2, 564nn6, 7; Y190nn1, 2).

548. H16:1a, 1b.

549. The text records the name of Cleft Mountain here as 不周負子 (Buzhoufuzi), but the latter two graphs are believed to be a textual error. Earlier, in chapter 2, it was recorded by its more common name, 不周之山 (Buzhou zhi shan). For an interpretation of Gonggong as the personification of the Deluge, see Boltz (1981). Gonggong was identified with several other water gods in Yuan, "Gun" (1940). This could also illustrate the goddess Nüwa 女媧, who was noted by Guo Pu and others as originally a snake with a human face. The *Guideways* only records the Intestines of Nüwa 女媧之腸, ten gods who block the road at the Plain of Broad Grain 粟廣之野 beyond the Mountain Where Yu Attacked the Land of Gonggong 禹攻共工國山 (B97–98 ; G574–76; H2:16a, 16:1a, 1b; Y387n1, 388n4, 389–91).

550. H16:2a.

551. *Erya zhushu* 17 (*Ssjzs* ed., 2:2649); H16:2a; Y392n1.

552. H16:2a.

553. H16:2a.

554. H16:4b.

555. The exposure of female shamans to invoke rain during droughts is discussed in Qiu (1983) and Schafer (1951) (H7:3a, 16:4b; Y218n1).

556. H16:5a.

557. H16:5a.

558. H16:5b–6a.

559. Various alternative translations of this passage have been suggested in F215n131 and M582n11. For a discussion of the myth of the separation of heaven and earth, see the "Introduction," note 119. also Chang (1983), 44–45, and B91–95. Sima Qian traced his lineage back to Chong and Li in his "Biography of the Grand Historian" in the *Historical Records* (H16:5b–6a; *Shiji* [1975 ed.] 10:3285; Y402–4nn1–6).

560. H16:6a.

561. H7:2b, 16:6a; Y405–6nn1–6.

562. H16:6b.

563. H16:6b.

564. H16:6b.

565. H2:26b, 16:6b.

566. H16:8b.

567. *The Bamboo Annals* locates the defeat of Jie by Tang the Victorious at various other places (H16:8b; Legge [1966 ed.] 3:126–27; *Zhushu jinian* 1 [*Sbck* ed., 1:20b]).

568. H16:9a.

569. H16:9a; *Lüshi chunqiu* 22 (*Zzjc* ed., 6:292); *Weishu* (1963 ed.) 3:847.

570. H16:9b.

571. H16:9b.

572. H16:10a.

573. H17:3b–4a.

574. *Guoyu* 10: *Jinyu* 4 (1978 ed., 2:356); H17:3b–4a; Y425n2.

575. H17:4a.

576. *Guoyu* 10: *Jinyu* 4 (1978 ed., 2:356); H14:5a, 17:4a; Y425nn1,2.

577. H17:3b–4a.

578. H8:6a, 14:5a, 17:4ab.

579. H17:4b.

580. H17:4b.

581. In the discussion of the Grand Exorcism in the "Treatise on Ritual and Ceremony" in the *History of the Latter* [*Eastern*] *Han Dynasty* (*Houhanshu: Liyizhi,* late 2nd cent. C.E.), Jiangliang's name was written with variant graphs as 強梁 (H17:4b; *Houhanshu* [1965 ed.] 11:3185; Y427n4).

582. H17:6a–7a.

583. The graph 妓 is an alternate rendering of 魃 (*ba*) in some later texts. This could also be a figure recorded later in the text, Xian, Woman of the Red River 赤水女獻, who similarly wears green clothes. However, Guo Pu and other commentators believed that she is identical to Drought-Fury (B132–34, 66, 77; G612–13; H16:2ab, 17:6a–7a, 18:9b; *Maoshi zhengyi: Datian* [*Ssjzs* ed., 1:476]; Y430–33).

584. H17:7b.

585. H8:1b, 12:2a, 17:7b; Y436n2.

586. H17:8a.

587. H12:1b, 17:8a; M618n6.

588. H17:8a.

589. The text here prints the graph 驩, a variant of 讙 (H6:2b, 17:8a; Y437n3).

590. H17:8b–9a; C188.

591. B68–69, 232; H8:1ab, 17:8b–9a.

592. H18:1b–2a.

593. The Lin 麟, also known as the Qilin 麒麟 and popular in later Chinese folklore as an auspicious beast, is not found anyplace else in the *Guideways,* so the graph may well have been a misprint. On the other hand, no other creature is described as having a scaly body either. Among the other textual problems with this passage is the description of Han Liu's ears by the term 謹耳 (*jiner*). Guo Pu confessed that he did not understand it, while Hao Yixing interpreted it as the final particles 謹兒 (*jiner*). Yuan Ke and others preferred "small ears" and Mathieu, "des oreilles dont il prend soin." I have followed Fracasso, who o ered the hypothesis of "orrechi vigili." The phrase "a daughter of Zhuo" attempts to represent the graphs 涿子 (*zhuozi*). Hao Yixing interpreted this to mean "a daughter of the Zhuoshan Clan" 濁山氏 (Zhuoshanshi) or "a daughter of the Shushan Clan" 蜀山氏 (Shushanshi) based on linguistic and textual arguments (H18:1b–2a; F234, 234–35n228; M626).

594. H18:4a.

595. In some later versions of this passage, the graphs 鹽長 (*yanzhang;* supervisor of salt) are written as 監長 (*jianzhang;* chief supervisor) (H18:4a; F237, 237n243; M630n6; Y448n2).

596. H18:5b.

597. H18:5b.

598. H18:5b.

599. H18:5b.

600. H18:5b; M636n8.

601. H18:6a.

602. H18:6a; Y457n5; *Zhuangzi yinde* 49/19/43–50/19/46.

603. H18:7a; Y461n2.

604. H18:7a; Y461nn2,3.

605. H18:8a.

606. H18:8a.

607. H18:10b–11a.

608. For myths about Yu the Great, see B81–82 . A recent reinterpretation of the origin of myths about Yu and the Deluge based on ancient astronomical events appears in Porter (1996) (H18:10b–11a, *Xulu:*1ab) and a survey of four traditions of Chinese flood myths in Birrell (1997). See also Boltz (1981) and Teiser (1985–1986).

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Glossary Index to Plates

Note: I:1n10 = plate I: no. 1, note 10; italics indicate illustration of creature.

Abundance Mountain 豐山, XXXVIII:204
Accumulation River 集獲之水, X:44
Ah 阿, XLII:222
ailanthus 樗, IX:38, XXI:104, XXXVI:188, XXXVII:196
ancestor. See *Zu*
Ancestral-God of the Fields 田祖, LXXIII:332
Anointing Mountain 灌題之山, XXI:104, 105
Aoaoju 鏖鏊鉅, LXX:321
Aoyin 徼侚, *XV:71*
Ape-Howl (Yuhao) 禺號, XLVIII:246, LXXII:328
Ape River 禺水, IX:37
Ape-Strength (Yujiang) 禺彊, *LI:253*, LXIX:318, *LXXII:329*
Ape Valley 禺谷, XLVIX:247
Approaching Refinement. See *Erya*
Army River 師水, XXXI:163
arrow-bamboo 箭, IX:37, 38, 39, X:46
asarum 少辛, XXXVII:200

ba 巴, LV:267
Ba 魃. *See* Drought-Fury
Ba People 巴人, LXVIII:310
Ba-Snake (Bashe) 巴蛇, *LV:267*
Baby-Ladle Bird (Yingshao) 嬰勺, *XXXVIII:206*
Baihao 白豪, XI:51n94
Baihutong (Debates in the white tiger hall, late 1st cent. C.E.) 白虎通, IV:13
Baiye. *See* White Ye-Bird
Baiyuan. *See* White-Gibbons
Balancer of the Feudal States (Junguo) 均國, LXXII:327
Baling 巴陵, LV:267
bamboo 竹, IX:39, X:46. *See also* arrow-bamboo; edible-bamboo; hooked-tip bamboo; peach-branch bamboo
Bamboo Annals, The. See *Zhushu jinian*
Bamboo Mountain IX:38, XXVII:144
Bamboo River 竹水, IX:38
Bang-Fish 鮭魚, IX:37
Banmao-Bird 鴅鵌, *XXIII:120*
Bao-Plant 苞草, XXXIII:177n289
Baojiang 葆江, XII:55
Bathing River 浴水, XXVI:137
bazhai (eight chambers) 八齋, LXVII:308n537
Bear Mountain 熊山, XXXVIII:202
bears 熊羆, XXXVII:201
Beast-Facing-East (Kaimingshou) 開明獸, XIII:60, LIV:265, *LVI:269*, LVII:271, 273, 274, LXXI:326
Beautiful-Deer River 麗麈之水, 11:2
Beautiful-Duck Mountain 鳧麗之山, XXVIII:150
Bei Mountains 貲山, XXXIII:175, XXXIV:179
Beier River 卑耳之水, I:1
Bell Mountain 鍾山, XII:55, XLVIII:242, LXVII:306, LXXIII:336
bells and drums. See *zhonggu*
Belt Mountain 帶山, XIX:89, 90, 91
Ben (Ben-Turtle) 賁, XXXV:188, XXXIX:209
Ben-Bird (Ben) 鵯, *XXIV:124*
bi (arm) 臂, LXXIV:339
Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1729–1797), VI:31
Bianming 卞明, LVIII:278
Bibi 獙獙, XXVIII:149
Bifang-Bird (Bifang) 畢方, *XV:69*, LXI:216, 217

"Big Field, The." See *Datian*
Big-Ears People, The 大耳民, XLVIII:246
Big-Heel People, The 大踵民, XLX:249
Big Lake 泰澤, XXII:109, XXIII:115
Bingfeng 并封, *XLVI:235,* LXVII:306, LXX:321
Bingyi 冰夷, *LXI:290. See also* Lord of the River
Bird, A (Niao) 鳥, *XVIII:87, XLV:232*
Bird People, The 鳥民, LXXIV:338
Bird Tribe (Niaoshi) 鳥氏, *LXXIV:338*
Bird Yi-Barbarians 鳥夷, LXXIV:338
Black-Bird 玄鳥, LXIV:303
Black-Cinnabar Mountain 玄丹之山, LXX:320
Black-Ewe 羬, XXXVI:194
Black-Ewe Station Mountain 羬次之山, IX:39, 40
Black-Horse Mountain 騩山, XXXIII:178, XXXVIII:202
Black-Millet 苣, LXVIII:313
Black People, The (Heiren) 黑人, *LXXIV:340*
Black River 黑水, VII:29, XIII:60, XXVI:137, LXVII:307, 309, LXXIII:335, LXXIV:337
Black-Snake 玄蛇, XXVI:137
Black-Snakes (Xuanshe) 玄蛇, *LXVII:307,* 308
Black Wasps 玄鑒, LIX:284n489
Blow (Xu) 噓, *LXX:319*
Blue River 青水, XLI:216
Blue Sea 青海, XIII:57
Bo 駁, *XVII:82, L:251*
Bo-Fish (Boyu) 薄魚, *XXXI:162*
Bo-Horse 駁馬, *XXIII:117*
Bo Mountains 薄山, XXXII:167
Bo-Ox 犦牛, XXV:129
Boaster. *See* Kuafu
Bochang. *See* King Wen of the Zhou
Bofu 博父, L:248, 248n420
Bofumin. *See* People of Bofu, The
Book of Changes. See *Yijing*
Book of Songs. See *Shijing*
Boshi 猼訑, *IV:11*
bountiful harvest. See *darang*
Bowuzhi (A record of manifold curiosities, late 3rd cent. C.E.) 博物志, XLV:231
Boyao 柏夭, XLVI:238
Boyi 伯翳, LXVI:345
Boyi and Shuqi 伯夷叔齊 (d. mid-11th cent. B.C.E.), XXXIV:184
Boyu. *See* Bo-Fish
Brave-and-Constant Tree 雄常, XLVI:240
Brave-Fish (Haoyu) 豪魚, *XXXII:168*
Brave-Pig (Haozhi) 豪彘, *IX:38,* XI:51
Brave River 豪水, XXXV:187
Bridge-Channel Mountain 梁渠之山, XXIV:121
Bridge River 杠水, XX:99, XXI:103
Bright Mountain 陽山, VIII:34, XXV:129, XXXII:172
Bright River 陽水, XXXII:172
Bright-Tower Mountain 譙明之山, XIX:92, 93
Brilliance Mountain 光山, XXXVI:195
Brittle-Stone Mountain 石脆之山, VIII:35n65
Brookside-Dog 溪邊, *IX:43*
Broomstraw River 苕水, VI:22, XVIII:86
Bursting River 泱泱之水, XXIV:125
Busimin. *See* Never-Dying People, The
Butinghuyu 不廷胡余, *LXVIII:310*

Calamities 厲, XIV:65
Camel (Tuotuo) 駝橐, *XX:95*
Capital City That Supports Heaven, The 成都載天, XLIX:247
Carp Mountain 鮒魚之山, LXIII:296
Carp-Wings Lake 即翼之澤, II:3n10, IV:15
Catalpa Mountain 子桐之山, XXXI:164
Catalpa River 子桐之水, XXXI:164
Cauldron Mountain 鬲山, XXXVII:201
Cauldron River 鬲水, XXXI:162
Caves of the Thousand Buddhas 千佛洞, XV:71
Celebrating-Abundance 祝餘, 11:2
Celestial-Co er-at-the-Northern-Extremity 北極天櫃, LXXII:330
Celestial-Dog (Tiangou) 天狗, *XV:70,* LXX:322
Celestial God, A (Tianshen) 天神, *XIII:59*
Celestial-Horse (Tianma) 天馬, *XXIV:126*
Celestial-Hound (Tianquan) 天犬, *LXX:322*
Celestial-Lake Mountain 天池之山, XXV:128
Celestial Mountain 天山, XV:73
Central Valley 中谷, VII:30
Chang'an 長安, VIII:33
Changbimin. *See* Long-Arms People, The
Changcheng. *See* Long-Ride
Changfu-Bird 鵷鶵, IV:12
Changgumin. *See* Long-Thighs People, The
Changjingmin. *See* Long-Shins People, The
Changshe. *See* Long-Snake
Changyi 昌意, LXXIV:337
Changyou 長右, *V:19*
Chaoxian (Korea) 朝鮮, LXII:291, 293, LXIV:297
Chapters in Jade. See *Yupian*
Chenghuang. *See* Yellow-Steed
Chestnut-Oak River 櫟水, XXI:103

Chi-Bird (Chi) 鵋, *XVII:72*
Chi-Hobgoblin 魑, LX:287
Chicken-Grain 雞穀, XXXVIII:213
Chicken Mountain 雞山, VII:29
Chimei-Hobgoblin 魑魅, XVII:79, LIX:283, LX:287
Chiming-Snake (Mingshe) 鳴蛇, *XXXII:171*
Chiru. *See* Red Ru-Fish
Chiseled-Teeth (Zuochi) 鑿齒, XLII:224
Chiyou 蚩尤, XLV:233, XLIX:247, LXV:304, LXVI:305, LXXII:332
Chong 重, LIII:260, LXX:319
Chou, Duke of Guo 醜虢公 (c. mid-7th cent. B.C.E.), XLVII:241
Chouyu 犰狳, XXVII:146
Chronicle of King Mu, The. See *Mutianzi zhuan*
Chu (state) 楚, LIV:262
Chu-Bird (Chuniao) 鷷鳥, LVII:273, *LXXI:326*
Chuci (Songs of Chu) 楚辭, XII:55, XVIII:86, XL:216, XLI:222, XLIV:228, XLVII:241, LIX:284n489, LX:287, LXI:290
Chui-Spirit (Shenchui) 神魁, *XVII:79*
chun (lips) 脣, LXXIV:339
Chuniao. *See* Chu-Bird
Chunqiu zuozhuan (Zuo's narratives to the *Spring and Autumn Annals,* c. 4th cent. B.C.E.) 春秋左傳, XV:73, XVIII:83, XXXIX:205 LIII:260, LIX:283, LX:287
Chuo-Hare 臭, XXXVII:199
Chuoren. *See* Generous-Man
Chuti 踔踢, *LXVII:306,* LXX:321
Chuxueji (Sources for beginning studies, 713–42) 初學記, VII:28
Ci-Bird 鴜鳥, LXX:320
Cinnabar River 丹水, IX:38, 41
Cinnabar-Cave Mountain 丹穴之山, LVII:271
Cinnabar-Smoke Mountain 丹熏之山, XX:97
Cinnabar-Tree 丹木, XVIII:86
Cinnamon Tree 桂木, II:2, X:44
Clearwater River 洌水, XX:98
Cleft Mountain 不周之山, 不周負子, XLVIII:244, LXIX:314, 314n49
Cockcrow Mountain, 雞號之山, XXVI:137
Combined River 共水, XXXII:167
Compendium of Mr. Lü, The. See *Lüshi chunqiu*
Confucianism, LVII:271. *See also Ru*-Confucians
Confucius 孔子 (551–479 B.C.E.), II:10n20
Confusion-Mulberry 迷穀, II:2
Congcong 從從, *XXVII:140*
Conglong 蔥聾, *VIII:35*
Constancy Mountain 恒山, XIII:58
Conversations from the Feudal States. See *Guoyu*
Cool-Wind 涼風, LII:254, LX:285
corpse. See *shi*
Corpse of Erfu, The 貳負之尸, LIX:280. *See also* Erfu
Corpse of Ganyu, The 肝榆之尸, LII:254
Corpse of Geng of the Xia, The (Xia Geng zhi shi) 夏耕之尸, XLV:233, *LXXI:323*
Corpse of Jubi, The (Jubi zhi shi) 據比之尸, *LX:285*
Corpse of King Xuan of the Rong, The 戎宣王尸, LVIII:278, LXXIII:334
Corpse of Liling, The (Liling zhi shi) 犁醜之尸, *LXIV:299*
Corpse of Minister Gu, The 相顧之尸, LVI:268
Corpse of Shebi, The (Shebi zhi shi) 奢比之尸, *LII:254, LXIV:302*
Corpse of Woman Chou, The (Nüchou zhi shi) 女丑之尸, LXII:291, *LXIX:317,* LXXIII:332
Corpse of Zuzhuang, The (Zuzhuang zhi shi) 祖狀之尸, *LXVIII:311*
Crazy-Bird (Kuangniao) 狂鳥, *LXIX:315*
Crossed-Feet. *See* Jiaozhi
Crow, A (Wu) 烏, *LXIV:301*
Crown Prince Long-Zither 太子長琴, XLIII:227
Cuo-Fish 鰅魚, VII:28

da (large) 大, LII:254
Dadai liji (The elder Dai's book of ritual, c. 2nd cent. B.C.E–early 2nd cent. C.E.) 大戴禮記, XXIII:116
Dae. *See* Giant E-Hawk
Dai Feng 戴逢 (fl. c. 310 C.E.), LII:258
Dali 大鷮, *LVIII:276*
Dam River 畛水, XXXIII:177
dance, XXXVIII:202
Danermin. *See* Pendant-Ears People, The
Danghu-Bird (Danghu) 當扈, *XVII:78*
Dangkang. *See* Enjoy-Abundance
Danzhu 丹朱, V:18n35, LXVIII:313
Dao 道 (Way), XV:73
Daoism (Taoism), III:10, VIII:34, XV:73, XXV:132, LIII:260, LXII:294
Daojian lu (A record of knives and swords, n.d.) 刀劍錄, XXXIII:174
darang (bountiful harvest) 大穰, XXXI:163
Daren. *See* Giants
Dark Garden 玄圃, XIII:58
dark-green jade 蒼玉, IX:38, XXXIV:179

Dark-Harmony 陰諧, XXXVI:194
Dark Mountain 陰山, XV:70, LXX:322
Dark-Vastness (Xuanming) 玄冥, LI:253, LIII:260
Dashe. *See* Giant Snake
Datian (The big field) 大田, LXXIII:332
Daxie. *See* Giant Crab
Dazhao (The great summons) 大招, XLVII:241, LX:287
Debates in the White Tiger Hall. See *Baihutong*
Deep-Blue River 蒼體之水, XXX:161
Deep-Eyed People, The (Shenmumin) 深目民, *XLVIII:245*
Deep Lake 深澤, XXIX:156
Deer-Fish 鹿魚, XXII:112
Deer-Jade 麋玉, XXXV:188
Deer-Terrace Mountain 鹿臺之山, XI:50
Deluge, the, XLIII:227, XLVIII:244, LXXVI:345
demon. See *gui*
Demon People, The (Guiguomin) 鬼國民, *LIX:280,* LXXIII:333
Demon-Plant 鬼草, XXXII:169
Demon's Carriage 鬼車, XIX:92
Deng Forest 鄧林, XLIX:247, L:248
Departing-Doves Mountain 發鳩之山, XXV:133
Desert-Dog 膜犬, XXXIX:212
Desert of Shifting Sands 流沙, XII:57, XIV:64, XXIX:156, LXVII:306, LXX:325, LXXIV:337
Di (mountain of the Supreme God) 帝, XXXVIII:202
Di (The Supreme God) 帝, XII:53, 55, XIII:58, 60, XXXIII:176, XLIII:227, XLV:233, XLVII:240, 241, LI:253, LIII:260, LIV:265, LV:268, 269, LXI:290, LXVII:308, LXX:319, LXXII:327, LXXIII:332
Di-Barbarians 狄, XXIII:116
Di-Bird (Diniao) 鴸鳥, *XXXIV:184*
Di People, The (Diren) 氐, *LIV:266*
Di-Pheasant 翟, XXXVI:194
Di zhi er nü. *See* Two Daughters of the Supreme God Di, The
Dian-Sickness 墊, XXXIV:184
Dihong. *See* Thearch Hong
Dijiang 帝江, *XV:73*
Dijun. *See* Thearch Jun
Dike Mountain 隄山, XXIII:114, 116
Dike River 隄水, XXIII:115
Diku. *See* Thearch Ku
Dingling People, The (Dinglingmin) 釘靈民, *LXXV:344*
Diniao. *See* Di-Bird
Diren. *See* Di People, The
Divine Dog 神狗, LIX:283
Divine Farmer (Shennong) 神農, XLVII:235
Divine Farmer's Classic of Remedies, The. See *Shennong bencaojing*
divine majesty. See *huang*
Divine Mists of Poetry, The. See *Shi han shenwu*
Divine-Turtle 靈龜, XXIX:156
Divine-Wildcat 靈貍, III:10
Documents of Antiquity. See *Shangshu*
dog. See *quan*
Dog People, The (Quanrong) 犬戎, *LVIII:278,* 279, LX:286, 288, LXXIII:334
Dongdong 辣辣, *XXV:134*
Dongdong 狪狪, *XXVII:143*
Don't-Give Mountain 休與之山, XXXV:190
Double-Double (Shuangshuang) 雙雙, LXVII:306
dragon 龍, LX:290. *See also* Jiao-Dragon; Ju-Dragon; Tiger-Dragon; Winged-Dragon
Dragon-Fish 龍魚, XLVI:238
Dragon-Marquis Mountain 龍侯之山, XXIV:125
Dragon-Turtle (Longgui) 龍龜, *XXIII:115*
Dream-Bird 夢鳥, LXIX:315
Drenching River 沁水, XXV:134
Drought-Fury (Huangdinü Ba, daughter of the Yellow Thearch) 黃帝女魃, *LXXIII:332*
Drum (Gu) 鼓, *XII:55*
Dry Mountain 乾山, XXVI:135
Dry River 脩水, XXIV:121
Du shanhaijing shisan shou (Thirteen poems on reading the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas*) 讀山海經十三首, II:14, XLV:233
Dugu 獨狢, *XXIII:119*
dui (sheep's skin) 敦, IV:11n22
Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (r. 685–642 B.C.E.), I:1, XVII:82, LXXVI:342
Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (r. 659–621 B.C.E.), LIII:260
Duke Ping of Jin 晉平公 (r. 557–532 B.C.E.), XLVIII:242n408
duty 義, LVII:271
Dwelling-Bird (Yu[niao]) 寓[鳥], *XX:96*

Ear-Rat (Ershu) 耳鼠, *XX:97*
Eastern Sea 東海, XII:57, XXV:133
Edge-of-Spring Mountain 邊春之山, XX:99
edible-bamboo 箭, IX:37
Ehuang (wife of Dijun; wife of Shun) 娥皇, XL:214, XLV:229, LXVII:309

Elder Dai's Book of Ritual, The. See *Dadai liji*
elephant 象, VII:26, XXXVII:198, 201, LV:267
Elephant-Bones Mountain 象骨山, LV:267
Elephant-Snake (Xiangshe) 象蛇, *XXV:130*
Eminent Mountain 英山, IX:37
Eminent River 英水, IV:15, V:17, XIV:73
Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han 漢光武 (r. 25–57 C.E.), XXVII:142n238
Emperor Jing of the Western Han 漢景帝 (Liu Qi 劉啓, r. 156–141 B.C.E.), XLIV:228, LXXI:325
Emperor Xuan of the Western Han 漢宣帝 (r. 74–49 B.C.E.), LVI:268, LXXV:343
Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han 漢章帝 (r. 75–88 C.E.), XXXIII:174
Empty-Mulberry Mountain 空桑之山, XXIX:153
Encircling-Alligator (Tuowei) 蠪圍, *XXXVI:193,* XXXVIII:204
Encomiums (*Tuzan*) 圖讚. See *Shanhaijing tuzan*
Encomiums on Strange Fish. See *Yiyu tuzan*
Encomiums to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas. See *Shanhaijing tuzan*
End-of-the-Road River 末塗之水, XXVII:142
Enjoy-Abundance (Dangkang) 當康, *XXXI:163*
Enü (Lady E) 阿女, LXXIV:337
Er-Ritual 珥/衈, XXVII:144
Erfu 貳負, XXII:108, LVI:265, 268, 270, *LIX:281*
Erfu zhi chen. *See* Minister of Erfu
Ershu. *See* Ear-Rat
Erya (Approaching refinement, c. 3rd cent. B.C.E.) 爾雅, VIII:32, 34, IX:38n72; XIII:58, XXII:108, XXV:129, XXIX:156, XXXV:188, XXXVII:198, XXXVIII:209, XLIV:230, LIV:261, LVII:272, LXVII:308, LXIX:315
Eternally Auspicious Mountain 常羊[祥]之山, XLV:233
Everlasting-Tree 萬歲, II:7n14
Exceedingly Lofty Mountain 餘峨之山, XXVIII:146
Excellent-Glory 嘉榮, XXXV:189, XXXVII:200
Excellent-Hills Mountain 令丘之山, VII:30
Excess Lake 餘如之澤, XXXI:164
Exchanging-Winecups River 交觴之水, XXXV:186
Exhausted-Demons 有窮鬼, XIII:58
Expanding Soil 息壤, LXXVI:345
Explanation of Divination in the Storehouse of All Things. See *Guizang qishi*
Explanations and Analyses of Graphs. See *Shuowen jiezi*
Extremity Mountain 窮山, XLVI:237

fan (reversed) 反, XLII:223, L:249
Fan-Bird 蕃, XIX:94
Fan-Plant Lake 蕃澤, XV:70
fangshi-wizards 方士, XXVII:143, XXIX:151, LXII:294
Fangzhang 方丈, LXII:294
fanshe (reversed tongues) 反舌, XLII:223
"Far-O Journey, The." See *Yuanyou*
Fearful-Bird (Songsi) 竦斯, *XXI:105*
Feather Mountain 羽山, XLIII:227, LXXVI:345
Feathered Men 羽人, XLI:216, XLII:217
Feathered People, The (Yumin) 羽民, figs. 26a, 26b, 26c, 26d, *XLI:216*
Fei-Beast (Fei) 蜚, *XXXI:166*
Fei-Bug 蜚, XXXVIII:205
Fei-Rat 獍鼠, XXXIX:211
Feihuang. *See* Flying-Yellow
Feishu. *See* Flying-Rat
Feiyi-Bird (Feiyi) 肥遺, *IX:37*
Feiyi-Snake (Feiyi) 肥䗸, *VIII:34*
Feiyi-Snake (Feiyi) 肥遺, *XXII:113*
Feiyu. *See* Flying-Fish
Fen 盼, XLVIII:245
Feng-Bird (Feng) 鳳, XI:49, XIII:60, XV:73, XLI:219, *LVII:271,* LXIV:303, LXIX:315, *LXXII:330,* LXXV:343. *See also* Fenghuang-Bird
Feng sacrifice 封, XL:214
Feng Tribe 豐氏, V:17
Fenghuang-Bird (Fenghuang) 鳳凰, *LVII:271,* LXVII:308. *See also* Feng-Bird
Fierce-Leopard (Mengbao) 猛豹, *IX:41*
Fierce-Tiger 猛虎, IX:41
Fine-Turtle (Lianggui) 良龜, *XXXVII:198*
Fire-Gluttons, The (Yanhuomin) 厭火民, *XLI:218*
Fire-Melt (Yanrong) 炎融, LXVIII:313
Firm-Tree 建木, LIV:266
First Emperor of Qin 秦始皇 (r. 246–210 B.C.E.), IX:38, XXVII:143, XXX:214, LXII:292, 294
Fish-Skin Barbarians 魚皮夷, LII:259
Fish-Skin Island, 魚皮嶋, LII:259
Five Agents cosmology 五行, XV:69, 73, XVI:74, XXXI:165, XLI:216n357, XLIII:227, XLVII:241, XLIX:247, LIII:260
Five-Colored Bird (Wucai zhi niao) 五彩之鳥, *LXIV:303*
five-colored birds 五彩鳥, 五色鳥, X:47,

XI:49, XIX:90, LVII:271, LX:289, LXIX:315, LXXV:343
Five Punishments 五殘, XIV:65
Five-Terraces Mountain 五臺山, XXV:134
Flame Thearch (Yandi) 炎帝, XXV:133, XLIII:227, XLV:233, XLIX 247n418, LIV:266
Flexible People, The (Roulimin) 柔利民, *XLVIII:243,* 244
Floating-Jade Mountain 浮玉之山, VI:21, 22
Flooding River 濫水, XVIII:85
Flying-Fish (Feiyu) 飛魚, *XXXII:169, XXXIII:178*
Flying-Rat (Feishu) 飛鼠, *XXV:128*
Flying-Yellow (Feihuang) 飛黃, XLVI:238
Follow Mountain 從山, XXXIX:209
Follow River 從水, XXXIX:209
Food River 食水, XXVII:139, XXX:159
Fork Mountain 岐山, XXIX:155
forked. See *qi*
Forked Mountain 岐山, XXXVI:196
Foundation Mountain 基山, IV:11
Four Extremities 四極, XLVII:241
Four Seas 四海, fig. 8, XII:57, XIII:58, LXXVI:345
Four Snakes, The (Sishe) 四蛇, *LXIII:296*
Fragrant-Mane 香髦, III:10
Fresh Mountain 鮮山, XXXII:171, XXXIX:212
Fresh River 鮮水, XXXII:171
Fu Qian 服虔 (fl. c. 184–189), LX:287, 287n495
Fu-Viper (Fuchong) 蝮蟲, fig. 27, *II:5,* XXI:107
Fuchang-Tree 服常樹, LVII:272, 273, 274
Fufu (in *Approaching Refinement*) 狒狒, LIV:261
Fufu (in *Recovered Documents of Zhou*) 鬽鬽, LIV:261
Fuxi and Nüwa 伏羲女媧, LXXV:342
Fuxi-Bird (Fuxi) 鳧徯, *XI:50*
Fuyu River 符禺之水, VIII:35
Fuzhu 夫諸, *XXXIII:175*

Gai 該, LIII:260
Ganjuren. *See* Giants of Gan, The
Gao You 高誘 (c. 168–212 C.E.), XLII:223, L:249, LIV:261, 263, LIX:283, LX:285
Gaoben-Plant 藁本, X:44, XXXIII:177, 177n289
Gaobo-Plant 藁茇, X:44
Gaojuli (Koguryŏ) 高句麗, XLII:226
Gao's Mountain 高氏之山, XXVIII:150
Gaoxin 高辛. *See* Thearch Ku
Garden of Peace 平圃, XIII:58
Gazing River 盼水, X:46
Geese-Gate 雁門, XLIX:247
Geese-Gate Mountain 雁門山, XXIV:181
Geese-Gate Pass 雁門關, XXV:134. *See also* Geese-Gate Mountain
Geese-Gate River 雁門之水, XXII:108, XXIV:121
Gege-Fish (Gege zhi yu) 鮯鮯之魚, *XXIX:156*
Geju 獶狙, *XXX:159*
Generous-Man (Chuoren) 綽人, LII:258, LXXII:327
Gengfu. *See* Plower
Giant Crab (Daxie) 大蟹, *LXII:291*
Giant E-Hawk (Dae) 大鶚, XII:55, *56*
Giant Snake (Dashe) 大蛇 *XXVI:137,* XXVII:147, XXIX:156
Giant Wasps 大蠭, LIX:284, 284n489
Giants (Daren) 大人, *LXIV:297*
Giants of Gan, The (Ganjuren) 贛巨人, LIV:261, *LXXIV:339*
Gibbon-Wings Mountain 猨翼之山, I:4
Glorious River 榮水, LXVII:309
God of Thunder (Leishen) 雷神, *LXIII:295*
Gonggong 共工, XLIII:227, XLVIII:244, LIII:260, *LXIX:314,* 314n549
Gonggong's Terrace 共工之臺, XLVIII:244, 245, LXIII:296
Gorge of Extreme Centrality 中極之淵, LXI:290n501
Gorge of Extreme Loyalty 忠極之淵, LXI:290, 290n501
Gorge of Extreme Verticality 從極之淵, LXI:290
Gorge of Lesser Harmony 少和之淵, LXVII:309
Goumang 句芒, XVI:74, XLVII:241, *LIII:260*
Grain-Citadel Mountain 穀城之山, XXV:185
Grain River 穀水, XXXV:186
Grain-Tree 木禾, LVI:269
Grand Corral Sacrifice 太牢, XXXV:191, XXXVIII:202
Grand Exorcism 大儺, XVIII:83, LIX:283, LXXII:331
Grand Lake 大澤, XIII:58, XLIX:247
Grandee Mountain 大夫之山, XXXIX:213
Gravel River 沙水, XXVIII:148
Great Black-Horse Mountain 大騩之山, XXXV:190
Great Commentary to the Documents of Antiquity. See *Shangshu dazhuan*
Great Hidden Land 大幽之國, XXVI:137
Great Lake 太湖, VI:21, LXIII:295
Great-Line Mountains 太行之山, XXIV:123, 123n208, XXVI:138
Great Misery Mountain 大苦之山, XXXV:188

Great Mountain 太山, XXXI:166
Great Mountain of the Supreme God's Fighting Beast 帝之搏獸之丘, XII:53
Great Play Mountain 泰戲之山, XXV:134
"Great Summons, The." See *Dazhao*
Great Vessel Mountain 泰器之山, XII:57
Greater-Brilliance (Taihao) 大皞, LIV:266
Greater Chamber Mountain 太室[之山], XXXV:191
Greater Lotus Mountain 太華之山, VIII:34
Greater Unity Mountain 大咸之山, XXI:107
Green Hills Mountain 青丘之山, II:13, 14, 15, LII:257
Green Plower-Bird (Qinggeng) 青耕, *XXXVIII:207*
Green-Stone 青石, XIV:64
Green-Waist Mountain 青要之山, XXXIII:176
Green Wen-Bird 青鳧, LXX:320
Grotto Lake 洞庭湖, LV:267
Grotto Mountain 洞庭之山, XL:214
Gu. *See* Drum
gu (insect-poison) 蠱, II:13. *See also* insect-poison
Guaishe. *See* Strange Snake
Guan Zhong 管仲 (d. 645 B.C.E.). I:1, XVII:82, XL:213n353
Guanguan-Bird (Guanguan) 灌灌, *VI:14*
Guanxiongmin. *See* People with Perforated Chests, The
Guanzi (Master Guan, c. 5th–1st cent. B.C.E.) 管子, I:1, XXII:113, LII:254. *See also* Guan Zhong
Gudiao. *See* Poison-Eagle
Guhuo 姑獲, XIX:92
gui (demon) 鬼, XLVIII:242, LIX:280, 283, LXXIII:333
Guide to Waterways with Commentary. See *Shuijingzhu*
Guideway to Gods and Anomalies. See *Shenyijing*
Guiguomin. *See* Demon People, The
Guizang qishi (Explanations of Divinations in the *Storehouse of All Things,* 2nd cent. C.E.) 歸藏啓筮, XLI:216, LXIX:314
Gulf of Bohai 渤海, LXII:291, 294
Gun 鯀, XXXIII:176, XLIII:227, LXVIII:313
Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324), II:2
Guo River 虢水, XXXIV:181
Guoyu (Conversations from the feudal states, 4th cent. B.C.E.) 國語, XLVII:241, LII:258, LIII:260, LXX:319, LXXII:327
Gushe Mountain 姑射, LXII:293
Guzhu 孤竹, I:1
Gypsum River 石膏[之]水, XXXI:162

Hairy People, The (Maomin) 毛民, *LII:258, LXXII:327*
Half-Rock Mountain 半石之山, XXXV:189
Hall-Court Mountain 堂庭之山, II:3
Hall of the Giants 大人之堂, LXIV:297
Han Liu 韓流, *LXXIV:337*
Han River 漢水, XVIII:85, XXXVIII:206, LIV:262, LVII:273, 274, LXIII, 296
Hanfeizi (Master Hanfei, before 233 B.C.E.) 韓非子, XV:69, XLI:216n357
Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1829), II:4
Haoyu. *See* Brave-Fish
Haozhi. *See* Brave-Pig
Happy-Horse Mountain 樂馬之山, XXXIX:210
Happy-Swimming Mountain 樂游之山, XIV:63
Hard Mountain 岡山, XVII:79
Hard River 岡水, XVII:79
Harmony-and-Peace (Yonghe) 雍和, XXXVIII:204
Harmony Mountain 和山, XXXIV:179
He. *See* Yellow River
Head Mountain 首山, XXIV:184
Hebo 河伯. See Lord of the River
Heiren. *See* Black People, The
Heluo-Fish (Heluo zhi yu) 何羅之魚, figs. 25a, 25b, *XIX:92*
Heron Valley 藿谷, XXXVI:186
Heyu 合窬, *XXXI:165*
Hidden-Capital Mountain 幽都之山, XXVI:137
Hidden-Lake River 芘湖之水, XIX:91
Hidden People, The 幽民, XXVI:137
Hill-Fish (Lingyu) 陵魚, LXII:291, *292*
Hill-Goat Lake 陵羊之澤, XVII:81
Hilly Lake 邛澤, XXIV:117n200, 120
Historical Records. See *Shiji*
History of the Latter [Eastern] Han Dynasty. See *Houhanshu*
History of the Wei Dynasty. See *Weishu*
Honest-Head Mountain 敦頭之山, XXIII:117
Honest River 敦水, XXII:108
hong (rainbow) 虹, LII:255
Hongguang. *See* Red-Glow
Honghong-Rainbows (Honghong) 虹虹, *LII:255,* 256
Hook River 鉤水, XXXI:166
Hook-Snake 鉤蛇, XXXVII:199
hooked-tip bamboo 鉤端, XXVI:193

Horse-Belly (Mafu) 馬腹, *XXXIII:174*
Horse-Stumbling Snake 馬絆蛇, XXXVII:199
Horse-Succeeds Mountain 馬成之山, XXIV:126
Horse-Teeth Mountain 馬齒山, XXIX:15
Hot River 湯水, XVII:78
Hot Springs Valley 溫源谷, LXIV:301
Hot Valley 湯谷, XV:73
Houhanshu (History of the latter [eastern] Han dynasty, mid-5th cent.) 後漢書, II:2, XLVI:236
Houji. *See* Lord Millet
Houtu. *See* Lord Earth
Hu People, The 互人, LIV:266
Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 (fl.c. 1593–c.1596), I:1
Hua-Fish (Huayu) 鯕魚, *XIV:63, XXXI:164*
Huai Lake River 瀤澤之水, XXII:109
Huai River 淮, XII:53n98
Huai-Tree 櫰木, XVII:82
Huainanzi (Master of Huainan, c. 139 B.C.E.) 淮南子, XV:69, XVIII:83, XXIII:116, XLII:223, XLV:233, XLVIII:244, L:249, LI:253, LII:254, LIV:261, 263, LV:267, LVII:272, 273, 274, LIX:283, LX:285, LXI:290, LXIX:314
Huan (goatlike beast) 䴔, *VI:23*
Huan (wildcatlike beast) 讙, *XVI:75, 76*
Huan-Orchid 芄蘭, VIII:38n72
Huandou 讙兜. *See* Huantou
huang (divine majesty) 皇, LXVII:308
huang (yellow) 黃, LXVII:308
Huangdi. *See* Yellow Thearch
Huan'gou. *See* Ring-Dog
Huanshu 臛疏, *XIX:89*
Huantou (also called Huandou, Huanzhu) 驩[讙]頭, XLI:217, *LXVIII:313,* LXXIII:335. *See also* Huantou People, The
Huantou People, The (Huantoumin) 讙頭民, *XLI:217,* LXVIII:313
Huanzhu 讙朱. *See* Huantou
Huashe. *See* Transformed-Snake
Huayu. *See* Hua-Fish; Slippery-Fish
Hui 騩, *XXIV:123*
Hujiao. *See* Tiger-Dragon
Human-Fish (Renyu) 人魚, IX:38, *XXIV:125*
Humane Yi the Archer (Ren Yi) 仁羿, LVI:269. *See also* Yi (Yi the Archer)
Humaneness 仁, LVII:271
Humped-Neck (Linghu) 領胡, *XXV:129*
Hundun 渾敦 (in the *Guideways*), *XV:73,* XVIII:83, LX:287
Hundun 渾沌 (in the *Master Zhuang*), XV:73
Huo River 濩水, VIII:33
Huodou 禍斗, XLI:218
Hutuo River 滹沱之水, XXV:134

Illustrations of Frightening Animals. See *Weishoutu*
Illustrations to the Guideways through Mountains and Seas. See *Shanhaijing tu*
Illustrations to the "Questions of Heaven." See *Tianwentu*
Imperial Encyclopedia of the Taiping Era, The. See *Taiping yulan*
Imprint Lake 印澤, XXXII:117, 117n200
insect-poison *(gu)* 蠱, II:13, XVIII:83, XXXIX:209, LIX:283
Instructed People, The 教民, LII:259
Intestines of Nüwa 女媧之腸, LXIX:314n549
Inverted Bell and Mufeng Mountains 鐏于毋逢之山, XXVI:137, 138
itinerant persuaders 遊說, XXIX:151

Jade Gate 玉門, XLV:231, XLVI:234
Jade Maiden of the Brilliant Star 明星玉女, VIII:34
Jade Mountain 玉山, XIV:65, 66, 67, XLVI:237
Japan. *See* Wo
Ji 幾, XLII:225, LXVIII:312
Ji-Deer 麂, XXXVI:194
Ji-Tree Valley 机谷, XXXIV:184
Jia-Bird 駕鳥, XXXIII:176
Jian-Orchid 蕑, *XL:214*
Jiang. *See* Long River
Jiang Shaoyuan 江紹原 (20th cent.), VIII:39n73
Jiang-Oak 橿, IX:37, 39, XXXVIII:208
Jiangfu (Rhyme-prose on the Long River) 江賦, XXIII:117
Jianghan River 匠韓之水, XXI:105
Jiangliang. *See* Strong-and-Good
jiao (instruct) 教, LII:259
Jiao-Beast (Jiao) 狡, *XIV:66*
Jiao-Bird (Jiao) 鵁, *XX:101*
Jiao-Dragon (Jiao) 蛟, fig. 20, VII:28, *LVII:274*
Jiao-Duck 鵁, VII:27
Jiao-Fish 鮫魚, XXXVI:192n313
Jiaochong. *See* Proud-Bug
Jiaojingmin. *See* People with Crossed Shins, The
Jiaoyao 焦僥, XLII:225
Jiaoyao People, The (Jiaoyaomin) 焦僥民, XLII:225, LXIV:298, *LXVIII:312*
Jiaozhi (Crossed-Feet, also modern Vietnam) 交趾, XLII:221, LIV:261, 263, LV:267

Jidiao 吉弔, XXIII:115
Jie 獬, *XXXIV:183*
Jiegou 絜鉤, *XXIX:152*
Jiexiongmin. *See* People with Protruding Chests, The
Jigongmin. *See* Single-Arm People, The
Jiliang. *See* Lucky-Measure
Jimeng 計蒙, *XXXVI:195*
Jin 晉, XLVII:241
Jing-Deer 麠, XXXVII:194
Jingjing 精精, *XXIX:157*
Jingwei. *See* Spirit-Guardian
Jinyu-Jade 瑾瑜之玉, XVI:74
Jiubian (Nine arguments) 九辯, LXXI:325
Jiudai (Nine Dai Dances) 九代, XLIV:228
Jiufeng. *See* Nine-Headed Feng-Bird
Jiuge (Nine songs) 九歌, XL:214, LXI:290, LXXI:325
Jiuweihu. *See* Nine-Tail Fox
Jiuzhao (Nine summons) 九招, LXXI:325
Ju-Dragon 句龍, LIII:260
Ju River 滈水, XXXII:169
Ju River 雎水, XXXVI:192
Ju-Tree 椐, XX:95
Ju-Tree 苴, XXXVIII:208, XXIX:212
Jubi zhi shi. *See* Corpse of Jubi, The
Judicious Disquisitions. See *Lunheng*
Jufu. *See* Lifter
Juji 居暨, *XXXIV:121*
Jun-Bird 鵕鳥, XII:55
Junguo. *See* Balancer of the Feudal States
Jupiter. *See* Year-Star
Juru 狙如, *XXXIX:211*
Juru-Bird (Juru) 罝如, *VII:27*

Kai 開, *XLIV:228, LXXI:325*
Kaimingshou. *See* Beast-Facing-East
Kanpi 堪坯, XII:55
Kaogongji (Records for examining the artisans, Warring States–Han dynasty) 考工記, XII:53n98
King Cheng of the Zhou 周成王 (r. c. 1042–1006 B.C.E.), XI:50, XXVII:139, XLVI:239, LIV:261
King Father of the East 東王父, XIV:65
King Gai 王該. *See* King Hai
King Gui [Jie] of the Xia 夏癸[桀] (trad. r. c. 1588–1558 B.C.E.), L:249, LXXI:323
King Hai 王亥 (trad. d. 1718 B.C.E.), *LXIV:300*
King Huai of Chu 楚懷王 (r. 328–299 B.C.E.), V:18
King Mu of the Zhou 周穆王 (r. 956–918 B.C.E.), XLVI:238
King Shanshang (Korean: Sansang) 山上王 (r. 196–227), XLII:226
King Taimou of the Shang 商太戊 (trad. r. c. 1474–1400 B.C.E.), XLVI:234, 235
King Tang of the Shang 商湯王 (also called Tang the Victorious 成湯) (trad. r. c. 1574/1557–1547; or 1545–1516 B.C.E.), VIII:34, XLV:231, L:250, LXX:323
King Wei of Qi 齊威王 (r. 356–320 B.C.E.), LXIII:294
King Wen of the Zhou (Bochang) 周文王 (伯昌, r. c. 1099–1050 B.C.E.), LVIII:279, LX:289
King Wuding of the Shang 商武丁 (trad. r. 1273–1224 B.C.E.), LIX:280
King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王 (r. 319–301 B.C.E.), LXII:294
King Zhao of the Zhou 周昭王 (r. c. 977–957 B.C.E.), LIV:262
King Zhao of Yan 燕昭王 (r. 311–279 B.C.E.), LXII:294
King Zhou of the Shang 商紂王 (trad. r. c. 1150–1099 B.C.E.), LVIII:279, LX:289
Knife-Fish 刀魚, VI:22
Kong Jia [of the Xia] [夏]孔甲 (trad. r. 1611–1603 B.C.E.), XXXIV:179
Korea, XLII:225, LXII:291, LXIV:297. *See also* Chaoxian; Gaojuli
Kuafu (Kuafu the Boaster) 夸夫[夸父], XII:54n98, XXIV:122, 122n207, XLV:233, *XLIX:247,* 247n418, L:248, LXVI:305
Kuangniao. *See* Crazy-Bird
Kui 夔, LXIII:295, *LXV:304*
Kui-Ox 夔牛, XXXVII:198, 199
Kui-Tree 樻, XX:95

labor. See *lao*
Laboring People, The (Laomin) 勞民, *LII:259*
Lacquer River 漆水, IX:39
Lady E. *See* Enü
"Lady of the Xiang River, The." See *Xiang furen*
Lady's-Bed Mountain 女牀之山, XI:49
Lady's-Table Mountain 女几之山, XXXVI:194, XXXVIII:202
Laixu River 來需之水, XXXV:189
Lake Juqu 具區, VI:21
Lake River 湖水, XXVII:141
Land of Flowing Yellow Sands 流黃, V:17
Land of Gentlemen 君子國, LII:255
Land of Green Hills 青丘國, LII:257
Land of Huantou 讙頭國, 驩頭之國, XLI:217, 218, LXVIII:313
Land of Huanzhu 讙朱國. *See* Land of Huantou

Land of Kaiti 開題之國, LVI:268
Land of Laborers 勞國, LII:259
Land of Men 丈夫國, XLVI:234, 236
Land of Shaman Xian 巫咸國, XLVI:235, 236
Land of the Beiqu People 北朐國, LIV:261
Land of the Black-Thighs People 玄股之國, LII:258
Land of the Canines 狗國, LVIII:278, LX:286
Land of the Chief Supervisor 監長之國, LXXIV:338
Land of the Demon People 鬼國, XLVIII:241, LIX:280, 281
Land of the Di People 氐人國, LIV:266
Land of the Dingling People 釘靈之國, LXXV:344
Land of the Dog People 犬戎國, 犬戎之國, LVIII:278, 279
Land of the Enfeo ed Dogs 犬封國, LVIII:278
Land of the Feathered People 羽民國, XLI:216
Land of the Fire Gluttons 厭火國, XLI:218
Land of the Flexible People 柔利國, XLVIII:243, 244
Land of the Giants 大人國, LII:254, LXIV:297
Land of the Great Moon Tribe 大月氏國, VIII:32
Land of the Hairy People 毛民之國, LII:258, LXXII:327
Land of the Horse-Calves People 馬脛國, LXXV:344
Land of the Jiaoyao People 焦僥之國, LXVIII:312
Land of the Juying People 拘纓之國, L:249, 249n422
Land of the Laboring People 勞民之國, LII:259
Land of the Lin Clan 林氏國, LX:288, 289
Land of the Liuli People 留利之國, XLVIII:243
Land of the Long-Arms People 長臂國, XLII:226
Land of the Long-Shins People 長脛之國, LXIX:316
Land of the Long-Thighs People 長股之國, XLVII:240
Land of the Midgets 小人國, LXIV:298
Land of the Morning Clouds 朝雲之國, LXXIV:337
Land of the Niuli People 牛黎之國, XLVIII:243
Land of the Ŏkcho Tribe. See Wojuguo
Land of the One-Arm People 一臂國, XLV:230, 231
Land of the One-Armed, Three-Faced Person 一臂三面之鄉, LXXI:324
Land of the One-Eyed People 一目國, XLVIII:242, 243
Land of the Overseer of Hogs 司彘之國, LXXIV:337
Land of the Pendant-Ears People 儋耳之國, LXXII:328
Land of the People of Bofu 博父國, L:248
Land of [the People of] Kuafu 夸父國, L:248n420
Land of the People Who Hold Up Their Ears 聶耳國, XLVIII:246
Land of the People with Crossed Shins 交脛國, XLII:221, 222
Land of the People with Deep Eyes 深目國, XLVIII:245
Land of the People with Forked Tongues 岐舌國, XLII:223
Land of the People with Perforated Chests 貫匈國, XLI:220, XLII:221, 222
Land of the People with Protruding Chests 結匈國, XLI:215
Land of the People with Reversed Tongues 反舌國, XLII:223
Land of the People without Intestines 無腸之國, XLVIII:246
Land of the Single-Arm People 奇肱之國, XLV:231, 232
Land of the Supervisor of Salt 鹽長之國, LXXIV:338
Land of the Sushen People 肅慎國, XLVI:239
Land of the Three-Bodies People 三身國, XLV:229, 230, LXVI:309
Land of the Three-Hairs People 三毛國, XLI:219
Land of the Three-Sprouts People 三苗國, XLI:218, 219
Land of the Tiptoe People 跂踵國, XXXVIII:203, L:249
Land of the Tricephalous People 三首國, XLII:224
Land of the White People 白民之國, XLVI:238, 239
Land of the Xiaoyang People 梟陽國, LIV:261
Land of the Zhi People 載國, XLI:219
Land of the Zhourao People 周饒國, XLII:225
Land of Women 女子國, XLVI:236, 237
Land of Xuanyuan 軒轅國, XLVI:237
Land of Yanming 猒名國, LVII:306
Land of Zhoumi 州靡國, LIV:261
Langgan-Stone 琅玕, XIII:58, LVII:272
Langgan-Tree 瑯玕樹, LVII:272

lao (labor) 勞, LII:259
Laomin. *See* Laboring People, The
Laotong. *See* Old Child
Laozi. *See* Old Master
Laozi (The old master, late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) 老子, XVII:78
large. See *da*
Lei-Beast (Lei) 類, *III:10*
Lei-Bird (Lei) 鸙, *X:48*
Lei Zu 雷祖, LXXIV:337
Leishen. *See* God of Thunder
Lesser-Brilliance (Shaohao) 少皞, XVI:74, XVIII:83, XLVII:241, LI:253, LIII:260, LIX:283, LXXIII:333, LXXV:341
Lesser Chamber Mountain 少室[之山], XXXV:191
Lesser Corral Sacrifice 少牢, XI:52, XXXVII:197, XXXVIII:202, XXXIX:213
Lesser Lotus Mountain 小華之山, IX:37
Lesser Unity Mountain 少咸之山, XXII:108
Li (beast) 狸, *XXXIX:210*
Li (name) 黎, LIII:260, LXX:319
Li (surname) 釐, LXIV:297, LXXIII:335
Li and Yuan Rivers 澧沅, XXX:214
Li River 澧水, XXVIII:145
Li Xian 李賢 (651–684), II:2
Li Zhu 離珠[朱], LVII:272
Lianggui. *See* Fine-Turtle
Libation River 灌水, XII:57
Liegushe 列姑射, LXII:293
Liezi (Master Lie, c. late 4th cent.) 列子 XLIX:247, L:253
Lifter (Jufu) 舉父, *XII:53,* 53n98, XXII:110, XXIV:122, 122n207
Lihu-Bird (Lihu) 鸝鶘, *XXVIII:148*
Lili. *See* Powercat
Liling zhi shi. *See* Corpse of Liling, The
Lilun 離侖, XIII:58
Lin (auspicious beast) 麟, LXXIV:337
Lin (doglike beast) 獜, *XXXVIII:208*
lin (scales) 鱗, LXXIV:337
Lin Clan 林氏, LX:288, 289
Ling-Antelope 麢羊, X:48, XIX:94, XXIV:123, 123n208, XXXVI:194, XXXVII:199
Lingering-Ox 留牛, III:9
Lingering River 留水, XXV:131
Linghu. *See* Humped-Neck
Lingling 軨軨, XXVII:144
Lingqi 靈耆, LIV:266
Lingyao-Bird (Lingyao) 鴒鷂, *XXXIV:186*
Lingyu. *See* Hill-Fish
Linhai shuitu yiwuzhi (Records of strange things on land and sea at Linhai, n.d.) 臨海水土異物志, VII:28
lips. See *chun*
Liquid-Lady River 液女之水, XXV:134
Lirong 離戎, LX:288
Lisao (On encountering sorrow) 離騷, XVIII:86
Liu Bang 劉邦 (c. 247–195 B.C.E.), XXXV:185
Liu-Fish (Liu) 鰡, *III:9*
Liu Qi. *See* Emperor Jing of the Western Han
Liu Xiang 劉向 (79 B.C.E.–8 B.C.E.), LVI:268
Liu Xin (Xiu) 劉歆 (秀) (46 B.C.E.–23 C.E.), XLI:216n356, LIII:260, LVI:268
Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), XXX:160n265
Liushouniao. *See* Six-Headed Bird, The
Liutao (Six bow-bags, c. late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) 六韜, LX:289
Lo-Bird 樂鳥, XV:72
Lofty-Brilliance Mountain 堯光之山, V:20
Long-Arms People, The (Changbimin) 長臂民, *XLII:226,* XLVII:240
Long-Feet People, The 長脚民, XLVII:240
Long-Ride (Changcheng) 長乘, *XIV:64*
Long River 江 (also called Yangtze 揚子江), XXVII:141, 143, XXXVI:192, XXXVII:198, 199, 201, XL:214, XLIII:227
Long-Shins People, The (Changjingmin) 長脛民, XLVII:240, *LXIX:316*
Long-Snake (Changshe) 長蛇, *XXI:107*
Long-Thighs People, The (Changgumin) 長股民, *XLVII:240*
Longgui. *See* Dragon-Turtle
Longzhi 蠪蛭, *XXVIII:150*
Longzhi 蠪蚳, *XXXIII:173*
Lord Earth (Houtu) 后土, XLIX:247
Lord Millet (Houji) 后稷, XIII:58, LXXIII:332
Lord Millet Lake 稷澤, XIII:58, XIV:63
Lord of the River (Hebo) 河伯, *LXI:290,* LXIV:300
Lord of the Waters 水伯, LII:256
Lord of the Wind 風伯, LXXIII:332
Lotus Mountain 華山, VIII:32. *See also* Greater Lotus Mountain; Lesser Lotus Mountain
Lou River 漊水, XXV:134
lovage 蘼蕪, XL:214
Lü-Goat 閭, XXXVI:194
Lu-Grain 穋, LXVIII:313
Luan-Bird (Luanniao) 鸞鳥, *XI:49,* XII:57, XV:73, XLI:219, LVII:271, LXIV:303
Luan-Chicken 鸞雞, XII:57
Lucky-Measure (Jiliang) 吉量, XLV:231, *LVIII:279,* LX:289
Lun-Fish 鯩魚, *XXXV:189*

Lunheng (Judicious disquisitions, 70–80 C.E.) 論衡, XLI:215n357
Luo River 洛水, IX:38, XVII:80, XXXII:174, XXXIV:181, XXXV:185, 186
Luo-Fish 贏魚, XVIII:85
Luoluo 羅羅, *L:252*
luomo 籮摩, IX:38n72
Luoyang 洛陽, IX:38
Lüshi chunqiu (The compendium of Mr. Lü, c. 239 B.C.E.) 呂氏春秋, II:2, XII:57, XIII:60, XXVIII:145, XXXIV:179, XXXVII:198, XLII:222, 223, LIV:263, LVI:269, LXII:291, LXXI:324
Lushu 鹿蜀, *III:7*
Luwu 陸吾, *XIII:60,* LVI:270

Madness River 狂水, XXXV:188
Mafu. *See* Horse-Belly
Magpie Mountains 誰山, II:2
Man, A (Zhangfu) 丈夫, *XLVI:234*
Man-Barbarians 蠻, LVII:278, LXVII:313
mandarin ducks 鴛鴦, VII:28, XXVIII:148, XXXI:164
Manman 蠻蠻, *XVI:80*
Manman-Bird (Manman) 蠻蠻, *XI:54*
Maomin. *See* Hairy People, The
Maoniu. *See* Yak
Marchmount of the East 東嶽, XXVII:143
Marchmount of the West 西嶽, VIII:34
Marquis Pan Mountain 潘侯之山, XXI:106
Marsh Lake 湖澤, XXIX:151
Marsh-Mud Mountain 皐塗之山, X:44, 45
Master Guan. See *Guanzi*
Master Hanfei. See *Hanfeizi*
Master Lie. See *Liezi*
Master Mo. See *Mozi*
Master of Huainan. See *Huainanzi*
Master of Rain 雨師, LXXIII:332
Master Shi. See *Shizi*
Master Zhuang. See *Zhuangzi*
Mathieu, Rémi, II:2n14
Mei-Hobgoblin (Mei) 魅, *LX:287. See also* Chi-Hobgoblin; Chimei-Hobgoblins
Mengbao. *See* Fierce-Leopard
Menghuai 孟槐, *XIX:93*
Mengji 孟極, *XX:98*
Mi-Deer 麋鹿, XX:97, XXVI:136, XXIX:154, XXXVII:194
Mian River 沔水, XXVII:142
Mianchen 綿臣, LXIV:300
Miaomin. *See* Sprouts People, The
Midgets (Xiaoren) 小人, *LXIV:298*
Min 犉, *X:46*
Min-Bird (Min) 鴖, *X:46*
Min River 澠水, XXV:128
Mingshe. *See* Chiming-Snake
Minister Liu (Xiang Liu) 相柳, *XLVIII:244,* 245, LXIX:314
Minister of Erfu (Erfu zhi chen) 貳負之臣, LIV:265, *LVI:268. See also* Erfu
Minister You 相繇, XLVIII:244
Misery Mountains 苦山, XXXV:190
Misty River 濛水, XVIII:85
Mo Di (Master Mo, c. 479–381 B.C.E.) 墨翟, XLIV:228
Mo-Leopard 貘, IX:41
Money-Arrives Mountain 錢來之山, VIII:32
Morning-Swan 晨鵠, XII:55
Mottled-Fish (Wenyu) 文魚, *XXXVI:192*
Mottled Flying-Fish (Wenyaoyu) 文鰩魚, *XII:57*
Mount Bozhong 嶓冢之山, LXIII:296
Mount Changyou 長右[之山], V:17, 19
Mount Chanyuan 亶爰之山, III:10
Mount Chongwu 崇吾之山, XII:53, 54, XVI:77
Mount Dengbao 登葆之山, XLVI:235
Mount Fierce Plow-Ox 凶犁土丘, LXVI:305
Mount Fuyu 符禺之山, IX:35, 36
Mount Fuzhou 復州之山, XXXVIII:203
Mount Goumi 勾檷[之山], XXXIX:202
Mount Gouwu 鉤吾之山, XXIII:118
Mount Gufeng 姑逢之山, XXVIII:149
Mount Gui 邽山, XVIII:83, LIX:283
Mount Gui 隗山, XXXV:186
Mount Guo 虢山, XX:95, 96
Mount Jiachao 賈超之山, XXXVIII:202
Mount Jinli 堇理之山, XXXVIII:207
Mount Ju 崌山, XXXVII:199
Mount Kongsang 空桑之山, XXVII:144
Mount Kunlun 昆侖之丘, 昆侖之虛, XII:55, XIII:58, 60, 61, 62, XLII:224, XLVIII:244, LIV:265, LVI:269, LVII:271, 272, 273, LVIII:275, LXI:290, LXII:294, LXVII:306, LXXI:326
Mount Kunwu 昆吾之山, XXXIII:173
Mount Li 釐山, XXXIV:182, 183
Mount Liangfu 梁父, XL:214
Mount Luqi 盧其之山, XXVIII:149
Mount Luwu 鹿吳之山, VI:24
Mount Min 岷山, XXXVII:198, XXXVIII:202
Mount Minyu 踶隅之山, XXIX:157
Mount Nieyaojundi 蘗搖顛瓶, LXIX:301
Mount Penglai (Penglaishan) 蓬萊山, *LXII:294*
Mount Pingfeng 平逢之山, XXXV:185
Mount Qianmei 乾昧之山, XXVII:140
Mount Qiwu 漆吳之山, VI:25
Mount Quzhu 渠豬之山, XXXII:168

Mount Shihu 尸胡之山, XXIX:154, XX:158
Mount Shushu 疏屬之山, LVI:268
Mount Suzhu 楮蠢之山, XXVII:139
Mount Tianyu 天虞之山, VII:26
Mount Vermilion-Roll 朱卷之山, LV:267
Mount Winding-Center 中曲之山, XVII:82
Mount Xiang 洋山, XXIX:154
Mount Xiang 湘山, XL:214
Mount Xun 洵山, VI:23
Mount Xunzhuang 栒狀之山, XXVII:140, 141
Mount Yanzi 崦嵫之山, XVIII:86
Mount Yiku 依軲之山, XXXVIII:208
Mount Yingdi 英鞮之山, XVII:81
Mount You 渤山, XVI:74, XLVII:241
Mount Zhang 章山, LXXI:323, LXXIII:335
Mount Zhang'e 章莪之山, XV:68, 69
Mount Zhangwei 章尾山, XII:55n102, LXXIII:336
Mount Zhen 硜山, XXIX:151, 153
Mount Zhili 支離之山, XXXVIII:206
Mount Zhongnan 終南山, XIX:41
Mount Zhongsui 冢遂[之山], XII:53
Mount Zhubi 諸毗[之山], V:17, VI:21, XIII:58
Mountain God (Shen) 神, V:16, VI:25, VII:31, XI:52, XVI:77, XXIII:116, XXVI:138, XXVII:144, XXIX:153, XXX:158, XXXV:190, 191, XXXVII:197, XXXVIII:202
Mountain-Hui (Shanhui) 山狸, *XXII:110*
Mountain of the Grand Movement 大運山, XLIV:228
Mountain of the Great Wilds 大荒之山, LXXXI:324
Mountain of the Green Paulownia Trees 蒼梧之山, LIV:262
Mountain of the Nine Similar Peaks 九嶷山, LIV:262
Mountain of the Queen Mother of the West 西王母之山, LVIII:276
Mountain of the Supreme God of Heaven 天帝之山, IX:43, X:44
Mountain South of the Niu-Trees 杻陽之山, III:7, 8
Mountain That Relies on the Supreme God Di 依帝之山, XXXIX:211
Mountain Where Bird and Rat Share a Hole 鳥鼠同穴之山, XVIII:84, 85
Mountain Where Yu Attacked the Land of Gonggong 禹功共工國之山, LXIX:314
Mountain without Marshes 無皋之山, XXX:158
Moving Sun 運日, XXXVI:194
Mozi (Master Mo, late 5th–late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) 墨子, LIII:260
Muddy-Bath River 濁浴之水, XV:70
Muddy Mountain 塗山, XLIV:228, LII:257
Muddy River 塗水, X:44
Mufeng 母逢, XXVI:138, 138n230
Murky-Dusk Mountain 渾夕之山, XXII:113
Mushroom People, The 菌人, LXVIII:312
Musk-Deer 麝, IX:43
Mutianzi zhuan (The chronicle of King Mu, Warring States–c. 4th cent. C.E.) 穆天子傳, XIV:65, 65n117, XLVI:238

Na 鸈, *XXXII:167*
Nafu 那父, *XXI:104*
Nanzhongji (Records of the south, n.d.) 南中記, II:2
Needle-Fish 箴魚, XXVII:141
Needle-Stone 箴石, XXVIII:150
Neng 能, XXXV:188
Never-Dying Herb 不死藥, LIV:265, LVI:270, LXII:294, LXVII:308
Never-Dying People, The (Busimin) 不死民, *XLII:222*
Never-Dying Tree 不死樹, XLII:222
Never-Old 休舊, XIX:92
Niao. *See* Bird, A
Niaoshi. *See* Bird-Tribe
Nieermin. *See* People Who Hold Up Their Ears, The
Nieyaojundi. *See* Mount Nieyaojundi
"Nine Arguments, The." See *Jiubian*
Nine Bronze Vessels 九鼎, fig. 1, LX:287
Nine-Headed Feng-Bird (Jiufeng) 九鳳, *LXXII:330*
Nine Rivers 九江, XL:214
"Nine Dai Dances, The." See *Jiudai*
"Nine Songs, The." See *Jiuge*
"Nine Summons, The." See *Jiuzhao*
Nine-Tail Fox (Jiuweihu) 九尾狐, *IV:13*, XIII:60, *LII:257*
Niu-Tree 杻, III:7, 7n14, IX:37, XXXIX:204
No-Loss 無損, XXXI:163
No-Veins Plant 無條, X:44
Noble Mountain 君山, XXXV:188
Noisy-Ape (Xiao) 囂, *IX:39*, XXII:110
North Peak Mountain 北嶽之山, XXII:111, 112
North Raucous Mountain 北囂之山, XXIII:119, 120
North River 北江, XXXVII:199
North Shouting Mountain 北號之山, XXX:159, 160
Northeast Wind 條風, VII:30
Northern Desert Wind 廣莫風, XVIII:83, LIX:283
Northern Extremity 北極, LI:253

Nüchou. *See* Woman Chou
Nüchou zhi shi. *See* Corpse of Woman Chou, The
Nüjiao 女嬌, LII:257
Nüwa 女娃, XXV:133, LXIX:314n549
Nüying 女英, XL:214
Nüzi. *See* Women

Observation River 觀水, XII:57
Oceanic River 洋水, XIII:60
Old Child (Laotong) 老童, LXX:319
Old Fool (Yugong) 愚公, XLIX:247
Old Master, The. See *Laozi*
Old Master (Laozi) 老子, III:10n20
omens, V:17, 18, 19, 20, VII:30, VIII:34, LXX:319
"On Encountering Sorrow." See *Lisao*
"On the Mountain Is the Thorn-Elm." See *Shan you shu*
One-Arm People, The (Yibimin) 一臂民, *XLV:230,* 231
One-Eyed People, The (Yimumin) 一目民, *XLVIII:242,* LIX:280, *LXXIII:333*
oracle-bone inscriptions 甲骨文, LVII:271
Order Mountain 倫山, XXVI:136
Order River 倫水, XXVI:136
Overflowing River 淫水, XIII:59
owl 鴞, X:47
Ox-Fish 牛魚, XXVII:139
Ox-Head Mountain 牛首之山, XXXII:169
Ox-Thorn 牛傷, XXXV:188

Pan 盼, XLI:219
Panhu 盤瓠, LVIII:278
Paoxiao-Bird 狍鴞, XXIII:118
Peaceful-Encounter (Taifeng) 泰逢, XXXIII:175, *XXXIV:179,* 180
peach-branch bamboo 桃枝, XXXVI:193
Peach River 桃水, XIV:63
Pearl-Turtle (Zhubieyu) 珠蟞魚, *XXVIII:145*
Peipei 胇胇, *XXXII:170*
Peipei-Fish 鮠鮠之魚, XXII:108
Penal-Law Mountain 獄法之山, XXII:109, 110
Pendant-Ears People, The (Danermin) 儋耳民, XLVIII:243, 246, *LXXII:328*
Peng River 彭水, XIX:91
Penglaishan. *See* Mount Penglai
People of Bofu. The (Bofumin) 博父民, *L:248*
People Who Hold Up Their Ears, The (Nieermin) 聶耳民, *XLVIII:246,* L:248, LXXII:328
People with Crossed Shins, The (Jiaojingmin) 交脛民, *XLII:221*
People with Forked Tongues, The (Qishemin) 岐舌民, *XLII:223*
People with Perforated Chests, The (Guanxiongmin) 貫匈民, *XLI:220,* LXII:221, 222
People with Protruding Chests, The (Jiexiongmin) 結匈民, *XLI:215*
Phoenix, *See* Feng-Bird; Fenghuang-Bird
Pi[jiu] 羆[九], *XXVI:136*
Pin-Plant 蘋草, XIII:60
Pine-Bridge Mountain 松梁山, VIII:33
Pinecone Mountain 松果之山, VIII:33
Pingpeng 屏蓬, XLVI:235, *LXI:321*
Pingyi 馮夷, *LXI:290. See also* Lord of the River
Plain of Broad Grain 粟廣之野, LXIX:314n549
Plain of Celestial Majesty 天穆之野, LXXI:325
Plain of Jizhou 冀州之野, LXXIII:332
Plain of Plenty 諸沃之野, XLVI:238
Plain of the Broad Citadel 都廣之野, XIII:58n106
Plain of the Grand Music 大樂之野, XLIV:228
Plain of the Great Bestowal 大遺之野, XLIV:228
Plain of the Great Wilds 大荒之野, LXXXI:324
Plain of the Green Paulownia Tree 蒼梧之野, LXXIII:333
Plain of the Longevity-Flower 壽華之野, XLII:224
Plough-Ox 犁牛, III:9n17, XXVII:140
Plower (Gengfu) 耕父, *XXXVIII:204*
Pointed Mountain 剡山, XXXI:165
Poison-Eagle (Gudiao) 蠱鵰, *VI:24*
Powercat (Lili) 狸力, *V:17*
Powerful-and-Constant 雄常, XLVI:239
Pray-and-Pass Mountain 禱過之山, VII:26
Proud-Bug (Jiaochong) 驕蟲, *XXXV:185*
Proud Mountain 驕山, XXXVI:193, XXXVII:197
Puhong River 蒲鼃之水, XXXVII:201
Pure-and-Clear Gorge 清冷之淵, XXXIX:204

qi (forked) 岐, XLII:223
Qi (name) 啓, LXXI:325
Qi (state) 齊, LXII:294
qi (toe) 跂, L:249
Qi-Berries 芑, LXIII:313

Qi-Magpie (Qique) 鶈雀, *XXX:160*
Qiezhi. *See* Stealing-Fat Bird
Qilin 麒麟, XXIII:117, 117n201, LXXIV:337n593
Qin 秦, IX:33
Qin-Pepper 秦椒, XXV:132
Qinggeng. *See* Green Plower-Bird
Qinpi 欽鵖, XII:55, *56*
Qinyuan-Bird (Qinyuan) 欽原, XIII:60, *62*
Qiongqi. *See* Thoroughly-Odd
Qiongqiong 蛩蛩, XLIX:252
Qiongqiong-Selenium 芎藭, XL:214
Qique. *See* Qi-Magpie
Qishemin. *See* People with Forked Tongues, The
Qiu-Fish (Qiuyu) 鰳魚, *XXX:161,* XXXI:163, 166
Qiu-Loach 鰍, XXX:161
Qiu-Tree 楸, XXXVII:200
Qiuyu. *See* Qiu-Fish
Qizhong. *See* Tiptoe-Bird
Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 339–c. 278 B.C.E.), V:18
Quail-Bird 鶉鳥, XIII:60
quan (dog) 犬, LII:254
Quanrong (the god) 犬戎, LVIII:278, *LXXIII:334. See also* Dog People, The
Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu) 西王母, IV:13, XI:49, XIII:60, *XIV:65,* XV:71, XLVI:234, *LVIII:275,* 276, 277
"Queens of the Xiang River, The." See *Xiangjun*
"Questions of Heaven." See *Tianwen*
Quju-Bird (Quju) 鶋鶋, *XXIV:127*
Quzhu River 渠豬之水, XXXII:168

rainbow. See *hong*
Rainflood River 涔水, XXIII:120, XXVIII:148
Ranyi-Fish (Ranyi) 冉遺, *XVII:81*
Raucous River 諠水, XIX:94, XXII:112, 113
Raucous-Bird (Xiao) 諠, *XXIV:122*
Realm of the Demon People 鬼方, LIX:280
Rebel Mountain 不廷之山, XLV:229, LXVII:309
Record of Knives and Swords, A. See *Daojian lu*
Record of Manifold Curiosities, A. See *Bowuzhi*
Record of Strange Regions, A. See *Yiyuzhi*
Record of Strange Things, A. See *Yiwuzhi*
Records for Examining the Artisans. See *Kaogongji*
Records of Strange Things on Land and Sea at Linhai. See *Linhai shuitu yiwuzhi*
Records of the South. See *Nanzhong ji*
Recovered Documents of Zhou. See *Yizhoushu*
Red Ants 朱蛾, LIX:284n489
Red Ants 朱螘, LIX:284n489
Red-Glow (Hongguang) 紅光, XVI:74
Red-God 赤神靈, XI:49
Red River 赤水, V:17, X:46, XIII:60, XLVII:240, LVI:269, LXVII:306, LXIX:316, LXXI:325, LXXIII:332, 336
Red Ru-Fish (Chiru) 赤鱬, *IV:15*
Red Spring 赤泉, XLII:222
Red-Tree 絳樹, LVII:273, 274
Relief River 濟水, XXXV:185, XXXVIII:206
Ren (surname) 任, XLVIII:246, LXXII:328
Ren Yi. *See* Humane Yi the Archer, Yi (Yi the Archer)
Renyu. *See* Human-Fish
Respectful Mountain 欽山, XXXI:163
Return Mountain 歸山, XXIV:123
Returning River 正回之水, XXXIII:178
reversed. See *fan*
Reversed-Heels People 反踵民, L:249
reversed-tongues. See *fanshe*
"Rhyme-Prose on the Long River." See *Jiangfu*
Ring-Dog (Huan' gou) 環狗, *LX:286*
Ring River 環水, XXVII:143
Ripples Mountain 流波山, LXV:304
ritual 禮, LVII:271
River Diagram 河圖, LXI:290
Roe-Deer 獐, X:48
Rolling River 展水, XXX:161
Rong 戎, LVIII:278, *LX:288*
Rongrong-Fish (Rongrong zhi yu) 鱅鱅之魚, *XXVII:139*
Rongrong River 瀧瀧之水, XXIV:183
Root Mountain 柢山, III:9
Rose River 薔水, X:44
Roulimin. *See* Flexible People, The
Round-Hill Mountain 員丘山, XLII:222
Ru-Confucians 儒, LVI:268, LXVII:313. *See also* Confucianism
Ruan-Stone 礝石, XXXIV:181
Ruo 若, LXI:290
Ruo River 若水, LXXIV:337
Ruo-Tree 若木, XIII:58
Rupi-Fish (Rupi zhi yu) 鴽鮅之魚, *XVIII:85*
Rushou 蓐收, *XVI:74, XLVII:241,* LIII:260

Sacred Marchmount of the West 西嶽, VIII:34
Sacred Summit 冢, XXV:191, XXXVII:197, XXXVIII:202, XXXIX:213
Salt-Merchant Lake 鹽販之澤, XXIII:132
Sand-Pear 沙棠, XIII:60, LVIII:272

Sanmian zhi ren. *See* Three-Faced Man, The
Sanqingniao. *See* Three Green-Birds
Sansang. *See* King Shanshang
Sanshenmin. *See* Three-Bodies People, The
Sanshoumin. *See* Tricephalous People, The
Santouren. *See* Three-Headed Man, The
Sanzugui. *See* Three-Legged Turtle
Sanzuniao. *See* Three-Legged Bird
Sao-Fish (Saoyu) 鰠魚, *XVIII:84*
scales. See *lin*
Scenic Mountain 景山, XXV:132, XXXVI:192, XXXVII:197
Schafer, Edward (1913–1991), XI:50n92
Sea of Jade, The. See *Yuhai*
Sea-Pig 海豨, XXII:112
Seal Mountain 鈐山, XI:52
Secret Mountain 崈山, XIII:58
Secret Mountain 密山, XXXV:187
Seeking-Similarity Mountain 求如之山, XIX:88
Shade-Bird (Yiniao) 翳鳥, *LXXV:343*
Shaking Mountain 招搖之山, II:2
Shaman Mountain 靈山, XLVI:235
Shaman Mountain 巫山, LXVII:308, LXXI:323
Shaman Xian 巫咸, XLVI:235, 236
Shaman Zhi's People 巫載民, XLI:219
Shan Island 墠渚, XXXIII:176
Shan sacrifice 禪, XL:214
Shan you shu (On the mountain is the thorn-elm) 山有樞, III:7n14
Shangheng Clan 上衡氏, LX:288
Shangjia Wei 上甲微 (trad. fl. c. 1714 B.C.E.), LXIV:300
Shangshu (Documents of antiquity, Zhou dynasty) 尚書, LXV:304
Shangshu dazhuan (Great commentary to the *Documents of Antiquity,* 2nd cent. B.C.E.) 尚書大傳, LIV:261
Shanhaijing tu (Illustrations to the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas,* 1593) 山海經圖, I:1
Shanhaijing tuzan (Encomiums to the *Guideways through Mountains and Seas,* c. 320) 山海經圖讚, III:7, XI:51, XVIII:84, XXVIII:151, XLVIII:242, XLIX:247, LIX:282, LXI:290
Shanhui. *See* Mountain-Hui
Shaohao. *See* Lesser-Brilliance
Shaoli 少驪, LVIII:276
Shared-Eyes Fish 比目魚, XLV:230
Shared-Shoulder Beasts 比肩獸, XLV:230
Shared-Shoulder People, The 比肩民, XLV:230
Shared-Wings Birds 比翼鳥, XII:54, XLI:215, XLVII:230
She-Dragon 奢龍, LII:254
Shebei 奢北, LII:254
Shebi zhi shi. *See* Corpse of Shebi, The
sheep's skin. See *dui*
Shen. *See* Mountain God
Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰 (also called Mao Dun 矛盾, 1896–1981), XLIX:247
Shenchui. *See* Chui-Spirit
Sheng-Crown 勝, XIV:65, 65n117, LVIII:275
Shenmumin. *See* Deep-Eyed People, The
Shennong. *See* Divine Farmer
Shennong bencaojing (The Divine Farmer's classic of remedies, late 3rd cent. B.C.E.) 神農本草經, IV:11
Shenyijing (Guideway to gods and anomalies, Western Han–Six Dynasties) 神異經, XVIII:83, XXXI:163, LIX:283
shi (corpse) 尸, XLV:233, XLVI:239
Shi-Dove (Shijiu) 尸鳩, *IX:42*
Shi han shenwu (Divine mists of poetry, Han dynasty) 詩含神霧, LXIV:298, LXXV:344
Shiji (Historical records, c. 90 B.C.E.) 史記, IX:38, LXII:292, 294
Shijing (Book of songs, c. 1000–600 B.C.E.) 詩經, III:7n14, IX:38n72, LIX:280, LXXIII:332
Shinie-Stone 石涅, XI:49, 49n93
Shining Mountain 耿山, XXVIII:147
Shizi (Master Shi, 4th cent. B.C.E.) 尸子, V:17, XLI:220, XLVIII:245, LXI:290
Shu-Fish (Shuyu) 鯈魚, *XIX:91,* XXVII:141
Shuhu 孰湖, *XVIII:86*
Shuijingzhu (Guide to waterways with commentary, c. 515–24) 水經注, VIII:33, IX:37, 38
Shujun 叔均, LXXIII:332
Shun 舜 (trad. r. 2042–1993 B.C.E.), XV:71, 73, XL:214, XLI:219, XLV:229, LX:287, LXIV:300, 303, LXVII:309, LXVIII:313, LXXIII:332
Shun's Tomb 舜藏, LIV:262
Shuowen jiezi (Explanations and analyses of graphs, 100 C.E.) 說文解字, II:3, IV:11, VIII:32, XI:49, XII:57, XVII:79n141, XVII:81n144, XIX:156, XXXI:166, XXXVII:199; LV:267, LXIV:299
Shusi-Bird (Shusi) 數斯, *X:45*
Shuyu. *See* Shu-Fish
Si-Rhinoceros (Si) 兕, VII:26, IX:43, XI:49, XXXVII:199, *LIV:262*
Si-Wolf (Silang) 狌狼, *XXXVII:200*
Silang. *See* Si-Wolf

Silken-Ram Mountains 縞羝之山, XXXV:185
Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145–c. 86 B.C.E.), IX:38, LXII:292, 294, LXX:319
Single-Arm People, The (Jigongmin) 奇肱民, *XLV:231*
Single-Fox Mountain 單狐之山, XXIII:116
Single-Sheet Mountain 單張之山, XXI:102
Sishe. *See* Four-Snakes, The
Six Bow-Bags. See *Liutao*
Six-Headed Bird (Liushouniao) 六首鳥, *LVII:273,* LXXI:326
Sixteen Gods, The 神人二八, XLI:216
Slippery-Fish (Huayu) 滑魚, *XIV:88*
Slippery River 滑水, XIV:88
Small Lake 少澤, XXV:132
Small-Station Mountain 小次之山, XI:51
Smoky-Lake (Xunchi) 熏池, XXXIII:175, *XXXIV:180*
Smoky River 熏水, XX:97
Snake Mountain 蛇山, XXXVII:200, LXXV:343
Snake River 蛇水, LXXV:343
Snout-Viper 反鼻蟲, II:5
Solitary Mountain 獨山, XXVII:142
Songs of Chu. See *Chuci*
Sophora River Mountain 槐江之山, XIII:58, 59
Sources for Beginning Studies. See *Chuxueji*
South Ape Mountain 南禺之山, VII:31
Southern Mountain 南山, IX:41, XLI:215
Spirit-Guardian (Jingwei) 精衛, *XXV:133,* XLV:233, XLIX:247
Spring and Autumn Annals. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan*
Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yue. See *Wuyue chunqiu*
Sprouts People, The (Miaomin) 苗民, *LXXIII:335. See also* Three-Sprouts People, The
Stealing-Fat Bird (Qiezhi) 竊脂, *XXXVII:199*
Stone-Man Mountain 石者之山, XX:98
strange beast 怪獸, II:4
strange fish 怪魚, II:4
Strange River 怪水, III:8
Strange Snake (Guaishe) 怪蛇, *II:6,* XXXVII:199
Striped-Trunk Tree 文莖, VIII:35
Strong-and-Good (Jiangliang) 彊良, *LXXII:331*
Suanyu-Bird (Suanyu) 酸與, *XXV:132*
Summoning River 招水, IX:37
"Summons of the Soul, The." See *Zhaohun*
Sun-and-Moon Mountain 日月山, LXX:319
Sunrise Valley 朝陽之谷, LII:256, 257
Supported-Pig Mountain 扶豬之山, XXIV:181
Supporting-Mulberry Tree 扶桑, LXIV:301
Supporting-Tree 扶木, LXIV:301
Supreme God, The. *See* Di
Supreme Mountain 泰山, XV:69, XXVII:143, XL:214, LXII:294
Surging River 滂水, VI:24
Surrounding Mountain 霍山, XXXII:170
Sushen People, The (Sushenmin) 肅慎民, *XLVI:239*
Suspended Garden 縣圃, XIII:58
Swamp Lake 皋澤, XXXI:163
Sweet-Jujube Mountain 甘棗之山, XXXII:167
Sweet-Tree 甘木, XLII:222

Tafei 闟非, *LIX:284*
Taifeng. *See* Peaceful-Encounter
Tail-Banner Mountain 旄山, XXX:161
Tail-Banner River 旄水, XXIII:117
Tail-Flyer 尾飛, XX:97
Taiping yulan (Imperial encyclopedia of the Taiping era, 983) 太平御覽, XLVI:234
Tall-Banks Mountain 敖岸之山, XXXIII:175
Tall-Breastplate (Xiujia) 修鞈, LII:258, LXXII:327
Tang the Victorious. *See* King Tang of the Shang
Tangled-Vines Mountain 蔓聯之山, XX:100, 101
Tao-Dog (Taoquan) 蜪犬, *LIX:282,* 283
Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427), II:14, IV:18, XLII:222, XLV:233
Taoism. *See* Daoism
Taotie 饕餮, XXIII:118, 118n203
Taotu 騊駼, *XLIX:250*
Tent Mountain 幕山, LXIX:314
Terrace of the Thearchs 眾帝之臺, XLVIII:244
Thearch Hong (Dihong) 帝鴻, XV:73
Thearch Jun (Dijun) 帝俊, XLII:224, XLV:229, XLVI:238, LXIV:303, LXVII:309
Thearch Ku (Diku) 帝嚳, XLIII:227
Thearch Shun. *See* Shun
Thirteen Poems on Reading the Guideways through Mountains and Seas. See *Du shanhaijing shisan shou*
Thorn Mountains 荊山, XXXVI:192, XXXVII:197
Thoroughly-Odd (Qiongqi) 窮奇, *XVIII:83, LIX:283,* LX:287, LXXII:331
Three-Bodies People, The (Sanshenmin) 三身民, *XLV:229, LXVII:309*

Three-Dangers Mountain 三危之山, XV:71, 72, LVII:276
Three-Faced Man, The (Sanmian zhi ren) 三面之人, *LXXI:324*
Three Green-Birds, The (Sanqingniao) 三青鳥, XV:71, *LVIII:276*
Three-Headed Man, The (Santouren) 三頭人, *LVII:272,* 273
Three-Legged Bird (Sanzuniao) 三足鳥, *LVIII:277*
Three-Legged Tortoise 三足鼈, XXXV:188
Three-Legged Turtle (Sanzugui) 三足龜, *XXXV:188,* XXXIX:209
Three-Sprouts People, The 三苗, XV:71, XLI:218, 219, LXVIII:313, LXXII:335
Thunder-Beast 雷獸, LXV:304. *See also* God of Thunder
Thunder Lake 雷澤, LXIII:295
Thundering Lake 震澤, LXIII:295
Tiangou. *See* Celestial-Dog
Tianma. *See* Celestial-Horse
Tianquan. *See* Celestial-Hound
Tianshen. *See* Celestial God, A
Tianwen (Questions of heaven, c. 300 B.C.E.) 天問, XII:55, XXX:160, 160n265, XLIV:228, LV:267, LXI:290, LXIV:300, LXVI:305, LXVIII:313, LXIX:314
Tianwentu (Illustrations to the "Questions of Heaven," early–mid-17th cent.) 天問圖, fig. 24, LV:267
Tianwu 天吳, *LII:256*
Tiaorong 條蠕, *XXVII:142*
Ti-Fish 鯑魚, IX:38
Tiger 虎, XXIX:155
Tiger-Cuo 虎鰆, VII:28
Tiger-Dragon (Hujiao) 虎蛟, *VII:28*
Tiger-Fish 虎魚, XXII:112
Tiny People 靖人, LXIV:298
Tiptoe-Bird (Qizhong) 跂踵, *XXXVIII:203*
Tiptoe Mountain 跂踵之山, XXIX:156, XXXVIII:203
Tiptoe People, The 跂踵民, XXXVIII:203, L:249
toe. See *qi*
Toiling River 勞水, XXXI:166, XXXII:169
Tongqu-Bird (Tongqu) 蝭渠, *VIII:33*
Torch-Darkness (Zhuyin) 燭陰, XII:55, XLVIII:242, *LXXIII:336*
Torch-Dragon (Zhulong) 燭龍, XII:55, *LXXIII:336*
Tortoise-Fish 鼈魚, XLVI:238
Tower River 譙水, XIX:92
Town of Mingzu 明組邑, *LXII:293*
Transcendent 仙, VIII:34, XI:49, XXV:132, XXVII:143, XLI:216, LXI:290, LXII:294
Transformed-Snake (Huashe) 化蛇, *XXXII:172*
Transverse Mountain 衡山, XLIII:227
Tricephalous People, The (Sanshoumin) 三首民, *XLII:224*
Trickling-Brilliance Mountain 涿光之山, XIX:94
trust 信, LVII:271
Tu-Bird 鵌, XVIII:84
Tu-Rat 鼢, XVIII:84
Tuan-Fish (Tuanyu) 鱄魚, *VII:29*
Tufou-Jade 璵琈之玉, XVII:79, XXXIII:175, 178, XXXIV:184, XXXV:186, 188
Tujing 土敬, LXVIII:313
Tulou 土螻, XII:60, *61*
Tuo-Alligator 鼉, XXXVII:198
Tuo-Plant 薘, XXXII:167
Tuo-Rat 駝鼠, XXXII:166
Tuofei-Bird (Tuofei) 橐悲, *IX:40*
Tuotuo. *See* Camel
Tuowei. *See* Encircling-Alligator
tuzan. See *Shanhaijing tuzan*
Twisting-Turtle (Xuangui) 旋龜, *III:8,* XXXV:187
Two Daughters of the Supreme God Di, The (Di zhi er nü) 帝之二女, *XL:214*

Underwater-Wings 沒羽, XLII:225
Upper-Shen Mountain 上申之山, XVI:78

Veined-Plant 條, VIII:35
Verdant Mountain 翠山, X:48
Vermilion-Ru (Zhuru) 朱獳, XXVIII:147
Vermilion Yan-Beast (Zhuyan) 朱厭, *XI:51*
Vietnam. *See* Jiaozhi
Vine-Channel Mountain 蔓渠之山, XXXIII:174
Vine Mountain 葛山, XXVIII:145
virtue 德, LVII:271

Wading-Alligator 涉蠶, XXXVI:196
Wang Chong 王充 (27–c. 100 C.E.), XLI:215n357
Wang Meng 王孟 (trad. fl. c. 1440 B.C.E.), XLVI:234
Wang Qi 王頎 (fl. 220–226); XLII:226, LXXI:324
Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. 122–144 C.E.), XLVII:241n406, LIX:284n489, LXI:290, LXVI:305
Wangliang-Goblin 魍魎, LX:287
Wanhu 婉胡, XXIX:154
Warrior-Net (Wuluo) 武羅, XXXIII:175, 176, XXXIV:180
Wasp Mountain 羸母之山, XIV:64

Water-Jade 水碧, XXVIII:147
Weak River 弱水, XXII:108, LIV:265
Wei 危, XXII:108, LIV:265, *LVI:268*. *See also* Erfu; Minister of Erfu
Wei (surname) 威, XLVIII:241, LXXIII:333
Wei-Birds 維鳥, XLVI:234
Wei-Monkey (Wei) 蜼, XVIII:87, *XXXVII:201*
Wei-Ox 犩牛, XXXVII:198
Wei-Porcupine 彙, XXIV:121
Wei River 渭[水], VIII:33, IX:37, 38, 39, 41, XVII:79, XVIII:84, XLIX:247
Wei-Snake 蝟, XXII:113
Wei-Snake 委蛇, LXXV:342
Weishoutu (Illustrations of frightening animals, n.d.) 畏獸圖, IX:39, XVII:82, XIX:93, LXXXII:331
Weishu (History of the Wei dynasty, 554), LXII:226, LXXI:324
Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1899–1946), XLVI:235, LXXV:342
Wenyaoyu. *See* Mottled Flying-Fish
Wenyu. *See* Mottled-Fish
Western Extremity 西極, XIII:58
Western Mother 王母, XIII:65n117
Western Rong Tribe 西戎, XLVI:234
Western Sea 西海, XII:57
Wet Mountain 濕山, LXIX:314
white-bronze 鎏, III:7n16
white deer 白鹿, XVII:78
White-Dogs 白犬, LXXIII:334
White-Gibbons (Baiyuan) 白猿, *II:3*
White Jiao-Bird 白鷮, XXXVI:194
White Min-Stone 白珉, XXXVI:196, XXXVII:198, 201
white reeds 白菅, V:16
White Ye-Bird (Baiye) 白鵺, *XXI:103*
Wild-Plum River 棠水, XX:97
Wildweeds Mountain 萊山, XI:52
Willow Mountain 柜山, V:17, 18
Wind-and-Rain Mountain 風雨[之山], XXXVIII:202
Wind of Cleft Mountain 不周風, LI:253
Wing-View Mountain 翼望之山, XVII:75, 76
Winged-Dragon (Yinglong) 應龍, XLIX:247, *LXVI:305*
Winnower 箕, V:16n31
Winnower Mountain 箕山, V:16n31
Winnower-Tail Mountain 箕尾之山, V:16, 16n31
Winter-and-Summer River 寒暑之水, LXIX:314
Without-Excess (Wuyin) 無淫, XLI:219
Wo (Japan) 倭, LXII:291
Wojuguo (Land of the Ŏkcho Tribe; Korean: Ŏkcho kuk) 沃沮國, XLII:226, LXXI:324
Woman-Boiling Mountain 女烝之山, XXXI:162
Woman Chou (Nüchou) 女丑, LXII:291, LXIX:317, LXXIII:332
Woman of the Red River (Xian) 赤水女獻, LXXIII:332n583
Women (Nüzi) 女子, *XLVI:236*
Wonders of the East, XLVIII:246
Wu. *See* Crow, A
Wu (city) 吳, LXIII:295
Wu Chengzhi 吳承志 (fl. early 20th cent.), LVI:268
Wu Liang Shrine (c. 151 C.E.) 武梁祠, XV:69, LXVI:305
Wu-Rat 鼯鼠, XX:97
Wu Renchen 吳任臣 (c. 1628–c. 1689), LVII:272
Wu Renchen edition portraits (1667), fig. 26c, VII:24, XXVIII:145, XLI:216n356, 218, LXVII:306
wu-shamans 巫, IV:13, XXII:108, LIV:265, LVI:270, LIX:283, LXII:291, LXVIII:313, LXIX:317
Wu Xian. *See* Shaman Xian
Wucai zhi niao. *See* Five-Colored Bird
Wufeng Mountain 無逢之山, XXVI:138, 138n230
Wuju-Gateway-to-Heaven 吳矩天門, LXX:319
Wuluo. *See* Warrior-Net
Wuyin. *See* Without-Excess
Wuyue chunqiu (The spring and autumn annals of Wu and Yue, mid-1st cent. C.E.) 吳越春秋, II:13n26

Xi (name) 熙, LIII:260
Xi (name) 戲, LXIV:300, 300n521
Xi-Rhinoceros (Xiniu) 犀, 犀牛, *VII:26,* XI:49, XXXVII:198, 199, 201, *LIV:264,* LV:267
Xi-Turtle 蠵龜, XIX:156
Xia Geng zhi shi. *See* Corpse of Geng of the Xia, The
Xia Sovereign Kai, The (Xiahou Kai) 夏后開, *LXXI:325. See also* Xia Sovereign Qi
Xia Sovereign Qi, The (Xiahou Qi) 夏后啓, *XLIV:228,* XLV:229. *See also* Xia Sovereign Kai
Xian. *See* Woman of the Red River
Xian-Antelope (Xianyang) 羬羊, *IX:32,* IX:37, XI:50, XXXVIII:206
Xianfu-Fish (Xianfu zhi yu) 鮮父之魚, *XXV:131*

Xiang furen (The lady of the Xiang River) 湘夫人, XL:214
Xiang Liu. *See* Minister Liu
Xiang River 湘水, XL:214
Xiangjun (The queens of the Xiang River) 湘君, XL:214
Xiangshe. *See* Elephant-Snake
Xianyang 咸陽, VIII:33
Xianyang. *See* Xian-Antelope
Xianyi River 憲翼之水, III:8
Xiao. *See* Noisy-Ape
Xiao. *See* Raucous-Bird
Xiao (grand historian) 蠨, XLVII:241
Xiao (surname) 銷, XLVI:238
Xiao and Xiang Rivers 瀟湘, XL:214
Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從 (1596–1673), fig. 24, LV:267
Xiaoren. *See* Midgets
Xiaoyang People, The (Xiaoyangmin) 梟陽民, *LIV:261,* LXXIV:339
Xin Clan 辛氏, V:17
Xingtian 形天, *XLV:233,* LXXI:323
Xingxing (chapters 1 and 10) 狌狌, *II:2, LIV:263,* 265. *See also* Xingxing (chapter 18)
Xingxing (chapter 18) 猩猩, LIV:263. *See also* Xingxing (chapters 1 and 10)
Xingyu-Bird (Xingyu) 胜遇, *XIV:67*
Xiniu. *See* Xi-Rhinoceros
Xiqu 犀渠, *XXXIV:182*
Xiu 修, LIII:260
Xiujia. *See* Tall-Breastplate
Xiwangmu. *See* Queen Mother of the West
Xixi-Fish (Xixi zhi yu) 鰼鰼之魚, *XVIV:94*
Xu. *See* Blow
Xuangui. *See* Twisting-Turtle
Xuanming. *See* Dark-Vastness
Xuanshe. *See* Black-Snakes
Xuantu (Korean: Hyŏnt'o) 玄菟, XLII:226, LXXI:324
Xuanyuan 軒轅, XLVII:237. *See also* Yellow Thearch
Xuanyuan's Mountain 軒轅之丘, XLVI:237, 238, XLVIII:244
Xuanyuan's People (Xuanyuanmin) 軒轅民, *XLVI:237*
Xun-Plant 荀草, XXXIII:177
Xun-Tree 楧, XXXVII:200
Xunchi. *See* Smoky-Lake

Yak (Maoniu) 旄牛, X:48, *XXI:106,* XXXVIII:206
Yan 燕, LXII:291, 294
Yan Gorge 蝘淵, XII:53
Yan-Tree 棪木, II:3
Yandi. *See* Flame Thearch
Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559), III:10, XIX:92, XXV:134, LII:258, LXIV:297
Yang Youji 楊由基 (fl. c. 575 B.C.E.), II:3
Yangtze. *See* Long River
Yanhuomin. *See* Fire-Gluttons, The
Yanrong. *See* Fire-Melt
Yanwei 延維, *LXXV:342*
Yanzi 奔茲, *LXIX:318*
Yao (surname) 姚, XLV:229, LXVII:309
Yao (thearch, trad. r.c. 2145–2046 B.C.E.) 堯 XL:214, XLII:225, LX:287, LXV:304, LXVIII:313, LXIX:314
Yao-Beast (Yao) 狕, *XXIII:114*
Yao-Bird (Yao) 鶚, *XXXIII:177*
Yao Lake 畟之澤, XIII:53
Yaobi-Stone Mountain 瑤碧之山, XXXVIII:205
Yao People, The 搖民, LXIV:300
Yao-Stone 瑤, XII:55n101, XV:68, XX:98, XXXIV:179
Yao-Stone Cli 瑤崖, XII:55
Yao-Stone Pool 瑤池, XIV:65
Yao-Tree 榣木, XIII:58
Yayu 窫窳, XXII:108, *LIV:265,* 266, LVI:268, *270,* LIX:281
Ye 噎, LXX:319
Year-Star (Jupiter) 太歲, XLI:215
yellow. See *huang*
Yellow Ao-Birds 黃鷙, LXX:320
Yellow-Bird 黃鳥, III:10n20
Yellow-Bird (Huangniao) 黃鳥, *LXVII:308*
Yellow Guan-Plant 黃藿, IX:38, 38n72
Yellow Lake 黃池, XLVI:236
Yellow Mountain 黃山, X:46, 47
Yellow River (He) 河, VIII:33, XII:53, XIII:60, XVII:78, 80, XVIII:84, XIX:92, 94, XX:95, 98, XXIV:125, XXV:131, 133, XXVI:136, XXIII:167, 168, XXXIII:175, 176, 177, 178, XXIV:179, XLIX:247, LXI:290
Yellow Sea 黃海, LXII:291
Yellow-Steed (Chenghuang) 乘黃, *XLVI:238,* LVIII:279
Yellow Thearch (Huangdi) 黃帝, XII:55, XIII:60n109, XV:69, 73, XXXIV:184, XLI:216n357, 220, XLIII:227, XLV:233, XLVI:235, 237, 238, XLVIII:244, 245, 246, XLIX:247, LI:253, LII:254, 258, LIV:266, LVI:268; LVII:272, LVIII:278, LXIII:295, LXIV:297, LXV, 304, LXVI:305, LXXII:327, 328, LXXIII:332, 334, 335, LXXIV:337
Yellowwater River 黃水, XXVIII:146
Yi (name) 益, LXVI:345
Yi (surname) 依, LII:258, LXXII:327
Yi (Yi the Archer) 羿, XLII:224, LV:267, LVI:269, LX:290

Yi River 伊水, XIX:95, XXXII:171, XXXIII:174, XXXIV:183, XXXV:185, 188, 189
Yi Yin sifang ling (Yi Yin's commands to the peoples in the four directions, n.d.) 伊尹四方令, 284n489
Yibimin. *See* One-Arm People, The
Yicai 役采, LXXII:327
Yiji 狊即, *XXXIX:212*
Yijing (Book of changes) 易經, LIX:280
Yimumin. *See* One-Eyed People, The
Yin 鷹, *XXXIV:181*
yin and yang 陰陽, III:10, XIV:65, XV:73, LII:255
Yin River 泯水, VII:28
Ying People, The (Yingmin) 贏民, *LXXV:341*
Yingdou-Jade 嬰脰之玉, IX:39n73
Yingduan-Jade 嬰短之玉, XVI:74
Yinglong. *See* Winged-Dragon
Yingmin. *See* Ying People, The
Yingmu-Parrot (Yingmu) 鸚鵡, *X:47*
Yingru 獰如 *X:44*
Yingshao 英招, *XIII:58*
Yingshao. *See* Baby-Ladle Bird
Yingyuan-Jade 嬰垣之玉, IX:39n73
Yingzhuo 瀛洲, LXII:294
Yiniao. *See* Shade-Bird
Yiwuzhi (A record of strange things, c. 90 C.E.) 異物志, LIV:260
Yiyu-Bird (Yiyu) 鵸鵌, *XVI:76, XIX:90*
Yiyu tuzan (Encomiums on strange fish, 1544) 異魚圖贊, XIX:92
Yiyuzhi (A record of strange regions, Yuan dynasty) 異域志, XLI:219
Yizhoushu (Recovered documents of Zhou, 4th-1st cent. B.C.E.) 逸周書, XL:250, LIV:261, 263, LX:288, LXII:291
Yonghe. *See* Harmony-and-Peace
You Lake 渤澤, XX:99, XXI:105
You River 渤水, XIII:58
You-Tree 櫾, XXXVI:199, XXXIX:212
Youyan 幽鵌, *XX:99*
Youyi People, The 有易, LXIV:300
Youyou 崧崧, *XXIX:151*
Yu (Yu the Great, trad. r. 1989–1981 B.C.E.) 禹, IV:13, XXXI:176, XL:214, XLII:222, XLIV:228, XLVIII:244, LII:257, 258, LX:287, LXI:290, LXVI:305, LXIX:314, LXXI:324, 325, LXXII:327, LXXIII:332, *LXXVI:345*
Yu-Ape 禺, II:2, V:19, IX:39, XII:53, XX:99, 100; XXIV:122
Yu-Bird (Yu) 鶅, *VII:30*
Yu Lake 余澤, XXVIII:145
Yu-Stone 礝, X:44
Yu-Tree 栯木, III:10n20
Yuan 獂, *XXVI:135*
Yuan-Herb 芄, XXXIV:184
Yuan Ke (b. 1916) 袁珂, II:4n10
Yuan River 涴水, XVII:81
Yuanyou (The far-o journey) 遠遊, XLI:216, XLII:222
yue-ax 鉞, XVI:74, XLVII:241
Yuer (mountain god) 俞兒, *I:1*
Yuer (river-dwelling god) 于兒, *XXXIX:213*
Yugong. *See* Old Fool
Yuhai (Ocean of jade, 1266) 玉海, XIX:91, 91n159
Yuhao. *See* Ape-Howl
Yuhao 禺號, LI:253, LXXII:329
Yujiang. *See* Ape-Strength
Yujing 禺京, LI:253, LXXII:329
Yumin *See* Feathered People
Yuniao. *See* Dwelling-Bird
Yupei 育沛, II:2
Yupian (Chapters in jade, c. 6th cent.) 玉篇, IV:16n31
Yusui River 俞隨之水, XXXV:186
Yuyu-Fish 禺禺之魚, XXVII:139
Yuzhang-Tree 豫章, XXXVII:200

Zao-Fish (Zaoyu) 鱢魚, *XXII:109*
Zayu River 雜余之水, XXVIII:146
Zegeng River 澤更之水, VI:24
Zhan-Bird 鸇鳥, LXX:320
zhang (sta) 杖, LVIII:275
Zhang Gorge 漳淵, XXXVI:195
Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 189 B.C.E.), XXXV:185
Zhang River 漳水, XXV:133, XXXVI:193
Zhangfu. *See* Man, A
Zhaohun (The summons of the soul) 招魂, LIX:284n489
zhen (endurance) 楨, XXXI:166
Zhen River 磾水, XXIX:151
Zhen-Bird (Zhen) 鴆, *XXXVIII:205*
Zhen-Birds (Zhenniao) 鴆鳥, *XXXVI:194*
Zheng 猙, *XV:68*
Zhi-Citrus 枳, XII:53
Zhi-Fish 鱴魚, XXXVII:198
Zhi-Fish (Zhiyu) 鮨魚, *XXII:112*
Zhi People, The (Zhimin) 載民, *XLI:219*
Zhi-Pig 彘, VI:21
Zhi River 汦水, XXVII:141
Zhimin. *See* Zhi People, The
zhonggu (bells and drums) 鍾鼓, XII:55
Zhourao People, The (Zhouraomin) 周饒民, *XLII:225,* LXIV:298, LXVIII:312
Zhu-Bird (Zhu) 鶅, *V:18*
Zhu-Herb 荂, XXXIV:184
zhu-priest 祝, LXI:290

Zhu-Tree 杼, XXXVI:192
Zhuangzi (Master Zhuang, late 3rd–1st cent. B.C.E.) 莊子, III:10, XVII:81n144, XLVI:238, LI:253, LVII:272, LXI:290, LXII:293, LXXV:342
Zhuanxu 顓頊, XXXVII:198, XLIII:227, XLVIII:244, LI:253, LIII:260, LIX:314, LXX:319, LXXI:324, LXXIII:335, LXXIV:337
Zhubi 諸比, LII:254, LX:285
Zhubi River 諸毗之水, VI:21, XIX:88
Zhubieyu. *See* Pearl-Turtle
Zhuhuai 諸懷, *XXII:111*
Zhuhuai River 諸懷之水, XXII:112
Zhujian 諸犍, *XXI:102*
Zhulong. *See* Torch-Dragon
Zhuo 涿, LXXIV:337
Zhuo-Leopard 豹, XIV:64
Zhurong 祝融, *XLIII:227,* LIII:260
Zhuru. *See* Vermilion-Ru
Zhushu jinian (The bamboo annals, c. 299 B.C.E.) 竹書紀年, XLI:220, XLII:225, XLVI:234, 239, XLVII:240, XLIX:249, LIV:262, LIX:275, 280, LXIV:300, LXXI:323
Zhuyan. *See* Vermilion Yan-Beast
Zhuyin. *See* Torch-Darkness
Zhuzi River 諸資之水, X:44
Zi-Fish (Zi) 鮆, *VI:22*
Zi-Rat (Zishu) 蚩鼠, *XXVII:141*
Zihuang 訾黃, XLVI:238
Zither-and-Drum Mountain 琴鼓之山, XXXVII:197
Ziye, Master Musician Kuang 子野, 師曠, (fl. c. 557–532 B.C.E.), XLVIII:242n408
Zouwu 騶吾, *LX:289*
zu (ancestor) 祖, LXVIII:311
Zuo-Oxen 犓牛, IX:37, XI:51
Zuochi. *See* Chiseled-Teeth
Zuo's Narratives to the Spring and Autumn Annals. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan*
Zuzhuang. *See* Corpse of Zuzhuang, The
Zuzi 足訾, *XX:100*

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